

SECOND EDITION

The SAGE Encyclopedia of
JOURNALISM

Gregory A. Borchard
Editor



The SAGE Encyclopedia of
JOURNALISM
SECOND EDITION

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The SAGE Encyclopedia of JOURNALISM SECOND EDITION



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Many of the entries in this edition of *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Journalism* have been updated from their original publication in the first edition to reflect recent developments and include additional references. In some instances, the updates were made by someone other than the original author of the entry.

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Xinhua News Agency

Yellow Journalism
Yellow Kid
YouTube

Zenger, John Peter

Reader's Guide

The Reader's Guide is provided to assist readers in locating articles on related topics. It classifies articles into 30 general topical categories: Broadcast Organizations; Broadcast Technology; Broadcast, Past and Present; Broadcast, Practiced and Defined; Broadcast, Radio; Broadcast, Television; Cultural Issues in Journalism; Economics of Journalism; Freedom of the Press in American History; Issues and Controversies, Coverage of; Journalism Online, Practiced and Defined; Journalism, Practiced and Defined; Journalism Techniques; Journalism Types; Journalism, International; Journalism, International Organizations; Journalism, U.S.; Journalism, Visual Orientation; Law and Policy; Media Regulation and Oversight; Media Theories; Photojournalism, Issues and History; Press and Politics, The; Print Production; Print, Historical Issues and People; Print, Practiced and Defined; Public Relations, Issues and History; Social and Ethical Aspects of Journalism; Social Media Organizations; Technological Aspects of Journalism

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CBS News
CNN
Fox News
MSNBC
National Public Radio
NBC News
Public Broadcasting Service
Sinclair Broadcast Group
Sky News
ViacomCBS

Broadcast Technology

Audio and Video News Services
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Broadcast, or Broadcasting
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Simulcasting
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Business Journalism
Citizen Journalism
Civic Journalism
Constructive Journalism
Entertainment Journalism
Entrepreneurial Journalism
Environmental Journalism
Food Journalism
Health and Medicine Journalism
Human Interest Journalism
Hyperlocal Journalism
Innovation Journalism
Interpretive Journalism

Labor Journalism
Lifestyle Journalism
Literary Journalism
Longform Journalism
Peace Journalism
Religion Journalism
Science and Technology Journalism
Sports Journalism
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Terrorism, Coverage of
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Bangladesh
Brazil
China
Germany
India
Indonesia
Japan
Nigeria

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Africa, Sub-Saharan
Asia, Central
Asia, East and Southeast
Asia, South
Australia and New Zealand
Central America and the Caribbean
Europe
Middle East
North America
South America
Pakistan
Russian Federation

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British Broadcasting Regulation
British Commercial News Broadcasting
British Newspapers
Election Coverage
Ethnic Minority Networks
European Press Regulation
Foreign Correspondents
International Journalism

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ABP News
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Al Arabiya
Al Jazeera
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British Broadcasting
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Chinese Television
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About the Editor

Gregory A. Borchard, a professor of mass communications and journalism at the Hank Greenspun School of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, serves as the School's associate director. Dr. Borchard's research focuses on the history of journalism, and he has taught widely across curriculum in reporting, journalistic writing, journalism history, journalism surveys, and graduate-level qualitative methods. Among his contributions to scholarly literature are authored books, including *A Narrative History of the American Press* (Routledge, 2018),

Lincoln Mediated: The President and the Press Through Nineteenth Century Media (Transaction Publishers, 2015, Routledge, 2020), *Abraham Lincoln and Horace Greeley* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), and *Journalism in the Civil War Era* (Peter Lang, 2010). He served as editor of *Journalism History* (Taylor & Francis) for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication's (AEJMC) History Division and co-edited *The Antebellum Press: Setting the Stage for Civil War* (Routledge, 2019).

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Introduction

Media saturates the world in which we live, and as a driving force behind the messages we receive from it, journalism has become an instrumental way in which we navigate daily life. The mainstreaming of social media since publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* (SAGE, 2009) has helped users not only keep in touch with family and friends, it has also allowed them to interact with reporters and allow journalists of broad backgrounds to develop large followings across a number of social media platforms. This exchange has created a dynamic in which social media users both interact with news providers and allow users to supply news content and in turn determine it.

The information-based society in which we live has in turn directly transformed the delivery of news, as well as its meaning and content. On basic levels, we no longer have to wait for the daily paper or the 5 p.m. news to know the events of the day, as we can simply access our smartphones to look at social media feeds. Individual media outlets, meanwhile, no longer strictly report the news but instead quite often present information in accordance with their own preferences and those of their consumers.

This second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* surveys the contemporary state of journalism, featuring analyses of important topics relative to the practice of the profession in the second decade of the 21st century. The entries featured in this edition integrate journalism into a framework of the technological developments of the past and present, providing a context for understanding current professional, legal, and social issues affecting the field.

At the same time, the second edition of the encyclopedia expands the scope of issues featured in the encyclopedia's first iteration to illuminate media internationally. It includes updated analyses

of social media, and it delves into the complex nature of interconnected media conglomerates. The second edition also revisits previous entries that required revision for timeliness, a necessity given the rapidly changing field of journalism itself. While the focus of the entries, like the first edition, remains on the gathering, editing, reporting, and distribution of news, it has been designed to present a comprehensive analysis of the trends, issues, concepts, individuals, institutions, media outlets, and events that go into making journalism a pivotal part of global media.

Readers' Guide

In the Reader's Guide accompanying the main volumes of the encyclopedia set, you will find a listing of categories that associate each entry—more than 400 of them—with a key topic, including themes based on media types, institutions, and practices. While the contents of the encyclopedia use these concepts to weave an overall description of journalism and the various facets of contemporary media, you may consult with the Reader's Guide for a more systematic listing of entries.

In general, the encyclopedia features the following broad descriptions of topics tied to journalism and the media:

- Broadcast (radio and television, its practice and definition, organizations, technology, and historical issues and people);
- cultural issues in journalism;
- the economics of journalism;
- the freedom of the press in American history;
- journalism, as practiced and defined, its techniques and types in the United States and internationally, organizations, law and policy, coverage of issues and controversies;
- media regulation and oversight;

- theories;
- photojournalism (issues and its history);
- the practice and definition of online journalism;
- the press and politics;
- print journalism (production, its practice and definition, historical issues and key figures);
- public relations (its practice, issues, and history);
- the social and ethical aspects of journalism;
- social media organizations;
- the technological aspects of journalism; and
- the visual orientation of journalism.

To help navigate these descriptions, we have developed 30 categories that list individual entries that fall under each heading, a systematic way of navigating the encyclopedia's contents. (Please see the Reader's Guide for the 30 individual categories.) Entries that address more than one of the categories have been cross-listed, providing an illustration of the interconnectedness of the various types of media and journalistic conventions.

Of special note: A feature of particular interest for the second edition includes additional attention to the international scope of journalism. This edition—to an even greater degree than the first edition—includes entries with specific attention to both regions and the most populated nations on earth. Accordingly, you will find listed in the Reader's Guide a subcategory of regions that includes Australia and New Zealand, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, East and Southeast Asia, South Asia, Europe, Central America and the Caribbean, Middle East, North America, and South America. You will also find individual entries on the top 10 most populated nations, including Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and the Russian Federation. In addition, you will find a subcategory of topics that address specifically international issues in journalism, creating a new global dimension unique to the second edition.

Content and Organization

The four-volume *Encyclopedia of Journalism* comprehensively covers the dimensions of journalism in its various media formats, including print, broadcast, and online journalism. The set compiles more than 1 million words and contains more than 400 entries edited by Gregory A. Borchard, a

professor in the Hank Greenspun School of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. In the A-to-Z volumes 1 through 4, both scholars and journalists contribute articles that span a spectrum of topics explored in the first edition with revisions. The vast majority of entries you will see featured in the second edition consist of either new additions to the volumes or those that have been revisited for revisions and updates with only a fraction of topics having ever-green qualities. Of the more than 400 individual entries (or "headwords") published, more than one third of them were newly authored for the second edition so that along with updates to previously published entries, the reissue of the encyclopedia features an entirely fresh perspective on journalism.

Readers of this updated content will discover information on the ways journalists have adapted their practices, sometimes abandoning traditional news cycles and reporting techniques, and replacing them with live coverage through updates on social media platforms. They will find entries detailing the ways the access to information on social media platforms has changed the very content of news itself, as platforms have facilitated the use of short, easily digestible summaries consistent with consumer tastes and trends. They will also read how major media outlets have met consumer-driven demands for the most recent information available, including familiar topics and issues that affect users individually. Readers will also have a clearer picture of how journalistic content has transcended both geographic boundaries, as well as time, by providing a sense of immediacy, sometimes defined by rapid changes in corporate ownership, mergers, and transnational reach. In sum, the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* provides an overview of the role of journalism in the 21st century and beyond. It addresses the challenges facing journalists and features the best established practices for meeting them. In doing so, the encyclopedia provides a glimpse into the future of the profession.

Creating the Second Edition

The goals for the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* were spelled out in proposals between the editor and the development director in

2019, and they suggested the reissue would—as did the first—cover significant journalistic concepts associated with print, broadcast, and online media from American and international perspectives. I suggest with no redundancy intended that while the world in general—no less the field of journalism—transformed remarkably since 2019, the goals for the second edition remained intact. In spite of challenges attributed to the global COVID-19 pandemic, contributors developed timely entries that in many ways addressed the changes in journalism brought about by lockdown conditions. Contributors during each stage of development wrote with a target audience consisting of college and university students at the undergraduate and graduate levels, predominately in journalism, communications, and media-oriented programs. We sought to produce material appropriate for general reference that at the same time would provide valuable, updated information for journalists and media practitioners familiar with the profession.

To accomplish these goals, the second edition in some cases added entirely new entries appropriate for changes that have taken place in journalism since 2009. Using concepts that categorize topics and focus on these changes, the second edition describes the evolution in journalistic practice, its consumption, and the business of journalism, along with updates and historical context on global news coverage.

The following list of remarkable entries—a small sample from the hundreds featured—each share the characteristic of containing substantial content in terms of their scope, depth, and development. These entries (among others) required significant research on the parts of the authors and reflect a combination of new and timely material, as well as research rooted in historical background. Immediately following each of the entry names below, you will also find a respective category from the Reader's Guide, illustrating the concepts categorized by the guide itself and featured in the encyclopedia as a whole.

For example, a reader interested in finding information on the subject of Arts Journalism will find a listing for it under the category “Social and Ethical Aspects of Journalism,” along with several other entries appropriate for this category. This entry—and all others, regardless of their category—provide cross-references to related entries for

contextual purposes. Likewise, a reader interested in finding information about Censorship and issues related to it would find a listing for the topic under the category of “Law and Policy”—at the same time, it is also listed in the separate (but related) category of “Media Regulation and Oversight.” Similarly, if you are looking for the entry on the First Amendment, you will find it in “Freedom of the Press in American History” and “Law and Policy,” along with other topics associated with these concepts. Readers can navigate the categories with a bit of intuition, keeping in mind the names of categories listed here represent, again, just a sample of those you will find in the Reader's Guide, with Documentaries, for example, found in “Journalism Practiced and Defined,” Investigative Journalism in “Journalism Techniques,” and Political Reporters in “The Press and Politics,” etcetera.

Acknowledgments

You now have access to this enormous wealth of information due to the efforts of contributors too numerous to name here. The efforts in publishing this material have succeeded because of the skilled contributions of SAGE's staff. Remarkably, Shirin Parsavand, senior development editor, managed a Herculean feat by helping administer and review the hundreds of entries now featured in the encyclopedia. There is no way to accurately gauge the total number of emails, drafts, and phone calls between Shirin and I over the past few years, but I estimate thousands of correspondences have contributed to the final product. Thanks also go to Carole Maurer, a SAGE development editor, who stepped in gracefully to ensure work on the project would conclude by deadline, effectively and efficiently. Andrew Boney, a senior acquisitions editor with SAGE, helped launch the project in its earliest stages, addressing preliminary questions and guiding the process to the point where contributors could begin their work. And Leticia Gutierrez, editorial systems lead, helped administer agreements with authors and managed troubleshooting issues in the administration of submissions.

A line-up of world-class scholars have contributed their expertise to this project as members of the editorial board. Colleagues at the University of Las Vegas, Nevada, contributed several of the entries published in the second edition, and four of

them—Stephen Bates, Benjamin Burroughs, Lawrence J. Mullen, Kevin L. Stoker—both authored entries and served in advisory roles, helping to determine the general scope and composition of the second edition. Scholars at other universities—Maurine Beasley and Linda Steiner at the University of Maryland, College Park, Michael D. Murray at the University of Missouri, St. Louis, and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen at Cardiff University, Cardiff—provided a balanced approach to the overall breadth and depth of the encyclopedia.

As you can likely imagine, compiling a set of volumes of this scope and depth on a subject as complex as journalism required a tremendous

amount of collaborative work. Knowing the very human nature of journalism, changes in our understanding and practice of the craft will occur naturally, as they did between publication of the first edition and this one. It is my hope that everyone involved in the production of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* will have confidence that we will have laid the foundation for—in time—a third, fourth, and subsequent editions. Thank you to everyone who has contributed to this endeavor.

Gregory A. Borchard
University of Nevada, Las Vegas



ABC News

ABC News is the news division for the American Broadcast Company (ABC), which the Walt Disney Company owns. Disney acquired ABC/Capital Cities, Inc. for \$19 billion on July 31, 1995. Capital Cities had owned ABC since 1986, when it purchased the network for \$3.5 billion. At the time, it was the second largest corporate merger in U.S. history. It combined the power of Disney's film studios with ABC's broadcast channels, including ESPN. Revenue jumped more than 70% over the next decade, including a 50% increase in earnings per share. This entry discusses the origins of ABC News, the development of TV news, ABC's venture into the digital arena, an attempted merger with CNN, and ABC News Live.

Origins

ABC news started from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as the NBC Blue radio network in 1943. NBC was owned by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and operated two radio networks: NBC-Blue and NBC-Red. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ordered RCA to sell one of its radio networks because of the monopoly they shared. The case went to the Supreme Court, which sided with the FCC. RCA sold NBC-Blue to Edward J. Noble for \$8 million, and it was later rebranded with the ABC name in 1945.

One of their most popular radio personalities was Paul Harvey, who started working at ABC affiliate WENR in Chicago in 1944. His program, *Paul Harvey News and Comment*, became popular and became nationally syndicated in 1951.

ABC radio has provided services for thousands of radio stations throughout the United States. Starting in 1968, they offered four different programming services, providing content to radio stations. By 2015, ABC provided content to approximately 2,000 radio stations with a reach of 50 million listeners each week.

Development of TV News

As the media industry dove into the world of television, ABC had financial difficulties in keeping up with the TV race. Paramount Theaters took over the company in 1953 and later changed its name to American Broadcast Companies in 1965.

John Charles Daly anchored ABC's television newscasts from 1953 to 1960, serving as the network's vice president in charge of news, special events, and public affairs. Daly was a veteran journalist before going to ABC, working for both NBC and CBS radio. While he was the face of ABC News, he was not limited to the network. Daly hosted the television program *What's My Line* on CBS and also filled in on *The Today Show* on NBC. He left ABC on November 16, 1960.

ABC News had a tough time matching up with CBS and NBC, in part due to its lack of television

affiliates compared to the other two networks. By the 1970s, the network played catch-up as newer affiliates helped expand the network's reach in the United States.

After years of being in third place, ABC took a chance on hiring Boone Arledge as president of ABC News in 1977. Because Arledge was known for his efforts in creating Monday Night Football and Wide World of Sports for ABC, there were fears that his history of creating flash for successful sports programs would ruin journalistic integrity for their news operations. However, ABC needed to attract more viewers, as it was drawing less than half of the audience of rivals NBC and CBS.

Arledge received credit for reinventing Sunday morning after hiring David Brinkley from NBC in 1978 to anchor *This Week*. Arledge also gave the show a full hour, giving journalists such as Sam Donaldson, George Will, and Cokie Roberts a higher stature and importance in the show itself.

Arledge also led the effort in producing a nightly special on the Iranian hostage crisis in 1979–1980, a new effort in the TV news industry. The success of those specials became the influence for Nightline, hosted by Ted Koppel. He also brought in Diane Sawyer from NBC in 1990, creating a new show *PrimeTime Live*. Arledge's efforts caused ABC News to turn profits of \$70 million in 1990, which made ABC News the first network to achieve that number. Arledge stepped down as president in 1998.

Good Morning America

The longest running program at ABC News is *Good Morning America*, which debuted on November 3, 1975, with hosts David Hartman and Nancy Dussault. The program replaced the short-run show *AM America*, which lasted less than a year on ABC. It was originally part of the company's entertainment division with the hosts sitting on a couch rather than a news desk. *Good Morning America* was expected to rival *The Today Show*, which had long had a stranglehold on morning news audiences for 20 years.

In just four years, the program overtook *The Today Show* in the ratings. ABC also invested in taking the show around the world for big events, including the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo

and the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles later that year.

By the 1990s, *Today* regained the top spot in the ratings war and did not lose it for another 16 years. Regardless of the popularity of then-anchors Joan Lunden and Charles Gibson, the show was not able to overcome the tandem of Matt Lauer and Katie Couric at *Today*. Critics claim GMA was also slow to adapt to the 24-hour news cycle. The show moved to ABC's news division in 1995. GMA regained the top ratings spot in 2012 and has been in a constant ratings battle with *Today* since then.

20/20

Arledge created the newsmagazine 20/20 to rival 60 Minutes on CBS. The first episode aired on June 6, 1978, with hosts Harold Hayes and Robert Hughes, both of whom were respected magazine editors. The program had a rough start, with New York Times TV critic John O'Connor calling it pointless and dizzyingly absurd. Immediately afterwards, Arledge replaced Hayes and Hughes with Hugh Downs, who was a former anchor with *The Today Show* on NBC. He anchored the show solo until Barbara Walters joined as a coanchor the following year. The duo remained cohosts of the program until Downs retired in 1999. Other notable anchors who have been with the show include Sam Donaldson, Connie Chung, John Miller, John Stossel, and Chris Cuomo. As of 2021, anchor David Muir has been with the program since 2013. Anchor Amy Robach has been with the program since 2018.

World News Tonight

World News Tonight was launched in its current format in July 1978. The roots of the program originate from *John Daly and the News* in 1953. Arledge made the change after the nightly network newscast had consistently ranked third among the network newscasts. Veteran journalist Frank Reynolds was named the lead anchor for the new format and held that title until he died of bone cancer in 1983.

Following Reynolds' death, Peter Jennings was named main anchor in September 1983. He had

been a coanchor for *World News Tonight* since 1978, reporting from London. Jennings had been with ABC since 1965, when he anchored *Peter Jennings with the News*, a 15-minute nightly newscast. He became the youngest network news anchor at the age of 26, but struggled to compete with veteran personalities such as Walter Cronkite and David Brinkley. After three years, he became a foreign correspondent before returning to the United States in 1974 to anchor the morning program *AM America*.

In 1984, the program's name became *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings*. Jennings held the role until April 5, 2005, when he took a leave of absence due to lung cancer. He never returned and died later that August. At one point during his tenure, Jennings drew an average audience of nearly 14 million people each night in the early 1990s. He had an 8-year ratings winning streak over CBS and NBC during that time period as well. However, the program fell behind NBC Nightly News for a decade prior to Jennings' death.

Bob Woodward and Elizabeth Vargas succeeded Jennings, holding that role for just a short time. Woodward was seriously injured from an explosion in Iraq on January 29, 2006, and never returned to the anchor desk, although he did contribute as a reporter after a lengthy recovery period. Vargas went on maternity leave in May 2006 and resigned from her position.

Gibson took over in 2006, which gave the network a familiar face to lead the program. Gibson had been a coanchor for *Good Morning America* from 1987 to 1998 and had filled in on occasion for Jennings during his health issues. Soon after, the program name changed to *World News with Charles Gibson*. He stayed in that role until retiring in 2009.

Diane Sawyer, who had been a coanchor for *Good Morning America*, replaced Gibson in 2009 and remained in that role until 2014. Muir, who was a coanchor for *20/20*, took over after Sawyer stepped down to do special projects.

Digital

ABC's venture into the internet came after its initial failed attempt to organize a 24-hour cable news channel, after NBC launched the MSNBC network

in 1996. Instead, the company decided the web would be the source for its 24-hour coverage.

ABCnews.com launched on May 15, 1997. It was a joint venture between ABC News and Starwave Corporation. Paul Allen, cofounder of MicrosoftStarwave Corp., owned Starwave Corporation. The company had already been successful behind other popular websites, including ESPN Sportszone, which was the web service for ESPN, Inc., that would also be featured on the ABCnews.com website.

The launch came 2 months after Disney acquired one-third of Starwave for just under \$100 million and also took over its board. In addition, Disney had the option of buying the remainder of the company within the next 5 years.

The launch did have some hiccups though. At a news conference on the launch date, executive Jeff Gralnick did a demonstration of the features of the website. The Java headline reader function did not work during the demo for much of its first day after going live.

News content featured columnists and current correspondents from ABC News. Breaking news content on the site relied mainly on Associated Press and Reuters news wire services, with a team of 100 reporters updating stories as they developed. The initial plan was to also feature content from its 200+ affiliates around the country. ABC News initially partnered with TheStreet.com to provide information on the stock market.

Video clips in the initial stages were cut down dramatically because consumers used dial-up internet service providers, and long videos would take too long to download and watch. However, as bandwidths increased and the introduction of faster internet speeds were developed for homes and businesses, ABC News reached upwards of 129 million people across its digital platforms on a monthly basis by 2015.

ABC News developed a partnership with iTunes in 2005 to become the service's recognized news provider for podcasting. Initial podcast offerings included highlights from Nightline, entertainment news, mixes of news headlines, and news wraps for the Hispanic community.

ABC News Now launched in 2004 to provide 24-hour news initially on a digital subchannel, but later expanded to the internet. The experiment provided election coverage and allowed the

network to provide expanded coverage without having to worry about confined time periods on television. Anchor Peter Jennings had been frustrated with the lack of convention coverage and offered to anchor them from start-to-finish when he was not anchoring his television newscasts. Even though the network expanded to include the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, and Belgium, it only lasted a few years.

ABC News partnered with Yahoo in 2011 to gain more online visibility. The partnership expanded in 2015, allowing cross-promotion for Yahoo's digital magazines and other segments on ABC's *Good Morning America*, while ABC's entertainment programming would be featured on Yahoo's site. Yahoo also featured ABC News content more often on its network, resulting in more viewers across a wider web audience. *Good Morning America's* web page was hosted on Yahoo until 2018, when ABC News shifted its arrangement with the morning show to become strictly a content partnership.

ABC News partnered with Univision in 2013 to launch Fusion TV, a news and information channel that was initially geared toward Latino bilingual adults, a demographic that ABC valued. Univision, which was in charge of content for the new channel, quickly switched gears to appeal to all ethnicities, rather than a focus on Latinos. It also took on an edgy political tone, which reportedly made executives at Disney uncomfortable. The partnership lasted until 2016.

ABC News acquired FiveThirtyEight from ESPN in 2018. FiveThirtyEight was a data journalism organization that ESPN acquired in 2013. Under ESPN, FiveThirtyEight attracted millions of visitors and was also named "Data Journalism Website of the Year" by the Global Editors Network in 2016. The goal for the acquisition was to enhance political coverage with statistical analysis and data visualization for ABC News and its partners.

Attempted CNN Merger

In 2002, Disney and AOL/Time Warner had discussions about merging ABC News with CNN. The move could have saved tens of millions of dollars on both sides by combining their news forces. However, the two sides halted the potential

merger in February 2003 after failing to reach an agreement on how the complicated relationship would work in regards to control. Plus, AOL was dealing with its own internal issues regarding internet service, which was a core service for them at the time.

ABC News Live

More than 20 years after ABC News had initially thought about launching a 24-hour network of programming, it made its next attempt in 2018 with the launch of ABC News Live. The 24/7 live stream was launched on the Roku Channel and featured breaking news and live event coverage. At the time, it was the first live feed to debut on the channel. ABC News correspondents provided content. The feed also carried the same programming as the ABC TV network during breaking news events. Contrary to goals of other 24-hour news networks, the goal of ABC News Live was to provide on-the-ground coverage, rather than news analysis from anchors and guests.

ABC News Live later expanded to Hulu subscribers in March 2020. Hulu, which is also a Disney company, claimed that more than 45% of their subscribers had either cut the cord for cable or satellite service or had never had cable. It was an opportunity for their subscribers to have access to a 24-hour news service without any additional cost. ABC also launched new apps for Android TV, Amazon Fire TV, and Apple TV that same year. ABC claimed that it would air up to 18 hours of live and original content daily, which included newscasts, documentaries, and other original programming.

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See also Anchors, Television; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; Newscasters, Radio; Paley, William S.; Television Newsmagazines; Television News, History of

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ABP News

ABP News is a Hindi television news channel and website that is one of the more prominent privately owned satellite television channels in India.

Its history of ownership and collaborations not only reflects India's shift from public broadcasting to private news media but also demonstrates conflicts between the state and media over information networks. Since the start of the 21st century, the number of independent news media outfits in India has shown tremendous growth, even though the 2010s also witnessed the state exerting more pressure to consolidate this apparently diverse landscape in its favor. This entry discusses the history of ABP News and its place in the Indian television news landscape.

ABP News, in its current form as a free-to-air Hindi news channel, only came into being in 2012. Prior to the 21st century, news production in Indian television was entirely controlled by the public broadcaster, Doordarshan. One of the first and most credible private news media companies, New Delhi Television Ltd (NDTV), itself began in 1988 as a content provider for Doordarshan. The gradual expansion of the private news landscape allowed NDTV to start its own channel in 1998, through a partnership with Rupert Murdoch-controlled STAR India. The relationship between NDTV and STAR lasted only for about 5 years, until 2003.

In 2003, STAR News began collaborating with Bengal's reputed Ananda Bazar Patrika (ABP) Group on a Hindi news service that was renamed ABP News in 2012. The flagship newspaper of the ABP Group, *Anandabazar Patrika*, has been published since 1922, while its English language daily, *The Telegraph*, began publication in 1982. Apart from the two dailies, the group publishes numerous periodicals in Bengali and English and runs a market-leading Bengali publishing business, multiple news channels, a matrimonial business, and several mobile and Internet properties.

STAR's joint venture with the ABP Group was a result of a government cap limiting foreign equity in the news business to 26%, which was later raised to 49%. STAR News was run by Media Content and Communications Services Private Ltd (MCCS), a joint venture of STAR and ABP, in which the former was the foreign and minority partner. STAR News was considered a more credible and established brand than its sibling channels, STAR Ananda (Bangla, now ABP Ananda) and STAR Majha (Marathi, now ABP Majha). The branding preference for ABP

News over Telegraph or Ananda was on account of the worldwide popularity for three-letter brand titles in television news. ABP News, however, persisted with the legacy of STAR News as if nothing had changed except the name and the logo. The shows, anchors, design, tonality, decibels, or style did not change to explicitly maintain continuity.

While Indian news channels have featured an increasingly hawkish political slant and partisan news anchoring, ABP News was situated on the softer edge of the spectrum of sensationalism, before a more hawkish government elected to office in 2014 tipped the balance at the network in favor of a more partisan, sensational tone. In comparison, NDTV India has been known for relatively credible journalistic analysis and reasonable reportage, while channels such as Zee News, India TV, and Aaj Tak occupy the other end of the spectrum. On the other hand, ABP Group's English daily, *The Telegraph*, has been the most consistently critical daily print publication since 2014. Contrary to *The Telegraph*'s Kolkata-centric readership, however, ABP News has been a key driver of the ABP Group's national ambitions. That is why, ABP News draws more from the Hindi News cabinet (Aaj Tak, CNN-News18, Zee News, India TV, and NDTV India) of its rival channels and networks than from its own business group's more regional political slant.

One of the ways in which the Indian government controls the news media is by suffocating its advertising revenues, since advertising from political campaigns by the ruling party and requests for proposals by companies vying for government contracts are significant sources of revenue for news organizations. In 2019, for example, the Indian government froze advertisements to Times Group, ABP Group, and *The Hindu*, which were seen to be critical of the government on various fronts. While the dependence on advertising revenues may be higher in print publications, the message about the government closely watching news reporting also is absorbed by television channels that need ruling party spokespersons for primetime debates, and ministers as well as high-ranking government officials for various media events conducted by all news channels. The events are not only

strategic occasions for brand-building, they also bring in new collaborators from the government as well as the private sector. As highly profitable ventures, these events necessarily require access to the government and the ruling party.

Only a year before the freeze in advertisement funding, ABP News had made vital political "adjustments" in its positioning, by ousting managing editor Milind Khandekar and popular anchor Punya Prasun Bajpai. Another senior news anchor, Abhisar Sharma, was also asked to go off-air and was sent on a long leave before he resigned. Sharma had been highly critical of the government in his video blogs, and as of 2020 both he and Bajpai were working as freelance journalists. Bajpai's show *Master Stroke* was a particular bone of contention, since he had exposed the government's claims of employment generation through its skill-development program.

Bajpai showcased a female farmer from Chhattisgarh, Chandramani Kaushik, who had declared in a public video conference with the prime minister, that her income was doubled after diversifying her crops, and switching from cultivating rice to growing custard apples. However, appearing on Bajpai's show, she admitted that she was tutored by the ruling party officials to make the claim, alongside other female farmers. The channel stood by the story, instead of issuing an apology in response to public criticism of the story by some ministers. However, it suffered a prompt boycott by the ruling party, which stopped sending any spokesperson or a prominent party face to its debate shows. Soon after the story, it was also reported that during primetime shows, the channel's transmission signals began getting distorted, as had earlier been reported about NDTV India—the only Hindi news channel consistently critical of the government.

The problem with transmissions was restored soon after the resignations, which reoriented the relations between the government and ABP News. However, as discussed earlier, the government's animosity with ABP Group continued, particularly with respect to *The Telegraph*, which remains a marginal English daily in comparison to its northwestern counterparts—*The Times of India* and *Hindustan Times*. In fact, one could argue

that ABP Group remains a regional institution of much credibility, but its national ambitions are manifested in ABP News, which has adopted a tone of support for the Indian government that has become widespread among Hindi news outlets.

To a large extent, then, the template of ABP News continues to be borrowed from its STAR News vintage and the standard operating procedures of Delhi-based national news studios. The ABP Group's limited expertise with Hindi-speaking regions of the north and west, where the core audience targeted by advertisers of the channel resides, introduces further asymmetries between the company's legacy business and its more recent foray in television, but the interest-free loans from the company have been vital in the growth of the television channel.

In 2020, the ABP Group completed the first year of ABP Ganga, another Hindi news channel dedicated to the states of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Presumably, while ABP News addresses a much wider, national, Hindi-speaking audience, ABP Ganga addresses a Hindi-speaking region, including every district and town of Uttar Pradesh, which is not only the most populous state in India, but widely understood to be the political backbone of north India. ABP Ganga, therefore, gives an indication of the arenas of growth ABP Group's Hindi news production seeks to expand across.

Akshaya Kumar

See also Asia, South; India; Pakistan

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ACCESS TO MEDIA

Media access means the opportunity and ability to use media technology for the production, distribution, and reception of mass communication intended for public audiences. In most commercial media renderings and politician pronouncements, media access is restricted to *reception* of analog or digital transmissions, including Internet sites. Even the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19, which declares access to the “means to communicate” a human right, emphasizes receiving information, with only passing references to citizen participation in media production.

Media access provides a measure of democracy and entails more than viewing or listening. To maximize democratic participation by diverse publics, individuals and groups must have full access to the technologies necessary for the production and distribution of mass communication, including the means for print, broadcast, film, and digital production and dissemination of messages and meanings. Specifically, media access entails opportunities for video and audio recording, including access to sound and visual editing equipment, studio space, portable recording equipment from microphones to cameras, and the ability and resources to broadcast to mass audiences. Media access means adequate training in production techniques and practices.

Full civic access to media also requires space for collective discussions on programming needs, criteria, and scheduling to maximize contributions from multiple viewpoints and diverse social groups, communities, ethnicities, genders, and more. To assure wide reception, media access needs ample broadcast spectrum space, which is publicly owned but governmentally administered in most nations.

Media Control

History shows media as a primary means for information, social influence, and political

control. From ancient Rome to contemporary China and Turkey, from World War II censorship to contemporary media repression in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil, institutions and governments have sought to control the production and reception of information and entertainment. Even in ostensibly democratic nations such as France, Britain, and the United States, most media production is not available to the public. Civic organizations and community groups, whether ethnic or national minorities, labor, indigenous, youth, women, and other non-elite social groups, have very little to no access to technologies needed for the production and dissemination of mass communication. Access to media production technologies and media distribution channels is almost exclusively under the control of a handful of consolidated national and transnational media corporations.

In the United States, Comcast, Disney, Fox, Gannett, iHeartRadio, and a half dozen other firms dominate the production of news and entertainment programming. In Europe, Bertelsmann, Burda, Bauer, Canal+, BSkyB, Daily Mail, Media-set, and a few other national and transnational media groups produce and distribute most news and entertainment products across the continent. Increasingly, banks, investors, and private equity funds (such as KKR and Alden Capital) are also buying into major commercial media, further restricting media access to leveraged financial interests. Elsewhere, dominant commercial media such as Rede Globo (Brazil), Televisa (Mexico), Naspers (Southern Africa), and Reliance (India) control the airwaves and predominate on national Internet sites.

Certainly, access to information and entertainment is abundant globally. Providing access to information about science, technology, and politics to the world's billions is essential. However, reducing media access solely to *reception* of the "information superhighway" as the pathway to education and employment (as championed by former U.S. Vice President Al Gore) confines citizens to *spectators* and *receivers* of communication produced by others. Without access to media production, communication as a human activity can be little more than advertising, proselytizing, and propaganda—well-intentioned or not.

Public Service Media

In most nations, public service broadcasting offers modest and benevolent public-oriented educational and entertainment programming. Yet, even a public broadcasting that emphasizes its public service still leaves citizens and the public in general as *receivers* of communication—dependent on news and entertainment produced by elite gatekeepers who have direct access to production and distribution. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom, Germany's ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*—Association of Public Broadcasting Corporations in the Federal Republic of Germany) and ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*—Second German Television), Italy's RAI (*Radiotelevisione Italiana*), Japan's NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*—Japan Broadcasting Corporation), and India's Doordarshan maintain some of the largest viewing and listening audiences in their own nations and globally. In most cases, mandatory public fees provide the financial resources and afford public service broadcasters some degree of independence from their respective governments. In the United States, in contrast, Congress determines the level of federal support for public media such as National Public Radio (NPR) and Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Public service broadcasters in the United States have increasingly turned to commercial underwriting and voluntary donations from listeners and viewers, pushing the public media toward entertainment, apolitical programming, and news reports that largely echo government policies and sources.

In Europe meanwhile, free trade agreements have required governments to reduce their support for public broadcasting as an unfair subsidy restricting the free flow of commercial broadcasting. BBC, and other public broadcasters in Europe, faced with cuts in federal funding have turned to commercial enterprises, such as BBC America. Others, like TF1 in France, have found private partners.

Globally, public access to media production has been threatened by technological innovation and national governments enforcing austerity cuts on public services. About half the world has

no access to the Internet, and digital media have limited mass distribution. Not surprisingly, the mass production and distribution of media messages and formats (including on the Internet) remain dominated by commercial media, while public service broadcasters normatively and ideologically conform to dominant media frames and agendas set by those commercial interests and government policies influenced by commercial media lobbyists. In the 21st century, media access to production and distribution by major corporations results in standardized genre (e.g., talk shows, game shows, situation comedies, dramas about professionals, and infotainment news) with public service broadcasting featuring nature, history, and music documentaries—all intended to attract audiences to be sold to advertisers. Public access to media technology for production of noncommercial programming and stories by citizens is miniscule in comparison.

One significant contrasting example is public service broadcasting in Venezuela since 2004. Public media were dramatically expanded following the business coup attempt against President Hugo Chavez in 2002. VTV, the government-run public service television airs educational programming, news and information, and even some telenovelas. ANTV broadcasts news and information from the National Assembly. Three major public broadcasting stations—ViVe, TVes, and Avila TV—feature community-produced videos and news, drama, music, and investigative reporting. The YVKE Radio Network includes 10 public radio stations. These noncommercial media receive substantial financing from the government's Social Fund. They are each independently run outside government direction, oversight, or even approval—highlighted by several shows highly critical of the government.

Although Venezuela's public media do not attract the most sizable audiences, their diversity of programming, independent and investigative news reports, and their community-produced cultural offerings of theater, music, and dance express the best in public service. In addition, Venezuela hosts Telesur (Television of the South), a cooperative noncommercial satellite television venture of Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, and Bolivia with 12 Latin American bureaus. Still, even when

public service media inspire and inform millions of viewers and listeners, those audiences remain receivers—not producers, not creators of media or communication.

Public Access Radio and Community Media

Direct media access by the public does exist in many nations, albeit on a limited scale. In the United States, for instance, some 2,000 low-power FM radio stations are licensed to broadcast at 100 watts to mostly rural small towns across the country. The National Federation of Community Broadcasters and the Grassroots Radio Coalition coordinate and share programming among dozens of larger community radio stations. The most successful public access media may be the Pacifica Radio Network, which has five independent, noncommercial, listener-funded stations in Berkeley, California; Los Angeles; New York; Houston; and Washington, DC, as well as more than 100 community radio affiliates across the United States.

Since its founding in 1983, the World Association of Community Broadcasters (in French, *AMARC—Association Mondiale Des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires*) has grown to over 3,000 member stations in 100 countries broadcasting, sharing, and advocating for public media access and international collaboration in participatory broadcasting practices and policies. Internationally, radio technology affords more media access to the public due to its relatively low cost of production and distribution. For public reception, radio is more accessible because literacy is not necessary for listening, while relatively inexpensive transistor or even nonbattery crank-generated radio receivers make reception possible almost everywhere. Thus, across Latin America, Africa, and South Asia access to low-technology community radio provides some opportunity for public media production and distribution with the potential for wide reception.

One hallmark of media access through community radio, including even the larger Pacifica stations, is the preference for media production by listeners, community members, and individual broadcasters, who create and air their

programming to listeners in the broadcast footprint and through shared exchanges among community radio networks and coalitions. Community radio broadcasting provides multiple models for participatory public media access to production and distribution, including listener-directed programming decisions, listener and community-based technical training and producer development, and direct democratic communication and decision-making among and by listeners-as-programmers.

Media Access in Southern Africa

Underscoring the essence of media access, community radio's defining feature is that senders are also receivers. In some regions, government authority explicitly recognizes community broadcasting as a third sector, supplementing commercial media and public service media. The South African Independent Broadcasting Authority defines community access media as those that reach specific geographic or collective interest, are nonprofit, and include community participation. A leading postapartheid example is Bush Radio, which has been broadcasting in English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa from Cape Town since 1993. In West Africa in contrast, radio station owners include religious groups proselytizing and individual commercial interests—essentially limiting public media access to “community” broadcasting. Originally sponsored by UNESCO, Katutura Radio in Namibia demonstrates fuller media access with its wide citizen participation in production and broadcasting. New national networks advocating public media access, including the Kenyan Community Media Network and the South African National Community Media Forum, have been petitioning for more supportive legislation and policies.

Europe's Uneven Media Access

Despite European countries' long history of public service broadcasting with significant national funding, the availability for public access media was slow to develop. In 2009, following a resolution by the European Parliament, the Council of

Europe declared community media essential for promoting social cohesion and intercultural dialog, but implementation remains uneven. Community radio in Germany, often called *free radio*, goes back to antinuclear activists launching Radio Dreyeckland in Freiburg in the late 1970s. Since then, several states have licensed “open channels” as forms of noncommercial, nongovernment media. Yet, regional radio authorities administer and control these channels, essentially limiting public access.

France has an advanced community radio system with more than 600 community stations. Although many are Catholic broadcasters, the majority promote community dialog, fight ethnic discrimination, and advocate on environmental issues and local development. Funding for community radio comes from taxes on commercial station advertising revenue. The Netherlands and Belgium have contrasting media access structures: The Dutch have some 300 community stations (*locale omroepen*), while next door in Belgium the government only licenses for cultural programming, marginalizing full public access to broadcasting.

By 2010, the Office of Communications in Britain had issued more than 200 community radio licenses. All licensed stations demonstrated evidence of public service to their community, a not-for-profit status, accessibility for people living within the area, training and significant community participation and engagement in program production. British media laws have an expansive view of community radio, providing for both communities of interest and of geography. For example, there is Forest of Dean Community radio, the only local station broadcasting throughout the Forest, a remote region in the west of Britain. Takeover Radio in Leicester is the first children's station in the United Kingdom. In London, there is a licensed community station in West London serving the Punjabi-speaking population (Desi Radio) and an experimental sound, art, and culture station in Central London (Resonance FM). Some stations emerged from long-running community organizations. New Style Radio in Winston Green, Birmingham, is a project of the Afro-Caribbean Millennium Centre, formed in the 1970s as a cooperative for Black youth and which

later became a multifaceted now community resource center.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europeans anticipated a democracy with increased communication rights such as access to information and freedom of expression—independent not only from government but also from commercial control. Community media offered the clearest access to media and communication rights. In fact, community media had played an important role during and after the wars in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, serving as an important platform of discussion, creating a sense of belonging. Community media in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia were also open spaces contributing to social transformations.

In the post-Soviet era, however, community media have been sidelined in most of Eastern Europe. Until recent political changes, 40 community radio stations allowed media access in Hungary with some 30 in Poland. Now, in all 20 Eastern European countries, from Albania to the Ukraine, legal community media and public media access is all but nonexistent—illustrating how media access indicates the extent of democracy and a citizen's right to communicate.

Across Southeast Asia, including the Philippines and Indonesia, hundreds of local newspapers and low-power radio stations are community based, but in most cases without community control or participation. Politicians and private owners maintain exclusive access to most stations. These media serve as one-way channels for government information, advertisements, and religious propaganda. Even though they serve limited geographical communities, they do not represent media access. Rather, print publications and folk media often dominate other media in many local communities. Publications range from the blackboard news bulletins, to mimeographed pages, to tabloid-sized newspapers—but provide media access for local citizens who write, interview, and report news and information to be shared.

India has a similar trajectory with the potential for more public media access. After Supreme Court decision in February 1995 that “airwaves are public property,” a national campaign to legitimate community radio began. Until 2006, only

educational institutions were allowed to set up campus radio stations having a transmission range of 10–15 kilometers. With India's 2006 Community Radio Guidelines, nonprofit organizations, agricultural research institutes, and schools were licensed for community radio stations that included local communities in the content production process. Progress has been slow: Only about 200 media access radio are licensed in India. (Of note, Nepal has around 475 radio stations even though they do not have community media policies.) Importantly, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry only permits community radio to air news bulletins translated into the local language or dialect and non-news like traffic and weather updates. Guidelines essentially compel community radio stations to broadcast for the government, not the community. A few stations have transgressed to provide wider public media access. For instance, since 2008, Sangham Radio broadcasts for 2 hours daily in Telugu to 150 villages in the Telangana region. With UNESCO support, rural women produce and air music, farming news and advice, and a call-in session for villagers to speak directly and without censorship to all listening. Radio Benziger in Kollam has also enacted participatory production practices with community decision-making on programming, further pressuring the Indian government to allow more media access.

Such initiatives for media access have become more organized and deliberate. The South Asia Network for Community Media (SANCOM) was formally launched on February 13, 2015, at the World Radio Day event in New Delhi, India. The event and network were organized jointly by UNESCO and the Commonwealth Educational Media Centre in Asia. SANCOM advocates for expanding public media access across South Asia through workshops, conferences, and policy proposals to national governments.

Public Access Television

Given that television requires more technology, more expertise, and more funding, it is not surprising that public access to television broadcasting (terrestrial, cable, and satellite) is more limited. One exemplary media access model for television

comes from the United States. Public access television was established in the United States during the 1970s and public, educational, and governmental (PEG) cable television organizations and community media centers began in 1984—both of which feature locally produced programming and appear as local free speech media zones, giving access to public communication, comment, and opinion.

The Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 included a public interest requirement that to be awarded local franchises cable companies must set aside cable channels, facilities, and equipment for public access, educational, and government use. In addition, cable companies were required to pass along customer service fees to the local PEG channels. In some cases, such as in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties on the San Francisco peninsula, local PEG media became quite robust and vibrant in providing significant community access to production and airing of programs. The Mid-Peninsula Media Center in Palo Alto broadcasts on six community cable channels. The Media Center trains local citizens in video and audio production skills and provides paid-professional and volunteer taping and broadcasting services to local groups, including schools, city councils, and small businesses for education, youth, culture, government, and arts programming. With annual revenues of less than \$700,000 in 2020, the Media Center services local government, educational, and business contracts, coordinates a wide range of workshops, offers technical training, and broadcasts citizen- and viewer-produced programming, as well as producing and airing shows by media center staff. In 2015 the cable franchise paid \$300,000 in franchise fees; in 2018 the payment was cut to \$62,000 while the cable company kept the subscriber fees intended for PEG broadcasting. Arbitrary funding cuts, without any government oversight, threaten the future of public access television in the area. Cable companies are aggressively pursuing restrictions on public access television across the United States.

Elsewhere, public access television is somewhat less precarious—notably in Scandinavia, Western Europe, Canada, and Australia. In most countries public-access television channels are broadcast on

cable; in Australia, Denmark and Norway broadcasting is more common in UHF and digital. Ironically, most “public access” channels outside the United States are for-profit operations, which limits access to those who can pay.

Media Access as Democratic Eruption

Because media access is so intimately tied to democratic participation, media access is not only a measure of democracy but also makes media primary public sites for debate and discussion. Some of the most dramatic and significant instances of expansive citizen access to media production and distribution occur at times of social protest and collective demands for increased democracy and human rights. From Bolivian miner’s community radio in the 1950s to community radio and television in Venezuela and Bolivia in the 2000s, social movements that successfully shift the social relations of power have accordingly opened media to public participation and sites for advancing civic participation and democratic decision-making.

Democratic moments of rupture in societal norms unearth interconnections between media and society that are often obscured during periods of social stability or political repression. In the 20th century, turmoil in Latin America created openings for significant citizen media access.

To different degrees, governments across Latin America have created or allowed openings for citizen access to media communication, reflecting disparate social relations of power. In each case, the social relations of power reflected in government policy have resulted in changes in media political economies and public access to communication. Political power has largely determined the extent of media access by the public.

Media Access in Bolivia

One dramatic instance of public media access occurred in Bolivia in the 1950s. As part of a massive social and political uprising for democracy, dozens of rural communities created their own media access, collaboratively building their own radio production and broadcast. Nearly 30 radio

stations (from 200 watts to 200 kilowatts) were built, managed, and funded by Bolivian tin miners in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, in the desolate Altiplano region. Each station had its own style, created by and for the culture of its mining community. With access and control over media production, citizen broadcasters aired educational programming, including radio plays, theater, music, and poetry. They took microphones to the mines, markets, churches, and sports fields, inviting all to talk.

By the 1990s, as globalization of production expanded and Bolivia's tin mines closed, the social basis and political conditions for public media access declined in the region but reappeared as an outcome of the radical tumult against privatization at the end of the 1990s. Following the 1999 Cochabamba Water Wars and the 2003 El Alto Gas Wars, the Movement for Socialism won the 2005 presidential election campaign, bringing Evo Morales and other indigenous leaders to power. Media access returned in the 2009 Bolivia Constitution, and the Telecommunications Act, Technologies, Information, and Communication Law of 2011 mandated spectrum access of 33% for state media, 33% for private media, and 34% for community and indigenous media. While the constitutional mandates for media access remain, many of the administrative responsibilities for supporting public media access have been abandoned by the government that forcibly replaced Morales in 2019.

Media Access in Nicaragua

Another historical example of widespread media access developed during another moment of rupture—the 1979 Nicaragua Revolution against the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. The revolutionary changes in Nicaragua in the 1980s were more short-lived than in Bolivia. The sudden triumph brought workers and peasants to political power without much preparation. Only about 50 stations remained after the insurrection, most of them privately owned and none with public media access. As Somoza supporters fled, their radio stations became “community property.”

In April 1981, the public radio network CORADEP (*Corporación de Radiodifusión del*

Pueblo—the Corporation of Popular Radio Broadcasting) was founded, bringing together 16 stations. In many towns, the socially owned community stations became media access by direct democracy, whereby collectives of volunteers and professionals seeking to engage the communities in their regions provided news, information, and entertainment appropriate for the area. Farmers, health workers, soldiers, and educators, acting as community correspondents, reported on what was happening in their communities. To maximize media access, stations set up broadcast booths in town squares and markets so citizens could voice their personal and political perspectives.

In 1990, under the new government of Violeta Chamorro, CORADEP was disbanded, funds for community media were abolished, and most community stations were confiscated and privatized. With the 2006 reelection of Daniel Ortega to the presidency, some initiatives for community media and public media access have returned, but none as successful as CORADEP's public media access.

Media Access in Venezuela

Following the military-media attempted coup against the elected Hugo Chavez government in 2002, the National Assembly passed a Law on Social Responsibility of Radio and Television. The 2004 law established the right to public media access to production and broadcast. The 2006 Partial Reform Law of Radio and TV Social Responsibility furthered media access rights based on active and direct participation in media production. Within a few years, more than 300 FM radio and TV broadcasters were established and licensed. The Venezuelan National Assembly approved additional laws in 2010 and 2012 that expanded media access, supporting some 1,200 community media with increased networking, funding, licensing, and community control. In Venezuela, media access gives citizens the right *and* the means for media production and distribution.

Democratic media access by citizens and community groups is assured by (a) public, collective, social ownership of media broadcasting technology with wide public access to the broadcast

spectrum; (b) community and media workers' control of the means of mass communication; and (c) media content produced by and for community contributors. Media access obtained democracy in action—through organized, engaged, political, and cultural communication by average citizens, youth, women, indigenous, and other constituent social groups—all of whom now have direct access to media technologies, skills, and opportunities for the production and distribution of mass communication. With socially owned media, media access is available to all.

By 2009, community media reached 56% of the population with more than 100,000 community media activists working at hundreds of stations in collaboration with social movements that previously used street media such as murals, flyers, megaphone “radio,” film clubs, and websites. Media access in Venezuela has created participatory journalism and participatory democratic production at public and community media outlets such as ViVe, Avila, Catia TV, and Radio El Negro Primero, reflecting new social relations of production needs or editorial dictates of a market-driven media. One third of media broadcasts in Venezuela are socially owned with licensing collectively held by the media users themselves. These democratically run media are nothing like the vertical broadcasting and control prevalent in commercial media. Communal councils, which operate most community media, are structures of direct democracy by residents, workers, and citizens self-organized at the local level.

Media Access as Democracy

Media access as a vital space for democratic communication is not merely technical or even distributional—it provides a public space for dialog, debate, argument, and interaction among citizens long denied access to the production of politics and culture. In practice, media access must provide a space for production and distribution of communication by citizens to consent and dissent from official and majority voices. For example, media access in Latin America, represented largely by community radio, nourishes and shares diverse languages and cultures. In Ecuador, microphones

transmit Spanish and Quechua, Mixteco and Guaraní, Miskito and Quiché. In Guatemala, 26 languages are spoken, and behind each language is a culture. Many community radio stations have collected the legends and myths of various cultures, their way of cultivation, genealogy, traditional medicine, and other customs, sharing them through programs containing people's testimonies. Media access also allows music cultures to be broadcast more widely. Community journalists and correspondents serve as lifelines of news and information on local and national events. Media access provides the means for democratic community media to cultivate and share cultural experiences with the nation through translation and broadcast.

Almost everywhere, from Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Bolivia to Sweden, Norway, the United States, India, and Nepal, public media access increases communication among and within communities, nations, and diverse social groups. The public's access to media production increases opportunities for representations and expressions by the majority of society—through music, entertainment, and political commentary—as demonstrated by Avila TV, CORADEP, Sangham Radio, Pacifica Radio, and the Mid-Peninsula Media Center, among hundreds more public access media around the world.

Lee Artz

See also Democracy and the Media; Media Ownership; New World Information and Communication Order NWICO; Public Service Broadcasting

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ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY NETWORK (ARPANET)

The Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) was a computer network that existed between 1969 and 1990. It is considered the cornerstone of the Internet, since the latter mainly came about as a result of a wish to connect other data networks to the ARPANET. Furthermore, the ARPANET introduced many of the technologies associated with the Internet, including democratized information access, email, instant messaging, file transfer via the File Transfer Protocol (FTP), resource sharing, collaborative development, and distributed computing, as well as using software and storing files in the cloud. After the ARPANET first came into wide use in U.S. and European academic communities, many of its technologies became essential to the practice of journalism. For several decades after the ARPANET's inception, photojournalists would use FTP to send digital images back to newsrooms, and the instant messaging and email technologies now considered indispensable to news production and reporting, were originally invented for the ARPANET. Perhaps the most consequential of the technologies first implemented in the ARPANET was *packet switching*, the principle that enables the fast and reliable data connections of the Internet and almost every other data network in use as of 2021. Finally, the many dramatic changes to the news media landscape wrought by the Internet can all be traced back, culturally and technologically, to beginnings associated with its predecessor, the ARPANET. This entry discusses the development of the Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA), the origins and construction of the ARPANET project, packet switching, email and wireless networking, and the emergence of the Internet.

Envisioning a Network

When the USSR succeeded in launching the *Sputnik 1* satellite into space on October 4, 1957, it convinced United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower that national security was a matter of technological prowess. The first U.S. satellite launch failed spectacularly during a national television broadcast on December 6, 1957, which prompted Eisenhower to take more decisive steps toward regaining the country's technological lead. This led to the formation of the ARPA under the Department of Defense in February 1958. Shortly thereafter, Eisenhower recognized the prudence of keeping space exploration in the civilian domain and transferred the space program to what would become the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. ARPA would concentrate on missile defense and nuclear test detection instead.

In the spring of 1962, psychologist and computer scientist J. C. R. Licklider gave a series of talks at the Pentagon. He was known for his 1960 paper "Man-Computer Symbiosis," in which he argued that the full potential of computing could only be unleashed if all humans could interact directly with computers using somewhat natural language. Licklider believed this could be achieved with *time-sharing systems*. These were large computers shared by several people using simple computer terminals in a principle that was akin to today's cloud datacenters and server architectures. Licklider's talks impressed ARPA's leadership and he was subsequently hired to lead ARPA's first real foray into computing, the Information Project Techniques Office (IPTO). While at IPTO, Licklider began articulating a vision for connected computing. He believed that time-sharing computers could be used as information retrieval and communication devices in networks, enabling users to access resources on several computers from a single point. Licklider would fund initiatives working toward this goal, including Project MAC at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he had previously held a position as an associate professor. Project MAC, initiated with a \$2 million grant from Licklider at ARPA, hosted MIT's early, significant contributions to artificial intelligence as well as the

construction of MIT's main time-sharing initiative, the Compatible Time-Sharing System.

Testing the Lines

In 1964, Licklider left ARPA for IBM, handing the director reins to his deputy, Ivan Sutherland. Spurred on by ARPA's new director, Charles Herzfeld, Sutherland continued pursuing Licklider's vision. He initiated a project to test whether the telephone system was a viable infrastructure for a computer network that would require long-distance data transmissions. After receiving a project proposal from Thomas Marill at the time-sharing systems company CCA, Sutherland called upon his former PhD classmate at MIT's Lincoln Laboratories, Lawrence G. "Larry" Roberts. Sutherland asked him to contract with Marill through Lincoln Laboratories, where Roberts still worked. The goal was to connect the large TX-2 computer at Lincoln Laboratories to a similarly large computer on the other side of the country, the Q-32 at Systems Development Corporation in Santa Monica, CA. Roberts and Marill managed to connect the two machines, which was an achievement in itself, since it was extremely uncommon at the time for two computers of different makes and models to communicate with each other. The experiment began in July 1965 but was considered a failure because of the high noise level of the telephone network and its propensity for data congestion. The two researchers concluded that the system resources required at each end, as well as the problems with the telephone lines, simply made this method too slow and unreliable to be used for networking in practice.

Later in 1965, Sutherland joined the faculty at Harvard, leaving Robert Taylor in charge of IPTO. With strong support from ARPA director Herzfeld, Taylor accelerated the work toward Licklider's network vision. The interconnection of ARPA-funded time-sharing computers finally became its own project in 1966, and Taylor began looking for someone to manage the project. Although he was initially reluctant, Roberts eventually accepted a position as chief scientist at IPTO, and began working on what was then called the *ARPA Network* in early 1967.

Deciding on Packet Switching

Upon arrival at ARPA, Roberts began gathering a group of experts who would meet regularly throughout 1967 to design the network. Among these experts was Roberts's former PhD colleague at MIT, Leonard Kleinrock, who had joined the computer science faculty at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). In his dissertation work, Kleinrock showed mathematically that distributed data routing could achieve the speed and data throughput that Roberts was aiming for. The group was also joined by Wes Clark, who was Roberts's, Kleinrock's, and Sutherland's advisor at MIT. Clark suggested to Roberts's group that they let small computers act as "translators" for each of the large computers and let them control the data routing instead of leaving both those tasks to the large computers. This gave rise to the idea of the Interface Message Processor (IMP), the smaller computers that essentially became the first network routers.

Yet, the challenges of slow speeds and congestion in the telephone network still remained. In early October 1967, Roberts presented the ARPA network concept as the "ARPA net" at the ACM Symposium on Operating System Principles conference in Gatlinburg, TN. The results of a computer networking experiment performed by British researcher Donald Davies and his team at the National Physical Laboratory in the United Kingdom were presented at the same panel. Davies's solution to the speed and congestion challenges was *packet switching*, a principle he initially thought he had come upon first, until he learned that it had already been invented four years earlier by Paul Baran at the RAND Corporation in the United States. RAND had been tasked by the U.S. Air Force with designing a digital communication network for voice that would still be functional during a nuclear attack. In a 1961 report, Baran suggested digitizing voice calls and using a distributed network of computers to facilitate this. The Air Force shelved the network plans, but Baran's packet switching principle (which he called *Hot Potato Routing* at the time) lived on and by way of Donald Davies, it made its way to Roberts. When Roberts heard about packet switching at the conference, he saw it as a possible routing option for the ARPA network. Upon returning to

the Pentagon, he introduced his group of experts to Baran's publications.

The dominant data and signal routing principles of the time involved a central unit that controlled how data flowed through the network, which was part of the speed and congestion challenge. With packet switching, data messages are divided up into smaller "packets" with to- and from-addresses attached that essentially find their own way through the network, utilizing all the available space. Once all the packets arrive at their destination, they are reassembled into a coherent message.

Kleinrock's prior mathematical work served as proof for Roberts that packet switching could work for the coming network, and the decision was made to base the ARPANET on this technology. Paul Baran himself joined the design group for meetings in 1967 and 1968, consulting on the ARPANET implementation of packet switching. Given that the packet switching principle today underpins not just the Internet, but a majority of all networked data communication, this decision to make the ARPANET the first packet-switched computer network is seen as highly significant. It was a decision that led to the construction of the infrastructure now used by most journalists to conduct research, to search databases for information, and to communicate with sources. Because both the ARPANET and Baran's original packet-switching research was funded by the U.S. government, those technologies could not be made proprietary, patented, or commercialized. This absence of license fees and excludability, along with the proof-of-concept provided by the ARPANET, facilitated networked exchanges of data with a speed and consistency that later would enable mass media to digitize by lowering the cost of mass distribution of content. As the technologies introduced with the ARPANET evolved over the following decades, news organizations previously confined to publishing print media could widely proliferate news stories as video and audio in competition with television and radio.

Building the Network

With packet switching added as the last piece of the puzzle, the overall ARPANET design was now

complete, and ARPA sent out a Request for Proposals to contract vendors who might be able to build the IMP as well as lease and maintain the telephone lines needed to make the connections. The chosen vendor would also be responsible for the daily maintenance of the network in collaboration with Stanford Research Institute (SRI) and UCLA.

The contract eventually went to Bolt, Beranek and Newman (BBN), where Licklider worked previously. The work on BBN's proposal had been led by Frank Heart, with the participation of David Walden, Severo Ornstein, and Robert E. "Bob" Kahn. When BBN won the proposal, Heart led a sizeable team that modified existing computer hardware from Honeywell and coded the software for the first batch of IMP machines.

Four of the institutions represented in the ARPANET design group were chosen as the first four "host" nodes on the ARPA network. The first link was to be established between Kleinrock's laboratory at UCLA and SRI. The first connection between two computers using phone lines, packet switching and IMP "routers," occurred on October 29 at approximately 10:30 p.m., when the Sigma 7 computer in Kleinrock's laboratory at UCLA was connected to an SDS 940 computer at SRI.

The Arrival of Email and Wireless Networking

In the following months, the utility of the ARPANET became evident for most researchers involved with ARPA projects, and in spite of initial reluctance toward sharing computing resources, the number of participating institutions grew. In December 1969, ARPANET consisted of its first four nodes: UCLA, SRI, UCSB, and University of Utah. By August 1972, the ARPANET had expanded to serve 19 more research institutions and hundreds of users.

That year, the ARPANET's first "hit" application emerged: email. Electronic mail had been passed between users sharing a single computer since the early 1960s through programs such as READMAIL and SNDMSG. In late 1971, BBN programmer Ray Tomlinson modified the latter to exchange messages between different computers on the ARPANET. To distinguish users at

different computers, Tomlinson repurposed the “at sign” (@), which originally had designated, for example, a certain amount of products sold “at” a certain price. Tomlinson instead used it to indicate a user “at” a research institution, thereby creating the popular format of name@place that later became standard for email addresses. When the ability to send email over the network launched in early 1972, it quickly became popular among ARPANET researchers, which prompted Roberts to write the first email client that could organize a user’s messages in folders and show messages by subject line.

The Emergence of the Internet

It was also in 1972 that the ARPANET was shown to the public for the first time. Roberts, having taken over from Robert Taylor as director of IPTO, hired Bob Kahn from the IMP team at BBN as his chief scientist in early 1972. Kahn then took the lead on arranging a large demonstration of the ARPANET in the basement of the Hilton hotel in Washington, DC, during the International Conference of Computer Communications in October of that year. In both his roles at BBN and ARPA, Kahn made several visits to Kleinrock’s laboratory at UCLA and met with graduate students working on the ARPANET, including Vinton G. “Vint” Cerf.

In 1973, after Cerf had graduated with a PhD and joined the faculty at Stanford University, he and Kahn discussed IPTO’s plans for expanding the ARPANET into wireless territory by connecting it to planned satellite- and radio-based networks, known as *SATNET* and the *Packet Radio Network*. Under Roberts’s supervision, ARPA had already funded the development of a wireless data network, ALOHANET, at the University of Hawai’i. ALOHANET was an example of several packet-switched networks inspired by the ARPANET that began emerging independently at the time. These newly formed networks, along with ARPA’s own SATNET and Packet Radio Network, convinced Cerf and Kahn that the next challenge after connecting heterogeneous computers in networks, was to ensure that those networks were also interconnected. This inspired the two researchers to begin the development of the TCP/IP protocol suites in 1973. These protocols define the

parameters by which different networks can be interlinked, essentially creating the Internet.

During the 1980s, several companies presented proprietary, commercial alternatives to TCP/IP, including Xerox, whose work on inter-network protocols happened under the auspices of former IPTO director Taylor. Eventually, however, TCP/IP won out and was adopted as the main communication protocol of ARPANET on January 1, 1983, enabling it to connect with much bigger and faster packet-switched networks being built, such as the National Science Foundation’s NSFNET. At this point, several thousands of people at more than 200 host institutions in the United States and Europe were using the ARPANET daily. However, as ARPANET became increasingly integrated into the fledgling Internet through TCP/IP, those users began migrating to faster and larger networks with more resources. By 1990, the ARPANET’s equipment and software were severely outdated and its functions, software, and concepts had all been absorbed into the Internet. DARPA (now with an added D for “Defense”) decided to lay it to rest. When the ARPANET was officially decommissioned on February 24, 1990, the technologies it birthed such as email and FTP were already essential to the journalistic practices of many news organizations in the United States and Europe. That same year also marked a decade since U.S. newspapers had begun publishing stories through sites such as the CompuServe Information Service, which relied heavily on packet-switching and other ARPANET-related technologies.

Morten Bay

See also Digital Distribution; Digital Journalism Ethics; Digital Journalism Tools; Internet: Impact on the Media; Social Media

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ADVERTISING

Advertising has always had a complicated relationship with journalism. Traditionally, advertising is defined as a paid message that is typically persuasive in nature from an identified sponsor and placed in various media such as newspapers, television, or online. This has also included activities such as product placement where a brand is integrated into broadcast news programming or more recently as advertising designed to match an online publication's editorial content but used to promote a brand. This entry first discusses the move toward relying on advertising to fund news media in the United States and the evolution of covert advertising techniques. It then looks at how audiences receive these techniques and efforts to regulate them, including industry self-regulation.

Advertising Prevalence in Journalism

Although prior to the mid-1800s, American newspapers were financed primarily by political parties, it was advertising that allowed them to break this dependency. The rise of the penny press enabled publishers to charge readers just a few cents for newspapers by subsidizing production

costs with advertising. With the industrialization of the United States, the emergence and growth of national retailers and brands, and the ensuing consumption-driven economy, media outlets provided advertisers a mechanism to reach audiences and pitch their wares. This advertising-supported media model was replicated in most American magazines and later in radio, television, and eventually, on the internet. Advertising provided much-needed revenue to support the production of news, largely freeing publishers from the shackles of the political sponsors of yesteryear.

For newspapers, this model was successful throughout the 20th century with ad revenue reaching its apex around the year 2000. However, with the rise of the internet in the 1990s, audiences began to have significantly more choices of sources from which to obtain news, leading to newspaper circulation declines. Furthermore, as news organizations migrated online, most failed to install paywalls, instead allowing audiences to consume news content for free. This accelerated the cancellation of subscriptions. Smaller audiences no longer commanded the same amount of advertising dollars. Moreover, internet sites such as Craigslist allowed people to place classified ads online for free, decimating the classified-ad revenue that most local newspapers relied upon.

The emergence of Google followed by the social media site Facebook further eroded the advertising revenue of news media, as did the 2008 economic recession. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, many news organizations—particularly alternative weeklies—have been permanently shuttered because of the disappearance of advertising. However, some publishers—especially local news websites—experienced greater traffic than ever and have been able to convert this into increased digital subscriptions. While in late 2020, it was still too early to make broad conclusions about the impact of the pandemic on publishing, the ability to divert revenue dependence away from advertising to a diversity of sources seems to be important for news media survival.

Advertising Influences on Journalism

The *New York Herald* was an early adopter of the advertising-supported business model, agreeing to

an advertising contract in 1835 with a producer of patent medicine (over-the-counter medications that were generally ineffective and sometimes deadly) after a fire led to the paper's near-financial ruin. According to Ben Bagdikian, *Herald* founder James Gordon Bennett proclaimed the advertising contract allowed the paper to be "more independent than ever." That independence, however, was contingent upon the *Herald* publishing not only an abundance of advertisements for the product, but also what appeared to be legitimate news *articles* about Benjamin Brandreth's seemingly magical pills that supposedly cured almost any ailment (although they did not, in reality). While the advertising from Brandreth allowed the *Herald* to continue publishing, this case is also an early exemplar of how advertising can exert control over the content of newspapers and foreshadows the presence of covert—or hidden—advertising. The *articles* were not any more real than the product was effective.

The practice of working advertising into news programming has not been limited to newspapers. In the 1940s and 1950s, the CBS radio and then television variety show, *Talent Scouts*, featured its Lipton Tea sponsor in the show's opening song. Nearly 75 years later, in 2012, the practice continued with NBC's *Today* show prominently integrating Procter & Gamble when discussing the Olympics.

Boundaries and Agendas

The turn away from political to commercial sponsors coincided with the development of journalistic norms and objectivity, or so-called *unbiased reporting*, around the turn of the 20th century. A cornerstone of the professionalization of journalism was its proclaimed independence, first from political and then commercial influences. Journalists often invoked a metaphorical boundary, or firewall, that separated the editorial, or news, side of the newsroom from the business side. In theory, this wall was intended to protect journalists from the financial pressures of the costs of reporting, especially having to do so profitably. Finances were the domain of owners and publishers who were supposed to shield their journalists from the demands of advertisers who had goals that differed from those of journalism. While the

purpose of journalism was to serve the public interest by providing information necessary for a participatory democracy, the goal of advertisers was marketplace driven: Garner the attention of readers so as to sell their product. As decades of scholarship have revealed, however, in practice, the boundary has been elusive, at best.

The potential gatekeeping effects of this boundary (or lack thereof) between the news and business sides of journalism can be understood from the theoretical perspectives of agenda building, framing, and agenda cutting. In the early tradition of media effects research, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's conceptualization of agenda-setting theory focused on how news content influenced what the *public* thinks about. An important antecedent to agenda setting, however, is understanding what influences the decisions *news organizations* make in choosing whether and how to cover particular topics or issues. There are both internal and external influences on news organizations of which advertisers are among the latter. In theorizing how this process works, Rita Colistra suggested that advertisers are capable of building news agendas and frames by influencing which topics or issues receive coverage and how they are framed, while they may also cut agendas by pressuring newsrooms to minimize or censor particular topics or issues from news coverage.

Historic accounts as well as those spanning into the 21st century offer evidence of the agenda-building and framing effects of advertising. Favorable news stories about advertisers, such as those written in the *Herald* for Brandreth, were called *puff* pieces or reading notices. Often written by the advertisers themselves, they were offered to keep advertisers happy. In the recovery years following the 2008 economic recession, news organizations began partnering with advertisers to create content that they argue might not ordinarily receive coverage due to its expense. For example, in 2017, the *New York Times* partnered with Mondelez International's V&A snacks brand to sponsor a yearlong journalist-in-residence who produced editorial content for its Travel section. Similarly, the BBC Worldwide has accepted funding from Exxon to report on the environment. Whether or not these resulted in puff pieces, they were produced with the support of advertisers and demonstrate how advertisers can build and

frame the news agenda. Moreover, a 2020 *New York Times* exposé indicates that the practice of puff pieces does continue and has come full circle back to political sponsors. A network of over 1,300 news sites in the United States have been posing as local news organizations but obscuring their funding and taking payment to run *articles* that are often written by a sponsor for political purposes.

Scholarship across the decades also reveals a persistent agenda-cutting effect associated with advertising. For instance, when Camel cigarettes sponsored NBC's Camel News Caravan from 1949 to 1956, footage showing *no smoking* signs was prohibited. Similarly, magazines that accepted advertising from cigarette manufacturers were less likely to run stories about the connections between smoking and lung cancer than those that did not. Particularly at the local level, newspapers have recognized the perils of offending local advertisers with hard-hitting stories. Angry auto dealers have pulled advertising because of reporting on dangerous cars and unsatisfied customers. Even local governments can punish critical news reporting as noted in the headline of a 2019 *New York Times* article: "A Community Newspaper Gets Tough on a Village; The Village Pulls Its Ads." Thus, a continuing threat from advertising-funded media is that advertisers will try to suppress news coverage that is unfavorable to their brands.

Covert Advertising 2.0

Ads disguised as news content were part and parcel of the penny press newspapers. Over the years, the nomenclature used to describe such phenomena has included puff stories, reading notices, feature advertising, and advertorials. In broadcast media, infomercials and video news releases are of the same ilk: paid programming disguised as news. Beginning in the mid-2010s, the term *native advertising* came into use for commercial content in online news publications that is camouflaged to look like news.

In the contemporary digital era, online advertising has become increasingly intrusive and subjects audiences to surveillance. To make the user experience more pleasant and minimize consumer attempts to ignore ads or employ ad blockers, advertising has sought to become more integrated

with news content. Supporters of the practice contend that consumers respond positively to native advertisements, remembering the content and preferring it because of its nonintrusiveness and informativeness. Critics, however, argue that these consumer responses are based in deception since studies demonstrate that most people are unable to distinguish native advertising from news content.

Digital technologies also facilitated the ability for online creators to mimic the appearance of entertainment, informational, and news content. The paid content resembles the authentic content to such a degree that it looks *native* to the platform on which it appears. On digital news sites, native advertisements can use the identical typeface and layout as the editorial content that surrounds it, right down to the masthead of the publisher. Often the only distinguishing feature of native advertising is the disclosure label required by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC).

Audience Reception

In his book, *Confessions of an Advertising Man*, famed advertising executive David Ogilvy wrote that ads which do not look like advertising would attract twice as many readers and that there was no evidence suggesting the public would resent this practice. While the lack of evidence may have been true when he first wrote the 1963 book, the extant academic literature since the emergence of native advertising has repeatedly demonstrated that audiences generally do react negatively to this practice in digital news contexts. When audiences recognize that content they thought was news is instead advertising, their attitudes toward and perceived credibility of the publisher declines. This has been demonstrated for both digital-only news organizations and for legacy publishers. Audience members who are most likely to experience these negative perceptions are those who engage with news for informational rather than entertainment purposes. When asked their thoughts about the practice of native advertising, over half of people familiar with it describe it as underhanded or deceptive.

While native ads typically do not have an overt sales pitch, often never mentioning the sponsoring brand or company, they are,

nonetheless, attempting to create favorable associations in the minds of readers or viewers. Consequently, the context of the seeming news *article* also affects how people respond. When native ads imitate hard news stories, people react more negatively to the content than when they masquerade as soft news. For instance, readers find it relatively less concerning that the fashion brand, Cole Haan, sponsored an article about the dedication and hard work of ballet dancers in comparison to having an energy corporation, such as Chevron, sponsor content about global energy consumption.

Beyond the conditions that affect how news consumers perceive publishers and the native advertising content itself are the downstream effects the practice has on journalism. According to a 2020 study published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, when people saw a publisher engaging in native advertising, they were more likely to find the subsequent news reporting of journalists at the same outlet to be less credible compared to those who didn't see the native advertising. Thus, while offering news organizations much-needed revenue, native advertising tarnishes the perceived credibility of reporting from actual journalists.

Boundaries and Agendas in the Digital Era

While a large quantity of advertising has traditionally been made by independent agencies that specialize in creating ads, there have always been organizations that have created ads in-house. Media outlets, however, were solely in the domain of being a distribution platform for advertising that was created elsewhere. With the emergence of native advertising, however, news organizations are increasingly adopting a variation of the in-house model by establishing their own content studios. For instance, the *New York Times* has its T Brand Studio, the *Wall Street Journal* has WSJ Custom Studios, and *The Guardian* has Guardian Labs. But these content studios are not creating ads to promote their parent news organizations; they are instead creating content for external clients, including brands, corporations, and even political candidates. News organizations are now in the business of not only producing journalism

but also creating branded content for advertisers that looks like news, as well.

If the metaphorical wall separating the newsroom from the business side of journalism was in question previously, the development of content studios has all but eradicated it. As Ava Sirrah showed in a 2019 article for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, content studio marketing teams—often former journalists—tasked with creating advertiser stories work closely with newsrooms to plan special projects. Journalists accompany sales teams on client visits to help close deals. Furthermore, because most native advertisements have no bylines—a commonality with traditional display ads—journalists sometimes do double duty, writing native advertising content when they are not reporting. Moreover, native ads have been created that directly contradict the news reporting of journalists. For example, while the *New York Times* has published articles about the dangers hydraulic fracking poses to the environment, they have also taken money from Chevron to run a native advertising campaign focusing on the benefits of fracking.

Sirrah's article also indicates that the creation of native ads by content studios does not end the obligation of publishers to their advertisers. Most publishers are contractually obligated to promote the native advertising they created via their social media properties in order to meet agreed-upon engagement metrics. Because audiences have only a finite amount of time they can allocate to consuming media content, publishers are, in essence, creating a competition for attention between their own news content and the native advertising content they created on behalf of their advertising clients. In this regard, it may be particularly beneficial for brands or companies that are experiencing negative press coverage to invest in native advertising that offers a competing, more favorable account of the company.

The use of native advertising for whitewashing purposes appears to be a tactic that a growing number of companies are pursuing. For example, while STAT News—a healthcare-focused news site owned by *The Boston Globe*—was running investigative stories in 2018 about Purdue Pharmaceuticals knowingly promoting the use of its opioid medications despite their addictive properties, STAT was also running native advertising content

sponsored by Purdue about the company's efforts to combat the opioid epidemic. Similarly, as *The New York Times* was reporting in early 2019 on concerns that Johnson & Johnson's baby powder was contaminated with asbestos, they were also running native advertising on behalf of that same company debunking myths about ingredients in personal care products.

When considering native advertising from this vantage point, it is plausible to conceive that content studios may create an agenda that competes with the news agendas of the newsroom. That is, news by its very nature has always told us what to think about. Today, as newsrooms increasingly create native advertising content that appears on their websites, in their news apps, and that they promote in their social media feeds, they are competing with content studios to tell us what to think about.

Empirical research demonstrates the plausibility of this notion. An analysis of thousands of native advertising articles that ran between 2014 and 2019 at three elite news organizations in the United States revealed an agenda-cutting effect on the actual news coverage of these same newsrooms. In other words, companies that paid for native advertising were significantly less likely to appear in subsequent actual news coverage after the sponsored content ran. This suggests a troubling effect of native advertising. If a corporation is receiving unfavorable press coverage, paying that news outlet to create and promote a native advertising campaign can reduce the likelihood of future coverage.

Regulatory Efforts

Efforts to control the encroachment of commercialism on journalism have emerged from at least two fronts: governmental regulation and self-regulation. By the turn of the 20th century, puff pieces and reading notices were frequent. While some publishers voluntarily sought to label the notices with a disclosure or used a slightly different typeface, the passage of the Newspaper Publicity Act of 1912 mandated the use of disclosure labels for advertisements that were disguised as newspaper articles. Two years later, the Federal Trade Commission Act established the FTC and tasked it with protecting consumers and

regulating unfair business practices. Section 5 of the law defined deceptive acts or practices as those that mislead reasonably acting consumers in their conduct toward a product or service. One of the first cases brought by the FTC involved a vacuum cleaner company, Muenzen Specialty Co., that created advertisements appearing to be editorials recommending its product. The commission found the ads to be deceptive.

To address the evolving nature of media and technology, the FTC offered new guidance in 2015, specifically in regard to native advertising. Their concern was whether the format of an ad misleads consumers as to the nature or source of a message. Any commercial message that resembles noncommercial content, such as news, must contain a clear and conspicuous disclosure that alerts consumers to its commercial nature. The guidance, however, is not prescriptive. While the FTC advises that disclosure language such as *advertisement* may be most recognizable to consumers, they do not mandate disclosure language or appearance.

As a result of this lack of standardization from the FTC on disclosures, in practice, publishers use a broad variety of words to identify native advertising including "paid post," "brought to you by," and "partner content." Research on people's ability to recognize native advertising clearly demonstrates that most news consumers cannot distinguish native advertising from actual news articles, even with disclosures. Across many studies, including those nationally representative of the United States, typically fewer than one in four people are able to recognize native advertising. Many people don't understand what the disclosure language means; others don't notice the disclosures because they are not visually prominent. In an effort to appease the demands of advertisers, some publishers even reduce the prominence of disclosures or omit them altogether making it all but impossible for consumers to understand what they are looking at. However, when publishers employ disclosures that audiences perceive as transparent (easier to understand and/or to notice), people respond less negatively to native advertising.

Besides government regulation, industry groups have also offered self-regulatory guidelines. The Institute for Advertising Ethics (IAE) was

developed as a collaboration between the American Advertising Federation and the Reynolds Journalism Institute at the Missouri School of Journalism. In 2011, the IAE released its Principles and Practices for Advertising Ethics. Among the original eight principles, Principle 3 specifies that advertising should be clearly distinguished from news and entertainment content regardless of whether it is online or offline. Similarly, the Code of Ethics for the Society for Professional Journalists indicates that news should be distinguished from advertising and that hybrids that blur the lines between the two should be shunned. Furthermore, it states that sponsored content should be prominently labeled. Without doing such, media critics argue that journalists' ability to act independently in serving the public is compromised. Moreover, given the growing number of academic studies demonstrating that news consumers are deceived by native advertising, it appears that the practice of it by publishers—particularly when not clearly and conspicuously disclosed—violates codes of ethics established by leading industry groups.

Future Directions

With the disappearance of newsrooms around the United States in 2020 from the substantial loss of advertising revenue that was accelerated by the Coronavirus pandemic, it is clear that dependence upon advertising by journalism is an unsustainable model. Finding alternate sources of revenue is imperative. While some critics argue that market-driven journalism should be done away with altogether in favor of nonprofit or publicly funded models, others believe newsrooms need to diversify their revenue sources and minimize their involvement with advertising. In an ideal world, journalists would rededicate themselves to the mission of journalism by adhering to long-standing journalistic codes of ethics. Realistically, however, with newsrooms facing dire financial circumstances, many practitioners consider the old standards of practice aspirational at best.

For the many reasons detailed here, journalism and advertising have always had a complicated relationship. However, advertising is a tool that can be leveraged as more than just an income

source. As journalistic outlets have become brands unto themselves, there is the opportunity for them to remind the public that independent-minded newsgathering is vital to democratic life. Prior to 2016, newsrooms typically spent little in advertising their brands to the general public. Since 2016, however, the work of journalists has become increasingly devalued and hazardous to pursue—both at home and abroad—with attacks on the press as *fake news* and *the enemy of the people*. As a result, news organizations have begun to vie for audiences' attention and respect. A nascent genre of journalistic self-defense advertising has emerged with, for example, the *New York Times*' "Truth" campaign, as well as CNN's "Facts First" promo, and ABC News' "Straightforward" ad. Moreover, during Super Bowl LIII in 2019, for the first time ever, a news organization was among the advertisers when *The Washington Post* aired its "Democracy Dies in Darkness" ad, narrated by all-American actor Tom Hanks. As local newsrooms look to promote themselves, collaborations with local college and university advertising and communication programs may prove fruitful.

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See also Advertising Ethics in; Advertorials; Digital Advertising; Video News Releases

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ADVERTISING, ETHICS IN

Advertising ethics is a normative process that begins with moral awareness and ends with an ethical decision. While the process involves many different stakeholders, the practitioners involved in planning, designing, and placing advertisements on behalf of their clients are the people primarily responsible for perceiving and responding to the ethical nature of challenges. Other stakeholders include marketers of products and services, vendors and suppliers, and media organizations. Consumers are also important stakeholders in determining the extent to which advertisements and processes are right and good, since a marketer's success is dependent on consumers' trust. This entry provides an overview of the context in which ethical challenges in advertising arise, explores the nature of those challenges, and offers guidance for decision-making.

The demands of honesty and transparency present ethical challenges in advertising practices such as greenwashing (claiming, overtly or tacitly, that a company's products are more environmentally friendly than they actually are), image retouching, fear appeals, online sponsorships and disclosures, online behavioral targeting, digital

advertising fraud, and native advertising (paid ads that match the look, feel, and function of the media format where they appear). Organizational challenges include embracing social diversity, fair treatment of others, and the offering of incentives by marketers. Products such as tobacco and alcohol also constitute ethical challenges in advertising because they are deemed harmful to one's health. And anticipating the consequences of advertising requires moral deliberation, because its effects, although they may not be intentional, might result in harmful behavior, especially when vulnerable individuals are reached. In response to such ethical challenges, practitioners rely on various resources such as codes of ethics and engage in decision-making that entails one's sense of duty, social responsibility, and accountability.

The context in which ethical challenges arise is constantly evolving and is influenced by new technology and communication platforms, as well as by the changing relationship between advertising and journalism. According to the social responsibility theory of the press, democracy is served by truthful information for debate and discussion. When ethical breaches occur, trust in this information falters. Historically, the press has been financially supported, in part, by advertising revenue. This relationship is considered ethical when adequate separation exists, and journalism remains free from financial pressure and the special interests of advertisers. Practices once clearly delineated as journalism versus advertising, however, are blurring (e.g., native advertising; bloggers endorsing products), and funding models are changing, thereby putting more pressure on publishers to accept new forms of advertising revenue. Because of this evolving and codependent relationship, understanding its ethical implications is important. An advertisement is of value only to the extent to which it is perceived as truthful, which influences and is influenced by journalism's credibility.

Advertising Ethics in Context

Ethical practice in advertising requires an awareness of the ethical nature of challenges in order to determine what is right and ought to be done. Considering the vast array of services offered, the multiple stakeholders involved, and the range of

goods and services promoted, all in the context of an evolving marketplace with blurred boundaries, it's not surprising that ethical challenges in advertising arise.

Collectively, the businesses and individuals impacted by and involved in advertising practices are referred to as *stakeholders*. The advertising industry is composed of several interdependent businesses. Advertising agencies offer services of account management, research, strategy, media planning, and creation, among other more specialized services such as branding, digital advertising, and experiential marketing, to name a few. These services are offered to clients, the marketers that research, develop, distribute, and advertise products and services. Advertising agencies are hired to assist marketers in promoting goods and services by providing the aforementioned services with the assistance of vendors and suppliers such as directors, photographers, and printers. Advertising agencies might also hire collaborators such as actors and social media influencers. Media companies are also involved in the advertising process and include news organizations, publishers, and communication platforms from which advertisers purchase time and space to place advertisements.

A key stakeholder is the audience, who are arguably the most affected by ethical problems in advertising. An audience (i.e., viewers, readers, and listeners of advertisements) is comprised of (a) current consumers characterized as buyers, users, or those that influence another person to buy or use the product or service; (b) prospective consumers, those who are likely to buy the product or service in the future; and/or (c) those unintentionally reached, who are neither current nor prospective consumers.

As media and technology evolve, advertising services cross, or blur, boundaries with other related professions such as journalism and public relations. An advertisement has traditionally been characterized as paid (e.g., cost for space, time, impressions on consumers), mediated (e.g., via online, television), strategic and promotional content (i.e., content intended to persuade a targeted audience to purchase or use a good or service), by an identified sponsor (e.g., brand, marketer). By comparison, public relations have traditionally been characterized as earned content such as news coverage of an event in response to a press

release. However, contracting social media influencers, who are paid to sponsor content on social media platforms such as Instagram, also falls under the purview of public relations. As another example, native advertising appearing on news sites as paid, strategic content (i.e., intended to convey a specific message) is, at times, content written by employees of the news organization whose identified sponsor is indistinguishable by the reader. These shifts in services offered and by whom, at times unbeknownst to the audience, have implications for accountability and credibility. As boundaries blur and responsibilities shift, audiences and consumers aren't always aware of the sponsor, such as in the case of native advertising, resulting in diminishing trust toward the sponsor, content producer, and content platform.

Those responsible for determining what is right and good in advertising are the practitioners confronted with making a decision in response to an ethical challenge. Advertising practitioners' perceptions are often understood through a variety of methods including interviews and surveys. There is also concern for the extent to which their environment and organizational culture impacts ethical awareness and ethical decision-making. In the new millennium, scholars have begun to conduct studies of moral psychology concerned with practitioners' moral deliberations, which are impacted by their personality traits and by their moral development, which starts in childhood and is influenced by socialization, education, and age.

This normative process is also influenced by and understood from other perspectives, including consumers' perceptions of advertisements and related practices. Research on consumers' perceptions involves the examination of consumers' experiences with advertisements; that is, how they react to, or are affected by, advertisements (e.g., Pepsi's "Live for Now" video featuring Kendall Jenner), strategies therein (e.g., fear appeal such as in anti-tobacco advertisements), or types of advertisements (e.g., native advertising). Consumers' perceptions are important to consider, because, as previously stated, advertising is only as successful as it is deemed credible. When polled, however, consumers have consistently suggested that they have low levels of trust in advertisers, a finding that has significance for the ethical challenges that arise in advertising.

Ethical Challenges in Advertising

Ethical challenges in advertising may be categorized according to business ethics (e.g., the practice of accepting incentives from clients); message ethics (as, for example, in native advertising); the practices and processes involved, including what types of advertisements are produced; the products and services advertised; and the consequences of a process or advertisement regardless of whether or not the effects are intentional.

Practices and Processes

Most ethical challenges in advertising fall within the category of practices. The challenges might be in response to new technology or communication platforms, for example. Regardless of emerging practices, honesty has consistently been a practical challenge, given the nature of planning and creating an advertisement intended to fit within a designated and purchased time slot (e.g., a 30-second video) or space (e.g., an outdoor billboard). As a result of these limitations, the omission of certain information occurs. However, omission by default is not necessarily unethical, just as persuasion is not unethical. However, omission with the intention to deceive is ethically problematic. For example, intentional deception occurs in the practice of greenwashing. Greenwashing occurs when a business promotes the perception that its products, services, or policies are environmentally friendly by providing a claim with no proof, or a factual claim that serves as a diversionary tactic to mask another, often more impactful, environmental issue.

Closely related to the challenge of honesty and truthfulness is transparency. Questions of transparency may arise when working with and touching up images and video (e.g., altering images with programs such as Photoshop) and when disclosing online sponsorships. For example, advertising agencies might compensate bloggers and social media influencers for endorsing a client's product by covering travel expenses, providing product samples, or with a flat rate. In an effort to be transparent about this financial partnership, an agency or client will ask the sponsor to sign a contract that provides specific language regarding how to post a clear and prominent

disclosure. Disclosures such as hashtags (e.g., #sponsored) inform viewers that the product is being endorsed in exchange for some form of compensation and is therefore an opinion influenced by a marketer's interests.

Other ethical challenges include the use of stereotypes or appeals that might objectify individuals or coerce an audience, such as emphasis on sexuality or fear appeals (e.g., disgusting or frightening images in anti-tobacco advertising). Online behavioral targeting and online behavioral advertising present another challenge regarding the use of private information. Mobile users don't necessarily understand how companies use their data, yet they accept certain risks for the convenience of receiving information and incentives such as free access to content or notifications of sales promotions. Digital advertising fraud is another ethical challenge concerning the programmatic buying, placement, optimization, and billing of online ads. For example, a client might not receive fair pricing for online ad placement, based on clicks and views, when it is not known what share of advertisements are being viewed by bots rather than by humans. Furthermore, specific types of advertisements present ethical challenges. As noted earlier, native advertisements are designed to simulate and blend in with editorial content and are therefore misleading, especially when audiences are unaware of their paid and promotional nature. Additional challenges include the fair treatment of clients (e.g., representing two or more clients competing in the same product category) and the fair treatment of other agencies (e.g., poaching another agency's current clients).

Products and Services

Another category of ethical challenges in advertising involves the promotion of certain products and services, such as those deemed harmful including alcohol and tobacco, or others considered controversial, such as marijuana. Ethical challenges might also relate to the practices of a specific industry. For example, in fashion and apparel, these practices might include the use of animal by-products, which are widely considered inhumane and harmful to the environment; or unfair wages for employees working for third-party manufacturers.

Consequences

The consequences of planning, creating, and placing advertisements often have ethical implications, whether or not they are intentional. Consequences might include misleading and deceiving an audience, as when copywriting omits relevant information or includes inaccuracies, or when the layout and design of an advertisement obscure sponsorship disclosure. As noted earlier, advertisements that encourage the use of certain products such as alcohol might result in harmful behaviors or outcomes, such as driving under the influence. When targeting certain audiences, others are often unintentionally reached including those considered vulnerable (e.g., too young to understand the persuasive nature of the content). Lastly, advertising has been criticized for perpetuating materialism and exacerbating racism and sexism often through the practice of stereotyping.

Ethical Decision-Making in Advertising

The normative process of ethical decision-making in advertising suggests that the individual tasked with making the decision is able to identify a challenge's moral and ethical qualities, evaluate those qualities, and act accordingly; that is, in the right way. An advertising practitioner with ethical awareness might ask, "What is the right thing to do in this situation?" "How should I act because it is my duty?" "To whom am I responsible?" and "What are the consequences of my actions?" When an advertising practitioner is unable to ascertain the moral qualities of a challenge, they are said to have moral myopia versus moral awareness. Moral myopia can exist in various degrees from being unable to recognize the ethical nature of a challenge to being unable to express a problem in terms of morality. For example, if a practitioner were to suggest that honest advertising is simply an issue of legality, and one for the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to regulate, they would be exhibiting moral myopia.

Although ethics should not simply be equated with or reduced to the law, the law must of course be followed and provide guidance for doing what is right in advertising. The FTC helps to regulate truthfulness in advertising by setting guidelines

and responding to complaints; in addition, self-regulatory organizations provide standards of practice to hold the industry and its many stakeholders accountable. When a practitioner deliberates what is right and good, they are applying theories of moral philosophy. And the extent to which they are able to assess the moral dimensions of a situation is impacted by their moral development.

Governmental Regulations

Although, as noted in the preceding section, doing what is ethical is not simply a matter of doing what is legal, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is a foundational starting point for understanding the ethical nature of challenges in advertising. Advertising is commercial speech, one of the least protected forms of speech, and therefore subject to governmental regulations. Simply put, to be legitimate, advertising must be for a legal product and must be truthful. Certain industries are more strictly regulated than others because their products are deemed harmful, such as tobacco products, or harmful if misused, such as pharmaceuticals. While some regulations are proactive, many are reactionary and are established in response to complaints and legal settlements. Overall, the FTC operates through a reactionary process by first responding to complaints against misleading, deceptive, or harmful advertising and then making a recommendation to the courts. When evaluating truthful advertising, it is important to note that puffery is permissible, which is a subjective exaggeration that no reasonable person would take literally (e.g., “world’s best coffee”).

Self-Regulation

Self-regulation is a cost-effective industry practice to help businesses take responsibility for their actions and hold one another accountable. Advertising businesses adhere to self-regulatory guidelines to do what is right as well as what is best for clients; to maintain efficient and positive relationships with suppliers and vendors; and to maintain a favorable reputation as an industry. Accountability is a key factor in ethical problem-solving since various stakeholders are involved and,

therefore, there are many opportunities to pass responsibility onto another stakeholder, which is colloquially referred to as *passing the buck*.

Self-regulation in advertising began in the 1970s and is credited to the work of Howard Bell, former president of the American Advertising Federation (AAF). In addition to the AAF, some other prominent trade organizations that set ethical standards for the advertising industry include the American Association of Advertising Agencies (4As), the Association of National Advertising (ANA), and the Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB). In addition, the National Advertising Division (NAD) and Children’s Advertising Review Unit (CARU) are responsible for independently monitoring and reviewing national advertising for truthfulness and accuracy, and CARU sets guidelines for advertising to children under 12 because they are considered a vulnerable audience.

Moral Theory and Moral Development

There are several moral theories that explain the ethical nature of challenges and ethical decision-making in advertising. Teleological theories such as consequentialism are concerned with the outcome of one’s actions. For example, the theory of utilitarianism maintains that, ideally, a person’s actions should do the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Utilitarianism is therefore appropriate to apply to the practices of advertising that involve and affect various stakeholders, from clients and vendors to publishers and their audiences.

By comparison, the philosopher Immanuel Kant’s deontological theory and categorical imperative of honesty suggests that all persons unconditionally have a duty to tell the truth regardless of the circumstances or consequences. The ubiquitous challenge of honesty shows up in several ethical models for problem-solving, including the TARES test developed by scholars Sherry Baker and David Martinson. The TARES test asks practitioners to consider five principles when evaluating persuasive practices and messages: *truthfulness* of the message, *authenticity* of the persuader, *respect* for the audience, *equity* of the persuasive appeal, and *social responsibility* for the overall good.

When evaluating the ethical nature of advertising practices and messages, it is important to consider the moral principles of autonomy, justice, and respect, which are relevant to several challenges, including that of transparency. Advertisers can respect their audience by treating them as autonomous agents, free and capable of making rational choices, by providing truthful information upon which they can base decisions. For example, sponsored content must be identified (i.e., as paid and by whom) so that a reader can evaluate the content relative to its source and persuasive nature. A story written about cruises by a journalist versus one sponsored by a company that owns a fleet of cruise ships have two very different intentions. By disclosing the sponsorship, advertisers are acknowledging the importance of autonomy and justice by ensuring everyone has the same information.

A person's ability to apply moral reasoning to a challenge in advertising is based, in part, on that person's moral development. Moral psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg suggested that "the first virtue of a person, school, or society is justice," defined as "equity or equal respect for all people" (1981, p. xiii). According to moral development theory, justice is learned during childhood, and moral reasoning skills continue to advance into adulthood and throughout formal education. Therefore, moral deliberation occurs at the individual level but is influenced by several social factors including organizational culture. Moral awareness can be influenced by the shared and espoused values of an organization (e.g., if honesty is a prioritized and often-discussed value) as well as by the characteristics and virtues of its employees, especially leaders. Leaders are especially influential when they are communicative and highly visible throughout the organization.

Ethics in Advertising Practice

Codes of ethics allow an advertising agency to formalize their position on ethics and share with employees and external stakeholders the value that the agency's leadership places on doing what is right and good. Codes of ethics are usually structured, elaborated upon shared and prioritized values; they represent what an organization stands

for and hopes to achieve, and provide guidelines for practitioners to follow.

Such codes of ethics, however, have been criticized as vapid and nothing more than a public relations tactic. Accordingly, some advertisers and the agencies that represent them also engage in and publicly promote socially responsible practices such as brand activism and corporate social responsibility (CSR). Brand activism signifies a business using its resources (e.g., profits and clout) for good in a committed and authentic way, which is reflected in its business model and organizational mission. Good acts can be political, social, and/or environmental in nature, such as Patagonia's mission to protect national parks and national monuments, which included a lawsuit against the 45th U.S. president, Donald Trump. Similarly, CSR denotes a business's commitment to improving societal well-being through voluntary business practices and with in-kind and monetary contributions. A business might engage in environmental, philanthropic, volunteer, and ethical labor practices. The Walt Disney Company engages in water conservation practices and uses renewable electricity to reduce its carbon footprint. Warby Parker, an online retailer of prescription glasses and sunglasses, originated with a business model that included the "Buy-A-Pair, Give-A-Pair" program by partnering with nonprofits to bring prescription eyewear to people in developing countries. These examples illustrate that advertising ethics involves not only the evaluation of ethical challenges but also the intentional and proactive process of performing socially beneficial acts.

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See also Advertising; Classified Advertising; Deception; Digital Advertising; Ethics; First Amendment; Media Literacy; Privacy; Self-Regulation

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ADVERTORIALS

An advertorial is a special advertising section designed to appear similar to editorial content, often approximating the editorial style as well as the typographical look and feel of the journalism or editorial content in the print or online

publication where it appears. The text copy and visual images within an advertorial may be created by the advertisers themselves, by an advertising agency, or by the editorial staff of the print publication. However, the space in the publication is sold as an advertisement; and the advertiser, not the editor, has editorial content control over the text and images of the advertorial.

In the United States, in compliance with Federal Trade Commission (FTC) regulations, most advertorials are marked as advertising. Disclaimers may be as simple as the word *advertisement* printed near the advertorial or as ambiguous as legal text implying the content as advertising. However, some advertorials have no disclaimer at all. Most print and online publications allow advertorials with restrictions, and most allow them to have a similar typography and style as their editorial content. This entry discusses the history of advertorials, the reasons advertisers use them, and concerns that have been raised about their use.

Advertorials are as old as mass-circulation publications. In earlier times, wealthy patrons would pay printers for access to space in or near editorial content, usually for letters to the public. The practice of advertising firms creating and placing advertorial content developed during the early 20th century. The term *advertorial* may have been coined by advertising agencies themselves to avoid a negative reaction to a covert practice of influencing magazine editors. The word first appeared in dictionaries in 1961. The term *matte release* has also been used to describe public relations materials that are written in the format of entertainment, lifestyles, or “soft news” formats and sent to local outlets of newspaper chains in the mid-20th century. This name is still used occasionally by integrated marketing communications professionals. The term *native advertisement* is also equivalent but is used almost exclusively in describing online and social media platform advertorial content. This may include payment to celebrities and other social media influencers.

Magazines have been more associated with advertorials than other print publications because of their national reach, slower production schedule, and special demographic relationship with their readers. The advertiser's product brand can be enhanced by the magazine's brand, and vice versa. Brand magazines, created and published by

companies as a customer engagement strategy, are not technically advertorials but may require a disclaimer. Similarly, full sponsorship of radio and television programs (e.g. *Texaco Star Theater* and *Philco Television Playhouse*), product placement in films and television, infomercials, branded publications (e.g. *Guinness World Records*), and paid search engine results fall outside the strict definition of advertorial but share many components.

Advertorials allow advertisers to tailor a creative message to very specific audiences which can be both diverse and targeted. An example of such an audience would be women 25–35 across different ethnic and class demographics. An advertorial can be changed to match the readership of a specific magazine, while still retaining the marketing content of the overall advertising campaign. Utilizing social media data analytics, advertorial content can be targeted at Black professional women aged 25–35 in one periodical, and Latina women aged 25–35 in a different periodical with fine-tuned demographic design and content.

According to audience research, most readers can easily differentiate between regular editorial content and advertorials and are less likely to read advertorials than a periodical's regular editorial content. However, the readers who do read advertorials are far more likely to remember the product or take an action. Because of this unique factor, advertisers use advertorials as keystones in marketing campaigns because advertorials allow longer portions of text to be published than standard advertisements, particularly for well-known brands.

On magazines' websites, an advertorial may have hyperlinks leading to the website of the advertiser. This makes advertorials in online magazines similar in function to online banner ads. The effectiveness of online magazine advertorials is disputed. Many advertisers believe readers can too easily bypass online advertorials, and instead favor robust independent advertising websites, similar to brand magazines.

Critics of advertorials argue that the practice is coercive because the placement in a print publication in or near regular editorial content implies endorsement or editorial oversight. Another criticism is that advertorials are an example of the creeping commercialism within journalism and within media culture overall. But as noted earlier,

advertisers have been placing advertorials or similar paid content in journalistic publications for many years.

In the January 1915 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*, the Cadillac Motor Company inserted a full-page advertisement that carried only text, and was formatted to appear similar to the style of other content in the magazine. The text did not mention any products but did include the Cadillac name and logo at the top and bottom of the page. The essay was written by Theodore MacManus, a former reporter working for advertising firms. The style of the piece was designed to mimic or complement the style popular in *The Saturday Evening Post* at that time.

From 1972 to 1985, the Mobil Oil Company published a regular 1,000- to 1,300-word advertorial in *The New York Times* editorial section. The advertorial typically was published on Thursdays and was frequently targeted to policymakers and other social influencers that Mobil had discerned from their larger public affairs campaigns. Under the direction of Herbert Schmertz, these advertorials were written in the style and format of the invited op-ed pieces they were positioned with. The advertorials were run in compliance with the FTC regulations and were listed as paid advertisements. Although *The New York Times* had published advertorials before, the Mobil advertorials were the first of a multiyear duration with a consistent tone and corporate message.

While the Mobil advertorials were occasionally controversial, much of the sponsored content was broadly accepted and the advertorials became an expected outlet for corporate announcements and support for energy policy initiatives. Critics of the advertorials pointed to the self-serving nature of the content and expressed concerns over corporate influence of journalism based on the financial arrangement with the newspaper. Mobil Oil was considered a pioneer in using advertorials to explain their policies during the oil crises of the 1970s.

More recently, an advertorial in *The Atlantic* prompted debate over the role of native advertising. For approximately 12 hours on January 14, 2013, *The Atlantic* magazine ran a "sponsored content" story on the leader of the Church of Scientology and the church's recent real estate acquisitions, titled "David Miscavige Leads Scientology

to Milestone Year.” During the time the advertorial was on *The Atlantic* website, the user comment area was monitored by the marketing team and not the editorial staff, and negative user-generated comments about the story and Scientology were deleted.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Advertising; Advocacy Journalism; Bernays, Edward L.; Blogs and Bloggers; Clickbait; Credibility; Deception; Digital Advertising; Ombudsman; Op-Ed Page; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Transparency; Video News Releases

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ADVOCACY JOURNALISM

Often passionate and fiercely opinionated, advocacy journalism rejects the separation of news and opinion that characterizes contemporary journalistic norms. While still rooted in gathering, organizing, and presenting reliable information, the advocacy journalist is openly trying to make a case, rather than attempting objectivity.

Advocacy journalism was the norm in American newspapers before the 20th century, though its recent revival—particularly on cable news networks—has been controversial. Often linked to political parties or social movements, it served as part of broader mobilization efforts intended to bring about social change (or sometimes to hold it at bay). However, advocacy journalists would insist that they are as committed to accuracy as anyone—perhaps more so, given the need to build credibility with readers accustomed to a different style of reporting. This entry discusses the origins of advocacy journalism in the United States, the move away from advocacy journalism in mainstream news media beginning in the early 20th century, and new forms of advocacy journalism in the mainstream and alternative news media.

A Journalism of Ideas

Advocacy journalism is one of the two founding strains in modern journalism (the other being the provision of the commercial and political news essential to societal elites). Most early newspapers

were closely tied to political and religious factions; although some were explicitly campaign organs, more typically newspapers adopted a stance of impersonal journalism in which the editor advocated his cause not in a strident tone, but rather through the mix of essays, letters, minutes of board meetings, poetry, and other items selected for publication. Advocacy journalism served its cause by presenting information and ideas that supported a point of view, and by serving as a forum in which political and social currents could develop and articulate a common program.

From the earliest colonial newspapers in North America to the partisan press of the early 1800s, editors were actively engaged in the political struggles of their day—and indeed formed the backbone of the emerging two-party system. The partisan press is perhaps the best-known expression of advocacy journalism, and the mythology of a party press run amok is often cited as the backdrop against which more commercially oriented popular newspapers emerged in the 1830s. Partisan newspapers such as Boston's *Daily Advertiser*, the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, or Cincinnati's *Gazette* published detailed reports of the workings of government, helped mobilize voters and organize disparate interest groups into viable national political groupings, and crusaded on behalf of their party's pet nostrums—exposing the perfidy of Freemasonry, denouncing the first Bank of the United States, and singing the praises of their particular candidates. But penny papers such as the *New York Tribune* were every bit as politically engaged as the traditional partisan organs that served elite audiences. *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley rejected both “servile partisanship” and “mincing neutrality,” opening his paper's columns to a wide variety of reform schemes from the establishment of utopian communities to temperance and universal public education. While there was a steady trend toward avowed political independence during the 19th century, as newspaper revenues shifted from subscription-based to advertising-based, advocacy retained a prominent role in many newspapers.

The New Journalism that began in the late 1870s and was the dominant newspaper form by the turn of the century, boasted of its independence from party spirit, but nonetheless pulled no punches in its relentless pursuit of what it saw to

be in the public interest. In the early 20th century, muckrakers, similarly, were unabashed in their advocacy of greater regulation, civil service reforms, and other measures to safeguard the public from special interests and emerging corporate power.

As advocacy journalism continued to play an important role in the mainstream press, advocacy was central to the emerging foreign language press and to the legions of periodicals issued by African Americans, labor unions, socialists, women's rights activists, and a host of other movement organizations. So central was journalism to these movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that when Chicago authorities set out to suppress the radical labor movement in the aftermath of the 1886 eight-hour working day protests, police raided the offices of the German-language daily *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, arresting and ultimately hanging August Spies, who served as its editor and business manager, as well as Albert Parsons, the editor of the English-language labor weekly *The Alarm*. Chicago supported several radical labor dailies published in the various languages spoken by its immigrant workers for decades to come, as did other cities. These newspapers published agitational and theoretical articles on a wide range of subjects, as well as cultural material and local advertising. But the heart of the newspapers was articles on local events and workers' struggles, often written by participants in the movements they served.

By the end of World War I, this foreign language press was in decline, and newspaper consolidation encouraged daily newspapers to embrace the language of objectivity, though a great deal of overt advocacy could still be found in the columns of William Randolph Hearst's newspapers, and sometimes more discreetly elsewhere. Advocacy journalism and interpretation was gradually displaced in mainstream U.S. newspapers by more event-centered reports, and a journalistic ideology that sought to present an objective, even scientific, account of the day's events to a readership that crossed class, ethnic, and political boundaries. Newspapers seen to embrace a partisan tilt were reviled by journalism critics, and generations of reporters were trained to produce journalistic accounts free of the taint of political bias or personal judgment.

It is far from clear that this just-the-facts style connected with readers at its inception in the early 20th century or in the years that followed; even as newspapers were banishing opinion and personal expression from their news reports, they were institutionalizing the columnist and entire sections devoted to features. The broadcast networks hired “commentators” to host their news programs, and listeners were rarely forced to guess where they stood on the major issues. As broadcast news divisions became institutionalized and moved from single-sponsor programs to spot sales, however, they too increasingly sought objectivity in their reports.

New Forms of Advocacy

Because of their close connection to the grassroots, alternative journalists have often been able to break news stories or offer perspectives unavailable to established media, a phenomenon documented in the United States each year by Project Censored. Just as alternative journalists during the 19th century, writing for such publications as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Frederick Douglass’ *North Star*, or the *Arena*, once forced the horrors of slavery and child labor onto the national agenda, those writing in the late 20th and early 21st centuries for *Ramparts*, *The Nation*, and a host of other alternative publications exposed war crimes in the Russian Republic of Chechnya and in Vietnam, published the first accounts of the AIDS epidemic, and gave voice to victims of police brutality and political repression around the world. The mainstream press, too, publishes much advocacy, even if it is often confined to editorial pages and op-ed page columns, or to magazine sections. *The New York Times*’s Nicholas Kristof, for example, played a central role in pushing human rights abuses in the Darfur region of Sudan onto the world stage in 2005, while media outlets of all stripes frequently advocate for civic improvement or other nonpartisan causes even on their front pages.

Faced with continued erosion of public participation in the public sphere that has been the focus of journalism since its origins—reflected in the post-World War II era by declines in voting rates, newspaper readership, associational life, and even participation in amateur bowling and

softball leagues—many U.S. media organizations turned to initiatives such as civic journalism in the 1990s in an effort to simultaneously revive the public sphere and the practice of journalism. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, now the only surviving metropolitan daily in its market, announced its commitment to a “Journalism of Action” in 2007, combining traditional reporting with information encouraging readers to become involved in seeking solutions to the city’s and region’s problems.

As many alternative newspapers and magazines struggled in the early 2000s to find distribution and financial support, aggravated by the industry-wide collapse of newsstand sales, much of the advocacy once found in their pages shifted to the Internet. Sites such as The Intercept, HuffPost, and the Marshall Project offer a mix of commentary and reporting, including many carefully researched investigative reports. Conservatives have robust radio and television networks but also Internet sites ranging from commentary to conspiracy-mongering.

News aggregators on the Left (Daily Kos) and Right (Breitbart) have less original reporting and more commentary but offer their substantial audiences an immersive, homogenous news environment. Podcasts offer platforms for both political invective (e.g., Chapo Trap House) and long-form journalism. And as local journalism has been devastated by layoffs and newspaper closings, displaced journalists and community activists have launched local journalism sites to fill the void. In San Diego, California, activists revived the “underground” *OB Rag* as an online journal (and posted scans of several issues of the original paper) in 2007, one of thousands of locally oriented news sites. Hundreds of other sites masquerade as local, but are actually part of centralized networks such as Locality Labs L.L.C. pushing syndicated articles, automated content, sponsored material, and press releases.

By the first decade of the 21st century, advocacy had once again become a popular style of journalism, with Fox News’s overt if undeclared partisanship, the “reported editorials” of *The Wall Street Journal*, an explosion of news and opinion websites, alternative community papers and podcasts that often bring a more personalized approach to their reports, and a resurgent

interpretive journalism that inevitably blurs the lines between straight reportage and advocacy.

Advocacy journalism remains highly controversial within journalistic circles, however, even as evidence mounts that many in the audience are unable to distinguish between unabashed partisanship and journalistic reports that adhere to the norms of objectivity. As journalism outlets experiment with more interpretive and narrative storytelling frameworks, many have accused them of slipping into or even embracing advocacy. The charge is seen as so serious that Fox News long denied that it engaged in advocacy journalism—instead proclaiming it was “Fair and Balanced,” until replacing the motto with “Most Watched, Most Trusted” in 2017. (Arianna Huffington, the founder of the overtly partisan Huffington Post [now HuffPost] website, differentiated her journalists’ unabashed advocacy from Fox News by maintaining that her site was committed to accurate reporting, and providing important information even when it sometimes undercut causes or candidates they otherwise supported.)

Many have turned to civic engagement as a way of addressing the crisis facing journalism and urged more interpretive and citizen action-oriented coverage as one approach that might serve as a means for rebuilding the public sphere. While many journalism scholars argue that media need to promote civic reengagement, some journalists fear that this would challenge the objectivity they see as central to the profession. Interpretive and explanatory articles increasingly press the boundaries of objectivity even as journalists are urged to offer more personal reflections on social media. But while many see advocacy creeping into the mainstream (if often under the guise of explanatory journalism or through special projects), it remains the core editorial mission for many media outlets, including most national cable TV news networks, community radio and cable access public affairs programming, alternative tabloids published in many cities, and a plethora of “movement” and other specialized publications. This advocacy plays an important role in enabling communities to identify and address concerns and in providing millions with a voice in public debate that would otherwise be missing.

Jon Bekken

See also Advertorials; Advocacy Journalism; African American News Media; Agenda Setting; Bias; Citizen Journalism; Émigré News Media; Feminist News Media; Framing; Labor Journalism; Muckrakers; Objectivity; Religious News Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Aerial photography includes several techniques and has many purposes for journalism. The radio-controlled, airborne drone with photographic capability is one of journalism’s latest newsgathering tools. Aerial photography uses an assortment of aircraft and camera technology to achieve the extreme, top-down perspective seen in dramatic news segments of car chases, natural disasters,

weather forecasts, and events in which large crowds gather. In addition to drones, aerial images from helicopters and satellites are historically significant in the field of photojournalism.

Definition and History of Aerial Photography

The terminology of aerial photography is varied and includes such monikers as aerial perspective, aerovision, aerial shot, bird's-eye-view, god's-eye view, vertical shot, atmospheric shot, Olympian perspective, and panoramic view. Aerial photography includes images that are classified as high-angle camera shots. But the distinguishing aspects that separate most high-angle camera imagery and aerial photography are the aesthetic look of the image, altitude, and a connection to the ground. Aerial photography requires flight of some sort so that a photograph can be taken from an altitude above the Earth that would, in most cases, be impossible from, for example, a long pole, ladder, or high perch.

The vertical dimension of the space above the ground is virtually unlimited and the altitude of operation is dependent on the aircraft used. Flying drones, for example, provide images from several dozen feet high. Satellite photographs are taken from hundreds or thousands of miles above the Earth. Helicopters, blimps, and airplanes also have limitations on how high or low they can fly. In the United States, the specific regulations regarding how high or low a given aircraft can fly are governed by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Other countries have different aircraft regulations. For example, as of 2020, in the United States, drones are legally allowed to fly as high as 400 feet above the ground, while in the European Union, they can fly up to 500 feet high. Helicopters used for newsgathering can operate in the United States at a minimum of 500 feet above the highest nearby structure and, depending on the model and make of the helicopter, can fly many thousands of feet higher, if needed.

The camera technologies creating aerial photographs also vary. There are small, lightweight consumer-quality cameras mounted on crewless drones and controlled via radio frequencies or Bluetooth technology to activate the shutter, high-definition television-quality cameras used for

traffic reports and other news stories onboard helicopters or airplanes, and high-resolution images produced by the sophisticated cameras on today's weather and surveillance satellites. Complicating things is the variety of aerial photographic technologies that are continually evolving to provide sharper images at higher altitudes for less cost.

The high-angle imagery produced by a camera at altitude has been called one of the defining perspectives of the 20th century. Mechanical flight and photography have parallel histories that have intertwined to produce unique forms of visual imagery. Moreover, the aesthetic and psychological features of the high-angle aerial shot are significant. The high-angle aerial shot achieved through flight takes the vertical dimension of visual perception to a different level than that associated with other kinds of camera shots. Besides, the ability to see from a high altitude gives people unprecedented access to the world below, one that changes some of the underlying assumptions of vision itself.

Before any form of human aviation was possible, the visual experience had been based on a horizontal perspective from the viewpoint of a standing human. Sightlines have stability because they correlate, albeit to varying degrees of geometric abstraction and extension, to the physical and mental being of a grounded individual. Even when artists attempt to portray a bird's-eye view, as with the painted cityscapes of the 18th and 19th centuries, they maintain a sense of horizontality.

The detachment and destabilization that came with aviation radically changed the potential for visual perception. Removed from the horizontal vectors of grounded sight, one experiences a new way of seeing as the eye is directed vertically and perpendicular to the ground. The aerial viewpoint creates new possibilities for apprehending the relationships between people and the land. If we look at things historically, even though human flight has been possible for several centuries, the aerial camera viewpoint achieved via drone, helicopter, airplane, or other means is still an extraordinary way for many people to see the world.

There are two general types of high-angle aerial images: vertical and oblique. Vertical angles look directly straight down through empty atmospheric space onto a continuous and often static visual

field at a perpendicular angle. Oblique images have an angled view of things from above. The oblique perspective looks across a landscape from above as it incorporates horizontality and verticality.

Aerial photography is seen everywhere today and is used for a variety of purposes besides journalism, including entertainment, sports, propaganda, map-making, gaming, urban planning, reconnaissance, and surveillance, among others. The focus here is on journalistic applications of aerial photography.

Aerial Photography and Journalism

There is a complex relationship between news images and the audience, particularly in the case of aerial photography. The perspective that it provides redefines an audience's sense of space and identity. Literature in critical-cultural studies has examined aerial imagery through a dystopian lens, due to its use by the military and government for war and surveillance. In general, the scholars who conduct visual studies from a critical-cultural framework argue that the aerial view has a status conferral function for its viewers who historically have been military, security, government, and other state entities.

The kinds of images produced from a high angle are, like all images, created within the subtleties of power relationships and ideology, thus summarizing the critical-cultural perspective of aerial photography. For journalism, the aerial perspective has opened opportunities for aesthetic potential of scale and overall visibility. The use of drones, however, has opened controversial areas regarding privacy versus freedom of the press, liability and the risk of injury to those on the ground, criminal interference with commercial aircraft, and their use for terrorist purposes.

The extreme high angle provided by the aerial perspective gives the viewer a new look at the patterns of human and natural activity on a large scale. New and alternative perceptions of color, shape, and size occur as the camera redefines a viewer's sense of geography and space and how human and natural activity can be impactful for land, people, and communities. The flow of traffic (or lack thereof), the swirling patterns of warm and cold fronts ushered along by the jet stream,

and the path of devastation left from a tornado are given new meanings when imaged from high above.

As a storytelling tool, the aerial perspective may not only have informational qualities but symbolic as well. In documentary films, one infamous example is the use of this shot in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 film *Triumph of the Will*, which documents a Nazi rally in Nuremberg in 1934. The film opens with an aerial tracking shot of Adolf Hitler's plane as it flies over the city, intercut with shots of the city from the plane's eye view as Hitler presumably scopes out his domain. As a well-planned piece of propaganda, it is considered by many to be one of the most powerful examples of the use of visual images to instill and affirm political beliefs in its audience. This kind of connotative meaning is also associated with aerial photography used in other types of production, including newscasts. The sense of flying over a scene of devastation or a huge crowd is powerful and perceptually places the viewing audience in a position of authority, providing feelings of awe, reverence, or amazement.

Helicopters

One of the better known news stories of the 20th century that used helicopter aerial footage for live, breaking news occurred on June 17, 1994, when a white Ford Bronco containing superstar athlete and actor O.J. Simpson and his friend Al Cowlings (driver) was chased by news helicopters and a large contingent of police vehicles along Los Angeles streets and freeways. The ensuing trial of O.J. Simpson for murder would transfix much of the United States for months to come.

The use of helicopters for journalism, however, evolved from their use in the nonvisual medium of radio. When automobile makers began installing radios in cars, radio traffic reports were created. Early traffic reporting used blimps and airplanes. But due to their unique flight capabilities to hover in place and move quickly from one location to another, helicopters eventually became the aircraft of choice for traffic reporting. But helicopters came with a high price as many reporters lost their lives due to aircraft malfunctions, especially in the early days of helicopter flight.

Helicopter technology has, however, become safer and more high-tech over the years. The news

helicopter went digital in the mid-1990s and into the 2000s. The all-digital news choppers are equipped with cameras inside and mounted on the outside as well. Some high-resolution cameras can read a car license plate clearly from 800 feet away.

Only the largest metropolitan areas can afford and justify the use of a helicopter for newsgathering purposes. Having the ability to cover news using a helicopter is considered prestigious since not all local news stations can afford them. The helicopter, reporter, and driver are often featured in local TV ads for the station and are boasted about in a station's promotional packages. News helicopters often have a pilot and photographer on board and are designed for quick takeoff. On the downside, helicopters are noisy and disruptive to those below, and if the reason for their presence is unknown, there can be cause for anxiety.

Most news organizations lease their news helicopter. Helicopters are very expensive to put in the air, and the hours of use are limited. So, news directors and journalists are cautious about their use and use them only to cover major events such as earthquakes, massive fires, civil rights demonstrations, and other forms of sizable crowd-gathering activity.

Satellites

The views of the Earth from satellites positioned in geostationary orbits have many uses. News coverage of the weather is one of the more recognized uses of satellite imagery. The first images of Earth from a weather satellite were taken by the TIROS-1 satellite (the first in a series of Television and Infrared Observation Satellites) on April 1, 1960. Although it had a short lifespan of 78 days, the potential of satellite aerial photography for tracking weather patterns and hurricanes was evident. Since then, satellite technology has advanced enormously. In addition to providing visual images, satellites also provide data for many environmental and air quality factors using various onboard instruments. Countless lives have been saved by news reports that track the path of destructive weather events.

But satellite imagery has become a useful tool for more than just the weather. Because of the unbiased data they provide for fact-finding and gauging the impact of a particular situation, as

well as the imagery they collect from conflict zones, satellites are an indispensable tool for journalists. Satellite data and imagery has, for example, been used to verify reports of civilian murders by government soldiers in Cameroon in 2018 that the government claimed were committed by separatists. By correlating on-the-ground photos with satellite images of landmarks, reporters were able to prove exactly where and when the incident took place and who was responsible. The government of Cameroon was then forced to issue a statement clarifying their earlier stand and announce that a number of soldiers had been placed under arrest. This need to confirm reports of illegal or criminal activity, to connect the dots, tie up loose ends, or find clues for where and when something happened are important journalistic activities that satellite imagery can assist with.

So, whether it's tracking the expansion and condition of refugee camps in Bangladesh or showing 30 years of change to the Amazon rainforests or the retreat of the polar ice caps due to climate change, the advancements and groundbreaking innovations of satellite technology have ushered in a new era of observing the planet, making satellites important photographic tools for journalists.

Drones

From filming war-ravaged areas to capturing action sports footage, there are numerous examples of drones being used for journalism. Unlike the other aerial platforms used to cover news happening outdoors, drones are small enough that they can also cover events in large indoor spaces. Their ability to provide images in situations when it is too dangerous to use a helicopter, such as the immediate aftermath of severe weather, is an especially useful function. They cover other hard-to-access places as well and are much cheaper to use than helicopters. Whether they have the potential to change journalism is arguable, but they are part of a new set of tools journalists have for storytelling.

Besides the unique aerial perspectives, drones can be used to explore new forms of news reporting. For example, they can be outfitted for 360-degree video and 3D virtual reality, to add

innovative perspectives to news storytelling. They can shoot either video or still photographs. Besides cameras, drones can carry sensors for various other forms of data collection, such as geodetic information, emissions detection, and radio signals that can be used to enhance news storytelling. Drones are also used to explore new forms of image-making, such as multispectral imagery and photogrammetry for creating new stories. As a storytelling tool, they can take the audience to new and hard-to-access places and provide unexpected new insights. One example of how drones can provide poignant aerial perspectives are the drone images of Chernobyl's crippled nuclear reactor and the nearby ghost city of Pripyat 30 years after the reactor melted down that were used in a *60 Minutes* report in 2014.

Several universities have begun to teach drone journalism. The Universities of Nebraska-Lincoln, Missouri, Kentucky, Syracuse, and the Newmark Graduate School of Journalism at the City University of New York, as well as for-profit workshops such as DartDrones offer educational programs on drone journalism. These programs teach students how to fly drones and include instruction on the complicated legal aspects of using drones for journalism.

Laws and Ethics for Drones

In the United States, rule changes governing the use of drones came into effect in August 2016. Issued by the FAA, these rules made it easier for journalists to use drone footage in their work. The new rules state that anyone wanting to use a drone as a certified remote pilot, including as a commercial operator, must register the drone with the FAA, and then pass a knowledge test that covers Part 107 Rules regarding the operation of crewless aircraft. In addition, the person must be at least 16 years old, able to read, write, and speak English, and be in a physical and mental condition to safely fly a drone. A person can also legally operate a drone without being certified if they are directly supervised by someone who is certified.

The easing of regulations was a significant development for photojournalism because it made aerial photography accessible to journalists across the United States. New opportunities as well as new challenges for journalists and regulators alike

were created. Journalists wishing to operate a drone should also check local drone regulations and consider if the way they are using the drone meets the Society of Professional Journalists code of ethics. In general, journalists are advised to respect others' privacy and follow the same journalism ethics that would be followed even if the use of a drone were not involved.

Lawrence Mullen

See also Photojournalism, Ethics of; Satellite Newsgathering; Visual Journalism; Weather Journalism

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AFRICA, NORTH

The region of North Africa includes Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the disputed territory of Western Sahara claimed by both the indigenous Saharawi people and Morocco. The region borders the North Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Mediterranean Sea to the north, and the Red Sea to the east; its population is approximately 234,000,000. Four languages are used institutionally and officially (Modern Standard Arabic in every country of the region;

Tamazight in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia; English in Sudan; and French in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco); as a whole, the region has numerous dialects of Arabic and Tamazight (Berber).

A unifying factor among the extremely varied countries of North Africa is that each of them was colonized or occupied by a foreign power, which necessarily impacted journalism in each country and particularly the development of local, independent journalism. The countries of the Maghreb were colonized by the French: Algeria (1870–1962); Tunisia (1881–1956); Morocco (1912–1956); Egypt was a British Protectorate (1914–1922) and Libya was colonized by Italy (1911–1943); the British colonized Sudan (1899–1953) and Spain colonized Western Sudan (1884–1975), which has been occupied and administratively controlled by Morocco since 1979 and a northern strip of Morocco was a Spanish protectorate from 1912 to 1958. As noted, Western Sahara continues to be claimed both by Morocco and the indigenous Saharawi people.

The destructive legacies of colonialism and imperialism in North Africa and their impact on independent journalism and freedom of expression is important connective context. The press law of 1881, for example, considered Arabic to be a foreign language in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, and printing in Arabic and importing Arabic newspapers was considered to be a violation of the law.

This entry provides an overview of print, broadcast, and digital journalism in this historically, culturally, linguistically, sociopolitically, and economically diverse region and is organized by examining each form of journalism in the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia), the countries of the Middle East in North Africa (Egypt and Libya), and Sudan and the Western Sahara. Each is briefly contextualized historically, sociopolitically, and economically with regard to how these different forms of journalism function within the media ecosystems in which they operate.

Maghreb

Morocco

Located between Algeria and Western Sahara, Morocco has a population of approximately 35,600,000 and borders the North Atlantic Ocean

and the Mediterranean Sea, where the population density is greatest. Print started in Morocco in 1820, and the first paper in the country was Spanish, *Africa Liberal*; the first Arabic newspaper, *Al Maghrib*, appeared in 1886. From the early 19th century until the early 20th century, Morocco saw the publication of numerous newspapers, many of them in French and in Spanish whose aim was to advance colonial agendas and promote the French and Spanish languages. During World War II (1939–1945), the Moroccan nationalist party, the Istiqlal Party, began publishing its newspaper, *Al-Alam* in Arabic and *L'Opinion* in French: both promoted independence and resistance of colonial powers and the French occupation in particular.

Broadcasting began during the 1920s; television appeared in 1954. After independence from France in 1956, different political parties have owned Morocco's newspapers and until the late 1990s, when the first independent newspapers such as *Le Journal*, *Assahifa*, and *Demain* began and started gaining popularity, the most influential daily newspapers were partisan. King Mohammed V's Charter of Public Liberties proclaimed freedom of expression in November 1958, but also included provisions for the government to limit press freedom. The Charter was strengthened in 1960 and 1963 to stipulate that the minister of interior could seize copies of any publication that could be considered a threat to "public order." The king could also ban any publication that was judged to attack the political or religious foundations of the country.

As reported by Human Rights Watch in 2017, since Mohammed VI took the throne in 1999, Moroccans have been imprisoned "solely for their nonviolent speech, under both the press code and the penal code." Journalists have been convicted of defamation and of spreading false news, of advocating terrorism, and citizens have been convicted of insulting the king on Facebook and YouTube. In 2014, political rapper Al-Haqed was convicted of allegedly being inebriated in public and insulting and assaulting police officers after what has been described as an unfair trial and rapper Gnawi was sentenced to a year in jail in 2019 for insulting the police on social media. While in 2016, Morocco adopted its first press code that does not include prison terms for peaceful speech offenses, its penal code continues to punish

nonviolent speech offenses with prison terms, impacting both journalists and nonjournalists. In 2019, the penal code was used to jail human rights activist and freelance journalist Omar Radi for a tweet criticizing a judge.

Reporters Without Borders has characterized Morocco as a “very difficult” country in which to practice journalism, stating that they face “judicial harassment.” Reporting by local and foreign media on migration is off-limits and journalists have been attacked for reporting on the Hirak movement, a protest movement in Morocco’s northern Rif region in 2016–2017 that accused the authorities of corruption and abuse of power. Numerous activists were imprisoned for participating in the protests, as well as journalists, notably Hamid El Mahdaoui. Another journalist who covered the protests, Hajar Raissouni, was detained in 2019 and tried on a charge of having an illegal abortion: sex-related charges, according to Reporters Without Borders, are often used in Morocco to harass individuals who challenge the authorities.

Crackdowns on online journalists and attacks on independent journalists in online governments publications are prevalent, Freedom House reported in 2019. While internet penetration is high, at approximately 20% in the country (approximately 25 million users) there is a wide disparity between urban and rural users. According to a 2016 report of the National Agency for the Regulation of Telecommunications, 67% of urban residents have internet access as compared with 43% of rural dwellers. Approximately 39% of Morocco’s population lives in rural areas.

Algeria

Algeria has a population of approximately 43,000,000 and the country borders Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Tunisia, and Western Sahara. It is geographically the largest country in Africa and in the Arab world, though the majority (80%) of the country is desert. French colonialism dominated the country’s media until independence in 1962: newspapers were predominantly French and served the French colonial administration, with only a few local newspapers published in Arabic. In 1960, when France decided self-determination for Algeria, the French administration

allowed for the publication of some Arab nationalist views; none were permitted before.

After Algerian independence in 1962 under the National Liberation Front, the print media was briefly quite diverse and independent: the National Liberation Front, which had been publishing its newspaper *El Moudjadid* in Tunis, moved its operations to Algiers in 1962. With the proclamation, however, of Algeria as a one-party state in 1963, newspapers and other forms of media fell under regime control and remained so until 1989.

Freedom House has characterized Algeria as “not free” in the majority of its annual reports beginning in 1972; its 2020 report described most publications as wholly dependent on government agencies for printing and advertising and encouraged self-censorship. Online and foreign publications are sometimes blocked by the authorities, as in June 2019 when the government banned access to the online news outlets *Tout sur l’Algérie* and *Algérie Part* and the authorities regularly “harass the media and censor or punish controversial reporting.”

Tunisia

Tunisia is located between Algeria and Libya, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, and has a population of approximately 11,800,000, the majority of whom live in the north of the country. Tunisia’s publications were historically owned and controlled by political parties, but the 2011 Jasmine Revolution transformed the media landscape and saw the creation of many independent news outlets, a new press decree (Decree-law 115/2011) declaring “freedom of exchanging, publishing and receiving news and views of all kinds.” In 2017, an Independent Press Council was established to address press freedom and create a code of journalistic ethics that would address issues of regionalism and racism in the media. Yet as expressed by Reporters Without Borders, there is concern about how slowly new media legislation is being drafted, and reporters covering the security forces especially face pressure and intimidation from the authorities about their work.

Egypt and Libya

Egypt borders the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea and includes the Sinai Peninsula, connecting

Africa and Asia. Egypt is one of the most densely populated countries in the Arab World, and the third most populous country in Africa with a population of an estimated 102,334,404.

There is a diverse range of newspapers in Egypt within the more than 20 published in the country: state-owned dailies, opposition dailies, party newspapers, regional newspapers, and private newspapers published in English. *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids), is the largest and oldest news organization in Egypt, founded in 1875 and nationalized in 1960, part of the government-owned Al Ahram Foundation, a printing, publishing, and advertising group. The country's most influential independent newspapers were founded in the early part of the 21st century, including the daily *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (The Egyptian Today) founded in 2004 and *Al-Dustour* (The Constitution), founded the same year as a weekly, and then becoming a daily in 2007. Both newspapers were important critics of the Hosni Mubarak regime, publishing investigative pieces on the regime's human rights abuses and corruption, and were vital to reporting on the strikes and other organized labor activism that took place in Egypt between 2004 and 2008. In English, Al Ahram publishes the *Al Ahram Weekly* and in French as *Al Ahram Hebdo*. *The Egyptian Gazette* is another English language, government-owned publication; the *Daily News Egypt* is an English language independent print newspaper. By 2010, the majority of these and other newspapers had digital editions and had incorporated social media into their newsrooms.

Censorship of independent newspapers and the detention of independent newspaper journalists, photojournalists, and editors as well as journalists, photojournalists, and editors working in online publications is an ongoing problem in Egypt. Although Egypt's constitution includes several articles, specifically Articles 65, 68, 70, 71, and 72, that ban censorship and mandate media transparency, independent regulatory bodies, the right to establish media outlets, and the right to free access to information, Egypt's penal code includes several articles that allow for the jailing of journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, since 2012 the charge of false news has been applied prolifically by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. According to the International Press Institute, more than 60

journalists were imprisoned in Egypt in 2020, the majority with terrorism-related charges and many with the charge of false news as well. In July 2020, journalist Mohamed Monir died in Tora Prison of COVID-19; he had been charged with broadcasting fake news after appearing on Al Jazeera TV, the Qatari-owned channel that the Egyptian government banned in 2013, during the rule of the late former president Mohamed Morsi.

Many other accounts of repression of journalists and free speech have been chronicled in 2020: the raid of the Turkish Anadolu News Agency's Cairo office and arrest of at least four of its journalists; the detention and arrests of four journalists who covered the COVID-19 pandemic; the arrest of Lina Attalah, editor in chief of the prominent independent investigative online news publication *Mada Masr*; the detention of two freelance journalists, one of whom was charged with spreading false news and the other who was detained without charges being disclosed by the authorities; and the arrest of Mostafa Sakr, publisher of the *Daily News Egypt* and the *Al-Borsa* Arabic financial publication and owner of Business News for Press, the papers' parent company.

During the 1960s, the Egyptian government launched television, more than 40 years after Egypt became the first Arab state to have radio service in the 1920s and more than 30 years after the government established Egyptian Radio in 1932. The largest media organization in the country is the Egyptian Radio and Television Union, with nine television stations, six regional television stations, and 70 radio stations. Egyptian Radio and Television Union has no actual separation from the government and has been criticized as being too supportive of presidents Hosni Mubarak, Mohamed Morsi, and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Egyptian television dramas (*musalsalat*) have been important since the 1970s, not only for their commercial and popular success but also for the range of social, economic, and cultural values they portray. According to a Broadcasting Board of Governors report in 2014, despite the rise of digital media, television is the most popular medium in Egypt, where approximately 20% of the population is illiterate and more than 98% of Egyptians have a television in their home.

Libya

Libya borders the Mediterranean Sea between Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria and is the fourth largest country by land mass in Africa. The vast majority (90%) of the population of approximately 6,871,000 lives along the Mediterranean coast, between Tripoli to the west and Al Bayda to the east; the interior is sparsely populated due to the lack of water and the Sahara Desert. Like the other countries of North Africa, Libya was under the rule of a foreign power for many years, colonized by Italy from 1911 to 1942 and then divided between the French and British until its full independence in 1951.

As in the rest of North Africa, colonial domination affected the development of journalism. Until Libya's independence in 1951, the Italian colonizers controlled the press and issued newspapers in Arabic and Italian, with little room for Libyan-owned or Libyan-run newspapers until 1951. Television and radio stations broadcast primarily in English and in Italian, with the majority transmitting from British, American, and Italian military bases. When Mu'ammar al-Qadafi took power in 1969 in a military coup, he created his own political system that combined socialism and Islam based on local practices and the official name of the country became the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The number of Arabic language television and radio programs increased after he took power, as did attention to the role of mass media. During al-Qadafi's rule (1969–2011), he used the media to disseminate his own views and his government owned the majority of Libya's print and broadcast media, which it strictly controlled, as it did the official state news agency, Jamahiriya News Agency. In 1972, legislation was introduced (and remained in use in the country until 2011) that stated that journalists and writers could express their opinions as long as they agreed with Libyan society's values. Journalists could only report information and views sanctioned by al-Qadafi, so they exercised strict self-censorship, fearing questioning and possible arrest by agents of the intelligence apparatus. In 2004, al-Qadafi's son Saif al-Islam introduced some liberalizing measures, including increased access to the internet and the creation of new Arabic satellite channels.

Still, under al-Qadafi, there were some reporting topics that were strictly off-limits as outlined by Reporters Without Borders: Islamism and discussing the application of Sharia laws; political corruption; discussion of different ethnic groups within Libya, such as the Tabu and Berber, which was viewed as distracting from national unity, and Libya as an all-Arab nation. Reporting on these issues could be met with a range of brutal punishments, from jailing to kidnapping, from disappearing and torture to outright murder, as in the case of freelance journalist Daif al-Gahzal al-Shuhaibi who had been reporting on regime corruption and was murdered in 2005 after being briefly detained and questioned by security agents.

After al-Qadafi was deposed by a popular uprising in 2011, Libya's media landscape underwent a brief but meaningful transformation, according to Human Rights Watch and the Committee to Protect Journalists: private and independent publications, virtually unknown in Libya before the uprisings, increased greatly. The number of daily publications rose from four daily newspapers to hundreds of diverse publications, news websites, and blogs reported by newly publicly active citizen journalists. The number of television stations broadcasting from within and outside Libya grew from two to more than 50, and 30 new radio stations were created. At the same time, the 2011 uprisings and ensuing civil war was perilous for journalists covering it: eight journalists died covering them, including photo-journalists Chris Hondros and Tim Hetherington and Al-Jazeera cameraman Ali Hassan al-Jaber. James Foley, who was kidnapped in Syria in 2012 and beheaded there in 2014, was attacked in Libya in 2011 along with Spanish photographer Manu Brabo and American reporter Clare Morgana Gillis by forces loyal to al-Qadafi. Citizen journalist Mohammed Nabbous, who created the Libya al-Hurra ("freedom") livestream channel to report on the uprisings and the al-Qadafi regime, was also killed in 2011, thought to have been shot by an al-Qadafi-backed sniper.

Since 2011, Libya has been rife with internal conflict: militias with different political, tribal, and geographic allegiances have attacked each other and civil society activists, according to Freedom House's 2020 country report. Most Libyan media outlets are highly partisan, promoting the side they support in

the ongoing armed conflict. According to a 2019 U.S. Department of Justice report, the ongoing violent national crisis has negatively impacted online freedom and access in Libya, and Reporters Without Borders describe political and military actors in the country as “news censors.” Internet penetration is relatively high in the country, at approximately 75% as of 2020; Facebook is an important news source for many Libyans, but internet access and speed are intermittent and the conflict has damaged the country’s internet infrastructure. Journalists active online regularly self-censor due to fear of harassment and a 2006 law mandates that websites registered with the “.ly” domain must not contain content that is “obscene, scandalous, indecent, or contrary to Libyan law or Islamic morality.”

Western Sahara

The population of Western Sahara is approximately 650,000 and the territory is primarily and historically under Moroccan control since the territory gained independence from Spain in 1975.

In 2019, Reporters Without Borders published a report on the media in Western Sahara, describing it as “a desert for journalists” and described journalism as one of the many victims of the conflict between the Moroccan occupied areas, the Polisario Front, and refugee camps in Tindouf, Algeria. Despite what the organization described as Morocco’s repression of journalists, Sahrawi reporters have been working to report independently from the territory, challenging Morocco’s repression of reporting on any issues relating to the territory’s independence or human rights abuses. As in Morocco, there is, according to Reporters Without Borders, constant concern about online surveillance, especially regarding topics related to the territory’s independence from Morocco. As of 2020, approximately 5% of the population are active internet users.

Joscelyn Jurich

See also Comparative Models of Journalism;
Development Journalism

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AFRICA, SUB-SAHARAN

Of Africa’s 54 countries, the 46 countries south of the Sahara, geographically labeled sub-Saharan Africa, are situated within a diverse cultural, ethnic, and lingual milieu of an estimated 1.07 billion people in 2018. Among these 46 countries, the liberalization of the media has been at the center of debate since a wave of democratic reform swept through the region in the 1990s. Within this wave of democratization, authoritarian one-party regimes yielded to multiparty systems in most African states. At the onset of democratization, a wide range of media reforms surfaced with countries opening up and deregulating their media sector. This entry offers a brief overview of colonial-era press and anti-colonial activism. The entry also discusses the development of the sub-Saharan media landscape, the dual-media structure found in most countries in the region, training for African journalists, and various professional journalistic organizations. The entry closes with a look at legal and other constraints related to free press and free expression in sub-Saharan Africa.

While democratic progress and modest improvements continue as of 2021, there are still increasing threats to press freedom from the political systems in countries ruled by

long-lasting autocrats who block or stifle free press and subject members of the media to various forms of intimidation and violence. For example, Cameroon (Paul Biya has been in office for 36 years.), Togo (Eyadéma, a family dynasty holding power since 1967), and Uganda (Yoweri Museveni has been in office for 32 years.) have all found a myriad of ways to muzzle press freedom. According to Amnesty International, in 2015, Sudan's National Intelligence and Security Service interrogated around 25 journalists and confiscated at least 20 newspapers editions on 45 different occasions. In 2018, Eritrea had 16 journalists behind bars making it the country in sub-Saharan Africa with the most journalists imprisoned. And in January 2020, a court in Burundi sentenced four journalists to 2½ years in prison on charges of trying to undermine state security.

The Colonial-Era Press and Anti-Colonial Activism

With the exception of Ethiopia, almost all African countries were colonized by one of seven European powers (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy). Out of this colonialism and missionary activity, the region's first newspapers evolved. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, three press systems emerged: one was owned by churches and was expressly intended for spreading the Christian gospel and reaffirming colonial rule; the second, a local or foreign-owned press; and the third, an African-owned and African-financed press—sometimes with missionaries' financial support. Of note, the colonial structure (especially in the British colonies) allowed a free and independent press, though not without some government control. Fearing the rising anti-colonial press, the British colonial administration began to codify press laws addressing sedition and defamation, requiring newspaper registration and the posting of a bond to publish a single newspaper. While each colonial power established its own method of administering its colonies, they shared a common view of Africans as simple and even subhuman. Without careful control, they feared newspapers might easily excite this semi-barbaric population that greatly outnumbered whites and led to a backlash against colonial authority.

By the mid-20th century, the African press grew exponentially as anti-colonial movements arose. Newspaper editors and journalists became heroes for their fortitude to stand up to colonial governments, even if it meant being imprisoned. These actions gave them celebrity status, boosted newspaper sales, and enhanced the platform on which to organize resistance. As a result, several journalists were charged with sedition and were either heavily fined or imprisoned.

As leaders in the resistance movements, after achieving their country's independence, many became Africa's first heads of state. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a radical journalist and later the first President of Nigeria, established the *West African Pilot* in 1937. By the 1950s, he controlled 10 newspapers. Ghana's first Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, used his newspapers, *The Accra Evening News*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Sekondi Morning Telegraph* to proclaim his rallying cry for decolonization. Jomo Kenyatta, first Prime Minister and President of Kenya, established *Mwigwithamia* in 1928. The leader of Tanzania African National Union (TANU) and the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was the editor of the party organ, *Sauti ya TANU*.

Once independent from European rule, most lacked the prerequisites for pluralistic democracy upon which press freedom is built. Consequently, the political systems that arose were often authoritarian and resembled the former colonial regimes. In terms of the press, colonial governments made little effort to establish a legacy of Western libertarian press freedom. For the first 30 years of independence, most media became integrated into the party and government structure, relegating journalists and editors to the civil service.

Media Landscape

The democratization wave of the 1990s led to two significant developments: a rising conscientiousness and articulation of press freedom and a significant increase in independent media. On May 3, 1991, the Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, adopted by African journalists in Namibia and later endorsed by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), concluded that an

independent, pluralistic, and free press was essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, as well as for its economic development. A year later, the Charter for a Free Press, adopted by journalists at a conference sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, began by stating that a free press meant a free people. In 1993, the UN General Assembly proclaimed World Press Freedom Day as a means to raise awareness of the importance of press freedom in strengthening democracy and fostering development around the world.

The Windhoek Declaration and subsequent pronouncements lent support to the democratic transitions that were forcing authoritarian rulers in most sub-Saharan nations to undertake a growing range of political reforms. By the end of the 1990s, some 42 nations entered a new era of multiparty democracy culminating with constitutional reforms that included freedom of the press and expression. In essence, the gathering in Windhoek marked the beginning of a solidarity movement of journalists, editors, and media owners and the emergence of media development organizations across the continent.

With newfound political freedoms came extensive media reforms. CNN International, Canal France International, Radio Television Portugal Africa, the Discovery Channel's Europe, Middle East, Africa, and BBC World became household names. A proliferation of independent and community media, especially radio, also emerged as a source for news and information. In 1985, there were only 10 independent (nongovernment owned) radio stations in all of sub-Saharan Africa. By 2019, the radio market in Kenya was close to saturation with 117 radio stations throughout the country. Subsequently, there was a surge in community radio. Mali has one of the strongest community radio networks with 110 private radio stations; 86 are community radio mostly rurally based. Of the 122 licensed radio stations in South Africa in 2005, nearly 90 were community stations. By 2019, community radio had increased to 250.

One growth area taking sub-Saharan Africa by storm relates to the economic and media ties that bind China and sub-Saharan Africa. The Chinese-owned StarTimes Group is now operational in 30 countries and has established subsidiaries in

Rwanda, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Mozambique, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Africa. It is the fastest growing and the most influential digital TV operator. By 2015, it began to play a major role in digital migration. But China has had some competition from a South African media company launched in 1985 as Africa's first pay TV channel, M-Net, which would eventually become MultiChoice Africa. By the end of 1995, the company has been present in all sub-Saharan countries with millions of subscribers. However, many of their program offerings are simply an African version of American or British programs: *Survival Africa*, *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, *Catwalk Kenya*, and *Idols in Africa*, with soap operas such as *Egoli: Place of God* having a distinct African flavor. In May 2003, M-Net's DSTV launched Africa's first international-format reality program, *Big Brother Africa*, to audiences in 42 sub-Saharan African countries with an estimated viewership of 30 million.

Regional newspapers are still concentrated in urban areas where literacy is higher and distribution, easier. Countries with growing economies and relatively stable democratic institutions such as South Africa, Senegal, and Mozambique have strong newspaper markets. In other countries (e.g., Uganda and Zambia), newspaper growth is sluggish due to market stress and government policy. Countries hostile to private media, such as Eritrea, have seen newspapers shuttered. There are, however, other factors that put newspapers at risk. For one, many newspaper entrepreneurs entered the market during the democratization wave with little understanding of the news business and were, therefore, unable to make a profit. Many of these newspapers have been short-lived. Six years after Côte d'Ivoire returned to multiparty governance in 1996, 187 newspapers were being published. By 2017, there were more than a dozen French-language newspapers published in Abidjan that are typically read by the educated and affluent class, *Fraternité Matin* (a state-owned daily paper with the largest daily sales), and three additional dailies serving as the official mouthpieces of Côte d'Ivoire's main political parties: *Notre Voie*, *Le Patriote*, and *Le Nouveau Réveil*. Four additional newspapers present voices of moderation: *Fraternité Matin*, *Soir Info*, *L'Inter*, and *L'Intelligent d'Abidjan*.

Due to limited penetration, the Internet is not yet posing a serious competitive threat for newspapers. What the Internet has done, however, is provide a platform for both independent and state-owned and state-operated media to put forth their own positions for the global market. Therefore, almost all media organizations in the region, regardless of their editorial stance, ideological leanings, or political affiliation, have an online presence and regularly update their content. Probably the biggest and best known international newspaper, South Africa's *The Daily Mail & Guardian*, was Africa's first online newspaper, launched in 1994.

Certainly, the Internet has reshaped the media. By 2000, all countries had secured access, at least in their capital cities. As personal computer penetration is low, users rely on cybercafes, telecenters (public places that offer Internet access), schools, and other public facilities. But sub-Saharan Africa still lags behind the rest of the world, which according to a 2019 Pew survey has a 23% penetration rate. Internal disparities are also huge. Namibia, with an estimated population of 2.6 million in 2019, has a 51% penetration rate and 570,000 Facebook subscribers. Mauritania, which has a population of 4.6 million, has a 2% penetration rate with 770,000 Facebook subscribers. In addition, the rural population has not yet benefited from any of these new communication technologies.

However, the largest growth in telecommunication has been in the mobile market, with a growth of about 50–60% annually. Mobile technology is having a great impact on journalists who were previously hampered by poor communication infrastructure. Today, mobile technology provides an expedient and cost-effective way for journalists to send images, news video clips, and news reports back to the newsroom.

In terms of news agencies, the South African Press Association (SAPA), founded by several urban newspapers in 1938, is one of the oldest in the region. Indeed, the South African model is rare. In the postindependence period, governments established their own newsgathering agencies, whether they followed a one-party state or multiparty democratic forms of government. Following its independence in 1990, and with the establishment of multiparty democracy, the

Namibian government created the Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA), which it owns and operates. Journalists working for government agencies such as NAMPA have long been accused of practicing self-censorship. In other countries, news agencies originally established to control the spin from the one-party state governments have undergone a metamorphosis since the 1990s. One year after Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, the Angola Press Agency (ANGOP) was created as the propaganda instrument of the one-party state. However, after further democratization and the introduction of a multiparty system in 2002, ANGOP became a provider of news for all media in the country. With the help of UNESCO, ANGOP was transformed from a state-owned and state-controlled agency to a public enterprise.

Media Structure

Whether involving news agencies, broadsheets, tabloid newspapers, or electronic media, the pattern evident in most sub-Saharan African countries is that of a dual-media structure: state-owned and state-controlled media along with privately owned media. This does not mean that such a structure is always harmonious and does not foment conflict. Depending on the system of government, independent media face overwhelming obstacles and can be censored or forced out of business at any time. Where repression exists, new communication technologies have opened space for bloggers and others to develop alternative voices to state media institutions. Zimbabwean journalists who found themselves restricted from practicing their profession launched the ZimOnline News Agency in 2004, as part of an effort to establish just such an alternative voice.

Regardless of government interference, private ownership is changing the media landscape. The emerging pattern is one of concentrated ownership and conglomeration among local and foreign interests. In Kenya, the Royal Media Services (the largest private radio and television network in East Africa) own multiple media platforms including two TV stations (Citizen TV, which broadcasts in English and Kiswahili to audiences in Kenya, and Ramogi TV), 14 radio stations of which 12 are vernacular, a video on demand platform (Viusasa), two national and 11 vernacular radio

stations, Inooro TV, Radio Citizen, The Leader newspaper, and eight local-language radio stations. Two major publishing houses, Nation and Standard, dominate the print media.

Following the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, the foreign-owned Independent News and Media bought the controlling share in the Argus group publishing empire. In 1996, Johnnic Communications (now Avusa) acquired control of newspaper publisher Times Media Limited, making it the biggest Black-owned media company in South Africa. In 1998, Caxton Publishers bought the controlling share in media and publishing corporation Perskor and consolidated its focus on community newspapers and free news sheets. South Africa's MIH Holdings—a multinational media company, with its major operations in electronic media, including pay TV, Internet and instant-messaging subscriber platforms, and related technologies, has spread to the 48 sub-Saharan African countries. MIH also has print media interests in Nigeria, Kenya, and Angola.

Training

Independence from colonial rule clearly demonstrated that a void existed in Africa's media infrastructure and that journalists needed training. In most countries, there were no schools of journalism and no tradition of formal journalism education or systematic training. On-the-job training was and is the preferred model as of 2021, and continues to be the model preferred by newspapers, which have resisted formal training of journalists.

There are several models of journalism training available throughout the region. One is the workshop model for practicing journalists, which emphasizes a particular set of skills such as investigative reporting, wildlife and conservation reporting, climate change reporting, and reporting on illicit finance. These workshops, usually funded by donors and in partnership with a local nongovernmental organization (NGO), involve a limited number of participants and are conducted in the host country, interregionally, or in the donor's country. Another approach is vocational institutes that offer 3-year diplomas in journalism, such as the Evelyn Hone College in Zambia and the Polytechnic of Namibia. Recognizing the need for

in-country degree training at the university level, several countries—even those that gained independence in the early 1960s—established undergraduate degree programs. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first President of Nigeria, saw the value of linking journalism education to a university and imported the American land-grant university model to the University of Nigeria Nsukka, thereby instituting Nigeria's first university journalism program. With 30 universities offering journalism training as of 2006, Nigeria had the highest number of university journalism degree-granting training entities in sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South Africa with 10. The pan-African training program, the Bloomberg Media Initiative Africa, was established in 2015 by the U.S. billionaire Michael Bloomberg and targeted mid-career journalists and working professionals in business, government, and civil society.

However, across the region, journalism training institutions face a number of challenges. In the UNESCO report, *Criteria and Indicators for Quality Journalism Training Institutions & Identifying Potential Centres of Excellence in Journalism Training in Africa*, journalism professors Guy Berger and Corinne Matras outline the challenges these institutions face: shortages of staff, the need for PhD qualifications among full-time faculty, insufficient scholarships for disadvantaged students, underequipped facilities, insufficient funding, out-of-date curricula, lack of funds to replace and update computers and lab equipment, insufficient web knowledge, and poor Internet connectivity. Another challenge is sustainability. The Nigerian Institute of Journalism, for example, closed in 1999, due to a disagreement about the status of the institute and its programs, only to reopen 4 years later.

Professional Organizations

Another striking feature of the democratic transformation is the rise in professional associations. These organizations follow several patterns with varying agendas and levels of success. There are a few subregional organizations, such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) established in 1992, which represent 14 southern African countries. Launched in 1997, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA)

represents the 16 West African countries. Congolese journalists established Journalists in Danger (JED) to monitor and defend press freedom in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1998. The JED expanded its work to eight French-speaking countries by 2003. Regional organizations see their common mission as that of being advocates for press freedom and raising professional standards through training. Well organized and with a range of global media partners and national branches or collaborators within each country, they have a good track record in terms of monitoring constitutional press infractions by governments, disseminating annual reports on the state of the media.

In addition, professional journalistic associations and unions in many countries found it difficult to sustain these organizations as well as their level of power within the government structure. Some of these organizations pre-date the democratic wave. The Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), established in 1949, was incorporated into the state apparatus by then-President Kwame Nkrumah. Under the leadership of Kabral Blay-Amihere, the GJA changed its direction in the early 1990s to include journalists across sectors and has since become an independent organization for professional training and networking. Benin's Union of Private Press Journalists, established in 1966, brings together journalists working in the public press (state-owned). Since the wave of democratization in the early 1990s, more than 25 organizations have been established in Benin, each catering to various specialized journalists (e.g., cultural, economic, environmental, and parliamentary journalists).

Some organizations cater solely to journalists working in the private press, such as Mali's Association des Editeurs de la Presse Privée du Mali. Others are gender-specific, such as the Uganda Media Women's Association that was created in 1983 as an NGO for women journalists from government and private media. Science writers from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, and Uganda have partnered with the Canadian-based World Federation of Science Journalists to develop their own organization. In other instances, the media and communication sectors remain vulnerable to systemwide pressures.

Legal and Other Constraints

Although the majority of sub-Saharan nations have adopted constitutions guaranteeing free expression and a free press, these protections are often limited through legislation inherited from colonial and early nationalist regimes. The MISA suggests that in Swaziland, there are at least 32 pieces of legislation that have constrained constitutional guarantees of press freedom, some dating back to 1938. While press freedom is constitutionally guaranteed in Equatorial Guinea, the government severely restricts freedom through a 1992 press law, which authorizes government censorship of all publications. In 2006, the U.S.-based Committee to Protect Journalists ranked Equatorial Guinea as one of the five most censored countries in the world. Criticisms of the president (who came into power in 1979) are not tolerated, and self-censorship among journalists is the norm.

Perhaps the most damaging colonial holdover are the so-called insult laws, a form of criminal defamation. Once designed to shield kings from dishonor, these laws make it a criminal offense to insult the honor or dignity of a public official in all but five sub-Saharan countries. In the first 5 months of 2007, insult laws led to the harassment, arrest, or imprisonment of more than a hundred journalists in 26 African countries. In mid-2007, the International Federation of Journalists launched the "Africa Journalist out of Jail Campaign," calling on African leaders to release journalists imprisoned in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and The Gambia. The World Association of Newspapers and the World Editors Forum in their Declaration of Table Mountain also issued a similar call against insult laws.

Even in countries with a relatively free press, criticizing the government can backfire. In March 2001, the Namibian government banned all government advertising and prohibited any government department from purchasing the independent daily *The Namibian* as a result of it being too critical of government policies. In June 2007, the government of Lesotho banned all state and semi-government agencies from purchasing advertising in the privately owned weekly *Public Eye*. Given the relative dearth of commercial advertising in much of the continent, this type of economic pressure has a strong and immediate impact on targeted media.

As of 2021, the African press is in a quandary because both government officials and journalists operate within two opposing press ideologies. Governments require loyalty from the media, whether public or private. Since independence, African leaders have argued that to avoid political instability, media should work in partnership with the government to achieve national development objectives. The partnership model generally works well within state-controlled media where journalists tend to appear as public relations specialists. However, independent media tend to model their professional ethics around the libertarian Western model of a free press that calls for freedom from state intervention. But the state continues to interfere with the work of the press. With the advancement of technology, and as journalists place news online, governments in sub-Saharan Africa participate more and more in digital blackouts. The first known Internet blackout occurred in 2007 when the Guinean president ordered the Internet shutdown following protests calling for his resignation. Using fake news, viral misinformation, and the inability of journalists to verify information, approximately 21 sub-Saharan countries were completely or partially shut down.

Journalists continue to face a myriad of conditions that impact their careers including low wages, poor working conditions, lack of professional training, and a culture of secrecy and self-censorship. Aside from these obstacles is the “brown envelope” syndrome. This is a widespread practice wherein journalists accept bribes or routinely seek payments from the individuals or organizations they cover. As is often the case in government and business, journalists contend that low salaries drive such unethical practices.

Across sub-Saharan Africa, self-regulation through codes of conduct is becoming the norm for encouraging high professional and ethical standards. Some countries, such as South Africa, have multiple codes for newspapers (*The Mail & Guardian's* Professional Code, *Business Day and Financial Mail*, *Die Burger*), television (South Africa's first private free-to-air television channel), professional organizations (the South African Union of Journalists and South Africa National Editors' Forum), state regulatory bodies (the Independent Communications Authority of South

Africa), and those concerned with national health issues (Reporting on HIV/AIDS: Ethical Guidelines for South African Media). Similarly, Tanzania has varied codes of conduct for media managers and editors, journalists, news agencies, and media photographers. There are also subregional codes of ethics. The East Africa Free Press Assembly adopted an East and Central African Code of Ethics in 2001, which was reaffirmed in 2002. Additional codes of conduct can be found in Rwanda, Angola, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

Given continued ethnic strife, a rebirth of authoritarianism in a number of states, massive diversity across the region, the struggle to create and maintain democratic governance that many countries are experiencing, and various legal impediments, press freedom in sub-Saharan Africa remains a constant struggle. Despite these challenges, journalists have built organizations that support a free and independent press as well as self-regulatory bodies to promote and maintain professional standards.

The developments associated with the 1990s wave of democratization transformed the media in most countries from a predominantly state-owned and controlled propaganda tool to a more open and independent media. However, within this open system, there is a myriad of ways in which individual countries have responded to the liberalization and privatization of the media. The news and broadcast media are undergoing immense growth in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet there is a digital divide that separates sub-Saharan African countries from each other and the rest of the world. Mobile technology is rapidly expanding, and journalists are reaping the benefits of this technology.

Most newspapers (government or privately owned) have an online presence. Conglomeration and convergence are shaping the media industry in many countries. As of 2021, broadcasting formats and programming imported from North America, Europe, and China continue to shape the cultural discourse. And despite commonalities, there is not a one-size-fits-all media model. Sub-Saharan Africa has a varied media landscape in terms of media choice, accessibility, levels of government intrusion, and the legal and economic structures in which they operate.

Polly E. Bugros McLean

See also Africa, North; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; PANAPRESS

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AFRICAN AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

African American news media have always focused on reporting the good, bad, and ugly in and affecting the African American community. In recent years, the rising cost of newsprint, reductions in advertising and paid circulation, downsizing of newsroom employees, the advancement of technology (radio, television, and the World Wide Web) for the presentation of news, and the closing of newspapers around the country have adversely affected the expansion and continuance of print media, especially African American print newspapers and magazines. This entry discusses the origins and development of the Black press in the United States, associations and news services involving African American news media, and contemporary African American news media.

Beginning of the African American Fourth Estate

The Philanthropist, founded in Mount Pleasant, Ohio in August 1817 and published and edited by Charles Osborn, has been described as the first abolitionist newspaper in the United States. The first newspaper owned, edited, and published by African Americans was *Freedom's Journal*. Presbyterian minister Samuel Eli Cornish and his partner John Brown Russwurm founded the paper so Negroes could have an avenue to stimulate intelligence and be encouraged to vote, to get a proper education, and become self-reliant, upstanding religious citizens.

Two years after the birth of *Freedom's Journal*, it folded. Two months later, its successor, *Rights of All*, was born with Cornish as its editor. The monthly publication, with its emphasis on equal rights for colored people, lasted 6 months.

Throughout the 1800s, Negro papers were published weekly and monthly across the young nation. Some lasted months, while others lasted years. They included *Weekly Advocate* (1837), which later became the *Colored American* (1837–1842), *Mirror of Liberty*, *National Reformer*, the *Struggler*, *People's Press*, the *Evangelist*, *Ram's Horn*, and *Mirror of the Times*.

Mirror of the Times was established in 1855 in San Francisco. In 1862, the paper merged with *Pacific Appeal*. The merged papers lasted more than 8 years, from April 1862 to June 1880.

The Mystery was first published in September 1843 in Pittsburgh. About 1,000 copies were printed for the first issue. The four-page weekly antislavery newspaper lasted 4 years. It was the first Black newspaper in the state of California and the first one established west of Kansas. The publisher, Martin Robinson Delany, was a Harvard University graduate who later became a medical doctor and an author.

In October 1864, *La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orleans* (*New Orleans Tribune*) was the first Black bilingual daily published in the United States. Twenty-four years later, the *Freeman* of Indianapolis, Indiana, became the first African American newspaper to reach audiences across the nation. The Savannah, Georgia *Colored Tribune* was first published on December 4, 1875 and changed its name the following year to the *Savannah Tribune*. The newspaper, which continued to be published as of 2021, stopped publication only from 1878 to 1886 and from 1960 to 1973.

Christopher James Perry Sr. established the *Philadelphia Tribune* in 1884 and operated the paper for 37 years before turning it over to his son-in-law, Eugene Washington Rhodes. Before his death in 1921, Perry served three terms on the Philadelphia City Council. Rhodes, who was a trained lawyer, operated the *Philadelphia Tribune* for 49 years.

In August 1892, three Baltimore newspapers with religious foundations became one. The *Ledger* was run by George F. Bragg who also was the

pastor of St. James Episcopal Church. The content focused on church and community news. The *Sunday School Helper* promoted and encouraged Sunday school leaders. John H. Murphy Sr., an ex-slave and Union Army sergeant, started the paper while serving as Sunday school superintendent of St. John A.M.E. Church. The Rev. William N. Alexander, pastor of Sharon Baptist Church, established the *Afro-American* to advertise his church and community events and issues. Once the three newspapers were merged, they published under the name of *Afro-American*.

The first two decades of the 1900s would see the birth of three newspapers that eventually would be known throughout the United States and abroad.

First, Robert Abbott Sengstacke began publishing the *Chicago Defender* on May 6, 1905. The *Defender* quickly built a reputation through famous writers and contributors, including Gwendolyn Brooks, Langston Hughes, Ethel Payne, and Ida B. Wells (later known as Ida B. Wells-Barnett). Second, James H. Anderson published the four-page *New York Amsterdam News* on December 4, 1909. The paper sold for a penny and after World War II, its reported circulation was over 100,000 copies. Third, William A. Scott II founded the *Atlanta Daily World* in 1928. (Decades later, the Atlanta newspaper would be purchased by Real Times Media of Detroit, Michigan.)

Throughout the years, owners, publishers, editors, and readers of African American dailies, weeklies, and monthlies filled the pages with news from African American churches, schools, social clubs, and fraternal groups, concerning issues of education, jobs, transportation, economics, politics, and civil rights.

Freed Slaves Become Journalists and Freedom Crusaders

Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells-Barnett were born slaves. Douglass was born to Harriet Bailey in 1818, or some records say in 1817, in Maryland. Years later he would change his name to Douglass. At the age of 10, Douglass was sent to live with his slave owners' family in Baltimore. The mistress of the house, illegally, taught him how to read and write until her husband found

out about it. In 1838, he escaped slavery and first fled to Philadelphia and later to New York City.

Abolitionist and journalist William Lloyd Garrison encouraged Douglass to publish his writings and letters in newspapers denouncing slavery. In 1845, Douglass published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. (In 1882, it was revised as *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.) Also in 1845, the great orator traveled to Europe to give talks against slavery and while there his Quaker friends raised \$750 and bought his freedom.

In 1847, Douglass became editor and publisher of the *North Star*, published in Rochester, New York. Its editorial focus was to attack slavery and advocate for emancipation of those who were enslaved. When the *North Star* was published, the cost of a subscription was \$2 a year if paid in advance and an extra 50 cents if paid within 6 months. However, Douglass' personal investment from his fees earned from his writings, published books, and speaking engagements, ultimately wouldn't be enough to keep the newspaper financially solvent. Most African Americans were too poor to afford the \$2 or \$2.50 and far more were illiterate and couldn't read the paper. In 1851, the *North Star* merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* and became the *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, which became another influential abolitionist newspaper.

In 1859, Douglass fled to Canada to avoid being arrested for allegedly participating in the raid of the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, led by John Brown. When he returned to the United States in the mid-1860s, he started *Douglass' Monthly* magazine with abolitionist information. It primarily was for British readers and it lasted 3 years.

Douglass didn't give up on journalism, however. In 1870, Douglass became one of the editors for a new weekly, the *New Era* in Washington, DC. Later, he bought half interest in the paper and changed the name to *New National Era*. In 1874, the paper failed and he then would support the *New Citizen*, which was owned by his two sons, Frederick Jr. and Lewis. Before his death in 1895, Douglass had served as vice president of the American League of Colored Workers, worked as a lecturer for the Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1889 was appointed as the U.S. minister to Haiti.

Wells-Barnett was born in 1862 in Mississippi. About 6 months after her birth, the Emancipation Proclamation was the law of the land and infant Wells-Barnett and her parents were set free. Her parents would die of yellow fever about 15 years later. For college, she went to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where she wrote for the student newspaper. After college, she moved to Memphis to teach in a segregated school. While teaching, she also wrote for the *Living Way*, often using the name "Iola" for her byline.

Like Douglass, Wells-Barnett reported, wrote, and published what today would be called advocacy journalism. Her writings advocated anti-lynching laws and racial justice. Between 1890 and 1892, much of her work was published in the *Memphis Free Speech & Headlight*, which she was part owner. In 1892, however, her paper was destroyed after she wrote a story about the lynching of her friend Thomas Moss and two other Black business partners who owned a grocery store in the Black neighborhood that allegedly took business away from a white-owned grocer. She fled to New York and later to Chicago because she had been told that she would be killed if she returned to Memphis.

Everywhere Wells-Barnett moved, she found an outlet to write articles, especially against lynching, in a variety of publications. While in New York, she became a salaried weekly writer for the *New York Age* and continued to give presentations against lynching. She even wrote an in-depth article about lynching in the *Age*, which was published by a former slave, T. Thomas Fortune. In Chicago, she wrote for the *Inter-Ocean*, and in 1895, she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, who was part owner and editor of the first Black weekly in Illinois, *The Conservator*.

Like Douglass, Wells-Barnett used her writing, reporting, and communication skills for other organizations that supported African Americans in the areas of integration, equal salaries for teachers, anti-lynching, and equal rights and justice for all. She also was involved with the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with W. E. B. DuBois and Mary Church Terrell. She was a leader in the Illinois suffrage effort and cofounded the National Association of Colored Women. Wells-Barnett published

her autobiography, *Crusade for Justice*, before dying of kidney disease in 1931.

Decades later, Douglass and Wells-Barnett, former slaves and journalists, had another thing in common. They both had a U.S. postage stamp issued in their honor during Black History Month. The stamp honoring Douglass was first issued on February 14, 1967, while that for Wells-Barnett was first issued on February 1, 1990. A second postage stamp was issued in honor of Douglass on June 29, 1995, as part of the commemoration of the 130th anniversary of the end of the Civil War.

From Civil Rights to Black Lives Matter

Owners and supporters of the New York *Amsterdam News*, with the help of the Harlem Businessmen's Club, campaigned to better the African American economic status in the United States. The paper debuted on December 4, 1909 and later, had a slogan that said, "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work." It evolved from the Harlem Businessmen's Club's slogan of "Spend Your Money Where You Can Work."

Reporting issues of economics and civil rights for African Americans helped keep some newspapers alive. Founded in 1905, the *Chicago Defender* increased its visibility as the civil rights movement gained momentum in the 1950s and was emboldened to have a stronger voice in the African American community. In 1956, it became *The Chicago Daily Defender*, the largest African American-owned daily in the United States. It would publish daily for about 52 years before returning to being a weekly newspaper. In 2019, the publisher of the historic paper, Real Times Media, announced that the *Chicago Defender* would stop publishing its print edition and only publish online.

During the urban riots in the 1960s, the African American press lost many talented journalists to the white newspapers and television news stations that needed African Americans to cover the riots and where journalists could earn more than they did in the Black press. In 1968, a report from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (known informally as the Kerner Commission) partially blamed the white press for the riots because of unfair and unbalanced reporting on race matters. Studies have shown that African

Americans continue to be more likely to be portrayed as defendants and perpetrators in the mainstream news media, while whites are shown as victims. For instance, after Hurricane Katrina, a photo of a young Black man wading through the water while holding a plastic bag and a case of soda carried a caption describing this as "looting." A similar photo of a white couple holding bags of food were described as "finding" the food.

Meanwhile, the civil rights movement did not get the attention of U.S. presidents and other federal officials as long as the African American news media were the major source of news reports. Its predominantly African American audience wasn't powerful enough to attract the attention of the powers that be in Washington, DC. But once the mainstream white papers and news stations began to carry news reports with photographs and video of police dogs attacking nonviolent protesters, police officers swinging clubs at African American women and children, and fire hoses being opened on unarmed protesters, the nation's leaders took notice. When physical attacks on white citizens and killings of young white males and females who were protesting beside the young and old in the African American community was broadcast on the evening network news stations, it got the world's attention.

More recently, as the deaths of unarmed young Black men at the hands of police gained more scrutiny in the national press, they were taking notice of a story that had long been told by the African American news media. In July 2013, George Zimmerman was found not guilty of murdering Trayvon Martin the previous year in Sanford, Florida, and #BlackLivesMatter was born. On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown was gunned down in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, by a police officer. He wasn't armed. A national conversation surfaced about police brutality of unarmed Black men and institutional racism. Statistics showed that African American males were more likely to die from police violence than white males. In recent years, many other cases have been reported in both the African American news media and mainstream news media, including Eric Garner on Staten Island on July 17, 2014; Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Ohio on November 22, 2014; Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland on April 12, 2015; Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana

on July 5, 2016; Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota, on July 6, 2016; Anthony J. Weber in Westmont, California, on February 4, 2018, and George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 25, 2020.

Associations and News Services

John H. Sengstacke, the nephew of the Chicago Defender founder, formed what originally was called the National Negro Publishers Association. Years later, the name was changed to the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), but the organization continues to support Black community publications. It also runs the Black Press USA website, which features news from African American journalists and Black community publications. Black Press USA features news from an African American perspective on U.S. and world events, crime, politics, law, economy, business, technology, education, and lifestyle (sports, religion, entertainment, fashion, and health). Contributing to the collection of information, news and editorials are nearly 200 African American-owned community newspapers from around the United States.

NNPA's Credo of the Black Press promotes strengthening Black publications' efforts and impact. It begins:

The Black Press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonism when it accords to every person, regardless of race, color or creed, full human and legal rights. Hating no person, the Black Press strives to help every person in the firm belief that all are hurt as long as anyone is held back. (NNPA, About, n.d.)

In earlier years, there were other news services for the Black press. As early as 1884, the National Colored Associated Press was organized and was able to distribute news, usually via Western Union, to newspapers around the country. More than 40 news services followed, though often short-lived, including Atlantic News Service (Columbia, South Carolina), 1936–1940; Great Eastern News Syndicate (New York City) 1938–1943; Negro News Service (Minneapolis) (1938–1942); Victory News Service (Milwaukee) 1942–1943 and the United Negro Press (Detroit) 1938–1939.

On December 12, 1975, a group of 44 African American print and broadcast journalists from across the United States gathered in Washington, DC. The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) was formed. The purpose was to establish a professional journalism organization that could offer a network committed to creating a diverse and inclusive journalism industry. During its annual conventions and regional conferences, the emphasis has been professional development workshops with networking opportunities, job and internship fairs, resume and portfolio critiques, and updating industry trends, technology, and resources, for young and veteran journalists. Even though over the years the majority of the more than 2,500 NABJ members have worked predominately in the mainstream media, there remains a continued liaison with the Black press via NABJ membership, including employment and internship opportunities. Countless members have gotten their start at Black newspapers, radio stations, and cable television stations.

Contemporary African American News Media

At one time, the radio waves were the best way to reach the African American community with news, music, religious programming, sports, and entertainment. One major company targeting the African American community and reaching about 25 million listeners each week has been the American Urban Radio Networks. The network was created in October 1991 after the merger of a New York company (National Black Network, which was founded in 1973) and a Pittsburgh company (Sheridan Broadcasting Network).

According to the *Editor & Publisher News Media DataBook* for 2019, there were a total of 153 Black newspapers in the United States. A few states had more than a half dozen Black newspapers, including Texas with 20, California with 16, and Florida and Georgia, which each had 11. The District of Columbia had four.

On Jan. 25, 1980, Black Entertainment Television (BET), founded by Robert L. Johnson, first aired its cable programming. Based in Washington, DC, the target audience primarily was African Americans. After that first year, BET expanded from 2 hours of programming a week to 24 hours

of news shows and entertainment, including music videos and reruns of Black comedies. It soon added talk shows, sports features, and political commentary. Ed Gordon anchored BET's first half hour news program and Tavis Smiley hosted a political show, *BET Talk*. Later the network added *BET Nightly News*. One major program that has been a highly rated show on BET since 2001 is the annual *BET Awards* show, celebrating African American achievements in sports, acting, and entertainment. The Viacom-owned cable network boasts that it is seen in 90 million homes.

In a recent American Press Institute survey conducted by the Media Insight Project, the way African Americans consume news was studied. Survey results show that trust and accuracy were important to them, but which media outlet was ranked the highest depended on how people thought the community was covered. Survey results show that 23% said the African American communities were covered very regularly, while 71% said they were covered somewhat regularly or only occasionally and 3% said they were basically never covered. As a result, African Americans surveyed said that of the sources they use, their communities were covered most regularly by local television news stations, second by African American-specific news organizations, third by newspapers, fourth by radio programming, and last by the 24-hour news stations.

Sandra L. Combs

See also Asian American News Media; Diversity in Journalism; Douglass, Frederick; Émigré News Media; Latino News Media; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Agence France-Presse (AFP), the successor to the French news agency established by Charles Havas in 1835, is widely considered to be one of the most prestigious of the global news agencies created during the 19th century. Their purpose then, as now, was to gather news from around the world and sell or distribute it for printing,

broadcasting, or other dissemination in newspapers, radio, television, and other media, as well as non-media clients in the financial, economic, and political realms. AFP is generally ranked third after Thomson Reuters (headquartered in Toronto, Canada) and Associated Press (AP, headquartered in New York).

In 2018, AFP claimed an extensive range and number of bureaus, with operations in 151 countries. Although the statistics may not be precisely comparable to those for other news agencies in recent years, this appears to be more than recent statistics indicate for AP, which operated in 101 countries, and China's Xinhua News Agency, which operated 170 offices worldwide, but fewer than Reuters, which maintained 200 locations worldwide. AFP has traditionally lagged well behind Reuters and AP in annual revenues.

The three major news agencies of the world were originally based in London, New York, and Paris, metropolitan hubs of the three major Western powers of the 19th and 20th centuries. As a result, the approach to providing news, images, and other information at all three have been influenced by the presumptions and preoccupations of these powers, regardless of how well this serves clients elsewhere in the world. In the case of AFP, the decision of its founders to establish the agency as both a domestic and, despite the challenges, an international agency, reflected a desire to retain the place of France and in particular Paris as a leading global center of imperial prestige, journalism, and culture. This entry first discusses the origins of AFP, then looks at the news agency's governance, its dependence on the state, and its efforts to diversify its services.

Origins

AFP may be regarded as the natural successor to the Havas news agency, possibly the world's first international news agency and certainly first among those that are best known or remembered today. At the time of its founding, Havas was both a news organization and an advertising agency, supplying news to newspapers from which it also brokered newsprint space for advertisers to sell their goods and services. It worked closely with the government, from which it received subsidies for its international correspondent network.

Havas was nationalized by the collaborationist Vichy government that administered non-occupied France and the French colonial territories during World War II. Its news service became the basis for the Office Français d'Information (French Information Office, OFI), which in 1942 took over an official collaborationist agency in Paris, the Agence française d'information de presse (French Press Information Agency, AFIP) that was run mainly by German Nazi officers and journalists.

From 1942 OFI was a tool of the German news agencies DNB and Transocean. Havas continued as a travel and media business, emerging later as one of the world's largest advertising and public relations agencies. The London wartime bureau of the Havas news agency became the hub of a Resistance agency, Agence Français Indépendante (Independent French Agency, AFI), established by Paul-Louis Bret, working with support from British official information services and in cooperation with Reuters. AFI was opposed to the German occupation of France but also sought to be independent of Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French Forces, and later chair of the Provisional Government of the French Republic from 1944 to 1946, and president of France from 1959 to 1969.

Bret prepared AFI for eventual conversion into the post-war national news agency of France. Although he had labored from London in an official capacity for the Vichy regime's OFI early in the war, he worked with the British Ministry of Information to maintain services to former Havas clients in South America and in the Near and Far East. Bret also set up an independent agency in North Africa, based in Algiers under the name of France-Afrique, and worked toward the merger of France-Afrique with AFI in London. Personnel from these and other agencies (not OFI), including the resistance agency Agence d'Information et de Documentation (AID) helped establish Agence Française de Presse in August 1944. The new agency was quickly renamed Agence France-Presse. Bret was appointed AFP's second director-general in 1947.

Although AFP was dependent on government funds initially, Bret's vision was that it be an independent agency. Bret contributed to the ideas that underwrote the 1957 statute for AFP that formalized its independence. This was not just a question

of independence from government (although financial independence from the State has never been fully achieved) but also independence from the sale of advertising space that had characterized pre-war Havas and to which socialist Prime Minister Leon Blum was opposed in the late 1930s. Following World War II, Blum again denounced the idea of a link between news and advertising operations.

Governance, State Dependence, and Diversification

AFP's mission statement commits it to the uninterrupted supply of accurate, impartial, and reliable information. In 2018, AFP maintained contractual relationships with 90 national news agencies worldwide, mostly commercial though sometimes based on exchange of services. AFP had bureaus in 151 countries and provided news in six languages (French, English, German, Arabic, Spanish, and Portuguese). The agency regards the addition of new languages for automatic translation of certain categories of news as a strategy for market expansion at a time of crisis for legacy media. In 2018, AFP had approximately 3,000 media clients worldwide and employed 1,500 journalists (over half of a total staff of over 2,200).

As established by a 1957 statute, amended in 2015, AFP is a species of state-supported public company controlled by an administrative council of 19 members, including the director general. The board has seats for five external experts. Additionally, the French newspaper press shares five seats, public audiovisual services have two, the State has three, and AFP staff have three. The reformulated statute regularizes the agency's relationship with the State through a formal contract that involves a dependable and renewable State subvention for both "missions of general interest" and payment for news services. It also establishes an institutional means—AFP Blue—for the raising of new funding and commercial projects.

Since its inception the agency has sustained news coverage from and to most countries and territories of the world, with notable successes in Asia. From the time of its formal establishment under statute in 1957, it has retained a strongly democratic culture involving a tiered system of shared governance whose participants are

newspaper directors, State broadcasters, ministerial representatives, and representatives of the agency's employees.

The cooperative model of news agency governance has declined significantly since the beginning of the 21st century. Examples include the demise of Canadian Press, the New Zealand Press Association, and Sweden's TT as cooperative news agencies. Their decline may be attributed to the travails of their traditional clients. These include concentration of press ownership, shrinking newspaper revenues in an age of digital competition for information and advertising, neoliberal commitment to for-profit models, competition from Internet platforms such as Google and Facebook, and the political and economic challenges of diversification. Yet AFP, like AP and the German news agency dpa, still retains strongly cooperative features. In law, AFP is a publicly owned, autonomous organization with a "civil personality," that operates according to commercial rules.

While AFP's continuing financial dependence on the State is problematic for those of its critics who consider State support anathema to editorial independence, the agency is in good company. Three quarters of all national news agencies are similarly dependent on government revenues, in whole or in part, as are some other significant contenders for the status of global news agency, such as Russia's TASS and China's Xinhua, and some other leading national news agencies that sustain significant international activity such as the government-owned EFE of Spain—which is often described as the world's fourth largest international agency with significant operations in Latin American and Spanish markets.

For many decades and with faltering success AFP has struggled to wean itself from dependence on the State for a substantial proportion of its funding, even if State funding has been justified, at least in part, as State payment for news services rendered. In 2017, AFP depended on the State for 38% of its total revenues of 295 million Euros. The State subsidizes the "services of general interest," the correspondent network outside of France, and strategic innovation projects. Dependence on the State, together with the relative importance of media clients in France and the French territories, has meant that for much of the agency's history

revenue derived principally and substantially from the Francophone world. But with shrinkage of the French media market some 60% of the agency's revenues today derive from outside of France. The State has also been indispensable in providing access to the financial sources necessary for technological advancement, particularly in computerization, digitization, video, and social media.

The agency has persistently sought to diversify its streams of revenue by means of the addition of services in photography, television, video, economic, and other specialized news services. By comparison with some agencies that have developed stronger commercial revenue streams, such as the German agency dpa, AFP was running at a loss in 2017, amidst a self-declared crisis. Further diversification would be a likely response to the increasing challenges that the agency has faced in traditional markets.

New markets, pricing strategies, products, and digital prioritization (including the separation of infrastructure from content and the participation of third-party suppliers) were identified as promising ways forward. Indicative of an intensification of diversification strategies, 40% of AFP's revenue in 2017 derived from visual services, of which 80% came from outside of France. AFPTV had 600 clients and produced almost 3,000 live video stories. AFP ran three Twitter accounts: open, private, and, for paying subscribers, professional. Services of production on demand and of public relations were regarded as areas of growth.

Oliver Boyd-Barrett

See also Associated Press; Havas; Reuters

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AGENDA SETTING

Agenda setting is a concept that explores effects of exposure to news media. The logic behind agenda setting is that the news media do not necessarily tell people *what* to think but instead influence what *people* think *about*—they are an influence on the public's perception of which issues are important. The agenda-setting effect involves social learning—individuals learn the relative importance of a menu of issues based on how much coverage those issues receive in the news media. Since the initial study conducted during the 1968 U.S. presidential election (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), hundreds of research studies have examined this process, making it one of the most thoroughly researched theories in the journalism and mass communication field.

Agenda setting has been a remarkably flexible theoretical approach. Researchers have applied the agenda-setting theoretical framework to studies involving such topics as content analyses of news coverage on a single issue and experiments examining information processing of news content.

The process of agenda setting begins with coverage of a particular issue. For example, a local newspaper could decide to run a series of stories dealing with why we need strict gun control laws. The paper's readers would be exposed to the stories. The stories would not necessarily lead readers to believe that the United States needs strict gun control laws. Rather, the effect of the stories would be to raise the salience of gun control as an issue in readers' minds. The coverage would lead readers to raise gun control on their own agenda of issues with which they are concerned.

Because agenda-setting research concerns the transfer of issue salience from news media to the public, analyses often combine two research methodologies: a content analysis of media coverage and responses to a public opinion survey. Many studies employ a survey item commonly used in

Gallup polls. This “most important problem” question asks respondents: “What is the number one problem facing our country today?” Responses to this open-ended question are then used to form the public agenda.

Agenda-setting research can be grouped into five categories: original tests of the hypothesis, contingent conditions affecting the magnitude of agenda-setting effects, influences on the media agenda, consequences of agenda setting, and second-level agenda setting.

Original Hypothesis

The original hypothesis emerged at a time when media effects research was struggling. Prior research in the 1950s and early 1960s consistently found minimal effects of mass media. Many of these studies, however, were looking for behavioral effects of mass communication—notably, media influence on voting behavior. Early agenda-setting researchers, however, examined a different effect of mass media—a cognitive effect in which individuals learn about the important issues of the day from media coverage. Thus, instead of a powerful (behavioral) effect of media, agenda-setting researchers were proposing a moderate (cognitive) effect.

Agenda-setting researchers have examined this moderate effect using many different methodologies. At the heart of the analyses has been a comparison of two issue agendas: the media agenda or those issues receiving news coverage; and the public agenda, or the list of issues perceived as important by the public. Research centers on how issue salience is transferred from the media to the public.

The original agenda-setting hypothesis proposed an analysis of an “agenda” of issues—or a series of issues. Some researchers, however, have conducted analyses employing a single issue. Single-issue studies are especially effective at examining agenda-setting effects across time—how the rise and fall of media coverage coincides with the parallel rise and fall of public concern about the issue. Issues examined in agenda-setting research have included the economy, the environment, civil rights, and Watergate.

Researchers also have employed different units of analysis. Some studies focus on the issue as the

unit of analysis by aggregating survey respondents—grouping individuals according to the issue that they believe is the most important problem. Other studies examine differences across individuals—which personal characteristics play a role in the agenda-setting process. Finally, agenda-setting effects have been studied in many different countries and cultures. In addition to the United States, these include Taiwan, Germany, Sweden, Australia, South Korea, China, Argentina, and Japan, among others.

Contingent Conditions

From the onset, researchers have sought to discover variables that either enhance or inhibit the agenda-setting effect. Even early researchers acknowledged that effects were not uniform across all individuals. Wayne Wanta (1997), for example, tested a model of agenda setting in which attitudes toward news media led to reliance on media for information about issues. This reliance led to exposure to the media, which in turn led to agenda-setting effects. Also influencing the agenda-setting process were interpersonal communication and political attitudes. If individuals talked often with others about issues that received a great deal of coverage in the news (e.g., the economy), this provided a second exposure to information about the issues and thus increased the agenda-setting impact. On the other hand, if individuals talked often with others about issues not in the news media, issues that received little media coverage (e.g., AIDS), this provided an issue agenda that conflicted with the media agenda and thus lessened the agenda-setting effect. In addition, people highly interested in politics were more likely to attend to media messages, and they therefore become influenced by them.

David Weaver (1997) suggested a similar process is at work. His “need for orientation” concept predicted that if individuals had high uncertainty about issues and were highly interested in issues (issues had high relevance to them), they would be highly motivated to use the news media and thus demonstrate strong agenda-setting influences. Uncertainty and relevance therefore played key roles in the agenda-setting process through the need for orientation.

Educational level appears to be especially important. Studies have consistently found the strongest agenda-setting effects among highly educated survey respondents.

Influences on the Media Agenda

Several agenda-setting researchers have examined how the media agenda is constructed through newsgathering routines. As these routines make abundant use of sources, important sources, such as the U.S. president, can affect the news media's issue agenda. One such study examined a series of presidential State of the Union addresses and whether the news media influenced issues mentioned in the presidential speeches, or if the speeches influenced subsequent media coverage (Wanta, Stephenson, Turk, & McCombs, 1989). The findings were mixed. The issues emphasized in President Richard Nixon's speech influenced subsequent media coverage in 1970. President Jimmy Carter, on the other hand, was influenced *by* media coverage leading up to his speech in 1978. In other words, President Carter was reacting to the media agenda. President Ronald Reagan appeared to have influenced newspaper coverage, but in turn, he was influenced by television news coverage. Thus, Reagan was reacting to newscast coverage, but print media were following Reagan's issue priorities.

The relationship among the president, press, and public has often been termed *agenda building*. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang (1983), in their examination of President Nixon and the Watergate scandal, argued that the president, press, and public are highly connected. A president may discuss an issue, which will in turn receive media coverage that leads to public concern. That concern may lead to additional reactions from sources, which will lead to additional media coverage. This process will continue until one of the three actors tires of an issue.

Other researchers have examined coverage of city council issues and how U.S. automakers' executives influenced news coverage of international trade. Public relations practitioners also have been shown to impact media coverage. Broadly, most studies demonstrate strong influences of sources on the media agenda.

In addition, some research has examined intermedia agenda setting—how elite media set the agenda of other news organizations. *The New York Times* and Associated Press news service, for example, often impact coverage patterns of other media. Intermedia agenda setting has been examined through the Internet as well. Journalists routinely monitor Internet news sites and blogs for news story ideas. In turn, these websites and blogs monitor traditional media for their topics. The relationship between the traditional media and Internet, then, appears to be reciprocal if not circular.

Consequences of Agenda Setting

While research into the sources of the media agenda examine how the news is constructed—analyses of a process leading up to the press–public interface—research dealing with consequences of agenda setting investigates what happens later in the process, after the media agenda affects the public. There are two main sub-streams in this area.

First, some studies have examined behavioral effects that follow the typical agenda-setting influences. Does media coverage ultimately motivate the public into action? In other words, research seeks out potential behavioral effects, such as voting behavior, which was largely abandoned after much early research (prior to the 1960s) showed minimal effects of mass communication. Other behavioral variables examined in agenda-setting research include writing letters to the editor, posting messages on electronic bulletin boards, and purchasing of products—all of which have been linked to media coverage.

Other studies have examined whether public officials act on issues or concerns brought to the fore by agenda setting. Such “policy agenda-setting” studies examine how policymakers take cues from both media coverage and public opinion to propose laws aimed at relieving a societal problem. Thus far, such research has been scant, possibly because many issues receive inconsistent coverage over time. Thus, many policy studies are more anecdotal than empirical. They have examined media coverage and subsequent policy actions for issues such as child abuse and governmental corruption. Another reason for the limited research

in this area is that public officials, the news media, and the public tend to interact with each other in the agenda-building process—creating a circular relationship that is difficult to track.

Studies of the consequences of agenda setting demonstrate the importance of the news media. Not only do the issues covered in the news raise the perceived importance of the issues among the public, but also they often mobilize both the public and public officials to take action.

Second-Level Agenda Setting

The newest agenda-setting research involves the study of a “second level.” Instead of an agenda of issues, second-level agenda-setting research investigates an agenda of attributes—the characteristics of people, places, and things in the news.

Second-level agenda-setting research is closely related to framing. Framing describes the process in which the media “frame” issues in the news by concentrating on certain elements but ignoring others. It is impossible to cover every aspect of every news story, so reporters must choose what to include and eliminate. Neither can the news media include every characteristic of objects in the news. Again, reporters must choose among attributes of objects. The public learns the significance of these attributes based on how often they appear in the news. Thus, the media through their coverage again set the public agenda, in this case, an agenda of attributes.

Researchers have commonly examined two dimensions of second-level agenda-setting research: substantive and affective attributes. Substantive attributes involve information about qualities of newsmakers, such as a presidential candidate’s experience with foreign affairs. Affective attributes involve positive, neutral, and negative qualities. In other words, the substantive attributes deal with facts and affective attributes deal with evaluations of newsmakers.

Maxwell McCombs, Esteban Lopez-Escobar, and Juan Pablo Llamas (2000) found support for media influence on both of these dimensions in their study during the Spanish national election of 1996. First, they found that public perceptions of substantive attributes were closely related to media coverage of those attributes. Likewise, they found that public perceptions of affective

attributes were highly correlated with media coverage. Thus, the public linked both information about candidate characteristics and positive/negative evaluations of candidates to media coverage.

Second-level agenda setting has largely concerned people in the news as the object of the analysis, including analyses of the president or candidates in elections. Recent studies have investigated media coverage and public perceptions of other objects, such as countries and large corporations. Issues also can be examined as an object, with sub-issues acting as attributes. The economy, for example, could be an object, with inflation, unemployment, the budget deficit, gasoline prices, and so on, as substantive attributes.

Conclusion

Agenda setting has been an important theory in mass communication research for a third of a century. It has retained its importance even with the emergence of the Internet as a source of information that differs greatly from traditional news media. And it has evolved to include a second level of study—an agenda of attributes. Indeed, research can focus on many possible agendas and many possible objects. Agenda setting highlights a process of media effects that underlines the importance of the news business. Issues covered in news stories become those that the public believes are important.

Wayne Wanta

See also Advertorials; Associated Press; Bias; Blogs and Bloggers; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Discussion Boards; Environmental Journalism; Framing; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Internet: Impact on the Media; Journalism Education; Letters to the Editor; *New York Times, The*; Objectivity; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of; Theories of Journalism

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AGRICULTURAL JOURNALISM

Some 2 million farms cover 900 million acres throughout the United States, and for many these farms are what come to mind when the word agriculture is used. However, the U.S. agricultural sector extends beyond farm production to include such industries as fishing, forestry, and food production. Agricultural journalism refers to a specialized media system and network of communication professionals that provides news, information, and commercial messages to the agricultural industry and other audiences. Gaining a deeper awareness of the origin and current status of agricultural journalism not only provides perspective on a crucial and diverse industry but also offers a rich historical context in which to better understand mainstream American journalism and consider some of its contemporary challenges.

This entry traces agricultural journalism in the United States from its origins through a period of steady growth over the course of the 19th century, when pioneering editors sought to promote sound farming methods and innovative techniques to

increase yield and sustain the fertility of the soil. The sections that follow discuss the opening of the west to settlement by farmers, who received grants of land under the Homestead Act of 1862, and the establishment of land-grant colleges under the Morrill Act of the same year, which subsequently would transform higher education in the United States. At the same time, the diffusion of innovations became one of the primary missions of agricultural journalism, incorporating the findings of social science research into the body of knowledge that fueled the Green Revolution in the 20th century. Next, the entry details the rise of large-scale agribusiness and the consolidation of agricultural journalism by a handful of giant media corporations, leading to the introduction and rapid adoption of the new media that dominate today's communication landscape.

Beginnings

The beginnings of the agricultural journalism profession can be traced to the early 1800s, when agricultural societies and other organizations took advantage of the only medium of the age—print—to share information about farming. Nearly three-fourths of the U.S. population resided on farms in this era and even more resided in rural areas. Making a living from the land was difficult, manual work. The limited knowledge that existed on farming practices was passed down from generation to generation or by word of mouth. It would be another century before American colleges of agriculture were conducting and disseminating research on recommended agricultural practices. Until then, the task of sharing knowledge and ideas to improve farming methods and rural standards of living was largely in the hands of fledgling agricultural editors and printers.

Throughout the 1800s, many agricultural journals were launched although few were successful for any extended period. This was the penny press era in the mainstream press—publications proliferated largely for their affordability and entertainment value, not their editorial content. Still, this was a pivotal era in communication in which the working-class public was developing an affinity for and dependence on mass media that had not previously existed and would never be relinquished.

Early agricultural publications generally did not participate in the sensational reporting tactics associated with 19th-century journalism. But effective communication with farm and rural audiences was seriously hampered by other challenges, including a lack of reputable sources on sound agricultural practices. Research-based information was not available. The geographic isolation of farmers was compounded by the poor state of roads and lack of dependable mail delivery. Getting information into rural homes was no simple task.

Several progressive agricultural editors of the era used their publications, and political influence, to advocate for farm and rural audiences. Among them was Jesse Buel (1778–1839), a wealthy printer who published *The Cultivator*, a popular farm journal of the period. The forward-thinking Buel experimented with and reported on then-new farming techniques such as crop rotation and soil drainage well before agricultural conservation techniques were widely used on farms. He took up agricultural reform later in his career, serving as an advocate for public education and other farm and rural causes. Another imaginative 1800s agricultural editor, Luther Tucker (1802–1873), founded the highly successful *Genesee Farmer* in 1831, a journal that also championed agricultural soil conservation practices. Tucker is known for his idea of hosting an annual cattle show in New York. He envisioned an event that would both entertain and educate participants. His novel concept, which we recognize today as the state fair, was ultimately adopted in every state.

Through their lifelong editorial and political efforts, Buel, Tucker, and other reform-minded editors carved a path for a *profession* of agricultural journalism long before professional training existed for communicators. The brand of journalism they helped invent involved strong advocacy for, and service to, farm and rural residents. In addition to arguing for sound farming practices, they called for unification of farmers, better roads and schools, and improved living conditions for rural residents. Their ideas were innovative, even revolutionary, for their time and ultimately helped transform agricultural journalism from a craft to a professional activity beginning in the latter half of the 19th century.

Growth and Development

Both agricultural and mainstream journalism in the United States grew alongside the country's rapid growth and development during the latter half of the 19th century. During his presidency, Abraham Lincoln signed milestone legislation that would propel higher education in the United States, initiate agricultural research programs, and improve the lives of working-class and rural residents who still comprised more than 80% of the U.S. population. Perhaps the single most important legislation of the period was the Morrill Act, passed by Congress in 1862, which authorized and provided a plan for the sale of public lands and the establishment of land-grant educational institutions in every state. While land-grant schools were not the first higher education institutions in the country, they stood alone in offering instruction in agriculture and other practical fields to broad segments of society, including working-class residents in each state. Instruction for women was limited to certain fields. The original land-grant legislation was expanded in 1890 and 1894 in federal attempts to address unmet needs of African Americans and Native Americans, respectively. While land-grant colleges of agriculture struggled until the turn of the century to gain farmer acceptance, they gradually built enrollments and in time enjoyed unprecedented success in higher education.

Additional 1862 legislation was transformational for U.S. agriculture and settling of the western frontier. The Homestead Act moved farmers and others westward by offering a free parcel of land to those who settled and lived on it. Westward travel by wagon train was difficult and dangerous, but such journeys would become easier following passage of the Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862, which led to the nation's first transcontinental railroad. The establishment of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, also in 1862, would in time lead to the development of government programs to benefit farmers and consumers, protect natural resources, and achieve other agricultural production and environmental goals. Coming along later in the decade was the 1887 Hatch Act, which established experiment stations at land-grant institutions to conduct agricultural and other applied research important in each state.

It is difficult to overstate the impact of land-grant legislation on the United States of the 20th century. The research conducted by land-grant universities, as well as by other educational institutions and private industry, would lead to the rapid development of new technologies and innovation in food and agriculture, industry, transportation, warfare, and medicine. The rapid technological and economic change occurring at the turn of the 20th century was described in some accounts as going to bed in one country and waking up in another. Everyone did not share equally in the industrial and economic boom. Millions of urban and rural people, and particularly immigrants, continued to face a life of poverty and inequality. Stark differences between the rich and the poor were increasingly evident. Historians have called the late 1800s the Gilded Age, in metaphorical reference to a visible but superficial plating of gold (wealth) that only thinly masked persistent social problems and poverty. Agricultural and mainstream journalism documented the hardships and opportunities of the era.

The knowledge base of agriculture grew exponentially in the early 1900s as land-grant universities and experiment stations proved their worth to farmers and industry. Researchers tested an array of new farming techniques in the lab and field, improved methods for raising livestock, and increased mechanization for planting and harvesting crops. University extension services demonstrated new agricultural practices and use of equipment through field days and demonstrations that attracted thousands of farmers. They also hosted short courses and other programs aimed at improved farm record-keeping and management. One of the more innovative educational methods of the time were extension-service trains with specially equipped railroad cars for demonstrating various new farm and home practices. As the trains traveled from stop to stop, extension experts shared the latest university information with farmers, homemakers, and scores of curious onlookers.

Aided by the development of land-grant colleges of agriculture, farm editors and their publications matured as providers of relevant, research-based farm production news. Editorial positions were fast becoming full-time positions requiring specialized communication and business

expertise. Stories increasingly included results of farming experiments and recommendations for local producers. In addition to providing production information, editors tried to address the needs of the entire farm household. General farm magazines and regionally popular state publications carried serialized fiction, humorous columns, games, and children's bedtime stories in addition to the standard news fare. The publications offered a brief escape from the drudgery of farm life at a time when entertainment options were limited for farm and rural audiences.

The advent of radio broadcasting in the United States during the early 1900s brought a new source of news and entertainment to rural communities. Radio was especially suited for geographically dispersed and isolated communities and was adopted rapidly by farm families. The medium offered a unique and unprecedented product: a live voice or performance that could be heard by geographically dispersed listeners at the same time. Most Americans had never heard the live voice of a U.S. president until Calvin Coolidge delivered his State of the Union speech over radio in 1923. Radio also served as a bridging technology that would pave the way for other electronic communication media to come.

The introduction of radio brought an abrupt end to print media's status as the sole form of mass media providing of farm and home information to rural audiences. However, farm magazines and radio assumed complementary roles and, together, served as media workhorses throughout the first half of the 20th century. General and state farm magazines enjoyed widespread name recognition and were highly trusted among specialized audiences. Radio offered immediacy and was especially well-suited for broadcasting weather, markets, and news updates. Various on-air personalities gained near-celebrity status and admiration from local listeners. Radio's audio quality and reach were being constantly improved. Those enhancements, along with other technological developments, set the stage for yet another new medium in the 1950s: television. As with mainstream media, farm television took advantage of well-known radio talent to develop and host various program offerings. Farm television shows typically aired in early morning time slots to match farmers' schedules.

Undisputed Gatekeepers

Twentieth-century agriculture was fast becoming a research-based field requiring highly specialized content knowledge. During this time, university and private industry expertise solved many of the previous century's technical agricultural production problems. Assembling and presenting research-based agricultural news to farmers and industry became the unique province of professional agricultural journalists, now the undisputed information gatekeepers for small and large farm producers.

Professional entry into the agricultural journalism field had always required understanding of the various facets of agricultural production. Knowledge of science was quickly emerging as an additional requisite skill. Those who were lacking in subject matter knowledge often learned on the job. The blossoming field, a forerunner of modern service journalism, needed writers, broadcasters, photographers, graphic artists, and others with professional communication training and skills to work across traditional and emerging media platforms. By the late 1950s, at least seven national organizations had formed in the United States in response to the need for professional development in agricultural journalism:

- Association for Communication Excellence (established in 1913 as the American Association of Agricultural College Editors);
- American Agricultural Editors' Association (established in 1921);
- National Association of Farm Broadcasting (established in 1944 as the National Association of Radio Farm Directors);
- North American Agricultural Journalists (established in 1952 as the Newspaper Farm Editors of America);
- Agricultural Relations Council (established in 1953);
- Cooperative Communicators Association (established in 1954); and
- International Federation of Agricultural Journalists (established in 1956).

Professional organizations such as the American Association of Agricultural College Editors and the National Association of Radio Farm Directors recognized the value of emerging social

science research as a tool to improve communication efforts. With support from the Kellogg Foundation, a National Project in Agricultural Communications was launched to host workshops and distribute research-based information from such fields as psychology and rural sociology to assist agricultural communication practitioners in their information efforts with farm and nonfarm audiences.

By this time, university academic programs were attracting relatively small but viable undergraduate agricultural journalism enrollments at nearly 20 land-grant institutions nationally. Baccalaureate programs were typically administered by schools of agriculture in cooperation with schools or departments of journalism and communication. There are at least 30 such programs today offering undergraduate and graduate training in this specialized communication field.

Conflict and Consolidation

By the mid-20th century, the Green Revolution was under way and American agriculture was enjoying unprecedented productivity. U.S. farms were getting larger, but their numbers had been declining for years. Media competition was increasing for shrinking farm audiences. Advertising was becoming the main source of revenue for most commercial media, including farm publications, radio, and television. For farm publishers, the trend was shifting toward a controlled-circulation revenue model in which qualified subscribers received publications at little or no cost. The growing dominance of advertising as a revenue stream signaled a significant change in the business side of agricultural journalism and also began to raise questions about possible impacts on content. Evidence from the literature suggests most commercial agricultural publications attempted to maintain a firewall between business and editorial decisions, but pressures would continue to grow.

Just as land-grant university research had revolutionized agriculture earlier in the century, social science research was providing new insights on how mass media could be used to diffuse news ideas and transfer technology to the public. A central figure in this movement was Everett Rogers, a communication researcher who in 1962 described how innovations are communicated to members of a society and the social process by which

individuals decide to adopt or not adopt new ideas or products. The body of research, known as the *diffusion of innovations*, was among the most widely cited social science work of its time and was commonly used by land-grant universities and extension services to encourage farmers' adoption of a range of new technologies and techniques.

Agricultural journalists played a crucial information gatekeeping role in the technology-transfer and farm decision-making process. Accordingly, they were included in a wave of criticism beginning in the early 1970s surrounding the unintended social consequences of widespread farm-level adoption of new technologies. Difficult questions were raised about land-grant colleges' possible bias toward large-scale agriculture and the nature of their relationship with agribusiness at the expense of small farmers, migrant workers, consumers, and rural communities. Professional and social tensions still surround these topics.

Difficulties continued in the following years as thousands of U.S. farms would be lost to bankruptcy in the wake of the 1980s farm crisis characterized by flooded markets, low commodity prices, and high debt. The loss of small and mid-size farms took a devastating toll on rural communities, whose economic survival depended on agricultural businesses. Images of shuttered, abandoned rural businesses and homesteads were commonplace in national media. Sharp reductions in agricultural advertising also led to significant turnover and consolidation of agricultural media in the 1980s. Some publications did not survive. Others, including many well-known state farm publications, were purchased by larger media organizations and underwent massive staff layoffs.

Farm radio stations were affected not only by withering advertising revenues but also later by the Telecommunications Act of 1996. This legislation deregulated station ownership rules, allowing large media corporations to purchase smaller stations across the United States. Consolidation of agricultural media ownership followed a trend across all commercial media during the next two decades. Scores of publications, along with radio and television stations, have been purchased by a relatively small number of giant media companies and chains. As with the mainstream press,

concentration of ownership means fewer journalistic voices in the agricultural space. Media experts caution that fewer voices are not in the best interests of audiences or democracy.

Current State

A revolutionary wave of interactive communication technology became accessible to the public in relatively short order beginning in the 1990s. The introduction of the World Wide Web during that decade was quickly followed by social media and smartphone apps in the 2000s. Seemingly overnight, online digital and mobile platforms transformed communication and ignited consumers' media use and reliance in nearly every aspect of work and recreation. These new media have been adopted more rapidly by consumers and businesses than any communication technology in history.

Farm magazines, for decades considered the backbone of agricultural journalism, now offer interactive websites, apps, and various online portals accessible through laptops, tablets, smartphones, and other devices. Virtually all agricultural print and broadcast media have integrated some or all of these platforms into their communication offerings alongside legacy media. Agricultural websites are as likely to be accessed by tablets or smartphones as they are by computers, so ease of use and compatibility across devices is essential. While social media use is growing, particularly among younger farmers, it is generally considered part of a larger media mix that includes traditional and new media.

While digital media literacy and analytics are valued 21st-century skills in agricultural communication, writing and subject matter knowledge will always be important. Serving farm and non-farm audiences as a disinterested provider of accurate, relevant information for sound decision-making remains the central task in agricultural journalism.

Mark Tucker and Pat J. Polowsky

See also Advocacy Journalism; Convergence; Food Journalism; Media Ownership; New Media; Penny Press; Telecommunications Act of 1996; Trade Magazines

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AL ARABIYA

Al Arabiya satellite TV station, based in Dubai Media City, was established in March 2003 as Saudi Arabia's response to Al Jazeera, the global news channel based in Qatar. The move was an attempt to regain what used to be Saudi dominance acquired through funding Arab media outside Saudi Arabia. An examination of its programming during the U.S. presidency of Donald Trump (2017–2021) suggests that, with some exceptions, Al Arabiya has come to represent the

point of view of conservative Arab monarchies, rather than the populist vision of Al Jazeera. The lavish spending on the station to acquire the latest technology and to hire professionals make it a worthy competitor to Al Jazeera. However, Al Arabiya has not overtaken the popularity of Al Jazeera except in a small number of countries.

History

The station was established with an investment of 300 million dollars by Middle East News, a Saudi production company that also runs the Middle East Broadcasting Center. The Middle East Broadcasting Center Group, which as of 2021 has 18 TV channels, is the largest media company in the Middle East and North Africa. It was launched in London in 1991 and moved its headquarters to Dubai Media City in 2002. Before the establishment of the Qatari Al Jazeera satellite TV in 1996, Saudi businessmen owned almost all of the major pan-Arab media based outside the Kingdom, ensuring that Saudi Arabia and its rulers were rarely scrutinized by that Arab media. While most Arab rulers prevented attacks on the Saudi royal family through laws that restricted such coverage, Qatar gave free reign to Al Jazeera to criticize Arab rulers and governments—an unprecedented act that seriously threatened the soft power of the Saudi media holdings.

An article by Robert Fisk published in *The Independent* on March 6, 2015, summed up the Saudi fears of the Iranians, the Shia, al-Qaeda, ISIS, the Muslim Brotherhood, and of American betrayal and Israeli plots: Above all, they fear the power of tiny Qatar, which owns Al Jazeera and its unbridled coverage of issues Saudi-funded media never touch. In 2017, Saudi Arabia and its allies, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt, laid out an ultimatum of 13 demands for ending their severing of all ties with Qatar. Demands Number 3 and 4 decreed that Qatar was to shut down Al Jazeera and its affiliate stations, as well as news outlets that Qatar funds, directly and indirectly, according to June 23, 2017, edition of *The Guardian*.

Qatari rulers ignored those conditions, and Saudi Arabia and its allies eventually lost the fight. The countries that tried to undermine Qatar are now reconciling with it, with the help of Kuwait.

Al Jazeera, despite the détente, takes digs at those who befriended former President Trump's advisor Jared Kushner and normalized relations with Israel. For example, at the end of a segment on Arab affairs, on June 6, 2021, the program ran a 1-second critical cartoon, which one would not see if one blinked.

History

From the start, Al Arabiya billed itself as the less provocative alternative to Al Jazeera. The choice of Salah Kallab, a former Jordanian information minister as the first Al Arabiya director-general ensured that the station would avoid what Kallab dubbed as "sensationalism," refraining from challenging Arab regimes or making problems for them, according to Ian Urbina in "The Other Air War Over Iraq" in *Asia Times* on March 1, 2003.

Al Arabiya was established in time to cover the Iraq War. Andrew Hammond, Senior Correspondent for Reuters news agency in Saudi Arabia noted in an October 2007 article titled "Saudi Arabia's Media Empire: Keeping the Masses at Home" that Al Arabiya's agenda took some months to unfold after the Iraq War when it ran documentaries about mass graves and other human rights abuses in preinvasion Iraq. Some saw these documentaries as an attempt to reveal facts about tyranny under Iraqi president Saddam Hussein; others saw them as an attempt to undermine the Iraqi insurgency, popular with the Arab masses.

Islamist websites began to refer to Al Arabiya dismissively as Al 'Ibriya or "the Hebrew Channel" because it granted considerable space to American officials and their allies in Iraq and elsewhere to explain their policies after they invaded Iraq in 2003. Like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya broadcast montages of Israeli soldiers putting down the Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising), but it also discredited the activities of the Islamist insurgency movement in Saudi Arabia.

Expansion

Al Arabiya Internet News Service was launched in 2004 in Arabic, in 2007 in English, and in 2008 in Farsi and Urdu. The move to add broadcasting in Farsi and Urdu illustrates a move away from

reaching out only to the West toward attempting to influence people who live and work in the region and, thus, may be subject to what Saudi Arabia perceives as Iranian influence that threatens its regional and media dominance. Broadcasting in Urdu is provided to reach the large Urdu-speaking population working in the Gulf region. Al Arabiya Internet News publishes columns culled mostly from other Saudi publications or written by journalists who support the Saudi policies on Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, and the Palestinian territories. More than 200 articles are published on its website daily in four languages. The website attracts roughly 70 million visitors per month.

In March 2012, Al Arabiya launched a new channel, Al Hadath (The Event), which described itself as an extension of Al Arabiya, and with which it occasionally shares content as well as news bulletins.

Censorship and Attacks on Al Arabiya and Its Staff

When Al Arabiya was in its infancy, Brian Whitaker, Middle East editor of *The Guardian*, predicted Al Arabiya's journalists could feel constrained about reporting fearlessly on succession, internal reform, and the rise of separatist currents in the kingdom (Feuilherade, 2003). Journalists are also constrained from reporting internal affairs of the Emirates. Reporters Without Borders noted on October 29, 2009, and updated on July 21, 2016, that American journalist, Courtney C. Radsch, lost her job at Al Arabiya news website for posting information about safety violations on Emirates Airlines.

Because Al Arabiya competes with Al Jazeera for the same audiences, it initially tried to scoop its rival, which exposed it to censorship and physical attacks. In August 2003, Al Arabiya broadcast a clip of masked men threatening to kill members of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, leading a spokesperson for the U.S. State Department to call the station's action irresponsible. In September 2003, the Governing Council of Iraq restricted the operations of Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera for 2 weeks after the channels showed more footage of masked men calling for attacks against U.S.-led forces. On November 16, 2003,

Al Arabiya broadcast audiotapes by the then-fugitive Saddam Hussein exhorting Iraqis against the United States, leading Iraq's interim government on November 24 to ban it from reporting from Iraq for 2 months.

Al Arabiya's reporters have been the target of several attacks in Iraq. On September 13, 2003, Mazen al-Tumeizi was killed on camera when a U.S. helicopter fired on a crowd swarming a crippled American armored vehicle. An unknown Islamist group calling itself Saraya Al-Chouhada Al Jihadiya fil Iraq (Jihadist Martyrs Brigade in Iraq) in a statement published on the Internet on October 31, 2007, claimed responsibility for attacking the station, accusing it of praising Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi's government and the Americans it described as liberators of Iraq. The group also chided the station for ignoring resistance operations, although the statement's authenticity has not been confirmed, according to a November 3, 2004, report by Reporters Without Borders. In February 2006, three Al Arabiya reporters were abducted and murdered while covering the aftermath of the bombing of a mosque in Samarra, Iraq, among them, a female Iraqi correspondent, Atwar Bahjat.

By its own account, since its launch, 11 Al Arabiya staff members have been killed, including five in a suicide car bombing of the channel's bureau in Baghdad in October 2006, and two by American occupation forces. Jawad Kazem, who escaped from an abduction attempt lost the use of both legs.

Iran indefinitely shut down Al Arabiya's Tehran office on June 21, 2009, accusing it of biased reporting. In contrast, as of June 2021, Al Jazeera reports directly from Iran, including daily accounts on the recent Iranian elections of June 18, 2021. Its news bulletins, for example, included academic experts on Iran who explained the process in great detail.

On October 26, 2019, Reuters reported that Iraq had suspended Al Hadath and Al Arabiya amid anti-government protests in which scores were killed.

Political Orientation of Al Arabiya

In 2004, Al Arabiya was placed under the management of Abdel Rahman Al Rashed, a Saudi

who wrote opinion pieces against Islamists in the Saudi London pan-Arab newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*. Al-Rashed moved Al Arabiya away from the graphic images of the aftermath of bombings and the bloody casualty scenes of the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan that the U.S. military found objectionable toward a more sanitized version similar to what the American media were offering their viewers in the United States.

Under Al Rashed, Al Arabiya also took a turn to the right by discouraging the use of Leftist-leaning British papers in Al Arabiya's international press roundup. Anchors and correspondents were instructed to refer to American troops in Iraq as "multinational forces," not "occupying forces," and hosts were asked to prevent guests from digressing into anti-American rants (Shapiro, 2005). However, the instructions did not result in the total elimination of that terminology due to staff and guest resistance.

Al Rashed saw an opportunity for change through media use when Saudi Arabia announced in 2016 its Vision 2030 to reduce dependence on oil and to restructure education and the economy. Al Arabiya, along with other media holdings, have been recruited into an ambitious plan to loosen the hold of the conservative religious institutions on Saudi society. Al Rashed describes the mission as modernizing religious practice by turning it into a more tolerant "Al-Islam al-Wasati" (centrist Islam). He added that Islamic culture in Saudi Arabia had been more tolerant in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s before political Islam moved in. In the old days, women rode camels and horses, in contrast to the modern era in which, until June 2018, they were not allowed to drive.

Al Rashed exaggerated the liberalism of that era. Saudi Arabia was the last country among the Gulf nations to introduce secular education. The first school for girls was established in 1956. In September 1963, the Saudi government sent official forces to break up demonstrations in Buraydah, whose citizens were protesting the plan to educate women.

However, Al Rashed hoped that by adopting Islamic centrism as a narrative, Saudi Arabia could serve as the leader of the Muslim world. He added that Sunni Muslim countries with larger populations than Saudi Arabia, such as Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, and Indonesia, are not in a

position to lead. He saw the adoption of Islamic Centrism, especially at a time when radical Islamist parties were on the rise, as enhancing Saudi Arabia's soft power, which it hopes to export to the world.

After 10 years as general manager at Al Arabiya, Al Rashed left that position in 2014. He then headed an editorial board at the station to guide policy and to streamline the business across multiple platforms and touchpoints.

To avoid losing its Palestinian audience, Al Arabiya has two nonpolitical programs geared to it. The first, Al Arabiya in the Galilee, deals with the beauty of the region where Palestinian Arabs live and explores the historical significance of some of its sites. The second, Palestine: The Beautiful Face, shows what various Arab cities of the occupied West Bank and those located beyond the Green Line that separates the West Bank from Israel have to offer.

Although Al Arabiya's owners and managers are more accepting of American foreign policy, that does not mean that pro-American opinions are always demanded, or can be. To gain credibility, Al Arabiya has had to employ respected veteran Arab journalists, such as Hisham Melhem, who demand freedom from censorship as a condition of employment. Melhem is the correspondent for Annahar, the leading Lebanese daily and also an analyst for Al Arabiya News Channel in Washington, DC. Melhem hosted *Across the Ocean*, for Al Arabiya, a weekly current affairs program on U.S.-Arab relations. In a February 2020 column, titled "Donald Trump's Train Wreck," he accused President Trump of trampling upon the principle of the separation of powers and of disrespecting the judiciary.

President George W. Bush was interviewed by the station twice, once to explain that abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq was an aberrant incident, not U.S. policy. President Barack Obama chose Al Arabiya to talk to the Arab world, at the invitation of Melhem, a move criticized by progressives who saw his shunning of Al Jazeera as bowing to the U.S. military who castigated the most watched Arab channel for showing the carnage of the invasion of Iraq, which American viewers did not see on American TV.

Similarly, although Al Arabiya, unlike Al Jazeera, avoids showing clashes between Israelis

and Palestinians or the funerals of Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers, some of the footage found its way as background visuals to a song by a Palestinian woman in Al Arabiya's *The Ear Worshipers*, a program that presents noncommercial songs from all over the Arab world.

Al Arabiya regularly publishes and broadcasts anti-Iranian articles and programs. Inside Iran, for example, is a series of investigative reports on the politics, economics, and social life of Iran. When the U.S. government assassinated the leader of Al Quds Force, Qassem Soleimani, a headline read, "Iran Will Bury Its Pride in Soleimani's Grave." Al Arabiya's opinion on the assassination was in direct contrast to the way Al Manar TV covered it. In an article titled "Who Is Crying for Soleimani and Al Muhandes?" reprinted on January 6, 2020, from Asharq Al-Awsat (The Middle East), a Saudi pan-Arab daily published in London, the author stated that the assassination should have happened sooner. The author castigated those who shed tears for Soleimani's assassination at the hands of the United States, including Palestinian factions that mourned Soleimani's death, such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Leftist Popular front for the Liberation of Palestine. The article also criticized Michael Moore, President Obama, and Hillary Clinton because of their Iran policies.

Al Arabiya has also ridiculed Iran and its supporters. It claimed in a February 5, 2020, headline that an Iranian minister's space suit had been exposed as a \$20 Halloween costume on Twitter. It noted on February 9, 2020, that hundreds of Iraqis took to social media to ridicule the call of a prominent Shia political leader, Muqtada al-Sadr, for gender segregation during protests. One Twitter user who drew a mustache on her face shared a video mocking al-Sadr's comments.

Al Arabiya is no friend of Hezbollah or the regime of Bashar al-Assad of Syria. Al Arabiya published disparaging accounts on the Syrian ruler and his wife, Asma, hiring a public relations firm to burnish the image of Syria after its crack-down on protesters, according to a HuffPost report on July 25, 2012. One headline noted that an Al Arabiya documentary had revealed Hezbollah's drug trade and money laundering links in 2020.

Programming

Al Arabiya programs are described in Arabic and in English. The station airs a news bulletin every hour around the clock. Al Arabiya has two all-news TV channels and nearly 30 offices around the world. It also has two press review programs: *The Fourth Estate* and *Last Edition*. *The Fourth Estate* reviews the opinions of the international print media on Middle East news and hosts international journalists who comment on current issues. The *Last Edition* reviews regional and Arab print media and interviews Arab journalists about their perspectives on regional and world events. It also has a program called *DNA, Daily News Analysis*.

Although Al Arabiya has a strong news presence, it also has more light “infotainment” items than Al Jazeera. For example, one item dealt with a man who divorced his new wife because she posted a photo that was trolled online, embarrassing him. Al Arabiya has printed photos of Hollywood actresses attending award ceremonies and parties wearing dresses designed by Arab-American designers. Al Jazeera has a program called *The Large Screen* that reports Hollywood gossip.

Saad Almatrafi, who joined the news channel in 2003, founded the channel’s online portal AlArabiya.net. He later became the first Saudi news producer and helped set up Al Arabiya’s first news bulletin to be solely dedicated to Saudi affairs. *From Iraq* interviews influential figures to gain insights into the daily problems and concerns of Iraqis, as well as on how they see their future. *Retracing Arab Footsteps* (Ala Khota al-Arab) narrates the biographies of the most prominent Arab figures in history and highlights the incidents and stories that happened during their era. *Ida’at* (Spotlight) hosts prominent guests from the Gulf region. *Political Memoirs* hosts prominent former politicians from across the Arab World. *Special Interview* features prominent figures discussing current affairs. Guests have included Wendy Sherman, the former U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. *Rawafid* (Tributaries) delves into the lives of artists and poets, directors, and historians. *Poll on Air* seeks to gauge the feelings of the Arab Street (i.e., of

ordinary citizens, as opposed to politicians) through phone calls, emails and internet voting, and displays the results on a ticker on the screen. *Mahattat* (Stations) covers three segments of new or weird aspects of life. *Point of Order* hosts “controversial characters” (e.g., Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy). *Under the Spotlight* hosts three or four guests from different countries with varying opinions to shed light on a hot topic. Al Arabiya’s weekly show *Death Making* provides insights and analysis into the religious, social, economic, and political dimensions of terrorist attacks across the globe. In *Terror in KSA*, Al Arabiya explores how the country has fought terrorism and extremism over the years.

The channel’s business website alaswaq.net, which translates to TheMarkets.net., covers financial and market news from the Middle East in Arabic. For example, Al Arabiya covered the “strategic consortium,” which will extend a \$500 million grant to African youth to build human capital, by speeding up digital communication and training. The website also reports extensively on the execution and progress of the Saudi Vision of 2030. According to BroadcastPro, October 1, 2020, Saudi Research and Marketing Group appointed veteran journalist and former Al Arabiya executive Nabil Khatib as general manager of the upcoming Asharq TV station, based in Dubai International Financial Centre. The project is the result of a cooperation agreement between Riyadh-based Saudi Research and Marketing Group and Bloomberg and is intended to be a multiplatform Arabic-language business and financial news service.

Awards

At a summit launched by leading Arab social media influencers at the Dubai World Trade Center, Al Arabiya English won the Arab Social Media Influencer Award for media under the category of institutions, according to a December 20, 2018, report by Al Arabiya.

Al Arabiya’s Creative team won the Newscast Studio Award for Set of the Year in 2016, AR/VR category for its coverage of the U.S. elections. Al Arabiya was also selected for the Best of the Best Award in the Design Category between Vizrt

customers, numbering 3,500 customers worldwide, according to an Al Arabiya report on March 6, 2018.

Coverage of Religion

The station's current coverage of religion may be called *utilitarian* and *educational*, rather than doctrinaire. One of its programs covers the readers of the Quran from several Arab countries. Another devotes its segments to informing viewers on services available to them when they make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The station attempts to tell stories using a human-interest angle. After citing the 157,538 employees it took to make the 2017 Mecca Hajj (pilgrimage) successful, Al Arabiya English noted that the pilgrimage is about human stories. It gave the example of two Palestinian siblings who were torn apart 15 years earlier due to the occupation of the Palestinian territories. Bushra was reunited with her brother in Mecca after he left with his children to Australia. It is the story of an Omani elder who had saved up for years for his pilgrimage, only to die of a heart attack two nights before the Hajj officially began. The same article noted that Al Arabiya News Channel deployed the state-of-the-art Inspire Drone cameras to give the audience a bird's eye view of the pilgrimage.

The government's crackdown on extremely conservative Saudi clerics who issued controversial fatwas (religious rulings) freed citizens to criticize them on the Internet and on Al Arabiya. In February 2020, Sheikh Adel al-Kalbani, former Imam of Mecca Grand Mosque admitted on Rotana, the leading producer and distributor of Arabic music and film, that clerics, like politicians, make mistakes, but refused to change some of the old fatwas on women. He was met by a barrage of online criticism unthinkable in an exchange between a religious authority and a citizen only a few years earlier. A Twitter user accused the 1979 Awakening religious movement, of which he was a part, of being the main cause of women's suffering, and suggested he compensate the women hurt by that movement (Khalid, 2020). While Al Arabiya covers how crown prince and minister of defense Mohammad Bin Salman dealt with conservative clerics and with the rich members of society accused of

corruption, it does not allow vigorous criticism of the severe measures he took against dissenting women and journalists.

Viewership

Over the years, polls have differed on how popular the station has been. A U.S. State Department poll in seven Iraqi cities in October 2003 found that among Iraqis with satellite dishes, 37% named Al Arabiya as their preferred news source, followed by Al Jazeera at 26%. A Zogby Poll conducted in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates in October 2005 asked which networks people chose for international broadcasts. The results revealed that 65% of respondents chose Al Jazeera, and 34%, Al Arabiya. However, the poll was criticized for not polling Iraqis.

Ipsos-Stat TV research revealed in November 2005 that Al Arabiya was the most watched news channel in Saudi Arabia. The report noted that the station enjoyed nearly 24% viewership during primetime, with a 1.4% lead over its closest competitor, Al Jazeera. This report prompted Marc Lynch, author of a 2015 book on Al Jazeera, to note that the headline was misleading and could easily mean that Al Jazeera appeared to be running almost even with Al Arabiya on its own home turf—only trailing by 1.4%, which may have been within the margin of error (which was not provided).

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Jazeera; Al-Manar; Middle East

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AL JAZEERA

Al Jazeera, specifically Al Jazeera Arabic, was the first global news channel broadcasting in Arabic from Qatar in the Middle East, rather than from Europe. It is the most-watched station in the Arab world, and in 2005 management consulting company Inter-Brand ranked it as the most recognizable and influential news brand globally.

The station has generally ignored Arab media laws that forbid criticism of rulers, other Arab countries, foreign ambassadors, the handling of the national currency, the army, and the frank discussion of sex and religion. Being true to its slogan, “the opinion and the other opinion,” it allows both sides of any issue to be interviewed, a feat that has won it many fans formerly subjected to official censored broadcasts, but also many enemies not used to allowing freedom of speech to their opponents.

Al Jazeera, which means “the Peninsula,” has brought the small country of Qatar to the fore of Arab and international politics, edging out Egypt and Saudi Arabia as the media leaders or funders in the Arab world. Critics and defenders agree that the station is important for

1. creating a vibrant pan-Arab and interregional news space in which viewers can discuss formerly taboo political and social issues authoritarian Arab governments can condemn, but not directly censor; and creating news bureaus that have been bombed several times but could not be silenced;
2. giving dissidents in the Arab world a forum denied them by their own governments;
3. making an Arab country an important source of international news, so that Arabs need not rely on the West for information about themselves;

4. instituting the “New World Information and Communication Order” discussed during the UNESCO debates of the 1960s and 1970s, thus reversing the direction of news transmission by making it move from East to East and West, and from South to South and North;
5. forcing Western governments to take account of Arab and Islamic public opinion, after years of relying solely on the opinion of Arab rulers;
6. forcing important U.S. government officials to play on Al Jazeera’s own media turf by granting it interviews after initially ignoring the station;
7. enabling Arab viewers to confront the reality of Israel by interviewing Israeli officials.

After reviewing the history of Al Jazeera, this entry discusses its programming, its success in beating the international media to stories, as well as concerns for its employees. The entry ends by discussing other channels within its network, including Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera America, and AJ+.

History

The establishment of Qatar’s Al Jazeera in 1996 came through a lucky set of events. The BBC, which has always had a strong Arabic section with staff drawn from several Arab countries, signed a deal with the Saudi-owned company Orbit Communications to provide Arabic newscasts for Orbit’s main Middle East channel. When Orbit pulled out of the deal, the Prince of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, hired 150 out of the 250 BBC’s Arabic service employees. The prince financed the station in an amount of \$137 million annually, initially until November 2001, to ensure its quality. At the same time, he adopted a hands-off policy on its content, leaving that to its board of directors. Qatar continues to finance the station. By dedicating Al Jazeera to news, instead of entertainment, however, and by allowing the station editorial independence, the rulers of Qatar signaled to the Arab world that Qatar was radically departing from the Saudi practice of controlling the media they finance.

Andrew Hammond (2007), Senior Correspondent for Reuters news agency in Saudi Arabia, wrote that Saudi Arabia has expended great resources to ensure good coverage or no coverage

of its politics and society. It has done that by buying or establishing media outlets abroad, and broadcasting entertainment and “soft religion.” Saudi Arabia’s main rival before Al Jazeera was Egypt’s pre-Sadat Arab Nationalist ideology of former president Gamal Abdel-Nasser, which had not faded after his death. Hammond drew a contrast between the two approaches to media when he wrote that Nasser’s “media of mobilization” (*i’lam ta’bawi*) gave way to Saudi Arabia’s “media of pacification,” or *i’lam tanwimi*. He added that, “If Abdel-Nasser wanted you *fi-[il]shari’* (on the streets), Al Saud wants you *fi-[il]sala* (in the living room).”

The station’s embrace of dissidents from all over the Arab world led six Arab countries to withdraw their ambassadors from Qatar, while others, such as Saudi Arabia and Tunisia (before the Arab Spring in the early 2010s), refused to allow Al Jazeera to open offices in their countries. Israel also harassed Al Jazeera reporters and kept them from events others covered. Israel has attempted to ban Al Jazeera altogether.

In March 2006, Al Jazeera was formally named Al Jazeera Network. In 2020, it consists of the flagship Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Mubasher (Direct), Al Jazeera Documentary, Al Jazeera Balkans, and the digital platform AJ+. The network boasts having the largest news-gathering operations in the world, and bureaus in 80 countries.

By November 2007, Al Jazeera employed 41 on-air presenters, 15 of whom were women from various Arab countries, but none a Gulf national. Whereas in the past Arab stations depended on foreign news video to tell their stories, Al Jazeera relies on correspondents who represent different currents of thought drawn from all over the Arab world. An examination of staff biographies posted on Al Jazeera in 2020 shows that its reporters are a cosmopolitan and educated group who speak several languages. Al Jazeera’s bureau chief for Palestine and Israel speaks Arabic, Hebrew, and English. Al Jazeera’s correspondent in Russia is an Iraqi who received a PhD in nuclear physics from that country in 1993, and so speaks Russian. The channel’s correspondent in China is a Palestinian medical doctor who studied traditional and non-traditional medicine in China after mastering the language in 1980–1981. He has worked in China,

Laos, and Korea as a diplomat before being hired by the station. He told the *People's Daily* that, in the past, Arabs saw China through Western eyes, but that no longer needs to be the case. Al Jazeera's journalists spent a week broadcasting from China and exploring its party structure, its development philosophy, its art, theatre, and architecture. Popular with Arab audiences, however, were interviews with Chinese students who showed mastery of the Arabic language they were studying. In May 2005, Al Jazeera signed an agreement of cooperation with China Central Television (CCTV), according to Xinhua News Agency.

Programming

Al Jazeera is primarily a news and public affairs channel. The station broadcasts daily press reviews and weekly roundups in which it summarizes news reports on Middle East issues in Arab and international papers. Al Jazeera also features documentaries such as *Our History and Their Archives*, a series in which Arab history is told through the archives of mostly European powers that colonized the area in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *The Book Is the Best Companion*, and *I Read for You*, deal mostly with academic books on Middle East politics. Both shows invite either the books' authors or professors to summarize and then discuss the selected works.

Al Jazeera was mostly known for its weekly political talk show programs, *More Than One Opinion*, *The Opinion and the Other Opinion*, and *No Limits*. Al Jazeera's popular program, *The Opposite Direction*, once pitted Safinaz Kazem, a religious woman from Egypt, against Toujan Faisal, a Jordanian feminist former member of parliament who had had run-ins with the Muslim Brothers in Jordan over her interpretation of Islam. Kazem, arguing the traditional view that marrying several wives is better than having a mistress, walked off the set while the show was on air when the discussion got heated.

Al Jazeera highlighted women's rights and their political and professional achievements in two programs, *For Women Only* and the one that replaced it, *Pioneers*. Both programs expanded women's programming beyond the kitchen and the nursery where it had resided for years. But the main contribution, according to Naomi Sakr

(2007), was their "taking as their starting point that qualified women should be aiming for decision-making jobs and that the subject of debate was not whether to aim for them but how" (p. 142).

The level of political interactivity of Al Jazeera in large part accounts for its popularity. Four broad issues occupy Al Jazeera: Palestine, Iraq, reform, and the United States, according to Marc Lynch (2006), a political scientist who is proficient in Arabic. Lynch wrote that, on the station's call-in shows he examined, "almost any voices could potentially be heard and individuals were placed into unscripted, uncensored dialogue over which hosts could exercise only some control" (p. 248). The contentious religious and ideological debates and confrontations may keep viewers coming back, but have led some critics to accuse Al Jazeera of sensationalism. While Muhammad Ayish (2005) credited *The Opposite Direction* with revolutionizing the way programs are introduced, he concluded after analyzing 10 of its episodes that its host's use of brinkmanship to egg on participants is not useful to political culture because "such talk shows need to promote real dialogue rather than sensational shouting matches among participants" (p. 125).

Al Jazeera has always covered the United States extensively, including broadcasting U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) briefings in full. However, Al Jazeera's unedited on-air programs critical of the United States' wars and policies in the Middle East continue to get the station in trouble with Arab rulers allied to the United States and with the American administration. Lynch (2007) concluded in a study that examined the transcripts of 11 talk shows that despite various criticisms lodged against Al Jazeera, its diverse forums allow for dissenting views and reasoned analysis "albeit within a generally accepted [Arab] identity framework. These debates produced a consensus that was hostile not only to the American project, but also to the perspectives of the Arab regimes eager to stifle reform" (p. 116).

The U.S. government may object to Al Jazeera's coverage, but after September 11, 2001, its top officials have begun to address Arab public opinion which they had previously ignored. For example, during the George W. Bush administration, officials such as Secretary of Defense, Donald

Rumsfeld; National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice; and Secretary of State, Colin Powell; appeared on the station.

Candace Heckman reported in 2002 that the U.S. government's attempts to prevent Al Jazeera from airing the Bin Laden tapes failed, earning the station the wrath of the U.S. administration. In defense of the station, Hafez Al Mirazi, then host of *From Washington*, found that stance "ridiculous, especially coming from the leader of the free world" (Rose, 2003). British journalist Hugh Miles (2006) explained that "When Al Jazeera offers its estimated 50 million viewers exclusive interviews with Osama bin Laden, it's easy to confuse access with endorsement" (p. 20). Al Jazeera was a pioneer in interviewing Israelis; however, some of its Arab viewers accused it of being in the pay of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency or the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad.

Al Jazeera Scoops International Media

Two events of the early 21st century serve as examples of reporting by Al Jazeera that scooped the international media. The first is the War in Afghanistan, which started in October 2001, when the United States invaded to oust the Taliban who were protecting those believed responsible for the attacks of September 11, 2001. The second is the Iraq War, which began in 2003 when a coalition led by the United States invaded to overthrow the dictatorial rule of Saddam Hussein. The following subsections discuss these and other Al Jazeera scoops.

War in Afghanistan

Unlike Western media, Al Jazeera had opened an office in Afghanistan 2 years before September 11, 2001. Prior to that, Western media had been offered the opportunity to set up news bureaus there but declined. Since September 19, 2001, when the Taliban evacuated the last foreign journalist from the capital Kabul, only five reporters—two Al Jazeera correspondents in Kabul and Kandahar and three Afghan reporters working for Reuters, Agence France-Presse, and Associated Press news—have been allowed to stay, forcing all Western stations to use Al Jazeera footage. An examination of the footage and transcripts of Al

Jazeera broadcasts of video of Afghani casualties in October 2001, however, reveals that CNN used the Al Jazeera footage, running only photos of physical damage, not the attendant human cost. In contrast, Al Jazeera went to hospitals, talked to the parents of those who had died, and showed close-ups of severely wounded and dead children.

Iraq War

During the Iraq War, Al Jazeera had eight teams all over Iraq, allowing it to scoop international media with its coverage. The staff of Al Jazeera had a hard time battling, first the Iraqi handlers before Saddam Hussein disappeared, and later, the U.S. military who detained several Iraqi Al Jazeera staff members. To answer a demand for coverage, Al Jazeera had launched an Arabic language website in 2001 to cover news of Afghanistan, and an English-language website in 2003 dedicated to special coverage of Iraq. The station concentrated on the loss of Iraqi lives, infrastructure, and culture due to the heavy bombing of Baghdad in March 2003.

When the United States bombed the Iraqi TV station, a lone former employee dug up 16 mm films from under the rubble and told Al Jazeera that the loss was not of Saddam Hussein's coverage but of the documentary history and culture of Iraq. Al Jazeera showed the destruction of the first theatre established in Iraq and the damage to the art gallery housing the works of Iraqi artists. It showed how Iraqi citizens were unknowingly using contaminated containers left by the U.S. forces, thus endangering their health.

Through its reporting, Al Jazeera neutralized some of the U.S. psychological operations (PSYOP). The coalition commanders, for example, claimed that Iraqi troops had been surrendering in droves, they reported that morale had collapsed in the south of Iraq, and that most of the Iraqi 51st Division had become prisoners of war (POWs). Al Jazeera's reports contradicted some of these claims. When a marine commander in Qatar described an Iraqi claim to have captured U.S. troops as "Iraqi lies," Al Jazeera broadcast pictures of five captured U.S. servicemen, according to Hugh Miles (2003). Al Jazeera even interviewed an Iraqi military leader the American spokesperson claimed had surrendered. The Iraqis also

made false claims of their own that Al Jazeera had broadcast and sometimes refuted.

At a time when the United States was projecting a “shock and awe” stance, Iraqi TV rebroadcast video of dead U.S. soldiers as well as video of American POWs. That, combined with the way the station covered the first Battle of Fallujah in 2004 by concentrating on civilian casualties and the plight of families who were forced to leave the city, earned the station the enmity of the American administration and some members of the American public. Such coverage led to resistance to allowing Al Jazeera to broadcast in the United States, although it was available through a Dish Network TV subscription.

The United States bombed Al Jazeera offices in Afghanistan in 2001, shelled the Basra hotel where Al Jazeera journalists were the only guests in April 2003, killed Al Jazeera’s Iraq correspondent Tareq Ayoub and two Spanish journalists a few days later when it bombed the Palestine hotel in Baghdad. According to Jeremy Scahill (2005), Britain’s *Daily Mirror* reported that during an April 16, 2004, White House meeting with British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the peak of the first U.S. siege of Fallujah, President Bush floated the idea of bombing Al Jazeera’s headquarters in Qatar, according to a leaked “Top Secret” minutes of the Bush-Blair summit. Al Jazeera’s exclusive footage was being broadcast by every major network, including CNN and BBC. The No. 10 memo raised doubts about U.S. claims that previous attacks against Al Jazeera staff were military errors.

Furthermore, following the “handover of sovereignty in Iraq” the U.S.-backed Iyad Allawi, prime minister, closed the offices of Al Jazeera and banned it from operating for a month on August 7, 2004. Al Jazeera broadcast a short clip in which accusations leveled against the station by the Saddam Hussein-era government officials were intercut with similar statements made by Allawi and his officials, suggesting that nothing had changed for the media in Iraq. Despite Allawi’s antipathy toward the station and his placing his 2005 ads in Al Arabiya, its rival, when he wanted to reach the pan-Arab audience in August 2007, he chose Al Jazeera, and even submitted to an interview by a well-informed Iraqi presenter, Layla Sheikhali.

Additional Scoops

The station continues to scoop international media and even Arab media in different countries. For example, in July 2007, Al Jazeera showed ballot stuffing in Egypt, shot via a long lens through a window of a polling center.

Al Jazeera has had a profound effect on Arab public opinion. Demonstrations erupted in several Arab countries in support of Palestinians after Al Jazeera broadcast images of the 2002 Israeli siege of the city of Jenín. Its broadcast of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 has been credited with giving those revolutions unprecedented real-time coverage. With contributions from Arab revolutionaries on the ground, the station was able to bypass two sources of marginalization of Arab public opinion: Arab governments that used to control traditional borders and prevent journalists from other Arab or foreign media from entering their countries; and Western news agencies, which many Arabs felt treated their issues unfairly.

Attacks Against Al Jazeera Employees

Most Arab countries as well as Israel have at one time or another censored Al Jazeera, expelled its correspondents, or closed its offices. In 2017, Bahrain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates boycotted Qatar and imposed 13 conditions on the country, including closing Al Jazeera, in order to lift the boycott. Qatar, with the help of Iran and Turkey defied the boycott and the conditions imposed on it, and Al Jazeera remained open.

Israel, which in the past had excluded Al Jazeera reporters from official briefings, plans to ban the channel for good. In 2020, Israel’s communications minister introduced a draft bill that would allow the government to close Al Jazeera’s Israel bureau, revoke its license to broadcast on local cable and satellite channels, and strip its journalists of accreditation, according to an August 10, 2017, op ed column by Sherif Mansour in *The New York Times*, titled, “‘The Middle East’s Only Democracy’ Goes to War on Press Freedom.” In May 2021, Israel’s military destroyed a tower in Gaza in which Al Jazeera had a bureau.

Al Jazeera photographer Sami Al-Hajj was kidnapped on his way to Afghanistan on assignment as an Al Jazeera cameraman on December 15, 2001. Even though he had a valid visa, he was held at Guantanamo as an “enemy combatant” for 6 years. His lawyer, Clive Stafford Smith, attested that he was tortured by U.S. interrogators. Stafford Smith noted that during 125 of 130 interviews, U.S. officials had questioned Al-Hajj on whether Al Jazeera was a front for terrorist organization al Qaeda, and were more interested in recruiting him as an informer than interrogating him for what he had supposedly done. He and others went on a 438-day hunger strike, during which they were forced, according to reporting from Reporters Without Borders (2006). Al-Hajj was released in 2007.

Daniel Marans, writing for HuffPost, noted in June 9, 2017, that Egyptian president Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi and his Saudi and Emirati backers accused Qatar of using Al Jazeera to promote the Muslim Brotherhood, which they deemed a terrorist organization. Al Jazeera argued that it was merely covering popular opposition to the el-Sisi coup and the victims of the government’s repression. El-Sisi’s forces nonetheless arrested three Al Jazeera English journalists in December 2013 on trumped-up charges of involvement with the Brotherhood. Egypt did not release them until 2015, after Al Jazeera shuttered its Arabic-language Egyptian channel Mubasher MISR [Egypt Direct] in December 2014.

Israeli Ha’aretz columnist Zvi Bar’el wrote on August 22, 2017, in a column titled, “It’s Fun to Hate Al Jazeera,” that while he believed that Al Jazeera was not objective because it does not criticize “the corruption and evils” of Qatar, he added that something similar may be said about the Israeli right-wing daily Israel Hayom, and Fox News, neither of which criticize their “lords and masters.” He added that it was “too easy, very cowardly . . . to join the Arab and Israeli tradition of tarring and feathering Al Jazeera as the enemy of the world.” While attempting to revoke the credentials of a senior Al Jazeera journalist in Jerusalem is a desperate move, “But at least Israelis will have Al Jazeera from which to learn about what’s going on in their country and the areas it occupies.”

A special issue devoted to Al Jazeera in *Al-Hadath* magazine in March 9, 2000, concluded that 50 years from that date, “historians would rate the establishment of Al Jazeera as one of the most important events in the Arab political arena at the end of the century.” Others credit the station for loosening the stranglehold of Saudi money on Arab media globally, and many credit it with helping to spread the revolutionary message of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt.

Al Jazeera English

Al Jazeera English (AJE) identifies itself as a channel that focuses on events that affect people’s lives by highlighting topics that often go underreported, presenting all sides of the story and giving a voice to the voiceless. AJE boasts on its website that it is “reshaping global media and constantly working to strengthen our reputation as one of the world’s most respected news and current affairs channels.” The number of prestigious awards AJE has won in recent years attests to the accuracy of that boast.

On April 21, 2020, the New York Festival TV & Film Awards named AJE “Broadcaster of the Year” for the fourth consecutive year. The channel won 14 gold, 19 silver, and 23 bronze medals for its news coverage and programs as well as for its Investigative Unit and its Digital Division. In recent years, AJE has won a Peabody, an Emmy, an NRMA Kennedy award for Excellence in Journalism, and a Royal Television Society award. In 2020, one of its documentaries was nominated for an Academy Award. The channel was competing with entries from over 50 countries, according to an April 22, 2020, post by AJE. Al Jazeera Media Network has won four Webby awards. The network was competing with more than 13,000 entries from media organizations including The Washington Post, National Geographic, Disney, The New York Times, HuffPost, and Vox.

AJE started broadcasting as a 24-hour English-language news and current affairs channel on November 15, 2006. Even though it set as its original launch target 40 million cable and satellite homes, in 2020 it broadcast to more than 310 million households in more than 140 countries. Al Jazeera has more than 3,000 staff from over 70

nationalities, making its newsrooms the most diverse in the world. The channel covers Asia, Africa, and Latin America daily, not just when disasters strike.

AJE is now determined to obtain broad distribution in the highly competitive United States market, which has been closed to it due to conservative pressures on cable TV stations as well as commercial considerations. The news station has attracted veteran journalists from around the world. Delinda Hanley (2007) quotes Mark Seddon, AJE's UN and New York correspondent, that U.S. news has become "infotainment." He sees AJE as an alternative to American stations that chase ratings by catering to the lowest common denominator. Because Qatar's prince funds Al Jazeera Network, it is free from the economic pressures that drive U.S. media. AJE broadcasts from Doha, Qatar; London, Washington, DC; and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; and has 80 supporting bureaus—in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Australia. AJE has a strong presence in Africa through its bureaus in Egypt, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, and it shares the resources of Al Jazeera Arabic channel's African bureaus located in Chad, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, and Sudan.

The station seeks out interesting stories neglected by the Western-oriented media in Latin America, Southeast Asia, the G8 countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States), and the Middle East. Half a million of Al Jazeera's viewers are Israeli. AJE is also seeking a deeper penetration in India and China. In the United States, the station may be seen via Buckeye Cable, Ohio; Burlington Cable, Vermont; Washington Cable; Fision (IPTV), a fiber-optic entertainment network seen only in Houston. Elsewhere, viewers may view the station on several Internet sources.

When the station first started, there was some dispute over its identity, with some in the Arab world suggesting that it is of no use to fund such a station if it would be no different than other Western TV stations regarding Arab issues, a view expressed by Khalid Amayreh (2006). But AJE sees itself as the world's first global English language news channel to be headquartered in the Middle East. Its website notes that

From this unique position, Al Jazeera English is destined to be the English-language channel of reference for Middle Eastern events, balancing the current typical information flow by reporting from the developing world back to the West . . . The channel gives voice to untold stories, promotes debate, and challenges established perceptions.

Al Jazeera's Digital Platforms

Al Jazeera English's entry into the digital media field started in 2014 with AJ+, whose short clips garnered over 5 billion views. That was followed by a pioneering effort by Dima Khatib who started AJ+ in Arabic, designed to attract Arab youth to Al Jazeera in platforms they use and understand.

According to Al Jazeera Management Profile (2020), Dima Khatib, who holds a master's degree in translation from Geneva University in Switzerland and speaks eight languages, is the Managing Director of AJ+ digital platform in its three languages: English, Arabic, and Spanish. Khatib started with Al Jazeera Arabic in 1997 as a broadcast journalist. She became a news producer, known for managing the coverage of the invasion of Iraq, was the first female bureau chief of Al Jazeera. Following her intensive coverage of Arab Revolutions on social media, Dima was classified as the most connected woman on Twitter in the Middle East in 2012. She used that skill in 2016 when she invited 100 young Arab media influencers to Qatar to launch AJ+ digital platform in Arabic. AJ+ won the Shorty award for the best presence on Facebook, and two Webby awards, one for news and the other for its coverage of refugees in Europe.

Al Jazeera's decision to establish and then strengthen its digital platforms attracted younger viewers, as it reported on March 25, 2020, had achieved a record of 1.4 billion viewers over the previous 90 days. This number represents an increase of 20.8% compared to the preceding 3 months, and an increase of 31% compared to the same period in 2019. Al Jazeera's digital section provides content in six languages, reaching its audience through various platforms and state-of-the-art applications. According to Al Jazeera Media Network, on June 19, 2019, Al Jazeera

Digital won a One World Media Award, for its interactive graphic novel *Lost Childhoods*, with its “skillful weave of investigations, videos, photos and illustrations that brings to light” disturbing physical, emotional, and religious abuse against children in Nigeria by branding them as witches.

Al Jazeera’s interactive unit, AJLabs, not only produced this graphic novel but also worked with nongovernmental organizations to translate it into local languages for distribution in schools and churches in Nigeria, in an attempt to educate people and end the practice. *Lost Childhoods* won against shortlist nominees PBS *Frontline* and the BBC’s *Africa Eye*. It was the second win for the interactive unit, which also won top prize in the innovation category at the Amnesty Media Awards ceremony on April 3, 2019.

Also in 2019, Al Jazeera entered the podcast market with four Arabic shows, including the Arab world’s first daily news podcast. Al Jazeera teamed up with Wondery’s flagship *Business Wars*, and introduced it to the Arabic-speaking markets.

Al Jazeera America

In an attempt to enter the American market in January 2013, Al Jazeera Media Network bought Current TV and started broadcasting on August 20, 2013. Despite its focus on American topics, the station’s offerings were more hard news and documentary in nature than entertainment, and averaged only 28,000 viewers. The network ceased operations in April 2016 citing economic reasons, making it the only Al Jazeera Network project that to date has failed.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Arabiya; Middle East

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AL-MANAR

Al-Manar (The Lighthouse) TV is the mouthpiece of Hezbollah (The Party of God), established between 1982 and 1986 as an umbrella organization uniting religious Shi'a groups in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Al-Manar plays an important role in resisting the alliance between Israel, the United States, and its regional rival Saudi Arabia. Despite being censored, blocked, and bombed at every turn, the station continued to broadcast to the Middle East and beyond with the help of the Internet, thus fulfilling its aim to be the voice of the voiceless. This entry discusses Al-Manar as mobilized media, as well as its programming, sources, and relations with Israel and the United States. The entry also examines attacks against Al-Manar and its use of

language. The entry closes with a discussion of censorship of the channel.

Al-Manar started broadcasting on June 3, 1991, as a terrestrial channel. Muhsen writes in his 1998 book *The Information War: Examples of Resistance Media in Lebanon* that Hezbollah developed a strong information apparatus to serve international journalists. After the 1996 conflict with Israel, 1,200 journalists visited Hezbollah's information center, which also issued 474 briefings and distributed 200 videos to news agencies. Hezbollah played a major role in ending Israel's 22-year occupation of the South of Lebanon, with the exception of the Sheba'a farms which Israel still occupies in 2021. Al-Manar got a license for satellite transmission just in time for broadcasting the Israeli withdrawal from most of the South on May 24, 2000, and the Palestinian uprising against Israel in late 2000, both of which boosted its viewership in the Arab world.

Al-Manar as Mobilized Media

Al-Manar does not claim neutrality but bills itself as partisan to the cause of its constituents, initially, the disadvantaged and poor Shi'a of the South and the Beka'a valley; later expanded to include the Arab and Islamic worlds. As Al-Manar explained on its website when it was first established, the need for the channel arose because, even when 20% of Lebanon was still under Israeli occupation, it was not unusual for the south and Beka'a Valley to be under Israeli fire while existing TV stations were broadcasting frivolous programs. Al-Manar saw itself as providing programming that reflected the suffering of the occupied people in South Lebanon.

Its adopted slogan, "The channel for Arabs and Muslims," is a direct challenge to Saudi Arabia's stress on Islam, rather than Arabism, as well as a nod to its Lebanese audience, 38.4% of whom are Christian. Since 2006, Hezbollah has been in alliance with President Michel Aoun's Maronite Christian party, the Free Patriotic Movement. Al-Manar, however, is detested by another Lebanese Christian group, the right-wing Lebanese Forces political party.

Programming

While other Lebanese stations broadcast the equivalent of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*,

Al-Manar aired in 2004 a game show called *The Mission*. In it, says Neil Macfarquhar, contestants from around the Arab world competed for cash and the chance to win a virtual trip to Jerusalem, the location of Al Aqsa Mosque. As of 2020, the station quizzes its contestants on Arab and Islamic history rather than on frivolous subjects. Al-Manar conducts regular viewer self-selected polls with leading questions that tackle issues of the day. For example, it asked in January 2020 whether Trump committed a major folly by assassinating Soleimani and Al-Muhandis in Iraq. Out of 919 responses, 90% answered “yes,” while 10% answered “no.” When President Trump tweeted a message to the Iranian people in Farsi, Al-Manar’s headline on January 12, 2020, read: “Iran’s Reaction to Trump’s Tweet: Don’t Dishonor our Language.”

Under the “Main List” of program offerings, Al-Manar includes, News, Political Programs, General Programs, the Speeches of Hassan Nasrallah, Films, and Series. The second list contains Documentaries, Resistance, Health, Sports, Culture, and Varieties. The station forbids advertising for tobacco or alcohol or any advertising that treats women as sexual objects to sell products. Female announcers appear in head scarves, but are news presenters. Dr. Anne Marie Baylouny, in a paper to the George Marshall European Center for Security Studies, wrote in 2006 that the station highlights practical problems of women and offers solutions women propose.

Media Sources of Al-Manar

While other Lebanese stations depend on Western news agencies, Al-Manar mostly uses Syrian and Iranian news agencies for news and documentaries. Al-Manar also makes extensive use of Iranian dubbed films and television series, and Syrian series. The station archives the full speeches of the Lebanese Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, as well as the speeches of the leader of the Iranian Revolution, Ali Khamenei.

Al-Manar’s Relations With Israel

Al-Manar pioneered the idea of embedded videographers who accompanied Hezbollah fighters on their missions and showed them battling Israelis

on Lebanese soil, then planting Hezbollah’s yellow flag on abandoned Israeli positions. Photos of these exploits as well as news clippings in Arabic and Hebrew are included in Muhammad Muhssen’s 1998 book, *The Information War: Examples of Resistance Media in Lebanon*. The channel admitted it was deliberately trying to sow fear into the hearts of Israeli mothers by convincing them, in Hebrew since 1996, that it was futile to fight against Hezbollah. The station showed video of dead Israeli soldiers and published a list with some blank spaces, then asked who was next. Israelis trusted the information Hezbollah gave them through Al-Manar during the 2006 Israeli attack on Lebanon more than the reports of their military spokespersons. A study by Dr. Uri Lebel of the Ben Gurion Institute, Beer Sheva University, has found the leader of Hezbollah often contradicted the Israeli spokespeople and was the first to announce the deaths of Israeli soldiers and the circumstances that led to their deaths. Lebel was quoted by Ynet.News.com, the English-language website of the Israeli daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*. In an opinion piece on June 12, 2019, David Daoud said Israeli leaders such as former IDF Deputy Chief of Staff Yair Golan, admitted that Hezbollah’s most devastating threat to Israel was not its missiles, but its ability to sow fear. By amplifying its threats, he said, Hezbollah has learned how to turn them into military achievements.

Attacks Against Al-Manar

On July 12, 2006, Israeli warplanes demolished Al-Manar’s five-story headquarters in Beirut’s southern suburbs, injuring three staff members. They also hit the station’s infrastructure in the Beqa’a valley. Al-Manar went off the air only for 2 minutes; the station’s cadre of engineers kept the station broadcasting from an undisclosed location. Al-Manar points out with pride in documentaries how, with the help of Iran, Hezbollah rebuilt in record time what Israel had destroyed. The fact that Al-Manar continued to operate was considered a victory, even though Israeli hackers inserted on Al-Manar TV content ridiculing Hezbollah’s leaders and fighters.

Al-Manar Website Team notes that its website launched in 2000 was its way of evading censorship of the victories of the Lebanese Resistance of

Hezbollah, and a way to expose the Zionist entity's crimes in countries where Al-Manar frequencies are blocked. Al-Manar notes that its website features the latest multimedia technologies and is available on several platforms and on phones.

As Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries started establishing relations with Israel, Al-Manar increased its attention to the Palestinian news it had long championed. The station extensively covered the Israeli attacks on Gaza in 2009, 2012, 2014 and the border clashes in Gaza of 2019 and 2020. While President Trump's advisor, Jared Kushner, was attempting to get Saudi Arabia's help funding and selling his proposal for Israeli-Palestinian peace, Al-Manar kept on its front page the August 10, 2019, speech Iranian leader Ali Khamenei delivered to the pilgrims of "the House of God" in Saudi Arabia, criticizing the American policy on Palestinians and urging all Muslims to support them against the Deal of the Century, which it called *a trick*.

Al-Manar's Relations With the United States

In April 1983, the U.S. embassy in Beirut was struck by a 400-pound suicide truck bomb which killed 63 people, including 17 Americans, and wiped out the Central Intelligence Agency's Middle East bureau. A truck full of explosives on October 23rd, 1983, killed 241 U.S. Marines and soldiers in their barracks, prompting President Reagan to pull troops out of Lebanon in February 1984. The same attack killed 58 French troops. At that time, Hezbollah accused the United States and France of taking sides in a Lebanese internal conflict, but those attacks have turned Hezbollah and its TV station into the enemy of both countries.

When Al-Manar covered the invasion of Iraq in 2003, it ridiculed the American military by juxtaposing its claims of precision bombing over photos of dead children. Al-Manar depicted the Statue of Liberty as a skeleton, brandishing a blade dripping with blood. After the Abu Ghraib torture photos were broadcast, Al-Manar taunted the United States over its human rights abuses. In one of its quiz shows, Al-Manar asked for the name of the structure built in 1792 that became the source of all oppressive decisions the world over. Its

answer was: The White House, according to a 2004 article by Kim Ghattas.

After the United States assassinated the leader of the foreign wing of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Qassem Soleimani, on January 3, 2020, Al-Manar went on a daily attack on U.S. policy on Iran and the region, promising revenge.

Al-Manar's Use of Language

Al-Manar is especially sensitive to the language of conflict. It objects to calling the 10-mile strip Israel still occupies in the South "the security zone" as Israel and the international media had been doing. While Israel calls its army, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), Al-Manar calls it the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF). Sometimes, Al-Manar uses the terms the *Zionist Forces*, or the *Zionist Army*. Its Hot Topics section lists "The Israeli Enemy" as a search category. Al-Manar calls fighters Israel killed martyrs. Hezbollah fighters often leave archived video wills that explain why they chose martyrdom. The station also archives short video clips of family members or friends of martyrs praising their sacrifice and explaining why it benefits the country. The station glorified its martyrs on Martyr Day on November 11, 2019, with a speech by Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, and in song and resistance videos.

Al-Manar's most potent assets are the political pronouncements and speeches of Hassan Nasrallah in which he adopts the stance of a family member who is telling intimate stories about other family members dear to the audience. In that way, Hezbollah, through Al-Manar, controls the narrative and reframes how events should be understood. For example, to dismiss the notion that the assassination of Soleimani was a victory for the United States, Nasrallah revealed that Soleimani had lamented to him that he had white hair but had not yet attained martyrdom and wished he would not die in bed. Nasrallah added that Hezbollah wins if it fights and no one gets martyred, but it also wins if a martyr "ascends" to heaven. But more than narrative, style matters. Nasrallah mixes classical Arabic with the more intimate Lebanese colloquial Arabic to keep audiences enthralled by his personal anecdotes. His use of colloquial

language is reminiscent of the late Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser, known as a *master communicator*.

Although Al-Manar's enemies accuse it of serving as a voice for terrorism, Dr. Anne Marie Baylouny has written that one could also view Al-Manar as an opposition or resistance media that covers the nondominant perspective, by airing interviews with Palestinian rejectionist groups in Syria and with Hamas in Gaza and the West Bank.

Censorship

On December 14, 2004, the global satellite television operation, Al-Manar, was designated under section 212(a)(3)(B)(vi)(II) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, placing it on the Terrorist Exclusion List and preventing it from operating in the United States or receiving any funds from U.S. citizens, according to a U.S. Department of State Press Statement.

The crusade against Al-Manar TV would not have come about without outside pressure, however. Trish Schuh, in an article titled, "Free Speech 'Marked for Death': Lebanon's Al-Manar TV Targeted," wrote that Natan Sharansky and former Israeli Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom originated the idea of preventing Al-Manar from broadcasting via satellite. They teamed up with several organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, CAMERA.org, American Jewish Congress and the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Furthermore, Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) took credit for persuading Germany, Sweden, Australia, and France to outlaw Al-Manar. The Netherlands and European Union countries followed suit. The coalition against Al-Manar also coerced Spain into removing Al-Manar from Latin American programming. According to a Doreen Carvajal article in December 15, 2004, France's highest administrative court banned Al-Manar for repeatedly violating the country's hate laws. Al-Manar transmitted programs that included commentary accusing Jews of spreading AIDS, as well as a 26-part Syrian-produced series in which a Jewish man demanded the blood of a Christian child to bake Passover matza bread.

Jewish groups in France and the United States had pressed for a ban. Al-Manar's management apologized for airing the series, dropped it, and explained that the station had purchased it without first viewing the entire series, according to Franklin Lamb's article of January 1, 2010. Furthermore, the channel was the first to condemn the September 11, 2001, attack, as anti-Taliban and anti-bin Laden and cheered Hezbollah as it fought Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

Reporters Without Borders has urged Washington and Paris not to confuse the fight against anti-Semitism with the fight against terrorism. While it found the anti-Semitic statements Al-Manar broadcast "inexcusable," it argued that putting Al-Manar in the same category as a terrorist organization was dangerous to those who work with it and those who report on it.

In November 2019, however, Twitter suspended all of Al-Manar's news accounts and shut down many of its reporters' accounts as well as the accounts of 1 million of its followers. Al-Manar TV accused Twitter of yielding to "political pressure" and stepped up carrying anti-American news on its website. On January 24, 2020, Al-Manar published the headline, "In Pictures: Huge Masses of Iraqis Protesting against US Presence." The photo showed Iraqi demonstrators with two large cutouts held on sticks, one of President Trump in a suit, the other of him in orange prison garb.

The issue of preventing the transmission of Al-Manar is seen by some Arabs and Muslims as an example of the hypocrisy of Israel and Western governments and the press who defend their right to broadcast anti-Muhammad cartoons and other anti-Arab offensive material in the name of free speech, but feel threatened and call for censorship when others transmit offensive programming. Meanwhile, Al-Manar continues functioning despite an advertising boycott, and despite the refusal of several international satellites to carry it. Al-Manar is now available on its own website in Arabic, English, French and Spanish, and on YouTube.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Al Arabiya

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ALTERNATIVE NEWS MEDIA

Alternative news media is a concept that describes and explains an ideologically diverse array of media activist and journalistic initiatives around the world. While the term has been used to retroactively analyze historical forms of activist reporting, including the abolitionist, labor, and women's movement presses of the 19th century, it was initially theorized in the latter half of the 20th century. It first became widely used in the 1980s among media scholars and activists interested in explaining or lending coherence to the historical proliferation of underground and left-radical periodicals during the 1960s and 1970s.

Less useful as an ontological category than as a description of a relation, the alternative press is often considered (and its practitioners often consider themselves) vis-a-vis a more dominant or "mainstream" press. Its conceptual underpinnings are typically rooted in Marxist and post-Marxist theoretical frameworks, often building upon Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony"—the notion that social and cultural norms, as well as the ideas that are taken as common sense by mainstream journalists, reflect the ideology of a society's ruling class. While typically associated with left-radical movements, alternative news media is an increasingly salient term in the study of right-wing and modern conservative media, both in the United States and beyond. This entry discusses the origins of the term and theories and practice surrounding alternative media. It concludes by looking at the categorization by some of right-wing media as alternative media.

Origins of the Term

There is no settled definition of the term *alternative media*, which has been variously defined by

scholars and activists united by a shared, if expanding, object of analysis.

David Armstrong developed the term in his 1981 book, *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America*. For Armstrong, a former editor of the underground weekly newspaper the *Berkeley Barb*, “alternative media” described journalists like him—those with an underdog disposition who blended reporting with political activism in promotion of idealistic visions of a better world. Armstrong employed the concept to link the work of his colleagues in U.S. counter-cultural periodicals with their, broadly conceived, historical predecessors—from U.S. Revolutionary War era pamphleteer Thomas Paine, to abolitionist journalists of the 19th century, to the muckraker reporters and socialist presses at the turn of the 20th century. He argued that these various journalistic endeavors shared common characteristics with the underground press of the 1960s and 1970s: They served as tools for community action and organizing. They rejected impartiality or neutrality. They amplified unheard or underrepresented peoples and their struggles. They often participated in the political movements they covered. Armstrong, therefore, saw alternative media as a historically recurring phenomenon serving a crucial function within movements for social and political change.

Armstrong conceded that there are considerable differences among alternative media. Most notably, the alternative media he studied employed a variety of funding models and organizational structures—some even relying upon advertising revenues and hierarchical decision-making practices that often contradicted the periodicals’ editorial advancement of egalitarian and anti-consumerist ideals. This raised the question of exactly how alternative media differ from their mainstream counterparts—a question that has since sparked considerable debate among scholars and activists alike, as we will see below. In *A Trumpet to Arms*, Armstrong posited a two-way relationship between alternative media and the dominant society. “Not only do ideas introduced by alternative media modify society,” he wrote, “they also are themselves modified in the course of being absorbed by mainstream culture” (1981, p. 25). He saw alternative media as a catalyst of social and cultural change, engaged in a struggle

against an otherwise obdurate mainstream media over the contours of the prevailing political common sense and interpretations of the news of the day.

Drawing upon now-classic studies by media sociologists Herbert Gans (*Deciding What’s News*, 1979) and Todd Gitlin (*The Whole World Is Watching*, 1980), Armstrong characterized the “mainstream” press in the United States as upholding small-c conservative political values—though not explicitly partisan, the mainstream press was generally supportive of capitalism and U.S. global military dominance, geared toward advancing the status quo interests of political, cultural, and business elites. This analysis was common of an influential strain of progressive media criticism that also emerged in the 1980s, led by journalist Ben Bagdikian and scholars Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. By and large, professional journalists working at commercial outlets in the United States during this time period still adhered to what historian Daniel Hallin has called *high modern* journalistic values—a commitment to objectivity in reporting and conveying the news in a straightforward, dispassionate tone.

Bagdikian, who wrote the preface to Armstrong’s book, raised doubts about the putative impartiality of the mainstream press in his 1983 book *The Media Monopoly*. Rekindling structural media criticism first developed by progressive journalists in the 1940s, Bagdikian contended that increasing concentration of media ownership resulted in constraints on journalists’ ability to challenge the status quo. Herman and Chomsky took this a step further in their 1988 book *Manufacturing Consent*, arguing that the mainstream media was unwittingly complicit in a propaganda campaign to legitimate capitalism and U.S. imperialism overseas. It was in this context that alternative news media first gained conceptual salience—as both a description of real-existing activist journalistic initiatives beyond the control of an increasingly concentrated corporate mass media, and as a normative theory for identifying reporting practices capable of challenging various interlocking systems of oppression.

Another key early study of alternative media was John D. H. Downing’s *Radical Media: The Political Experience of Alternative Communication*, first published in 1984. Whereas Armstrong

had primarily focused on the alternative press (periodicals and radio programming geared toward news and commentary), Downing expanded the conception of alternative media to encompass radical media practices beyond news reporting and analysis—from street theater and murals to song and dance. Downing's study also extended the concept of alternative media geographically—comparing alternative media in the United States with examples in Portugal, Italy, and Eastern Europe. Engaging with anarchist and feminist theories of political organizing and communication, Downing attempted to theorize democratic communication beyond a highly reductive, Cold War era East-West binary. His resulting conception of alternative media was unusually broad and characterized by movement-oriented self-management, autonomy from both corporate and state influences, and a critical disposition toward the powers that be in a given society.

Theories of Alternative Media

If earlier studies of alternative media tended to use critical or left radical content as a basis for distinguishing the alternative press from its mainstream counterparts, media theorists in the early 21st century sought to develop more robust theoretical frameworks for defining and understanding the phenomenon.

Some, most notably Chris Atton, focus on the modes of production and organizational practices that make alternative media distinct as a form of communication. In *Alternative Media*, an influential work first published in 2001, Atton contends that content is one among many elements that make particular media projects alternative. Atton suggests defining alternative media according to their ability to generate nonstandard and subversive methods of creation, production, and distribution. Media that rely upon advertising revenues or hierarchical decision-making would not count as alternative, according to this view. Atton also extends the conception of “production” to include audiences, arguing that among alternative media's unique traits is their ability to offer a means of democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from engaging in media production—that is, they invite and enable audience

participation and reflexivity about their relationship to the production process.

Other scholars, most notably Jennifer Rauch, situate alternative media in the eye of the activist beholder. Audience-oriented approaches to understanding alternative media acknowledge that the interpretive strategies used to read, view, or listen to media play a role in distinguishing the alternative from the mainstream. Often audience perceptions of alternative media are less focused on production processes than on content, meaning that even corporate mass media might be considered alternative depending upon a particular audience member's vantage. While helpful in explaining common vernacular understandings of infotainment programs such as *The Daily Show* (1996–) or the cable channel Fox News as “alternative,” audience-oriented approaches complicate clear cut distinctions between alternative and mainstream media.

Still other scholars, such as Leah Lievrouw and Joshua Atkinson, attempt to bridge the production/consumption divide by applying media genre theory. Genres operate according to conventions that structure the content that media makers produce, as well as the assumptions and expectations their audiences have about that media. In her 2011 book, *Alternative and Activist New Media*, Lievrouw outlined five distinct alternative and activist media genres, based upon their content and functionality: participatory journalism, mediated mobilization, commons knowledge, culture jamming, and alternative computing. The first three of these involve crowd- and audience-sourced newsgathering and circulation methods, as well as mobilization-oriented coverage of events or protests. In his work, Joshua Atkinson has noted that the first three are more applicable to the analysis of alternative (as opposed to activist) media. Building on Lievrouw's genres, Atkinson defines alternative media as distinct from other media in terms of content (critical or oppositional toward dominant power structures), production (employing participatory sourcing methods), and audience interpretation (as distinct from mainstream media).

Similarly focused on attending to alternative media's unique methods of production, distribution, and consumption are Olga Bailey, Bart Cammaerts, and Nico Carpentier. Their 2006 book,

Understanding Alternative Media draws upon post-structuralist and postmodernist theories to resist essentialist notions of alternative media as somehow inherently noncommercial or radical. They contend that alternative media's relationship to the mainstream is only one of several relations that shape its historically contingent forms and contents. They offer four interconnected theoretical approaches for understanding the full interventions of alternative media in a given society. First, they argue that alternative media serve communities, opening channels of communication for misrepresented, stigmatized, or repressed social groups with the goal of validating and empowering them. Second, they argue that alternative media are engaged in counter-hegemonic discursive struggles with the mainstream media over what constitutes common sense, erring on the side of self-representation for those excluded in conventional media narratives. Third, they see alternative media as providing a crucial link to civil society, offering a pathway for political participation previously unavailable to marginalized groups. Lastly, they theorize alternative media as a "rhizome," by which they mean that alternative media serve to link otherwise distinct democratic struggles, enabling new forms of political identity and solidarity to emerge.

Another, more recent, approach that similarly disrupts essentialist or fixed notions of alternative media is Linda Jean Kenix's continuum model. Kenix argues against thinking of alternative media as conceptually distinct from mainstream media. She theorizes the relationship between alternative and mainstream media not as a binary, but as a spectrum. While acknowledging important differences between alternative and mainstream news media outlets—in terms of individual motivations, organizational practices, media ownership, and ideological influences—Kenix points to shared norms and routines among alternative and mainstream journalists as well as the shared commercial pressures of sustaining a news outlet in a capitalist economy. These similarities result in a convergence among both mainstream and alternative media toward news practices that emphasize social networking and individual empowerment—values that were once more common among the alternative than the mainstream.

While scholars have taken pains to theorize the alternative press—how and why it functions as a social and cultural change agent, its capacity for counter-hegemonic struggle, its coproduction between alternative journalists and their audiences, its differences from the mainstream news media—they have often had practical case studies in mind while doing so. Activists themselves have shaped the meaning of the alternative press through praxis.

Alternative Media Praxis

There is a long history of journalistic endeavors, both in the United States and globally, that fit the alternative media mold, but precede it conceptually. Many political movements of world historical proportions—from the transnational struggle to abolish slavery to early feminist campaigns for suffrage and gender equality—were rooted in robust print cultures, with myriad periodicals designed to give voice to communities who were not at the time considered to be capable of full human agency or political citizenship. The reporters and commentators associated with these movements, as well as the socialist, anarchist, and labor presses that advocated for the concerns and rights of workers around the turn of the 20th century, were typically self-published or published by movement or party-aligned periodicals—building what theorist Nancy Fraser has termed "counter-publics," capable of developing oppositional or alternative discourses and framings of the news of the day in an effort to shift broader public sentiments. These radical print cultures persisted well into the 20th century, although they were variously impeded by periods of political repression. From the late 1940s onward, they were joined over the airwaves by the Pacifica radio network, which operates noncommercial, listener-supported radio stations known for airing progressive interpretations of the news of the day.

As noted earlier, the term *alternative media* was initially coined to explain the proliferation of underground newspapers and other radical periodicals associated with the global New Left and countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s. During those decades, youth movements emerged in countries around the world, aligning with popular and working-class struggles against

racism, colonialism, and war. These movements not only advanced radical (often Marxist or anarchist) social and political visions but also pushed for looser cultural norms around drug use, sexuality, and gender performance. They gave rise to hundreds of underground newspapers, whose role was not only to chronicle the movements but to give voice to a wide array of marginalized social groups with whom the movements were aligned politically and culturally.

By the end of the 1960s, approximately 500 underground newspapers were being published (most weekly or intermittently) in the United States alone, with most major cities laying claim to at least one. Among the first were the *Los Angeles Free Press*, or *Freep*, which began publication in 1964, and the *Berkeley Barb*, a particularly influential paper founded in 1965. At its peak in 1968, the *Barb* had a weekly circulation of 90,000. Both papers joined with 60 others in 1967 to form the Underground Press Syndicate, a wire service that enabled local underground newspapers to share information, commentary, and news to communities across the United States. Similar underground newspapers emerged in countries throughout the world, among them the *Black Dwarf* in the United Kingdom, *Sydney OZ* in Australia, and *Actuel* in France.

In the United States and Canada, many of these underground newspapers disappeared by the late 1970s and 1980s, as do-it-yourself punk and anarchist subcultures turned away from newspapers toward the production of zines. Those alternative newspapers that remained, most notably New York's *Village Voice* (which, founded in 1955, both preceded and outlasted its New Left underground counterparts) adapted to compete within their local commercial media markets—relying upon classified advertising revenues, and selling ad space to businesses deemed too unseemly by more mass audience daily newspapers (e.g., sex workers, night clubs, and drinking establishments). From the 1960s through the early 21st century, when they were starved of revenue as classified advertising migrated to free online platforms, alt-weekly newspapers could be found in most major U.S. cities, where they served as sites of journalistic innovation—specializing in critical arts and culture reporting, as well as more subjective, literary long-form pieces characteristic of

New Journalism, and deep-dive investigative reporting into social and political issues of both local and national concern. By the end of the 20th century, these periodicals largely maintained their countercultural edginess but moderated somewhat politically. Still mostly liberal or progressive, few advanced the radical political visions of their underground predecessors.

The turn of the 21st century saw the emergence of a global justice movement, opposing the transnational expansion of corporate power enabled by international institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. Initially sustained by underground newspapers, zines, and radical (often anarchist and/or feminist) publishers and info shops, the movement also benefited from widespread adoption of the Internet, which resulted in a flourishing of both digital and analog activist media projects around the world. Most notable was the Independent Media Center, or Indymedia, a network of activist journalist collectives launched in 1999. Originating in London and Sydney, the early 2000s saw the rise of networked local collectives in cities and college towns around the world—staffed by volunteers and not for profit, the Indymedia network covered protests around the globe and amplified the local impacts of corporate globalization. By the middle aughts, the Indymedia network included more than 150 collectives across the Americas, Western Europe, and Oceania.

While Indymedia declined in the 2010s, its model of radical participatory online media evolved and persisted with the rise of social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter. While not radical or alternative in their own right, activists have nevertheless used these for-profit, corporate-owned omnibus platforms to report and widely disseminate news and commentary that would have been traditionally relegated to a localized underground press or online activist sites. In 2011, the Canadian alternative magazine *Adbusters*—founded in 1989, and known for innovations in anti-consumerist culture jamming—put out a call for activists to “Occupy Wall Street,” which New York-based activists heeded that September. What became known as the Occupy movement borrowed social media reporting practices, most notably livestreaming, from

Arab Spring activists—who had leveraged online media tools to promote democracy movements throughout North Africa and the Middle East earlier that year.

While the Occupy movement dissipated under police pressure, its grassroots participatory practices of news production and circulation have become a regular feature of new social movements in the 21st century. Bolstered by widespread popular adoption of cell phones with high quality camera and video functionality, as well as high-speed mobile broadband, the Black Lives Matter movement in particular reinvigorated longstanding struggles for Black freedom and against police brutality by documenting and widely disseminating evidence of police misconduct and murder of African Americans. As such, the alternative press has become less often associated with particular mediums or outlets, but remains robust in the highly participatory practices of ideologically driven social media reporting.

News on the Right

While most predominating theories and histories of alternative news media tend to focus on outlets and practices associated with left radical and other liberatory movements, the media activists associated with the modern conservative movement or “New Right” have long viewed their work through an alternative media lens. From its earliest iterations in the early 1950s, the modern conservative movement in the United States pitted itself against a dominant “liberal media.” Understanding the mainstream news media to be biased against conservative ideas and interpretations of the news helped motivate media activists from William F. Buckley to Phyllis Schlafly to Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich to launch various conservative newsletters, magazines, direct mail campaigns, and even an upstart cable television channel. While more focused on commentary than reporting, these early movement-oriented right-wing media nevertheless framed the news for a growing audience of conservatives in the United States.

Initially funded by wealthy donors, by the late 1980s conservative media began showing signs of commercial viability in the United States. In 1987, the Federal Communications Commission revoked

its fairness doctrine, which since 1949 had mandated balanced coverage of politically contentious issues over the airwaves, creating space for conservative talk radio innovators such as Rush Limbaugh. Throughout the 1990s, talk radio provided a crucial alternative medium for disseminating conservative interpretations of the news of the day in a format that invited the participation of audiences, who were encouraged to call in to express their views. By 1996, Rupert Murdoch and Roger Ailes capitalized on the active conservative news audience fostered by talk radio hosts, launching the Fox News cable channel with the promise of providing the “fair and balanced” reporting that conservatives felt was missing from the mainstream media.

Talk radio and Fox News would continue to dominate the right-wing alternative media sphere in the United States, but the early 21st century saw a flourishing of alternative news sites on the right globally. In the United States, Andrew Breitbart launched Breitbart in 2007 with the goal of making it “the Huffington Post of the right,” referring to a then-popular liberal news aggregation and commentary site. Breitbart made a name for itself during the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama, breaking a series of dubiously reported stories and circulating selectively edited video clips that mixed culture jamming tactics with investigative reporting aesthetics. The site would shift further rightward upon the death of its founder in 2012, and under the leadership of Steve Bannon it played a leading role in promoting the Republican candidacy of Donald Trump for U.S. president in 2016. As of 2020, it remained among the most influential of an array of online conservative news ventures, including the Daily Caller, the *Washington Examiner*, the Washington Free Beacon, and TheBlaze, among others. Similar sites have also emerged across the globe, stoking resurgent right-wing nationalist movements throughout Europe as well as in Brazil and India. Sites such as Fria Tider in Sweden, *Junge Freiheit* in Germany, and Réinformation TV in France have provided alternative news sources for right-wing audiences frustrated by putative left bias in mainstream outlets. Like their left counterparts, right-wing activists have also taken to social media platforms, linking and sharing original content on omnibus platforms such as Facebook, YouTube,

and Twitter, as well as more niche discussion boards like 4chan and 8chan.

While conservative direct mail pioneer and magazine publisher Richard Viguerie has long framed conservative media activism in the United States as “alternative media,” scholars have been slow to employ alternative media frameworks for explaining right-wing media. By 2019 that had changed, with scholars calling for more robust and interdisciplinary inquiries into the dynamics of “conservative news cultures,” resulting from consistent patterns of meaning making that emerge between and among the sites of production, circulation, and consumption of conservative news in the United States, and more attention to the transnational similarities in how right-wing alternative media mobilize nationalist politics.

By 2020, high-choice media environments, combined with political economic headwinds facing mainstream news outlets, have increased the salience of alternative media around the world, while simultaneously disrupting the alternative/mainstream binary that has traditionally lent it conceptual utility. Some scholars have suggested “hyperpartisan news” as a conceptual replacement for “alternative news media,” but it remains to be seen whether it will attract the same degree of scholarly and activist buy in.

A.J. Bauer

See also Advocacy Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Labor Journalism; Media Conglomerates; Social Media; Social Movements and Journalism; Weekly Newspapers

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ALUMNI MAGAZINES

Alumni magazines are magazines produced by colleges and universities for their largest constituencies. These publications have always done the work of journalism; they document, interpret, and contextualize changes on campuses and, in many ways, in the larger society.

In 1991, Ceil Cleveland wrote in the *Gannett Center Journal* about taking on the editorship of an alumni magazine, *Columbia College Today* at Columbia University. She was reflecting on, and

pushing back against, a formula that was adhered to in some places, but that increasingly was seeming outdated—a formula that supported unvarnished cheerleading and was built on a stream of alumni-submitted updates.

At the time Cleveland was writing, editors were beginning to approach alumni magazines with a fresh orientation. That meant not just the practice of good reporting and writing but also the embrace of the values of the academy: treating issues in depth, engaging with big ideas, and not shying away from debate.

This entry first reviews alumni magazine history. It then discusses how these magazines address issues important to the university society as well as society at large. This entry concludes by examining the future of alumni magazines.

An Alumni Magazine History

Also in 1991, another editor, Patricia Ann LaSalle, wrote a mini-history of alumni magazines for the Council for Advancement & Support of Education (CASE). At the time, LaSalle was editor of *SMU Magazine* at Southern Methodist University. She noted that alumni magazines were slow to arrive in higher education: Harvard University, the United States' first institution of higher education, was chartered in 1636; it became the first to charter an official alumni association, in 1840, and started publishing an alumni periodical in 1898, with the *Harvard Bulletin*. In 1891, Yale University began publishing a weekly alumni newspaper. Three years later, Princeton University unveiled the *Alumni Princetonian* as the Saturday edition of its student newspaper.

By the 1950s, colleges and universities were energized by postwar ambitiousness. Multimillion dollar fundraising campaigns helped provide the fuel for those ambitions. In turn, effective fundraising hinged on deepening alumni loyalty. The broad reach—all those magazines in all those mailboxes, generally several times a year—far exceeded that of the familiar alumni reunion weekends, homecomings, and programs in the regions. Through the vehicle of alumni magazines, the campus would come to alumni wherever they were in terms of geography and life cycle. The editor of *Johns Hopkins Magazine* in the 1950s, Corbin Gwaltney, was among the pioneers in resisting the traditional

parochialism of alumni magazines; he would go on to become founding editor of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

The emblematic events of the 1960s—demands to end the Vietnam War, equally vociferous demands for racial equity, a growing embrace among the young of their power as agents of change—often originated or found dramatic (even traumatic) expression on campus. The then-editor at Columbia, George Keller, wrote about Students for a Democratic Society in the context of Columbia; in a larger sense, he was probing the meaning of protests that were consequential far beyond one campus.

Around that time, images came to play a bigger role in storytelling for commercial magazines—and for alumni magazines as well. In 1988, Charles Michael Helmken, a longtime designer with CASE, produced a book called *Great Ideas*, which was a tribute to the growing visual sophistication of alumni magazines (and other campus publications). In the field of alumni magazines, he celebrated the use of vibrant color, fine paper, high-quality printing, and compelling photography and illustration.

The alumni magazine visuals reproduced in the volume are striking, even today. Many are magazine covers: an illustration of a two-headed woman, representing the dual roles of the “working mother,” in Radford’s magazine; a photo of a pure-white mouse against a pitch-black background, with the cover line “Immunology: Of Mice and Men,” in Emory’s magazine; the words, stacked in three lines, “Talk to/MMM/MMME, for a feature on stuttering, in Hollins’ magazine; a blank sheet of ruled paper, for a story on writers and writing, in Columbia’s magazine.

The story layouts reproduced in the volume include some eye-popping examples, along with some that are more subdued, even elegant. The mix seemed appropriate to higher education, which, after all, dedicates itself both to the very traditional act of conserving knowledge and to producing and disseminating fresh discoveries. Design in alumni magazines is itself a storytelling device, and, to make that point, the Helmken volume offers a photo series originally published in the Brown University magazine. Called *Tools of the University*, it features an empty classroom with chairs arranged, expectantly, in a circle;

hands positioned on a computer keyboard, with the hint of something on the cusp of being created; a professor taking up his position at a chalkboard, with the hint of something about to be explained; a stack of musical instruments ready to be played; and then a stack of books ready to be consulted.

Alumni Magazines Tracking the Times

Today, in an echo from the 1960s, a polarized political culture puts colleges and universities under intense scrutiny. A much-publicized Pew Survey from 2017 showed that just 37% of Republican-leaning respondents believed higher education had a positive effect on the direction of the country. Later surveys pointed in the same direction (though other reports found that Republicans and Democrats agreed on the value of a college degree). Analysts pinned those results on a range of factors—the college admissions scandal that, while affecting just a few schools, helped feed the critique that selective admissions programs favor the privileged; well-publicized incidents of controversial speakers being blocked from campus appearances, supporting the narrative of a rampaging political correctness; and rising tuition costs, contributing to the notion of campuses as elite bastions.

All of that speaks to the role of these magazines in addressing issues that pervade the campus, issues that often play out in society. Through honest exploration, the best alumni magazines build understanding of the academic enterprise and strengthen support for it as well.

In 2017, a talk by controversial political scientist Charles Murray was interrupted by demonstrations at Middlebury College. The college's alumni magazine ran a commentary from the president that helped readers grasp the tough balancing act of a campus leader. She made the case for listening to "arguments that offend us," even as she endorsed the work of advocating for "a better society" and of challenging offensive views "with better reason, better research, better logic, and better data" (DiGravio, 2017).

The *Carolina Alumni Review*, from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has documented the strange odyssey of "Silent Sam," the Confederate monument that was toppled after standing on campus for 105 years. Late in 2019,

members of the UNC System board of governors brokered a settlement with the Sons of Confederate Veterans; it would provide up to \$2.5 million to display the statue on private property. The alumni magazine did not shy away from reporting that "the Faculty Council condemned the payment, social media lit up with dissent and questions, a legal group filed suit to overturn it, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation said it would not go forward with an anticipated \$1.5 million grant."

When COVID-19 came to campuses, in the Spring of 2020, alumni magazines did the documenting. The Summer 2020 issue of *Johns Hopkins Magazine* offered this feature lineup: "Seeing Red," about an innovative dashboard created by Hopkins' engineers that showed how the pandemic played out in real time; "This Is Not a Drill," looking at how scientists and researchers at the university's Center for Health Security, who had long warned of the catastrophic impact of a pandemic, were using their expertise to help lessen the impact of one; "A View From Italy," providing the COVID-19-related perspective of a faculty member based in Hopkins' Italy campus; "On Writing History's First Draft," on how an undergraduate newspaper had covered the crisis through the voices of students; "Losing Touch," which charted the physical and emotional toll of COVID-19, through the experiences of a physician who fought the disease at home and on the frontlines; and "Then It All Changed," recalling how the Hopkins leadership made a series of gut-wrenching decisions around the operations of the university.

Beyond a consequential pandemic, alumni magazines routinely grapple with matters that intellectually curious readers care about—and that the academy's intellectual firepower can unpack. In its Winter 2019–2020 issue, *Notre Dame Magazine* asked "What's Wrong With Experts?" reflecting on the devaluing of the wisdom and advice of authorities. In *Harvard Magazine*, March–April 2020 issue, "Healthy Plate, Healthy Planet" talked about obesity, malnutrition, and a warming planet from the vantage point of a Harvard nutrition scholar. The Winter 2020 *Carleton College Voice's* "Character Driven" reflected on the efforts of a "multidisciplinary artist" brought to campus to help the community

explore gender, ethnicity, identity, religion, privilege, and social norms.

How do we acquire language? One answer is in the *Stanford Magazine* March 2020 story “What the Kids Are Saying These Days,” about a Stanford scholar’s work in that area. And what can one committed individual do to combat climate change? It turns out that a Yale graduate has led the charge to return to lower its carbon output—a story told in the *Yale Alumni Magazine* January/February 2020 article “The Climate in California.”

Alumni Magazine Futures

Alumni show an enduring attachment to the physical alumni magazine; in its mix of words and images, it serves as a strong reminder of the physical campus. In a monograph for CASE published in 2020, Meredith Barnett, a communications consultant, referred to a survey from the Association of Magazine Media, from 2019, showing that 73% of adults say they enjoy reading a print magazine more than reading on an electronic device. Although in the commercial world, many print publications have foundered, data indicate that for alumni magazines, print remains powerful. Barnett noted that the digital space is crowded, with tweets, alerts, and emails all vying for readers’ attention. According to a recent CASE Magazine Readership Survey—combining the surveying of 91,000 readers by 176 institutions—a quarter of readers say they are “not at all likely” to view additional alumni magazine content online. Only 10% are “very likely to.”

The survey also finds that alumni learn about the campus chiefly through alumni magazines; in the strength of their influence, the magazines, as printed products, trump email, web-based content, or word of mouth. More than 80% of the alumni surveyed said they read all or most alumni magazine issues. Seventy percent of readers say they prefer to read that content in print; 11% prefer online, and 18% want both.

Still, alumni magazines, like journalism enterprises overall, have adjusted to changes in how readers consume information. Tighter printing budgets are likely to accelerate the rethinking. Between printed issues, in its “Web Extras” category, Dartmouth’s magazine showcased stories about a young graduate’s experience hiking in

Nepal, which produced some health challenges along with some lessons in human connections; a photo series documenting an emptied-out campus during the time of COVID-19; and an archival plunge into life at Dartmouth when, during World War II, the college instituted the Navy V-12 program. As campuses were grappling with the coronavirus, the website for *LMU Magazine*, published by Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, featured podcasts that offered expert opinion on juveniles in detention who were at risk for COVID-19, the economic consequences of the pandemic for the region and the country, the future of U.S. relations with China, and the effectiveness of political leadership in managing a crisis.

Over time, the basic alumni magazine has become more nimble, flexible, and professional. What has not changed is that higher education is rich in storytelling potential, and that through shared stories, campuses and their constituencies are deeply connected.

Robert J. Bliwise

See also Advocacy Journalism; Arts Journalism; Design and Layout, Magazine; Education, Coverage of; Objectivity; Science and Technology Journalism; Trade Magazines

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is the oldest organization in the United States dedicated to promoting civil liberties. The ACLU appears in the Supreme Court more frequently than any other nongovernmental organization. In addition to litigation, it engages in education, lobbying, and other forms of activism. The organization comprises a national office with affiliate offices in 50 states and the District of Columbia. As of 2019, it claims 1.5 million members. This entry discusses the origins of the ACLU as well as its positions with respect to radicalism, communism, and anticommunism. The entry also examines the ACLU's work related to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly.

Origins

The ACLU arose in response to the federal government's repression of pacifists, radicals, and labor unions surrounding World War I. ACLU founder Roger Nash Baldwin, a Massachusetts-born social reformer, defended the rights of conscientious objectors during the war, first through the American Union Against Militarism and then through a spinoff organization, the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB). The Justice Department investigated the NCLB, tapped its phones, placed an informant in its headquarters, seized its files, questioned Baldwin, and considered indicting Baldwin and other leaders under the Espionage Act for interfering with the draft. Although no Espionage Act prosecution was brought, Baldwin refused to be inducted into the military, and in 1918–1919, he served 8 months in prison.

After the war came the Palmer Raids of 1919–1920, when incidents of public disorder—including race riots, violent strikes, and a spate of bombings—prompted the Justice Department, led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, to apprehend and deport immigrants who were suspected of harboring radical sentiments. Baldwin, out of prison and back at NCLB, considered it essential to defend the rights of radicals and the cause of civil liberties. He thought the NCLB was too closely identified with the issue of conscientious

objectors, so in 1920, he converted it into a new organization, the ACLU. Baldwin ran the ACLU from 1920 to 1950.

Radicalism, Communism, and Anticommunism

Although the ACLU prides itself on placing constitutional principle above ideology, the organization and its leadership departed from neutrality in dealing with communism, first in one direction and then in the other. Like many on the Left in the 1920s, Roger Baldwin, who characterized his views as philosophical anarchism, sympathized with the Soviet Union and spent time there. In speeches and a book, *Liberty Under the Soviets* (1928), he said that the Soviet Union should not be held to the same standard as the United States because it had no tradition of civil liberties; because its violations of civil liberties were regrettable but temporary artifacts of a transition period; and because economic liberty was the foremost concern. According to Baldwin biographer Robert C. Cottrell, it is surprising that Baldwin's double standard did not discredit his work with the ACLU. Baldwin, once again like many on the Left, became much more critical of the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, particularly after the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 1939.

During the period of Baldwin's shift, the ACLU's guiding philosophy also changed. According to Laura Weinrib, the organization initially promoted free speech and other civil liberties not for their own sake but as tools for attaining radical political ends, particularly the empowerment of labor. Baldwin at the outset said that the ACLU would seek to advance free expression in order to advance the industrial struggle. ACLU founders believed that state authority customarily repressed labor on behalf of capital; therefore, labor could be strengthened by constraining state authority. But by the New Deal, the ACLU endorsed the use of governmental power, including labor legislation. In a 1936 publication, in fact, the ACLU declared that civil liberties were threatened less by government than by vigilantes, mobs, and other nongovernmental actors, sometimes backed (or at least not stopped) by law enforcement. The ACLU also came to value free expression for its own sake rather than for the sake of the class struggle,

which ultimately entailed the recognition of free speech for corporations.

As the ACLU moved away from its radical roots, the double standard in favor of Soviet communism became a double standard against Soviet communism. After the *American Mercury* in 1936 charged that the ACLU supported communism, the organization's board filed a libel suit against the magazine. (It would be nearly three decades before the U.S. Supreme Court applied the First Amendment to libel law, in the 1964 case *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*.) Pursuant to an out-of-court settlement, H. L. Mencken, the editor of the *Mercury*, wrote and published a more positive article about the ACLU, but it too charged that the organization was close to communists. Meanwhile, the predecessor of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a congressional committee chaired by Rep. Martin Dies, investigated the ACLU for communist influences. Baldwin submitted an affidavit to the committee in 1939 stating that the ACLU had never elected a Communist Party member to its board or its national committee, a statement that Judy Kutulas, in her ACLU history, characterizes as a flat-out lie.

With Baldwin's backing, ACLU counsel Morris Ernst then tried to purge ACLU leadership of anyone with communist connections. In 1940, the board passed a resolution saying that communists (and others who supported totalitarianism) were ineligible for leadership positions. Board member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the founding members of the ACLU, was also a member of the Communist Party, and the board ousted her. Samuel Walker, the preeminent historian of the organization, characterizes the incident as the ACLU's major deviation from principle.

Freedom of Expression and Assembly

The ACLU has been involved in landmark cases involving church-state separation, including the Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925, and equal protection under the law, including the challenge to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as litigation and lobbying over the rights of criminal suspects, privacy rights, women's rights, LGBTQ rights, the right to abortion, and legislative apportionment. But the organization has been best known for its work in the area

of free speech. Its first substantial victory in the Supreme Court came in the 1925 case *Gitlow v. New York*, which involved a Communist Party founder convicted in New York of advocating the overthrow of the government. Although the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction, it made a landmark doctrinal shift by asserting that the Constitution prohibits state governments, and not just the federal government, from infringing free speech.

The ACLU's most noteworthy defense of free speech arose in 1977, when a small group of neo-Nazis announced plans to march through Skokie, Illinois. A largely Jewish suburb of Chicago, Skokie was home to about a thousand survivors of the Holocaust. The city of Skokie sought to prevent the march, and the ACLU represented the Nazis in litigation against the city. The action was highly contentious within the ACLU. Thousands of members resigned or declined to renew, and the organization fell into debt. Lawyers for the city of Skokie argued that the Nazi march would provoke a breach of the peace and thus fell outside First Amendment protection. The ACLU responded that the courts could not allow those offended by the marchers' message to exercise a heckler's veto, by which the opponents of a viewpoint can preempt its expression by threatening a violent response. The courts ultimately concluded that the Nazis had a constitutional right to march through Skokie. At that point, the Nazis, reportedly after negotiating with the Justice Department, decided they would not exercise their right to march there. Instead, they demonstrated in Chicago, without incident.

On another divisive issue of free speech, the ACLU opposed an anti-pornography ordinance enacted in 1984 in Indianapolis. The ordinance was largely the handiwork of feminist legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon, who called the pornography issue "women's Skokie," and Andrea Dworkin. It defined certain forms of pornography as "the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women" and provided that victims, including women who encountered the pornography in a public place, could seek monetary damages from the producers and distributors. (As part of their campaign against pornography, some conservative Christian groups also supported the Indianapolis law, despite their opposition to most of the

feminist agenda.) The ACLU filed an amicus brief on behalf of individuals and organizations challenging the ordinance. In 1985, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit struck it down as a violation of the First Amendment. When some charged the ACLU with complicity in the subjugation of women, ACLU president Nadine Strossen responded that women were more likely to be subjugated by censorship than by pornography. The conflict briefly revived in 1997, when Gloria Steinem denounced the ACLU for celebrating a film about a pornographer's First Amendment victory, *The People vs. Larry Flynt*.

Another controversy arose when the ACLU represented alt-right activist Jason Kessler in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017. Kessler organized what he termed a *Unite the Right* rally to protest the city's actions to stop honoring its Confederate past—specifically, renaming Lee Park as Emancipation Park and removing a statue of General Robert E. Lee. After first granting Kessler's group a permit to demonstrate in Emancipation Park, city officials rescinded it on the ground that the demonstration was likely to be much larger than originally planned. The Virginia chapter of the ACLU represented Kessler in court, and the judge ordered the city to allow the demonstration to proceed in Emancipation Park. Demonstrators, including neo-Nazis and KKK members, squared off against counterdemonstrators, a total of about 1,500 people. Fighting broke out, and a white supremacist drove his car into a crowd of counterdemonstrators, killing one person and injuring 19. The ACLU afterward announced a change in policy: It would no longer defend those who carry guns while exercising their First Amendment rights. Two months after Charlottesville, the College of William and Mary scheduled an address on freedom of speech by the executive director of the ACLU of Virginia, Claire Guthrie Gastañaga. Students from the Black Lives Matter chapter on campus prevented her from speaking; their chants included "ACLU, you protect Hitler too."

Case Selection Guidelines

Periodically, an issue pits the ACLU against its traditional allies: some Jewish organizations over the Skokie case, some feminists over the pornography statute, and some civil rights organizations

over the Charlottesville case. ACLU leaders have defended the organization as dedicated single-mindedly to the promotion of free speech. At times, however, some have charged the organization with adopting a selective approach to free speech, particularly when the speech clashes with other constitutional values. Wendy Kaminer, a former member of the national ACLU board, has expressed this perspective in a book and a number of articles. In an article published in 2018, Kaminer reported on an internal document that had been leaked to her, titled "ACLU Case Selection Guidelines: Conflicts Between Competing Values or Priorities." This post-Charlottesville document says that the national ACLU office, in deciding whether to accept a case, will not automatically treat free speech as superior to other constitutional values; instead, it will consider, among other factors, the harm that the speech may inflict on the community where it occurs. In response to Kaminer's article, the ACLU posted the guidelines publicly and said its policy on free speech, set by its national board, remained unchanged. Nonetheless, some critics charge that under the guidelines, the ACLU probably would not take another Skokie-type case.

Stephen Bates

See also Censorship; First Amendment; Indecency and Obscenity

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AMPLIFICATION

When editors decide which stories to assign, publish, and promote, that editorial judgment is a decision about what content to amplify on their broadcasts, digital platforms, or print pages. While news judgment has always driven these decisions, the concept of amplification has taken on new meaning and urgency in recent years as the information ecosystem has become increasingly digital, user-driven, and saturated with misinformation, disinformation, and polarizing content. This entry discusses the risk of amplifying misinformation or polarizing content, even when the purpose is to correct misinformation, and possible ways to avoid this amplification or to minimize harm. The entry also looks at the journalistic practices that lead to amplification and the role of social media.

In today's media context, amplification is often used to describe a negative phenomenon. Sometimes unintentionally, editors and reporters can amplify misinformation, divisive narratives from politicians, or even hate speech from fringe players or nefarious actors domestic and abroad. There are several ways this can happen. Efforts to correct misinformation can have the unintended effect of amplifying it. Journalists can uncritically report false or divisive statements from politicians or officials by simply reporting what they said without providing any context. They also might give equal weight or emphasis to both sides of a public debate even when it is clear that one side is more accurate or morally grounded.

As journalists began to better understand this phenomenon and the interplay between mainstream and social media in the 2010s and into the 2020s, scholars and media critics alike pointed to the potentially negative effects on democracy and society of the amplification of false and polarizing content. Media and misinformation experts then started to identify new techniques for journalists to avoid amplification of negative content.

Important scholarship in this field was produced by Whitney M. Phillips while she served as an assistant professor of communication and rhetorical studies at Syracuse University. In her 2019 report, "The Oxygen of Amplification," for the nonprofit Data & Society Research Institute, Phillips explored how journalists view their role in amplifying the misinformation and manipulations that have found their way into the online world during and after the 2016 election. In talking with the journalists, Phillips discovered that they were ambivalent when it came to making decisions about amplifying problematic messages like misinformation, aware of the potential harms to public discourse but also aware of the dangers of not exposing them.

Among the challenges that Phillips and other scholars have illuminated are the methods that media manipulators often use to get news organizations to publish or air falsehoods, hoaxes, and divisive narratives in order to amplify them. These bad actors often prey on mainstream media during breaking news situations, when journalists and their audiences alike are hungry for new information and when getting that information out is paramount. Sadly, mass shootings or disasters that capture the public's attention are often cases in which media manipulators seek to plant misinformation about causes or responses in mainstream media outlets.

Amplification of Misinformation in Attempts to Correct It

Another major concern is that journalists can amplify misinformation even as they attempt to debunk it. This kind of amplification can occur in several ways.

When a news organization sees a falsehood circulating among people in its coverage area, such as on social media, it might try to use its own

platform to correct the falsehood. Such false information could range from misinformation about a local issue in a community to a state-sponsored effort to stoke division and undermine trust in democracy nationwide.

Because most journalists instinctively seek to correct false information when they see it, it is logical that they would try to cover the falsehood and call out its originators and spreaders. However, it might sometimes be better to avoid reporting on the misinformation altogether, to avoid amplifying it. In fact, when a mainstream media outlet chooses not to cover something, that is itself a statement to readers that the news organization does not consider the information worthy of coverage.

To deal with the amplification conundrum, First Draft, an organization that fights disinformation, has urged journalists covering a falsehood or a hoax on social media to identify a “tipping point,” or the point at which it makes sense to report on the misinformation because it can no longer be ignored.

A classic example of a news organization applying the tipping point standard involved *The Washington Post*’s May 2019 decision to publish a story on a video that had been manipulated to make it seem as if U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was drunk or somehow otherwise impaired. The video, which had been slowed down to make it appear that Pelosi was slurring her speech, and was then posted on social media, had gotten more than a million views on Facebook before the *Post* did its story.

Factors other than reach can also play into tipping point decisions. Take, for example, the news value such a story might carry given the prominence of the players involved. When the manipulated video was circulated, Pelosi was the highest ranking Democratic officeholder in the United States, second in the line of succession for the presidency, which made a video that falsely attacked her judgment especially newsworthy. Moreover, this was also a technology story: Facebook’s refusal to take down the Pelosi video shed light on social media companies’ policies involving manipulated content or misinformation at a time when those policies were under increasing scrutiny.

Inadvertent or Difficult-to-Avoid Amplification

Journalists can also inadvertently amplify misinformation by quoting without context or correction a politician who utters a falsehood, or by presenting the falsehood and the truth with equal weight rather than giving added emphasis to the truth.

Some journalists might simply report what officials say on the theory that it is inherently news because someone in power said it. To hold these politicians accountable, that thinking goes, they must be put on the record even if what they say is not immediately called out as false. The journalists might simply assume, absent any evidence, that most readers will understand that the politician’s statement is false. They might think the notion of “fact-based” reporting supports the idea of first putting the statement out there; it is a fact that this person said this thing.

But in an accelerated news environment, in which politicians and their allies use social media to repeatedly boost their messages—sometimes false ones—online and over the air, the check on the veracity of their statements must be done instantly. Some news organizations, as a result, have taken to real-time fact-checking of major speeches such as the president’s State of the Union message or other important appearances by political leaders. They are, in effect, downplaying, or de-amplifying, the falsehood by amplifying the correction.

A number of experts in media, rhetoric, and related fields have proposed ways that journalists can avoid amplifying misinformation and polarizing narratives. In addition to knowing their tipping point, journalists can adopt strategies to ensure that they do not give equal or even disproportionately heavy weight to a falsehood in an attempt to correct it. The idea is to ensure amplification of the truth, as opposed to the falsehood.

One strategy that gained currency starting in mid-2018 came from George Lakoff, a linguist who is professor emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley. Lakoff has urged journalists correcting misinformation to put the truth first, then the falsehood, then to repeat the truth. In a 2018 interview with Lakoff, CNN’s Brian Stelter called that technique a “truth sandwich,” and that

label took hold as a way to describe the technique.

Amplification of Fringe, Polarizing, and Divisive Content

A related concern is that news organizations can inadvertently stoke divisive messages, such as provocations from extremists or hardline partisans, by either quoting them uncritically or positioning their views opposite people who take a similarly hardline stance, but on the opposing side.

Journalists often explore tensions, as Tom Rosenstiel and Bill Kovach write in their book, *The Elements of Journalism*, first published in 2001. But, the authors note, journalists often wind up reporting on the extreme sides of those tensions, as a way of showing delineation between the two sides.

This dynamic has become more pronounced as more politicians use social media as a communications tool. Those platforms encourage or even require the message to be boiled down to its essence. There is little room for nuance. By emphasizing the “sides” of an issue—and the most extreme position on each side—journalists are essentially amplifying division as opposed to exploring the motives of the parties and the complexity of the issue. This can encourage audiences to take sides, and thus does not encourage them to seek a real understanding of an issue.

The Social Media Factor

It is impossible to consider news organizations’ role in the amplification of falsehoods, disinformation, and polarizing narratives without taking into account the role of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. The advent and growth of these platforms have eroded traditional media outlets’ control over what information the public is exposed to. Still, bad actors try to get these news organizations to amplify misinformation and disinformation, given their credibility and reach in the marketplace of ideas. Purveyors of falsehoods hope to manipulate mainstream media outlets to propel their cynical and misleading messages to the public. At the same time, mainstream news organizations also use

social media to advance their own stories and their brands.

The degree to which the public can be influenced by social media was shown most prominently in the 2016 U.S. national elections, when Facebook and (Facebook-owned) Instagram groups that were controlled by the Russian Internet Research Agency acquired hundreds of thousands of U.S. followers, according to the report of special counsel Robert Mueller, who was investigating Russian influence on the elections. Facebook itself told Congress that an estimated 126 million people may have been served content from a page associated with the Internet Research Agency. Meanwhile, a growing number of people go to social media platforms for news, according to the Pew Research Center, which reported in 2019 that 55% of U.S. adults said they get news from social media either often or sometimes, up from 47% in 2018.

The mainstream media’s entanglement with social media companies at once heightens and negates journalists’ choices about what to amplify, what to correct, and what to ignore. The relationship is symbiotic: Mainstream news outlets use social media to amplify their stories, but those same social platforms spread the kind of misinformation that mainstream media outlets feel compelled to correct. For mainstream news organizations already under financial pressure because advertising has moved to the very social platforms that have eroded their gatekeeper role, this is a paradox likely to persist for years to come.

Susan Benkelman

See also Bias; Credibility; Deception; Fake News; Gatekeeping; News Values

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ANCHORS, TELEVISION

Television news anchors are among the few journalists known to the public on a national scale. In addition to keeping the public informed, viewers who watch a television newscast come to feel as though they *know* the people who report the news. Of all those practicing television journalism, the struggle between the time-honored principles of print and radio journalism and the elements of television appearance, personality, emotion, and celebrity is experienced to the greatest degree by network television news anchors.

Although TV news anchors often ascend to their network posts from local stations and from jobs as correspondents and reporters, they are soon distinguished by their status as the most recognizable figureheads on the nightly network news broadcasts. TV anchors' implicit associations with "hard news" as opposed to softer news

and entertainment formats also distinguish them from such other television personalities as program hosts or commentators. Critics note that while British television reporters are referred to as *news readers* (accurately reflecting what they actually do), a marked difference exists in the way they are regarded in the United States where "anchor" and "host" are often used interchangeably.

The prestige and notoriety of American television news anchors grew steadily between the inception of the phenomenon in the 1940s and the 1980s, the decade during which they reached their apex in terms of attention and autonomy. Since then, with the influx of competition for viewers' attention from other TV news channels, including cable and satellite, as well as from online media, the power of the network television news anchor has been somewhat diluted amid the sea of available news options, but the anchors are still regarded as an institution within TV news.

Emergence of TV Anchors

The American TV news anchor role came into being after World War II. Although television began operating on a commercial basis in mid-1941, the medium had been stunted by wartime priorities and a halt in the manufacture of receivers. The earliest television newscasts were little more than radio journalists reading the news in front of a camera, sometimes accompanied by still photographs.

In 1948, NBC began a newsreel program that included film clips of news items spliced together. A year later, the program was expanded to 15 minutes and became the *Camel News Caravan*, anchored by John Cameron Swayze, and lasting until 1957. Swayze provided the introductions to, explanations of, and transitions between the film clips presented. CBS contracted with Telenews, a subsidiary of Hearst-MGM newsreel, for film, and in 1948 began a regular nightly bulletin, *CBS News with Douglas Edwards*, sponsored by General Motors. John Chancellor, anchor of *NBC Nightly News* from 1970 to 1982, is also credited with having helped define television news in these early days.

Discrepant accounts characterize early anchors as humble figures who merely read the news, yet,

at the same time, had some control over the broadcasts. Television journalists developed onscreen personas to connect with viewers by using strategies to mimic face-to-face interaction. These included the anchor looking into the camera (and thus directly into the eyes of the viewer), and speaking directly and personally to each viewer.

Dimensions of appearance and performance introduced by television brought a disjuncture in the standards that Edward R. Murrow and his followers had established for radio journalism. While print experience was prized in radio journalism, training and experience would not suffice for television as an element of showmanship became an essential trait for video journalists. An ability to communicate and connect with viewers became paramount. Until the mid-1950s, the 15-minute evening network newscasts were treated as unimportant by the networks and their anchors were similarly regarded.

As the medium's reach expanded across the country in the early 1950s, television became an important political force. President Dwight Eisenhower embraced the new medium, and Richard Nixon saved his political life with his televised "Checkers" speech. In 1952, NBC's morning news and talk program debuted with Dave Garroway anchoring the *Today* show. It would not have a morning news competitor until the launch of ABC's *Good Morning America* in 1975. The softer and more eclectic morning news format offered a more informal forum for showcasing the onscreen talents and versatility of Jane Pauley, Barbara Walters, Tom Brokaw, and other hosts over the years.

The introduction into the language of the new term *anchorman* took place at the 1952 political conventions in regard to Walter Cronkite, a seasoned wire service reporter who had been anchoring the local news for the CBS-owned Washington station since 1950. According to Barbara Matu-sow, author of the 1983 book *The Evening Stars*, in one of their preconvention meetings, Sig Mickelson, then head of CBS television news, and producer Don Hewitt discussed the need to have their strongest reporter holding together the coverage from the convention floor. Hewitt compared the arrangement to a relay team, where the strongest runner, who runs the final leg of the race, is called

the *anchorman*. Thus, Cronkite became sealed in history as the first and quintessential television anchor.

CNN's entry into cable television news in 1980 offered opportunities for new faces on TV news. For many ambitious young correspondents, the 1990–1991 Gulf War represented a big break. Bernard Shaw, Christiane Amanpour, Peter Arnett, and Wolf Blitzer were among the CNN correspondents who benefited from hours of wartime coverage. Shaw was a pioneering Black anchor, while Judy Woodruff, Paula Zahn, and Anderson Cooper are other well-known anchors who have been featured on CNN. Other cable news networks were founded and rose in the late 1980s and 1990s, including CNBC in 1989, MSNBC in 1996, and the Fox News Channel also in 1996. Each has featured notable anchors.

The Anchor's Role

In addition to the TV journalist who appeared on camera, many others worked to assemble the components of each news broadcast. As early as 1949, for example, Douglas Edwards was supported by a full-time CBS staff of 16 plus 14 part-timers.

With Walter Cronkite at CBS, the network anchor also assumed the title of "managing editor" of the broadcast. This was a means of allowing the TV anchor to use his news judgment to select, hone, and shape news stories in the broadcast, while alerting the news staff and viewers that the anchor was more than a face on the screen. All solo network evening news anchors to follow would also hold the dual titles of anchor and managing editor. Yet an anchor may have little to no involvement in many stories other than reading materials prepared for him or her by others.

The advent of the TV news anchor posed challenges to traditional journalistic values and routines largely because of anchor celebrity, authority, and salary. At the heart of continuing criticism is the placing of an anchor's pleasing persona and appearance over journalistic ability, the pervasive influence of market research on hiring and promotion of TV journalists, and the enormous salaries that network anchors receive.

TV Anchors Today

By 2005, most industry analysts agreed that the networks' morning news programs, which typified the hybridization of news and entertainment, were eclipsing the evening news programs in viewer popularity and thus value within their news organizations. There are a variety of reasons people watch network evening news less often today, including an increasing number of alternative news sources and altered commuting times. Younger news consumers are also less likely to get their news from evening television news programs.

Routes to entry and promotion within the TV news field have also changed over time. The generation of television reporters who came to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s often had been trained in the wire services or radio and gained experience as foreign or war correspondents or by working their way up through local station and network ranks. In contrast, the trajectory of TV journalists in the 1980s and 1990s was somewhat different. Some of these new anchors entered the field through journalism schools or by working up through the newsroom ranks, while others, such as Anderson Cooper, had a mix of broadcast experience that included news and entertainment.

Since 2010, anchor transitions at the U.S. broadcast networks have occurred more frequently, and by 2017, once again, the anchors of all three network evening news broadcasts were men. Then, in 2019, Norah O'Donnell was named anchor of the CBS *Evening News*. But their placement is no longer as significant among the proliferation of news outlets; the news anchor post has lost some of its cachet. The past decade of anchors also contained scandal. Brian Williams was removed from his post as anchor of NBC's *Nightly News* in 2015, after an internal investigation found he misreported his own role in several stories. Lester Holt replaced Williams, making him the second Black anchor on American network television news, and the first Black solo anchor of a nightly network newscast. At Fox News Channel, sexual harassment scandals involving host Bill O'Reilly and then Chairman and CEO Roger Ailes beset the company. Megyn Kelly, who made her name at Fox challenging then-presidential candidate Donald Trump in a debate prior to the

2016 election, was taken off of the *Today Show* and her own program at NBC in 2018 after making remarks on-air that were seen as racist.

Since the mid-2000s, many news organizations of all types, including television, have been producing more commentary and opinion, and niche programming. As audiences for traditional TV news broadcasts continue to decrease amid competition, there has been an increase in the blending of news and entertainment and the fluidity and transferability of individual TV personalities across formats and genres. Whereas for the first 50 years of television news, the network TV news anchors represented identification with the objective model of journalism and hard news, news anchors today may express partisan views that cater to particular audience segments. News anchor moves between soft news, or entertainment, and hard news can be traced back through the history of television news. The rise in opinionated hosts and commentators providing politically ideological views on evening TV programs, most prominently seen on cable television news, has yielded hosts who now rival—and at times surpass—news anchors as the most well-known personalities on network television. Even so, TV news anchors deliver information to people about the world around them in a visual, personal, emotional, and dramatic way that television made possible.

Notable American TV News Anchors

Tom Brokaw (1940–)

Tom Brokaw began his career in local news, and after several local news positions around the country, he moved to Washington, DC, eventually becoming NBC's White House correspondent during the Watergate era. He shifted from hosting NBC's morning *Today* show in 1983 to anchoring the network's evening newscast. He was briefly paired with Roger Mudd as coanchor in 1982–1983, and then remained the sole anchor of the broadcast until his retirement in 2004.

Connie Chung (1946–)

Connie Chung was hired by CBS during the women's movement of the early 1970s when the networks put more women on the air. By 1974, the three networks had added about a dozen

women reporters and were recruiting more. After working her way up from positions at local TV news stations to the network level, Chung was named coanchor of the *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather in 1993. She was the second woman (after Barbara Walters) to become an anchor, but the pairing only lasted 2 years. Subsequently, Chung coanchored ABC News' *20/20* and *Connie Chung Tonight* on CNN. She is the only person (male or female) to have served as a substitute anchor for all three network nightly newscasts as well as all three network morning newscasts.

Katie Couric (1957–)

In 2006, Katie Couric moved from her post she held for 15 years as coanchor of NBC's *Today* to CBS where she anchored the *CBS Evening News with Katie Couric* until 2011. The move made her the first solo female anchor in network television evening news. Couric and NBC made the deliberate choice of calling her *Katie* from the onset of her *Today* show career, while she had previously been known as *Katherine* as a local TV reporter and as a reporter for CNN.

Walter Cronkite (1916–2009)

Walter Cronkite began as a United Press (later called *United Press International*) wire service reporter who then anchored local news for the CBS-owned Washington station in 1950. He rose to become a journalistic star with coverage of the 1952 political conventions. The first use of the term *anchorman* came at this time. From the late 1960s until his retirement in 1981, Cronkite presided over the top-rated network news program.

Two moments epitomized Cronkite's career and impact. His visibly emotional relay of the November 1963 assassination of President Kennedy's death included, according to communications researcher Barbie Zelizer (1992, p. 146) "removing his eyeglasses in a distracted fashion and forgetting to put on his suit jacket." In a sense, he shared the national shock at the event. Five years later, on his return from onsite reporting from Vietnam, he clearly expressed his opinion that the war would never be won on military grounds and that the only end was negotiation. The two-part editorial, broadcast on successive

days, was one catalyst for President Lyndon Johnson's decision to not run for reelection.

Charles Gibson (1943–)

Charles Gibson moved from hosting ABC's *Good Morning America* to solo anchoring *World News Tonight* from 2006 to 2009. He coanchored *Good Morning America* from 1987 to 1998 and 1999 to 2006. In addition, Gibson was also coanchor of *Primetime* and was a regular substitute anchor on *World News Tonight* before his permanent appointment.

Lester Holt (1959–)

Lester Holt was named first as interim anchor to replace Brian Williams in 2015, and then as permanent anchor of the *NBC Nightly News*, making him the second Black anchor on American network television news, and the first Black solo anchor of a nightly network newscast. Holt also continued anchoring *Dateline* on NBC.

Chet Huntley (1911–1974) and David Brinkley (1920–2003)

Chet Huntley and David Brinkley emerged as news stars with their coverage of the 1956 political convention coverage for NBC. Huntley had previously worked for Movietone News and then CBS radio in Los Angeles, as well as NBC TV in Los Angeles. Brinkley was a former United Press International reporter. The Huntley–Brinkley duo that dominated network news in the early and mid-1960s was created to appeal to viewers in all parts of the country, as Huntley was from the West and Brinkley hailed from the East. Their nightly *Huntley–Brinkley Report* ran on NBC until 1970.

Peter Jennings (1938–2005)

Peter Jennings was a high school dropout who transformed himself into one of the most well-known network TV anchors. In an attempt to raise its newscast from the depths of third place against Cronkite and Huntley–Brinkley, who had emerged as trailblazers from their coverage of the decades' assassinations and scandals, ABC made

Jennings, a 26-year-old former Canadian television anchor, the anchor of its evening news broadcast in 1965, making him by far the youngest national network anchor. Although the network thought his fresh and handsome looks would appeal to younger viewers, his inexperience and the strength of his competition led Jennings to seek other assignments and ABC replaced him in 1968. Jennings would later gain recognition as the first network correspondent on the scene when Palestinian terrorists murdered Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. He returned, substantially more seasoned, to the anchor chair in 1978. He remained at the helm of ABC's *World News Tonight* until his death from lung cancer.

**Robert MacNeil (1931–)
and Jim Lehrer (1934–2020)**

Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer began their television partnership in 1973 when they provided the National Public Affairs Center for Television's continuous live coverage of the Senate Watergate hearings, broadcast on PBS. Lehrer was the solo anchor for subsequent PBS coverage of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry of Richard Nixon. Lehrer had previously been a Texas newspaper reporter. Lehrer's newspaper career led him to public television, first in Dallas, as KERA-TV's executive director of public affairs, on-air host, and editor of a nightly news program. He subsequently moved to Washington, DC, to serve as the public affairs coordinator for PBS. Canadian born MacNeil had previously reported for Reuters news agency and NBC News and for the BBC.

In October 1975, the half-hour *Robert MacNeil Report*, with Jim Lehrer as the Washington correspondent, premiered on Thirteen/WNET New York. In September 1983, Lehrer and MacNeil launched *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. MacNeil departed the program in 1995 and Lehrer took stewardship of the program under a new title, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. In addition, Lehrer served as a moderator for 10 nationally televised debates among the candidates in the presidential elections since 1988. In 2013, Judy Woodruff and Gwen Ifill were named coanchors of the PBS *NewsHour*.

Roger Mudd (1928–2021)

Roger Mudd began his journalism career in 1953 as a reporter for the now-defunct *Richmond News-Leader* and was news director at WRNL-AM in Richmond. He also worked as a reporter for WTOP-TV in Washington. Mudd joined CBS News in 1961 and worked as a correspondent for 19 years. In 1980, Mudd moved to NBC as coanchor of the *NBC Nightly News* with Tom Brokaw (1982–1983), and coanchor of *Meet the Press*. Later, he became the primary anchor of The History Channel. From 1987 until 1992, he was an essayist and correspondent for the *McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* on PBS. He left the program in 1992 and became a journalism professor at Princeton University.

David Muir (1973–)

David Muir replaced Diane Sawyer as anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* in 2014. He is also coanchor of ABC News' *20/20*. Muir has been with ABC News since 2003, joining *World News Tonight* as a weekend anchor and chief substitute for Sawyer in 2011 and coanchor of *20/20* in 2013. Prior to ABC, he was at local news stations WCVB in Boston and WTVH in Syracuse.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965)

Edward R. Murrow made his name with radio reports during World War II. While he was more comfortable with radio, Murrow established a tradition on television as well—that of the crusading reporter—with his 1954 attack on Senator Joseph McCarthy and in reporting on the injustices committed against those accused of communist sympathies. He also introduced such techniques as the multi point radio roundup and the split screen interview. He anchored the weekly TV documentary series *See It Now* on CBS from 1951 to 1955.

Norah O'Donnell (1974–)

Norah O'Donnell became anchor of the CBS Evening News in 2019. She succeeded Jeff Glor. Previously, O'Donnell cohosted CBS *This Morning* and was a contributor to *60 Minutes*. Prior to that she served as chief White House

correspondent. Before joining CBS News, O'Donnell worked at NBC News for more than a decade, where she covered the Pentagon, Congress, and the White House. She began her career as a print reporter for *Roll Call*.

Scott Pelley (1957–)

Scott Pelley served as anchor of the CBS *Evening News* from 2011 to 2017. Pelley joined CBS as a reporter based in New York in 1989, and later served as a CBS News correspondent based in Dallas. He was named Chief White House Correspondent in 1997. He has been a correspondent for *60 Minutes* since 2004. Before joining *60 Minutes*, Pelley was a correspondent for *60 Minutes II*. Jeff Glor replaced Scott Pelley as CBS *Evening News* anchor from late 2017 until May 2019.

Dan Rather (1931–)

Dan Rather succeeded Walter Cronkite as anchor of the CBS *Evening News* in 1981. In the mid-1980s, the program was the leading evening newscast. An early groundbreaking moment for Rather was his televised exchange with President Nixon during a news conference, recounted in Rather's 1977 memoir, in which Nixon asked Rather, "Are you running for something?" and Rather replied, "No, Mr. President, are you?" This began a protracted grudge conservatives would hold toward Rather, and the first of many media tornadoes in which Rather would find himself. Among them was his 6-minute walk-out to protest that the U.S. Open Tennis tournament had cut into the *Evening News* in 1987. CBS struggled at times to manage and withstand the fallout from Rather's behavior over the years, yet stuck by him through his controversies. However, in 2006, Rather left CBS, having been unable to quell criticism brought on by a flawed broadcast report during the 2004 elections. He signed on to host a weekly news program on HDNet.

Harry Reasoner (1923–1991)

Harry Reasoner was a reporter, White House correspondent, and anchor while at CBS News from 1956 to 1970. In 1968, he became one of the original correspondents for CBS's news magazine program *60 Minutes*. In 1970, Reasoner left CBS

to become an evening news anchor for ABC, at first paired with Howard K. Smith, and later with Barbara Walters. He returned to CBS and *60 Minutes* in 1979, where he continued to work full time until 1991.

Frank Reynolds (1923–1983)

Frank Reynolds was the primary anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight*, with coanchors Peter Jennings in London and Max Robinson in Chicago, until his death in 1983. Reynolds began his career in local radio broadcasting and then local television broadcasting in Chicago for CBS and ABC affiliates. In 1965, he became the only Chicago television reporter to travel to South Vietnam to report from the battlefield. That same year, he became an ABC network correspondent in Washington. His first stint at anchoring the evening news took place in the late 1960s, ending in December 1970. For the next 8 years, he covered major stories for ABC News until he was made coanchor again in 1978.

Max Robinson (1939–1988)

Max Robinson became the first Black anchor on broadcast network television in 1981, as the Chicago-based coanchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* with Peter Jennings and Frank Reynolds. Robinson caused a stir when the press reported that, as part of a 1981 speech at Smith College, he remarked that TV networks discriminated against Black reporters and that "unconscious racism" existed at the decision-making levels in news media. Robinson then became anchor of the local news in Chicago, a reversal of the normal progression of an on-camera reporter's career.

Diane Sawyer (1945–)

Diane Sawyer was the anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* from 2009 until 2014. She replaced Charles Gibson upon his retirement from ABC in 2009. The two previously coanchored *Good Morning America*. Sawyer joined ABC News in February 1989 as coanchor of *Primetime*. In addition to that role, she was named coanchor of *Good Morning America* in January 1999, and held the post until taking over the *World News* anchor chair. Prior to joining ABC News, Sawyer

spent 9 years at CBS News as the first female correspondent of *60 Minutes*. She also coanchored the CBS *Morning News* and was CBS News's State Department correspondent.

Bob Schieffer (1937–)

Bob Schieffer succeeded Dan Rather as anchor of the CBS *Evening News* on an interim basis in 2006 as speculation abounded as to what long-term shape the program might take. He became a contributor to the broadcast when Katie Couric was named as a permanent replacement in April 2006. Schieffer began his career with CBS News in 1969, and was anchor of the CBS *Evening News* Sunday edition from 1973 to 1976 and anchor of the Saturday edition from 1976 to 1996.

Elizabeth Vargas (1962–) and Bob Woodruff (1961–)

Elizabeth Vargas and Bob Woodruff were paired to anchor ABC's *World News Tonight* after Peter Jennings's death in 2005. ABC had scrambled to find a successor, and emerged with not one anchor, but two. This was ABC's attempt at returning to a multi-anchor format, although not by repeating the placement of one male and one female anchor side by side at a desk, but rather a tag-team format whereby one anchor reports from the desk in New York and one from assignment in the field. In 2006, Vargas thus became the first woman of Hispanic descent to achieve the network evening news anchor post. However, less than 6 months after the pairing, with Woodruff recovering from serious injuries sustained while on assignment in Iraq in January 2006, and Vargas preparing for maternity leave, ABC named Charles Gibson the sole anchor of its evening newscast.

Barbara Walters (1929–)

Barbara Walters left her job as the first female cohost of NBC's *Today* show in 1976 to become the first female coanchor of a network evening newscast, ABC's *Evening News* with Harry Reasoner, also becoming the first anchor on television to be offered a \$1 million annual salary. Her "auction" brought into question the entire issue of the anchor as celebrity. Considering that journalism

had been slow in promoting minorities and women, the fact that the first million-dollar anchor would be a woman made the announcement all the more sensational. When Walters' pairing with Reasoner ended in 1978, she continued hosting *The Barbara Walters Special*, which featured interviews with newsmakers and celebrities. Walters also cohosted the ABC news magazine show *20/20* beginning in 1979. In 1997, she became the main host and producer of the all-female ensemble-hosted morning talk show *The View* on ABC.

Brian Williams (1959–)

Williams started his journalism career at a small TV station in Kansas. After working as a reporter for a number of local East Coast stations, Williams moved to CBS in New York City. In 1993, he shifted to NBC and a year later became the network's chief White House correspondent. For 7 years beginning in 1996, he was anchor and managing editor of *The News with Brian Williams*, a nightly program on MSNBC and then on CNBC. Williams served as anchor and managing editor of the Saturday edition of NBC *Nightly News* for 6 years before becoming anchor of the weekday edition. He was named to succeed Tom Brokaw in 2004. From 2011 to 2013, Williams also hosted a news magazine program on NBC titled, "Rock Center."

Brian Williams was removed from his post as anchor of NBC's *Nightly News* amid scandal in 2015, after an internal investigation found he misreported his own role in several stories. Lester Holt replaced Williams. Williams became the host of MSNBC's political news show, *The 11th Hour with Brian Williams*. He announced in November 2021 that he would be leaving MSNBC and NBC News before the end of his contract the following month.

Judy Woodruff (1946–) and Gwen Ifill (1955–2016)

In 2013, Judy Woodruff and Gwen Ifill were named coanchors of the PBS *NewsHour* and became the first two women to coanchor a national news broadcast. After Ifill's death in 2016, Woodruff was named sole anchor. At PBS from 1983–1993, Woodruff was the chief Washington correspondent for the McNeil/Lehrer *NewsHour*. Moving to CNN in 1993, she served as anchor and senior correspondent for 12 years;

among other duties, she anchored the weekday program *Inside Politics*. She returned to the *NewsHour* in 2007. At NBC News, Woodruff was White House correspondent from 1977 to 1982.

For 1 year after that she served as NBC's Today Show chief Washington correspondent. Ifill served as moderator and managing editor of *Washington Week* and coanchor and managing editor of PBS *NewsHour* until her death in November 2016. Before coming to PBS in 1999, Ifill was chief congressional and political correspondent for NBC News, White House correspondent for *The New York Times*, and a local and national political reporter for *The Washington Post*.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Cable News; Hard Versus Soft News; Television Commentary

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ANTITRUST

Antitrust is a concept that stems out of the notion that there should be a way to promote equitable and healthy competition in the marketplace. In the United States, the first federal statute that prohibited activities that restricted interstate commerce and competition was the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The act, passed during a time when many states had just passed their own antitrust laws, was broad in scope and prohibited attempts at monopolization of interstate trade or commerce. The act made such attempts a felony. Over the two decades that followed, the United States passed additional laws to ensure equitable competition and to prevent unfair trade practices. This entry reviews the Sherman Antitrust Act and then discusses several major antitrust cases involving the media.

Sherman Antitrust Act

Two key provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act were meant to curb situations where the concentration of power interferes with trade or reduces competition. One provision applies to cartels, or attempts by companies to limit industrial output, reduce competition within their market sector, and/or manipulate market share. A second provision, which is enforced by the Department of Justice, makes attempts to monopolize any part of commerce or trade within the United States illegal. When a firm is found to be in violation of the act, the Department of Justice can serve it with an injunction to prohibit further illegal action or, in

extreme cases, the courts can order that it be dissolved.

Typically, enforcement actions under the anti-trust act are civil actions and violators may be punished by fines, but criminal penalties can be applied and may be severe. Criminal prosecutions are usually limited to intentional and clear violations of the law, such as price fixing or rigged bids. Criminal offenses may result in fines for corporations of up to \$100 million and/or imprisonment of up to 10 years. Injured private parties may sue for triple the amount of damages incurred.

During the first two decades following passage of the act, most enforcement was against labor unions. This targeted action against unions created problems for workers who needed some way to balance the bargaining power of their employers. Some scholars speculate that this was because the language of the act was fairly vague and corporations used loopholes to their advantage. But by the turn of the century, the Progressive era movement led by President William McKinley and subsequently President Theodore Roosevelt breathed new life into the trust-busting action by the government. Congress first created the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in September 1914 and 1 month later passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, with the purpose of adding clarity and substance to the Sherman Antitrust Act. This legislation amplified or changed the Sherman antitrust law by providing greater regulatory supervision of price discrimination, corporate supervision, and mergers. It allowed the Department of Justice and the newly created FTC the ability to regulate all mergers and gives government the discretion to approve them or not.

The FTC was set up with the power to enforce U.S. civil antitrust law and promotion of consumer protection, giving it the unique dual mission to promote both consumer protection and promote competition.

The FTC protects consumers by stopping unfair, deceptive, and fraudulent practices in the marketplace. Criminal aspects of antitrust are handled by the Department of Justice, but the FTC shares jurisdiction over federal civil enforcement of the laws with the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. Within the FTC there are three major bureaus that oversee and carry out its regulatory responsibilities.

- *Bureau of Consumer Protection* enforces federal laws related to consumer affairs including advertising and marketing, telemarketing fraud, financial products and practices, and identity theft and protection. The bureau is also responsible for the Do Not Call Registry, which in the past few years has come under considerable scrutiny for its inability to contain robocalls.
- *Bureau of Competition* is charged with elimination and prevention of “anticompetitive” business practices. The bureau also reviews proposed mergers and investigates nonmerger practices that could include illegal agreements among businesses in the same industry, such as suppliers and commercial buyers.
- *Bureau of Economics* supports the other two bureaus by providing expert knowledge related to the state of the economy and the impacts of FTC’s legislation and operation.

Antitrust laws attempt to regulate market forces that could lead to unwanted market power. Excessive market control by one company in a particular industry is called a *monopoly*, while control of an industry by two or three companies is called an *oligopoly*. In both cases, it is possible for one or a few entities to stifle competition and innovation by controlling production within an industry (or market sector) and set prices for goods or services within that industry.

Over the past 100 years, antitrust has played a prominent role in the regulation of many aspects of the media business. In some cases, government used antitrust laws to promote competition, to maintain a level playing field among different competitors or to curtail unwanted behavior. In other cases, the government chose not to regulate in an attempt to encourage development of new industries.

Major Antitrust Cases in the Media

This section presents several examples of the government’s use of antitrust laws to regulate the media.

Associated Press

The U.S. Constitution guarantees the freedom to publish and freedom from government

interference for all, but it does not allow a cooperative association to prohibit one member of the cooperative from providing breaking news to nonmembers. During the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), five New York newspapers formed the New York Associated Press to share the cost of transmitting news from the war front. In 1892, it became the Associated Press (AP) and in 1900, it was found guilty of restraint of trade.

During the early 20th century, the cooperative grew rapidly. In 1945, the Supreme Court held that AP had been violating the Sherman Antitrust Act by prohibiting members from selling or providing news to nonmembers as well as making it very difficult for nonmember newspapers to join the AP. The resulting Court decision facilitated the growth of its main rival, United Press International.

Radio Corporation of America

The earliest days of broadcasting began when the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) was formed by General Electric (GE), Westinghouse, and the American Telegraph and Telephone Co. (AT&T). The newly formed company benefited from sharing patent and engineering expertise of all three companies, immediately gaining an advantage in the manufacture of radio sets for the newly developing field of broadcasting.

RCA also started the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) so that those who purchased radio sets would have something to listen to. Over the next 4 years, NBC developed several radio networks by stringing together radio affiliates across the United States using AT&T long-lines to make connections.

The Department of Justice began to examine the interlocking structure of this arrangement and after several years of litigation, Westinghouse and GE agreed to sell their interests in RCA, without admitting violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The outcome helped to establish competitive conditions for the manufacture of radio receivers. In the meantime, NBC continued to operate two radio networks, known as *NBC Red* and *NBC Blue*, simultaneously and benefited from advertising revenues.

NBC and CBS

In 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was formed to take over the duties of the Federal Radio Commission established in 1927. It, like the FTC, is an independent regulatory commission set up to license radio and television stations and oversee telecommunications. The FCC has the power to promulgate rules that have the effect of law. Throughout the 1930s, accusations were made against both NBC and its primary rival, CBS, that the two networks engaged in anticompetitive behavior by signing talent to their own in-house talent agencies and tying station affiliates to strict, onerous contracts. These and other network–affiliate practices came under scrutiny by the FCC in 1938 to see whether rules were needed to control network tendencies toward monopoly.

During this time, NBC held tight control on the radio markets in major metropolitan areas. In most large markets like New York, Boston, and Chicago, it owned two radio stations, each affiliated with one of the two NBC radio networks. These stations were usually the most powerful stations in the market, meaning they could reach larger audiences than smaller stations.

CBS radio, the other major network, also tended to own larger stations in the market. Mutual radio, the fourth commercial network, actually had more affiliates than either NBC or CBS, but these affiliate stations were smaller and less powerful and therefore unable to compete for listeners and advertisers.

By 1941, the FCC concluded that there had been abuses by the powerful networks and ordered NBC to sell one of the two stations it owned in each of the large metro markets. It also ordered NBC to divest itself of one of the two major networks. The Supreme Court upheld the FCC decision and as a result of the NBC network breakup, the ABC network was formed.

Cross-Ownership

During this era, the FCC began to examine whether ownership of radio stations by newspapers in the same community (cross-ownership) might stifle differing voices in the community. For example, in Syracuse, NY, both the morning and

evening newspaper and the NBC radio station were owned by the same company. After World War II, when television licenses were allocated, the same company received a channel allocation, which became the NBC TV affiliate. Critics wondered whether news about local politics could be negatively impacted or whether different points of view might be stifled by such close media cross-ownership.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the FCC seemed too busy getting television and the new FM radio band underway to deal with cross-ownership issues; however, in 1970 the commission limited ownership. Television stations had to divest any radio stations they owned in the same market. The commission also began a long investigation on newspaper-broadcast station cross-ownership. In 1975, the FCC prohibited new newspaper-television combinations and required newspapers to sell their television stations when there was only one TV station in the market. These rules were developed to prevent tying advertising across platforms and to encourage diversity of voices in the community.

American Telegraph and Telephone Co.

In 1885, AT&T was established. The company quickly expanded to create a nationwide long-distance network and began to acquire local and state telephone services. By 1913, most regarded AT&T a “natural” monopoly; that is, the immense cost of creating a nationwide service to compete with it was unlikely. State public utility commissions and the FCC regulated cost and structure of AT&T under Title II of the 1934 Communications Act. During this time AT&T was barred from entering new businesses, but it developed many new communications technologies in its famed Bell Laboratories. During most of the 20th century, AT&T firmly controlled many technologies but was stifled in introducing them in the telecommunications field.

In 1982, the company settled an 8-year anti-trust suit with the Department of Justice that essentially broken up the conglomerate and allowed competition to enter a deregulated marketplace. The rapid growth of new technologies, such as cellular telephones, home computer services, the Internet, and mobile wireless services, has now merged media and wireless together.

In 2005, Bell South bought AT&T with the idea of creating new media provider of voice, web, and video services. AT&T purchased DirecTV in 2014 to give it access to the fast-growing Latin American market and in 2016, it announced plans to acquire Time-Warner Media. However, the Department of Justice informed AT&T that it would block the acquisition under the Clayton Act unless it agreed to sell either DirecTV or Turner Broadcasting (the group that included CNN). The Department of Justice claimed that vertical mergers between companies with complementary businesses would reduce competition and that the \$108 billion acquisition would substantially lessen competition in the media field because it would give AT&T excessive control over many of the cable channels and film vaults owned by Time Warner. The result would be higher prices and less innovation for the consumer. However, after a 2-year review, the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected the government’s claims and allowed the merger to proceed. Today the new AT&T owns DirecTV along with Time-Warner Media that includes HBO, CNN, TBS, and a host of cable networks. It is the world’s largest media conglomerate.

Microsoft

The FTC and Department of Justice have had a long history of litigating large, high-profile cases involving monopolistic practices, unfair competition, or deceptive advertising. They have not won all the big cases. The Microsoft case is one example. In 1994, the FTC began an inquiry into whether Microsoft was abusing its monopoly on personal computer operating systems by tying its web-browser, Internet Explorer, to its operating system and making it more difficult for competitors to load their software on the Windows platform. In a high-profile trial, the court ordered a breakup of the company. However, the court’s decision was reversed on appeal. In 2001, the Department of Justice reached a settlement with the company that required it to share its application program interfaces with third-party companies and to provide computer equipment to schools in states that had also sued the company.

Facebook

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Cambridge Analytica, a consulting company working for the Donald Trump campaign accessed data from tens of millions of Facebook users. The FTC was concerned that Facebook should have done more to prevent that breach of data and to protect user privacy. Earlier, in 2012, the FTC had sued Facebook for making misleading promises about to what extent consumers could keep their personal information private. Now, it appeared that Facebook had ignored that earlier agreement. After nearly 2 years, the FTC and Facebook reached a settlement, whereby Facebook would pay a \$5 billion penalty for violating consumer privacy and be required to make fundamental changes to its privacy policies. While the FTC touted this settlement as unprecedented, many Facebook critics claimed that the settlement was too small relative to the company's massive profits.

YouTube and Google

Privacy is a growing concern for the FTC as Americans become more reliant on media services, apps that can automate daily routines and provide new ways to communicate with friends, work from home, or explore interests and hobbies. Under a 2019 settlement with the FTC, YouTube and Google agreed to pay \$170 million for collecting data on children under 13 years of age without properly notifying parents or getting their permission before collecting and using the children's information for advertising purposes. As a result of the settlement, YouTube will be required to create a system for channels to identify their children-directed content and when implemented, viewer's information can no longer be tracked for advertising purposes.

Tech giants appear to be a growing concern for the FTC. In 2020, the FTC issued orders to major tech giants like Alphabet (Google), Apple, Amazon, Microsoft, and Facebook for information on terms and purposes of transactions and acquisitions of start-ups between 2010 and 2019.

Final Thoughts

Nearly 90 years after its passage, Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall dubbed the Sherman Antitrust Act the "Magna Carta" of our free

enterprise economy. By that, he meant that antitrust laws are as important to the continuance and preservation of economic freedom and the free-enterprise system as the Bill of Rights is to the protection of fundamental personal freedoms. The United States is generally considered to be the first modern economy to develop comprehensive laws to address market abuses. Today, the European Union and many countries in the Asia-Pacific region have developed similar laws. On a global scale, implementation of antitrust laws can help consumers by keeping competition high, by preventing price fixing, and by encouraging innovations.

Fritz Messere

See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Telecommunications Act of 1996

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Legal Citations

- Clayton Antitrust Act (15 U.S.C. §§ 12–27, 29 U.S.C. §§ 52–53)
- Federal Trade Commission (15 U.S.C. § 41)
- Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 (15 U.S.C. §§ 1–38)

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND JOURNALISM

In the fantasies of Hollywood, artificial intelligence (AI) is often portrayed in exaggerated ways. Software agents converse naturally with people. Robots navigate complex environments. People

fall in love with their AIs. And it generally makes for great entertainment. But the reality of AI is far from the idealized depictions seen in the media. Formally, *artificial intelligence* can be defined as a computer system able to perform a task normally requiring human intelligence. The current state-of-the-art in AI is typically limited to functioning in narrowly defined, well-engineered applications with lots of high-quality data. Modern AI often relies on *machine learning*, a technique that allows computers to learn patterns from data and then perform tasks based on those learned patterns. For instance, a system might use a large corpus of spoken and written material to learn the ways that patterns in speech translate to patterns in written text. Then it would be able to provide transcriptions of new spoken audio clips. In the domain of journalism, AI is changing a range of information work by helping to offload labor that typically requires mental effort by people. Rather than replacing human journalists, AI is more apt to augment them in narrow domains of work or to help them automate specific repetitive tasks. The strengths and weaknesses of AI are often complementary to those of people. Ultimately, AI is a tool that can be harnessed by journalists to enhance productivity, increase the scale, speed, and breadth of coverage by news organizations, and open up new possibilities for content adaptation, optimization, and personalization. This entry discusses editorial uses of AI as well as issues and opportunities for AI in journalism, including its limitations.

Editorial Uses of AI

AI approaches have impacted the entire news production chain, from newsgathering to content production and distribution.

Newsgathering

Newsgathering entails the identification of new stories, the monitoring of events, and the extraction of information—all things that AI can help with. For instance, a team at the Atlanta Journal Constitution newspaper used a machine-learning technique to help sift through more than 100,000 documents to help identify doctors throughout the United States who had been

accused of sexual misconduct but were still practicing medicine. The team of journalists working on the project simply would not have been able to investigate the story at the same scale without the aid of AI.

Journalists can also use data mining techniques to monitor vast amounts of dynamic data for potentially interesting story leads. At *The Washington Post*, a system called *Lead Locator* helps national politics reporters identify interesting locations they might visit for their reporting. To do so it analyzes a massive data set of every registered voter in the United States in order to identify locations with interesting demographic characteristics and political relevance. At Reuters, a system called *Tracer* ingests millions of Tweets on a daily basis and uses a variety of machine learning models to help identify and rank newsworthy events. An evaluation of the tool showed that it was able to speed up news alerts in 84% of cases.

Content Production

AI can also contribute to the efficiency and scale of content production, such as by automatically writing articles, summarizing events, or tagging content. The Associated Press (AP) has automated financial earnings reports using automation since 2014. The system takes in data and uses pre-written templates to output short descriptive articles about the earnings of thousands of companies. The Associated Press also uses AI to help tag the thousands of photos it handles every day. The technology can help identify who or what is in an image, making it more findable and usable by editors.

Another form of automated content used by news media are the various bots that populate social media platforms. These newsbots can be thought of as the social face of news AI, because they typically embody a persona that interacts in a social way with users. People can use bots to disseminate news content, monitor for information, and express opinions in new ways. For instance, the @big_cases bot monitors for and then tweets about new filings in U.S. district or Supreme courts, helping to raise visibility for news about those cases among people following the bot on Twitter.

Distribution

AI technologies also affect the distribution of news content. Some news organizations include recommendation or personalization modules on their sites to increase engagement with content. For instance, in 2019 *The New York Times* introduced a dynamically localized version of the Editor's Picks section of their homepage. The system can select different articles for users who visit the page from different locations and helped drive a 55% increase in clicks from that section. Similar technology is used by news organizations to curate content for email newsletters. Content recommendation and personalization algorithms are also used by various online information intermediaries, such as Google and Facebook, in curating news and other content for consumers.

Another dimension of content distribution relates to the comment sections that are now available on many news sites. While the comments section can be a useful space for users to exchange viewpoints and information, it can also lead to negative interactions where people attack each other and their ideas. Comment moderators can help keep the spaces clean and safe, but it is hard to cope with the volume of comments made on a daily basis. At *The Washington Post*, this led to the development of an AI tool called *Mod Bot* which helps screen comments and accelerate the comment moderation process.

Issues and Opportunities for AI in Journalism

The Limitations of AI

Despite all the potential benefits of using AI in journalism, there are many limitations as well. Thankfully, people are complementary and can often fill in the gaps when AI is not fully up to the task. A fundamental concern is that AI must rely on a quantified version of reality. If data does not exist about some event or topic, then AI cannot “know” about it. And because AI cannot necessarily choose what to measure and how to measure something, nor can it adapt those measurements over time, it is always going to be limited in the highly dynamic domain of news. Another issue is that the data that are available could be noisy, contain errors, or express biases. Particularly in

the case of biased data, an AI system could end up perpetuating a societal bias that is hidden in the data it learned from. Another limitation of AI is that it is often brittle—it lacks the flexibility to operate beyond the bounds of its design. This makes it difficult for AI to adapt to new or changing conditions. Finally, many AI systems, and particularly those reliant on machine learning, operate with a degree of statistical uncertainty in their outputs. If an AI system suggests that a news lead is 75% likely to be credible, it may be problematic for journalists to interpret and incorporate that into their reporting.

Journalistic Values

Much like any technology, AI is designed and developed by people whose values come to be reflected in the technology. AI can therefore be thought of as a medium of expression which can allow for the embedding of various journalistic values and norms, such as a focus on values such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, and ethics. For instance, in the design of content recommendation algorithms, a journalist might value some balance of diversity of content exposure together with some amount of shared, broadly relevant content that everyone sees. These types of values can drive the design and development of the technology so long as they are carefully and faithfully translated into the language of data and algorithms. This can be accomplished through a process of value-sensitive design, and by maintaining an ongoing awareness of how AI technologies may come into alignment or tension with normative journalistic goals.

Investigating AI

The use of AI and algorithmic decision-making has become pervasive throughout both private and public sectors of society, including in domains such as employment, welfare management, educational rankings, and criminal justice, among others. When these systems make mistakes or are thoughtlessly deployed, issues of justice, fairness, and legitimacy are all at stake. This has created a new opportunity for journalists to scrutinize and investigate AI systems in a process known as *algorithmic accountability reporting*. Such reporting

can take many forms, from technical auditing of the inputs and outputs of systems to illustrating the impacts of AI on individual's lives by telling individual stories. The potential negative impact of AI in society also raises important questions about journalist's own use of such technologies and suggests the need for journalists to develop such technology with care and consideration for how to balance risks and harms to society.

Nicholas Diakopoulos

See also Automation; Bias; Bots; Digital Journalism Tools; Ethics; News Values

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ARTS JOURNALISM

Arts journalism involves examining and reporting on the arts, including music, dance, theater, film, literature, visual arts, and architecture. It is a specialty in journalism that has evolved over the past few centuries. Arts journalism encompasses unbiased reporting of arts news and events but also

can include arts criticism, which claims a history reaching back to the writings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Arts journalism takes an array of forms. These include feature stories such as personality profiles and performance or exhibit previews; business stories that cover the arts institutions' finances, public and private funding of artists and other arts workers, and policies and politics behind art; investigative work involving subjects such as mismanagement or crime in the art world; science stories about how the arts affect health or science; and articles that examine the impact of the arts on education.

The role of the arts journalist and the number of them working at various types of publications have changed over time—shaped by cultural shifts in the arts and revolutionary changes in technology. Arts journalists often have an education or other background in the arts (specifically the form they cover) as the subject requires understanding of the nuances of the art form, the artists and other cultural workers active in supporting and presenting it, and its history. They need to be able to execute core reporting skills including conducting interviews, researching, and writing. They also need to understand how arts organizations of various sizes function, both for-profit and not-for-profit. Today, they, like other journalists, also often need to have skills in several forms of media, including the use of social media.

This entry discusses the evolution of arts journalism in the United States since the 19th century, then looks in turn at coverage of architecture, dance, literature, music, theater, and visual art. The entry concludes with a discussion of institutions that offer support for, and recognition of, arts journalism.

Arts Journalism: An Evolving Canvas

Arts journalism has developed following two tracks—journalism and the arts. While journalists have always reported on the arts, specialized writing began to flourish when more news outlets brought on arts critics. The critics' work in many ways fulfilled a journalistic role of documenting history in the arts, and their work was infused with deep knowledge and passion. In addition, a

good number of critics also worked as journalists.

As the United States was developing, journalists wrote about many areas of the arts. Some work came as news through notices of what was happening in cities and towns through local press and other coverage came through academic outlets or periodicals. While some of the academic coverage was critical in nature, it contributed to the journalistic canon in that it documented history and the people involved.

Arts journalists and critics apply the principle of objectivity to much of their work, like their colleagues in other areas of journalism. Arts journalism, however, encompasses exemptions to the principle. A critic's work requires examination and assessment. Discernment also plays a role in an arts journalist's work when deciding on what artists, events, and issues to cover and at what particular moments. This particularly holds true for events outside those that denote breaking news. Also, many working in arts journalism have experience in the arts, and some have been practicing artists. Editors and audiences often regard that background as valuable expertise these arts journalists and critics bring to their work.

Like other areas of journalism, professional norms for arts journalists require them to maintain professional integrity that extends to their coverage and relationships. Most media organizations demand journalists follow conflict-of-interest policies. Arts journalists with personal or professional relationships with certain artists or entities are often required to refrain from covering them or their associated projects. If there is a vital reason to cover them, journalists must disclose any conflicts of interest. Critics are expected to embrace ideals of independence and fairness by supporting reviews with details and sound reasoning.

Growth in Arts and Arts Journalism

Throughout the 19th century, print publications in large cities, which had a more robust physical infrastructure for the arts, carried the most coverage. But as technology, including the use of train travel, rose by the century's close, this began to change. The press was growing. Art museums were opening in large cities across the country, and the number of touring performance groups,

particularly those involved in vaudeville, spread out across the country. Journalists covered this growth and its impact on communities.

As travel to Europe increased by the turn of the century, arts journalists from Europe found audiences in the United States and American journalists stationed overseas began writing about the prospering art scene across the Atlantic. Artists from both sides of the ocean began to visit the other side as well, including modern dancers from the United States who were challenging the status quo.

Progressive Era, New Technologies Create Boom

By the start of the Progressive Era in the late 19th century, newspapers had proliferated, and a consolidation of the industry took publications from private hands into corporate ones. Newspapers and magazines had more space to fill. That space existed in the news pages as well as pages dedicated to the arts. The beginning of the 20th century saw arts journalists covering a large number and diverse array of artists, from high to middlebrow culture. There was the new music form of jazz and new technologies that included the production of photographic film, the phonograph, and moving images. Meanwhile, Broadway theater, which began in the late 1800s, was blooming in New York. People had more leisure time, which increased the demand for the arts and coverage and for arts criticism.

Arts Journalism Integrated Into the Newsroom

Through World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, arts coverage grew as opera houses opened across the country and radio and television expanded to include actors and the classical musicians. Networks often embraced these musicians as guests on programs and even as employees who led and played in network orchestras. Novelists, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, as well as visual and film artists of the era became cultural stars. Journalists covered their work as well as their personal lives. Arts coverage also encompassed the art, music theater, and writers' projects launched by the government under the Works Progress Administration, a New Deal agency that employed people during the Great Depression.

Arts journalists became steady employees at news outlets, mostly print publications, documenting a growing arts sector and some even covering artists affected by the investigations of Joseph McCarthy and The House Un-American Activities Committee. Their work coincided with the economic boom of the postwar years—all the way through the 1965 creation of the National Endowment for the Arts by the U.S. Congress. But during these latter years, some of the commercial arts, particularly popular music and film, was creating controversy by challenging long-held social mores.

Arts News Covers New Controversies

Arts reporters had a landscape laden with stories to report in the 1980s and 1990s with the AIDS crisis, which struck a significant proportion of gay men including many artists. Also, religious conservatives began objecting to public funding of art they found offensive. Among the art conservatives found objectionable was artist Andres Serrano's photograph titled *Piss Christ* featuring a plastic crucifix in a tawny liquid the artist described as his own urine. Other debated works included those of four performance artists who had received National Endowment for the Arts grants and a solo exhibit of works by artist Robert Mapplethorpe. Reminders of that era and arguments against using tax dollars for the arts are still grist for arts journalists as federal and state politicians have proposed and even pulled funding from public coffers.

Other topics emerged or intensified nearing 2020, such as sexism, sexual abuse, racism, and discrimination as seen in arts journalists' coverage of the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements in theater, film, and other arenas. An example of that reporting is *The New York Times's* 2018 Pulitzer Prize-winning work that included longtime arts journalist Jodi Kantor. It covered sexual predators in Hollywood, including film producer Harvey Weinstein.

News Organization Cutbacks and New Arts Journalism Outlets

Traditional journalism earned lower revenues with the ascendancy of the digital revolution spurring a crisis in the industry. In the first two decades

of the 21st century, this forced publications to lay off staff and let go of many arts journalists first. Doug McLennan, editor in chief of *ArtsJournal*, which compiles articles about arts and culture, estimated that between 2000 and 2008 nearly 80% of arts journalists and critics were laid off. Dennis Scholl, John S. and James L. Knight Foundation's former vice president for arts, estimated that by 2011 as many as half of all local arts journalism jobs nationwide had been eliminated.

The layoffs and reduced arts coverage caused alarm. In April 2017, *American Theatre* magazine warned, "Arts journalism is fighting for its life." In Margaret Sullivan's 2020 book *Ghosting the News* about the decline of local news coverage, *The Washington Post* media columnist wrote about the important role of arts coverage to a city's cultural life and how it provides "a sense of community and of place." Shortly after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the layoffs of arts journalists increased as the economic fallout severely affected both journalism and the fine and performing arts industries.

Many arts journalists have gone on to establish nonprofit digital publications in their own cities. These publications include journalism and criticism. Some focus on specific art forms, while others cover the range of arts offered in their communities. One of the oldest is *San Francisco Classical Voice* founded in 1998. Some such as *Oregon Arts Watch* and *Sightlines* in Austin, Texas, work to cover the full spectrum of the arts. Performing arts-focused publications include Atlanta's *Arts Atlanta*, *Theatre Jones* in Dallas/Fort Worth, and Philadelphia's *Broad Street Review*. Publications emphasizing visual arts coverage include *Glasstire*, which covers the visual arts throughout Texas, and Atlanta's *Burnaway*. Many of these publications depend on freelance writers.

Coverage Areas in Arts Journalism

Arts journalists work covering multiple art forms or specialize in specific areas including music, dance, theater, film, literature, visual arts, and architecture. This gives the field more specific specializations, and each has its own history that includes prominent journalists covering certain genres.

Architecture

A majority of current news in newspapers and news magazines on architecture comes from business journalists. However, some publications in large cities still have arts journalists who cover architecture, including *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. More often, arts journalists cover architecture among other topics. Prominent magazines in the field include those founded in the 1890s—*Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Record*, and *Architectural Review*. *Architectural Digest*, *The Architect's Newspaper*, and *Dwell* also are known for their arts journalism.

In their coverage, these journalists include the business aspects of architecture, such as the financial investments involved in construction, as they report on the influences on and background of designers and the effect their designs have on people in their private and public lives.

Their subjects encompass those in urban and suburban areas, and beyond. They have covered the placement and height of skyscrapers, the redesigning and rerouting of expressways, the design of arts facilities, the impact of arts districts as well as gated communities, access and the amenities in public parks, among other topics. Their coverage considers the social and political implications of architecture.

Heavyweights in this area, who have not primarily been critics, but have had a lasting effect on how journalists report on architecture, include writers Jane Jacobs and Robert Caro. Jacobs worked at *Architectural Forum*, where in the 1950s she covered the outcomes of urban revitalization, which she criticized. That led to her 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Caro, who began writing about urban planning and land use at *Newsday* in the 1960s, came to write *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*, which won him an award from the American Institute of Architects after its 1974 publication. The book described how Moses used his power to erect numerous highways and bridges around New York City and the consequences of that construction.

Many prominent critics also have also worked under the journalist title and shaped the field. They include Montgomery Schuyler, one of the

earliest and most prominent architectural journalists in the United States, who worked at *The New York Times* and *Architectural Record*; *The New Yorker*'s Lewis Mumford, who wrote in the 1930s and 1940s; the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s Allan Temko; Ada Louise Huxtable who wrote for *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*; the *Chicago Tribune*'s Paul Gapp; and Paul Goldberger, who wrote for *The New Yorker* before contributing to *Vanity Fair*. *Chicago Tribune* journalist/critic Blair Kamin reports regularly, even in his work that features commentary, particularly the 1998 six-part series, "Reinventing the Lakefront." This Pulitzer Prize-winning series covered problems along the city's lakefront, including the inequalities between the North Side's rich and largely white population and the South Side's Black and poor neighborhoods.

Dance

Critics along with trade magazines have strongly influenced dance journalism, which require that these journalists know the technical aspects of the craft and choreographic history. While many writers wrote about Western dance prior to the early 1830s, poet and French journalist Théophile Gautier is often recognized as the first dance writer because he covered ballet for *La Presse* in Paris.

Later in 1918, influential writer André Levinson came to France from Russia where he also had covered dance. His wide range of work included writings about ballet, covering Michel Fokine and Sergei Diaghilev who founded Ballet Russe, as well as Isadora Duncan and various indigenous forms of dance.

In early 20th century America, dance received little attention due to its sexual and feminine inferences, although at *The New York Times* associate music critic Carl Van Vechten covered ballet from 1906 to 1913. Then with the evolution of modern dance in the United States, John Martin came to the newspaper in 1927, where he wrote at length about Martha Graham and the artists associated with Ballet Russe, including George Balanchine and his cofounding of the New York City Ballet. His tenure lasted until 1962, during which time he was joined by the notable poet and critic Edwin Denby, whose work hewed rather firmly to

criticism. Denby's work influenced dance journalism particularly and is featured in his books.

With the rise of ballet and modern dance in 20th century America came an increase in dance journalism through specialty publications, most aimed at industry insiders. After *Dance Magazine* launched in 1927 as *The American Dancer*, it introduced sister publications, including *Pointe*, *Dance Spirit*, *Dance Teacher*, and others. Other publications founded by journalists/critics include *Ballet Review*, launched by *The New Yorker*'s Arlene Croce in 1965 and closed in 2020, and *Dance Chronicle*, begun in 1977 under editors George Dorris and Jack Anderson until it ceased in 2007.

From the 1960s through the early 1980s, dance, particularly ballet, embraced a wave of popularity through an injection of political events and pop culture attention often covered by journalists. Modern dance increasingly took on contemporary themes including feminism and civil rights. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, in 1961, the legendary ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev fled the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for the West. Mikhail Baryshnikov defected from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Canada in 1974 and again created a flurry of media coverage that extended to dance.

Today, the spotlight on dance has declined in mainstream press with arts journalists increasingly covering dance as it relates to pop culture, such as when it appears in films or on television shows such as *So You Think You Can Dance* (2005–).

Literature

Arts journalists and critics have covered literature as long as the press and books have existed. These journalists cover news, trends, and review books. In the United States, the popularity of books ensured ample coverage in newspapers; magazines including *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*; and alternative newsweeklies such as *The Village Voice*. Some newspapers began publishing ample supplements, such as *The New York Times Book Review* (1896), which is akin to *The Times Literary Supplement* founded in the United Kingdom (1902). Publications specifically covering books, authors, and the

publishing industry also evolved, including the oldest trade publication, *Publishers Weekly*, founded in 1872, and *The New York Review of Books*, launched in 1963.

Since publishing has gone digital, more arts journalism is covering the world of literature with large outfits such as BuzzFeed, Slate, and Salon all including book sections. Also, the 21st century has ushered in publications dedicated to literature, including *The Millions*, launched in 2003 and *The Rumpus*, founded in 2009, which cultivated the career of writer Roxane Gay who went on to become a *New York Times* contributing opinion writer. Then there is *The Los Angeles Review of Books*, first published in 2012, which began by covering books in every genre and extended its mission to covering the arts.

Music

Music journalism has its roots in criticism and academic coverage of 19th century classical music and paralleled Romantic music's popularity. In the English-speaking world, *The Musical Times* and *Singing Class Circular* published in London held sway with musical producers and loyal music audiences.

In the United States, newspapers began to cover music in Horace Greeley's *New-York Tribune* in 1852 with journalist William Henry Fry's work in Europe as a foreign correspondent for a group of newspapers including the *Tribune*. Although Fry, the first music critic for a major American daily, also reported on music, his dual profession as a composer shaped his writings. Significant critics/journalists followed, particularly William James Henderson who wrote for *The New York Times* and *The Sun*, also based in New York City.

Over the following decades, music-focused magazines launched, including *Musical America* in 1897, which today reports on classical music news throughout the United States and often beyond. The rise of music recording brought *Gramophone*, established in 1923 in the United Kingdom, to cover classical recordings critically and cover news in that industry. Meanwhile, arts organizations began get into the arts journalism arena with the Metropolitan Opera Guild (a group dedicated to supporting the Metropolitan Opera and opera in general) taking on publishing

Opera News in 1936. The rise of jazz and blues brought *Downbeat* magazine founded in Chicago in 1934.

During these years, newspapers continued to report the news in music as technology helped create a larger music industry with more recordings and performances in many genres on an array of stages. The popularity of television, which also spotlighted classical music, conductors, and musicians, helped bolster that coverage.

With the explosion of rock 'n' roll music in the 1950s and 1960s came the rock journalist reporting in magazines, newspapers, and new publications later called alternative newsweeklies pioneered by New York City's *Village Voice*, founded in 1955. There, beginning the late 1960s, Robert Christgau established himself as the self-proclaimed "Dean of American Rock Critics." On the West Coast, *Rolling Stone* magazine launched in 1967 and ran the work of such journalists as its editor Ben Fong-Torres, Lester Bangs, who went on to become the editor of the Detroit-based *Creem* magazine, Greil Marcus, and Cameron Crowe.

As music mutated in subsequent decades giving rise to the proliferation of independent music, specific publications cropped up to cover it with the online magazine Pitchfork becoming a leader. Launched in 1995 in Minneapolis, Pitchfork's early journalism has been criticized for being unpolished. Pitchfork received praise, however, for its series work, such as that tackling issues of sexual assault in the music industry. Many newspapers also undertook this issue, including *Chicago Sun-Times* music critic Jim DeRogatis, who doggedly investigated the musician R. Kelly and his sexual abuse of minors for 19 years resulting in DeRogatis's 2019 book *The Case Against R. Kelly*.

Theater

Journalism covering theater extends to reviews but also includes a range of subjects including upcoming productions; profiles of playwrights, actors, and other theater-makers; technical issues; and even sexual harassment.

Theater has been an ever-present art form in the United States. Europeans brought their version to colonial America and William Shakespeare's

works were performed. The early press covered theatrical performances that were community events, particularly in larger cities that were near ports along the Atlantic.

Theater remained popular and saw increased popularity after the Civil War. In 1884, a New York theater began publishing *Playbill* magazine to include information about its shows. Decades later the *Playbill* began covering theater with feature stories about Broadway shows as the White Way prospered. By the 21st century, the *Playbill* was issuing an animated online publication that included podcasts and other features.

Through the 1900s, newspapers throughout the country, but particularly those in the heart of the country's theater scene of New York, dedicated staff to covering the art form. *The New York Times* took on a prominent role with writers that included Mel Gussow (1933–2005) and Frank Rich (1980–1993). But other New York newspapers and magazines regularly covered Broadway and other theater including the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Post*, *Time Out New York*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Yorker*, *New York* magazine, and even the Long Island newspaper *Newsday*. By 2020, some arts journalists from other metropolitan dailies were still traveling to New York to report on the industry and review productions, including those from *The Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

On the West Coast, thriving theater scenes received coverage from the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *The Seattle Times*. Cities beyond the coastal regions of the United States also had arts journalists who covered the regional theater movement, which had brought professional theater to many communities. These journalists filled space with their reviews and a host of other stories related to theater including the work of theater productions in prisons, education, and other areas. By the 21st century, they were covering more stories about sexual harassment in some theater companies.

Stories like these were covered not just by newspapers but by alternative press, online publications, radio stations, and industry publications. One is *American Theatre* magazine, founded in 1984 by Theatre Communications Group, an organization promoting nonprofit professional theater. The print magazine that also publishes

online content covers a range of issues already mentioned. While the organization is not independent, like other journalistic institutions, the publication asserts principles of journalistic discourse.

Visual Art

The reporting and analysis inherent in academic writing, journalism, and criticism has been intertwined in coverage of visual art. Originally, art coverage encompassed sculpture and painting. In contemporary journalism, visual art also includes textiles, photography, film, graffiti or murals, mixed media works, and conceptual and performance art.

Criticism dates back to France and the writings of Denis Diderot (1713–1784) who covered art in Paris Salons and annual art exhibitions for a private newspaper called the *Correspondance Littéraire*. Diderot's work was admired by another critic, Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) whose writing extolled the work of Eugene Delacroix and Edouard Manet.

In the United States, visual arts coverage came with art production by local artists but received a boost when museums were established in the 19th century and through early in the next century as artists' colonies took root throughout the country. Most of the early arts news and criticism came out of New York where galleries were based. One of the first art-focused periodicals was *The Crayon* (1855–1861). Another publication, *The New Path* began publication in 1863 with the goal of advancing natural art. Members of the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art included influential art critic Clarence Cook, who wrote for the *New-York Tribune*.

After the Civil War, an economic boom led journalists and wealthier Americans to travel to Europe where they were exposed to more visual art. In Paris in April 1874, journalist Louis Leroy wrote about an exhibit of 30 new artists and coined the description "Impressionism." Art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922) organized shows for the artists and worked to sell their works into private collections in the United States. American arts journalists later covered Impressionism. Prominent critic Clement Greenberg, *The Partisan Review* editorial staff member (1940–1942) and art critic at *The Nation* (1942–1949), wrote about

how he viewed Claude Monet's Impressionism as a key advancement in painting.

The Armory Show of 1913 was an event that roused the journalism world to visual art. Covered extensively by the press in New York, the exhibit with nearly 1,400 works included Fauvism, Cubism, and Futurism and made its debut in the city before going to others. The exhibit's works caused an uproar reflected in the press. One famous piece was *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2*. by Marcel Duchamp. Journalists covered public reaction where it exhibited, and the public wrote in letters.

The event spurred wider curiosity about visual art, but the country already had specialty publications including *ARTnews*, launched in 1902. It covers the arts, curators, collectors, art dealers, museums, art houses, and other participants in the art market as well as trends internationally. *Art in America*, founded in 1913, was modeled after German academic journals and early issues covered the old masters in American collections and American folk art. The 21st century incarnation of *Art in America* focuses on art, artists, art criticism, and prevailing trends. *Artforum*, specializing in contemporary art, began publication in 1962 and includes coverage of conceptual and performance art, which rose in prominence during the era of its founding. With the 21st century has come the online for-profit magazine Hyperallergic, which has a wide breadth of coverage.

During the 20th century, major daily newspapers covered the visual arts. Among the publications regularly covering visual art and having a lot to cover in their communities are *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

A 2002 study conducted by the National Arts Journalism Program at Columbia University found at least one visual art critic working for most major general-interest news publications. In 2017, Mary Louise Schumacher, an arts and culture fellow with the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University and former *Milwaukee Journal* art and architectural journalist/critic, published a study that found the number of visual arts journalists shrinking at a fast rate. (Schumacher was laid off from her Gannett-owned newspaper before she released the study.)

Institutions Supporting Arts Journalism

The specialized area of arts journalism has garnered a host of educational institutions and professional organizations to support those working in the field.

Universities Offering Education in Arts Journalism

Since the professionalism of journalism in 1908 with the opening of University of Missouri's School of Journalism, many journalism schools have offered arts journalism and criticism courses for undergraduates.

In 2003, Syracuse University began offering the first master's degree program in arts journalism at its S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications. Titled the Goldring Arts Journalism program, the 1-year program gives students access to arts and journalism courses taught by writers, academics, and artists.

Since then other universities have followed. Columbia University School of Journalism, which had previously run its National Arts Journalism program for mid-career professionals for nearly 10 years before closing in 2005, began offering its students a concentration in arts and cultural journalism that same year. In 2008, the University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism established its Master of Arts in Specialized Journalism for the arts and City University of New York's Craig Newmark Graduate School of Journalism opened its Arts and Culture Reporting program.

Professional Organizations and Prizes

While journalism organizations are prevalent for other specialty categories, including those covering education, environment, healthcare, science, and travel, none pertain to the arts overall. There is only the Jazz Journalists Association (1987). However, organizations exist for arts critics including the International Association of Art Critics (covering the visual arts and founded in 1950), the Music Critics Association of North America (1956), National Society of Film Critics (1966), the American Theatre Critics Association (1974), and the Dance Critics Association (1974). The

prestigious Pulitzer Prize has a category for critics, where the work of arts critics often is recognized.

With arts journalism falling on difficult times in the early 21st century, a few organizations have taken steps to recognize and support arts journalists. One is The Dorothea and Leo Rabkin Foundation, which began giving eight annual awards to visual arts journalists across the country in 2017. Each journalist receives \$50,000. The foundation also annually gives a lifetime achievement award to a visual arts journalist along with \$50,000.

Elizabeth Kramer

See also Advocacy Journalism; Alternative News Media; Business Journalism; Conflicts of Interest; Diversity in Journalism; Entertainment Journalism; Investigative Journalism; Nonprofit Media

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This entry discusses the media systems in each of the five Central Asian countries. Few of these countries have been able to establish open and transparent media systems since gaining their independence. Critical reporting is frequently obstructed, with censorship rife across the region. A long tradition of political authoritarianism and centralization has led to a lack of freedom of speech and few independent journalistic outlets. However, there are some important exceptions that make generalizations about Central Asia somewhat difficult in terms of media policy and approaches. From the liberalism of Kyrgyzstan to the authoritarianism of Turkmenistan, the region defies an entirely reductive treatment, despite its outside reputation. In addition, with the continued penetration of web-based technology and the democratization associated with this, the region has gradually become more open in the post-web media environment. This evolution remains very slow and highly uneven across the region.

All Central Asian states, without exception, are highly diverse countries with sizeable minorities within them. While most are dominated by the ethnic group they take their name from, internal minorities have frequently been deemed a threat to the power of the center. The often repressive approach to the media must be seen in that context: it frequently derives from a desire to maintain centralized control. Ethnic violence has erupted at various times in most Central Asian countries over recent decades. The region is characterized by multiple ethnic and linguistic groups and a complex topography.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan has long had a reputation as a particularly repressive political and media environment. But in the late 2010s, the country began to allow formerly banned news services such as Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Eurasianet, and the BBC's Uzbek service. Even more significantly, the websites of Reporters Without Borders and Amnesty International were also unblocked, in a move which seemed to indicate a new openness and approach to criticism.

Indeed, the unblocking might be viewed as a deliberate attempt to underscore a narrative of reform that the country has been keen to push to

ASIA, CENTRAL

Central Asia stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to the border of China in the east and encompasses the five former Soviet Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the region has been characterized by varying degrees of authoritarianism. Attitudes toward the practice of journalism, and media freedom more generally, in the decades since then have often been viewed by outside observers as key indicators of wider political ideologies.

the rest of the world since the death of its notoriously authoritarian president Islam Karimov in 2016. Karimov was the archetypal post-Soviet ‘strongman’, and his approach to the wider media typified the reputation that many Central Asian states had internationally since gaining their independence after the Soviet Union’s collapse.

As with most other Central Asian states, the Uzbek Constitution under Karimov paid lip service to the concept of freedom of expression—but in reality there was always a high degree of state control over media outlets and overt bans on certain topics and viewpoints. Indeed, as the “Colour Revolutions” erupted across many post-Soviet states in the 2000s, Karimov adopted a strategy of repressing activists.

Karimov even publicly argued for something he called *Eastern democracy*, suggesting that Western news values and independence of the media are not appropriate for countries where there is a “strong and enduring” respect for authority. Press freedom and individual liberty, he said, should not extend beyond what is required to achieve economic development and national security. The vehemence with which Uzbekistan was prepared to stifle media freedoms points to the potential significance of recent change. Reforms since Karimov’s death suggest that progress is possible even in the most repressive of environments across the region.

Leading Uzbek newspapers include *Khalq Sozi*, *Narodnove Solve*, and *Pravda Vostoka*—all of which are state-owned and predominately Russian-language. TV and radio are also mainly state run. There are several Uzbek news agencies, some of which publish in English.

Tajikistan

Like Uzbekistan, Tajikistan also has a poor international reputation, which has continued in recent years. At the end of the 2010s, numerous journalists on Radio Ozodi (the Tajik language service of Radio Free Europe, a crucial though controversial source of news across the region) lost their reporting credentials. This points to a wider truth about the region’s media, with semi-private outlets often coming into conflict with the authorities for their willingness to challenge official narratives.

The state itself is somewhat atypical in the region, as it is dominated by the Tajiks, who are closely related to Iranians, unlike many of the other ethnic groups within Central Asia.

Tajikistan’s newspaper landscape is a little more diverse than that of Uzbekistan, with more privately run, semi-independent titles like *Imruz News*. Most newspapers, however, are state-owned, like *Jumhuriyat* (Tajik language). There are also state-owned newspapers publishing in Russian and Uzbek, an illustration of the country’s cultural and linguistic complexity, and the government’s desire to control from the center.

Tajik TV is also generally state-controlled, with regional stations serving the markedly different north and south of the country. As with newspapers, Tajikistan’s radio stations are a little more diverse than those of Uzbekistan, although that should be viewed in relative terms, with numerous privately run stations including *Imruz* and *Vatan*.

Kazakhstan

Some have suggested that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan began to move in opposite directions toward the end of the 2010s, with Kazakhstan—a more vibrant, albeit controlled, media environment—putting much-publicized blocks on a range of news websites. This was not the first time that the outgoing president Nursultan Nazarbayev had used illiberal tactics against media scrutiny, and in 2020 a further drive to limit access to online news sites coincided with parliamentary elections.

Quazaqstan is the Kazak state broadcaster, established in the 1950s during the Soviet era. In recent years, multiple private channels have been launched, by some measures over 100, with Channel 31 perhaps the largest and most influential. News websites are also common, a notable example being *Nur.kz*. Such sites are common across Central Asia, characteristic of a region which struggled to establish an independent print tradition postindependence.

Kyrgyzstan

In an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* in June 2012, former Kyrgyzstan President Roza Otunbayeva claimed that the overthrow of her predecessor, President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, in April

2010 acted as the catalyst for the Arab Spring that began in Tunisia later that year. Otunbayeva herself stood down in December 2011, and the revolution of 2010 was neither the first nor last political convulsion in the country since the start of the 21st century.

Her claim may not be as far-fetched as some observers believed. Global broadcaster Al Jazeera covered the 2010 Kyrgyz protests in some depth, providing wider exposure; and many of the protestors' demands were echoed later in those of protesters in the Arab world who focused on endemic corruption and lack of opportunities for the young.

As with the Arab Spring, demands also revolved around a desire for freedom of speech and a genuinely free press. While Kyrgyzstan has moved toward a free press and is held up as relatively democratic compared to its neighboring states, problems remain. Indeed, in the run-up to the highly significant 2017 election (said by many observers to be Central Asia's first peaceful handover of power between two democratically elected leaders), tensions rose and allegations of self-censorship were made.

This was not the first time that the Kyrgyz political system notched up a crucial Central Asian "first." Earlier in the decade, Otunbayeva's reign may have been short, but it was significant, because a referendum resulted in a power shift from the president to the parliament—leading numerous foreign commentators to argue that the country had become Central Asia's first parliamentary democracy. Indeed, Otunbayeva went as far as to suggest that street politics had a vital role to play in deposing corrupt and unpopular leaders.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Kyrgyzstan remains unusually "liberal" in the context of Central Asia. Equally, it is unsurprising that this makes it fundamentally unstable politically: the flip side to its "beacon of democracy" reputation is a very turbulent—at times chaotic—21st century history.

That turbulent recent history began, as with all the independent Central Asian states, with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 and reached an initial climax with the Tulip Revolution of 2005, which enhanced Kyrgyzstan's reputation as a country with an appetite for democracy and

protest in the heart of a notoriously authoritarian region. As early as 1999, John Anderson had dubbed it an "island of democracy," with a developed and lively civic society informed by an independent and vibrant media.

The Tulip Revolution itself was a seminal event that echoed Georgia's Rose Revolution (2003) and Ukraine's Orange Revolution (2004) to the west, with the three brought together under the "Colour Revolutions" banner. The underlying causes were similar, in certain senses a consequence of the natural dynamics of post-Soviet life, although the cultural and economic contexts were very different—with Kyrgyzstan a poverty-stricken, nonindustrial nation at the margins of the former Soviet Union, as was the rest of Central Asia. As in Ukraine and Georgia, opponents of the revolution argued that the events were largely orchestrated by the United States, although others argue that the Tulip Revolution was actually deeply rooted in Kyrgyz domestic politics and reflected widespread discontent, not just with the political elite but also in wider society.

Although Kyrgyzstan is a rather fascinating exception to the wider media rule in Central Asia, multiple caveats apply. Firstly, the situation elsewhere in the region is becoming less straightforwardly repressive and is a more complex picture than its international reputation sometimes suggests. Secondly, Kyrgyzstan's relative liberalism masks other problems, many of which revolve around coverage of minorities and the realities of life in Central Asia, which echoes the Balkans and the Caucasus in its complex admixture of ethnic and linguistic groups.

Kyrgyz journalists cite limitations on the sizeable Uzbek minority's freedom of expression, arguing that this is particularly noticeable in terms of mainstream journalism. The owners of three Uzbek-language TV stations and two Uzbek-language newspapers all fled Kyrgyzstan following the 2010 violence in the southern city of Osh. Even here, however, there are grounds for optimism and indications of open-minded liberalism, with Uzbek-language media quickly reestablished and donor-funded websites publishing news in Uzbek.

Vecherniy Bishkek is the most well-known Kyrgyz newspaper, based in the Kyrgyz capital, with Russian-language content. Some titles publish in

Kyrgyz: *Super Info* is perhaps the most high-profile example. There is also an important English language newspaper: *The Times of Central Asia*, which—as its name suggests—covers the entire region from its Bishkek base.

Kloop is a long-standing news agency, perhaps the most important single news source in the country. Established in 2007, it has adopted a range of innovative funding strategies to ensure its continued independence, although as these have included integrated sponsored advertising, its strategy is not without controversy.

In general, Kyrgyz TV and radio stations are, as might be expected, more diverse in terms of ownership than that of other Central Asian countries. The most influential continue to be those like Kyrgyz National TV that are state-run, however. Whatever its failings, the general prognosis of Kyrgyz media remains a positive one, and in many ways the country's media environment stands as one of the world's most exceptional and interesting.

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan is, by some measures, the world's most repressive media regime. Indeed, in 2019 empirical weight was added to this long-term accusation by the Reporters without Borders World Press Freedom Index, which placed the country at the absolute bottom of the list, relegated below North Korea for the first time. In 2020, the index ranked Turkmenistan at 179 of 180, just above North Korea.

Criticism of the President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov is effectively banned. The previous president, Saparmurat Niyazov, who declared himself President for Life, became a byword for the worst aspects of Central Asian political life postindependence, famously totalitarian and promoting a cult of personality that was entirely resistant to any form of media or political criticism. Numerous examples of his despotism were widely covered by the international media as an indication of the regime's excesses, foremost among them the golden statue in Ashgabat which was placed atop a 75-meter high monument and rotated to face the sun.

TV remains the most popular medium in Turkmenistan, as it is in all Central Asian countries. All

broadcasters are state-controlled, with repeats from Russian TV (for example) subject to strict censorship. There are numerous records of satellite dishes being removed from private households to prevent occupants from viewing Russian or Turkish television.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts in Turkmen under the name Radio Azatlyk. This is a crucial lifeline for some within the country, although U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe had always been a controversial feature of the post-Soviet media landscape across Central Asia. In Turkmenistan, however, the degree of state control is such that there are very few alternatives. Internet use has grown from a very low base but remains below 20% of the population. Foreign news and opposition websites are blocked, and social networks frequently censored. Both main newspapers—*Neytralnyy Turkmenistan* (published in Russian) and *Turkmenistan* (published in Turkmen)—are state-owned.

Berdimuhamedov has continued, and indeed worsened, the country's uniquely illiberal approach to media freedom. The contrast with Kyrgyzstan is stark, and goes some way to explain the caveat given earlier in this entry: Central Asia as a region is unusually difficult to generalize about in terms of media policy.

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See also Europe; Middle East; Press and Government Relations; Russian Federation

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ASIA, EAST AND SOUTHEAST

Asia is the largest continent on the planet, accounting for almost 30% of the Earth's landmass and nearly 60% of the global population. It reaches as far west as portions of Europe and North Africa and extends east all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It ranges north to encompass all of Russia and south to include many island nations in the South Pacific. East and Southeast Asia are a subset of this region that are defined not only geographically, but also ethno-culturally.

East Asia comprises China, Hong Kong, Macau, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. Southeast Asia includes Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

East and Southeast Asia have a vast array of media in various types and formats. The region possesses some of the most-read newspapers in the world with daily circulations reaching more than one million copies, such as Japan's newspapers *Yomuri Shimbun* and *Asahi Shimbun*. The region has also made significant advances in the rapidly changing technologies of communication. One of South Korea's television channels, OhMyNews, is one of the first large-scale citizen journalism networks. Since the widespread use of the Internet, middle-income countries, such as Indonesia and Vietnam, have started to embrace social media platforms as a way to gain access to information.

Despite the wide array of media platforms publicly available, one distinct feature of the region's media ecologies is the lack of independent reporting, where media are constrained from providing extensive coverage of the governments. Only a few countries, such as Taiwan and East Timor, adopted the idea of independent press. In most countries in the region, governmental authorities exert power to control news media in order to prevent criticism and cover their misconduct.

The governments' control on press freedom in most East and Southeast Asian countries seemed to intensify during the coronavirus pandemic that began in December 2019. Soon after the initial cases were reported in Wuhan, Chinese officials put pressure on journalists by ordering local media to broadcast only the country's progress

and successes in containing the outbreak. Meanwhile, the governments of Thailand, Cambodia, and Myanmar took advantage of the crisis to tighten their grip on media freedom and double down on repressive actions against critics.

Government Censorship and Press Freedom

This section reviews the current state of government censorship and press freedom in various countries in the region.

East Asian State Censorship

North Korea

East and Southeast Asia may be home to countries with the strictest government censorship in the world. North Korea, for instance, remains one of the most heavily censored nations in the world. All local media in the country is run and led by the single-party government, causing the dissemination of information subjects to strict supervision.

China

Government control over the media could also be seen within its neighboring country, China. The core values of the government regime are inimical to democracy and press freedom despite constitutional provisions that say otherwise. The Chinese authorities restrict the country's media freedom using various tactics, including implementing strict monitoring of the published media content and arresting media personnel. In 2019, at least 48 journalists were imprisoned in China, more than in any other country in the world, which placed the country as the world's biggest jailer for journalists. Many of these reporters face "anti-state" charges or have been accused of producing "fake news." China has faced a progressively more restrictive media environment since Xi Jinping became president in 2013.

Mongolia

With the majority of Mongolian news organizations being affiliated with political parties, media face pressures not only from the government but also the politicians. Despite the

improving media environment over the past few years, such as the drafting of Media Freedom Law beginning in 2018, press freedom in the country is still crippled by the lack of information transparency by the government, and journalists are also pushed to conduct self-censorship, which hinders independent media reporting. While the Media Freedom Law drafting process is still underway, the law may include amendments to the government's restrictions on spreading false information. The term "false information" was not specifically defined, enabling those in power to exercise control over journalists. At least 100 reporters were charged, mostly by politicians, after a similar restriction was enacted in 2017.

Southeast Asian Autocratic States

Southeast Asian countries are still battling with journalistic freedom. Governments in several of these countries also exercise strict control over the media. Cambodia, Laos, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam are among the autocratic nations in the region, with governments limiting people's freedom of expression.

Cambodia

In Cambodia, the ruling Prime Minister Hun Sen and the Cambodian People's Party have put pressure on independent media, with pro-government media outlets remaining free. Media closures and the sale of a leading independent newspaper ahead of elections in 2018 meant that Cambodians only had access to news organizations linked to the prime minister. The Cambodian government regularly uses the legal system, oppressive taxation, and occasional violent attacks as methods of intimidating journalists.

Laos

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party in Laos imposes absolute restrictions on Laos media, placing the country on the 172nd of 179 nations in the 2020 World Press Freedom Index. Most of the country's media outlets are owned by the government, with some privately owned magazines only covering entertainment news without touching political topics.

Singapore

Singapore's media are highly developed and tightly controlled. There are two major players in Singapore media, Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) and Mediacorp. SPH is linked to the ruling party and has a near-monopoly of the press. Mediacorp is the national public broadcaster. The conglomerate is involved in radio, TV, and digital content. There is a reported "caste system" in the media. Frequently, SPH and Mediacorp receive government news releases hours or even days before private news outlets do. Also, the government frequently avoids requests for information on controversial issues. Newspapers occasionally publish critical content, but much self-censorship occurs and news coverage is generally pro-government.

Thailand

Similar to Laos, Thailand also experiences a tightened grip on the already-limited freedom of expression. Since the 2014 military coup, authorities have engaged in such activities as Internet surveillance and broadcast censorship. The government, including the military, holds control of almost all the national broadcast networks. The media are free to criticize government policies and cover instances of corruption and human rights abuses, but journalists tend to exercise self-censorship regarding the military, the monarchy, the judiciary, and other sensitive issues.

Vietnam

The Communist Party in Vietnam has a strong hold on the media and the state controls all print and broadcast outlets. Repressive laws constrain journalists and bloggers. Those who report or comment on controversial issues risk intimidation and physical attack. Bloggers and citizen journalists are the only sources of independent news, according to Reporters Without Borders. But they face "ever-harsher forms of persecution" (BBC News, 2018, para. 2).

Brunei

The sultan's family owns most of Brunei's media. The only television network and the primary radio channel, Radio Television Brunei, is state-owned, while the leading daily newspaper,

the Borneo Bulletin, is heavily controlled by the officials. In April 2019, the country introduced a stricter version of the existing Sharia (Islamic law) code, which includes a criminal defamation charge for bloggers and citizen journalists who publish independent-reporting information online even if the content has already been deleted after posting.

Indonesia

Indonesia has made significant improvements in its press freedom after the authoritarian leader, President Suharto, stepped down in 1998. However, the current laws and regulations are still hampering media freedom in the country. Despite claiming that they have lifted access restrictions on foreign journalists to report from Papua in 2015, the government still imposes rigorous screening and review before international media are allowed to perform their duties in the area.

Myanmar

The military coup on February 1, 2021, has caused press freedom in the country to decline rapidly. The government has exerted every effort to suppress independent reporting by raiding news media organizations, imposing Internet censorship, and arresting journalists. The military's attempt to control the flow of information included revoking press licenses of five independent news companies (Mizzima, the Democratic Voice of Burma, Myanmar Now, Khit Thit Media, and 7Day News), which had been extensively covering the protests that emerged following the February 1 coup. The crackdown could potentially revert media freedom in the country to the old system, the era before the government abolished prepublication censorship in August 2012.

Philippines

Media in the Philippines continuously face threats and attacks under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte, placing the country as the most dangerous place for media personnel in Southeast Asia. The officials mainly target media companies and reporters who are overly critical to the government.

Press Freedoms

In East Asia, South Korea and Taiwan enjoy a higher degree of press freedom than other countries in the region.

South Korea

Media in South Korea have the capability to criticize the government and corporations with a certain degree of self-censorship. Press freedom in South Korea has been influenced by three main factors: advertisers who provide funding to news organizations, media ownership, and local press laws and ethics.

Taiwan

Despite being influenced by China, Taiwan has been considered to have the highest level of press freedom in the region.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a British protectorate for over 150 years, has long been a haven for materials censored in China—which became a communist country in 1947. China officially regained control of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom in 1997. This transfer was supposed to be mitigated by a 1984 agreement between China and the United Kingdom that would give Hong Kong some political and social autonomy for 50 years beyond 1997. Despite this policy, known as *one country, two systems*, China has been slowly assuming more and more control.

Macau

Macau, a Portuguese territory from 1887 to 1999, was returned to Chinese control in 1999—2 years after Hong Kong was returned to China by the British. Like Hong Kong, an agreement was made that Macau would remain partially autonomous for 50 years—until 2049. While Macau has operated for many years as another free speech zone, this may be starting to change under growing Chinese rule.

Japan

Japan's constitution guarantees press freedom in the country. However, a UN special rapporteur's

2017 report expressed concern that the government pressures journalists. Article 4 of the Broadcast Act allows the government to determine what is considered as “fair” information and which content is deemed acceptable to be broadcast, but this hinders independent news reporting. Although a recommendation to repeal the rule had been proposed, as of April 2021, it has yet to be implemented.

East Timor

Among Southeast Asia countries, East Timor (Timor-Leste) remains the highest in the rank for press freedom across the years, despite only being 20 years since its independence. In fact, a historic congress of Timor-Leste journalists held in Dili in 2013 voted in their first code of ethics, which affirmed the importance of free expression and media self-regulation.

Malaysia

Malaysia is the second highest-ranked nation in the region in terms of press freedom. The country has experienced less stringent censorship and government control of the press after the former Prime Minister Najib Razak was defeated in the 2018 general elections.

Key Events Influencing Journalism in East and Southeast Asia

In the 21st century, there have been many things that affected journalism in the region. Listed here are some of the key events.

Maguindanao Massacre

On November 23, 2009, 58 people were killed in Maguindanao, Philippines when a convoy was attacked on its way to certify a local candidate’s election status. Among those who lost their lives, 34 were journalists. In its aftermath, the Committee to Protect Journalists characterized the attack as one of the worst recorded attacks on journalists in the world. An investigation revealed that the attack was orchestrated by the Ampatuan family, who ruled the southern part of Maguindanao. A decade after the massacre, five members of the Ampatuan family clan were found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

Thailand’s 2014 Military Coup

A number of journalists were detained days after the military coup carried out by the National Peace and Order Maintaining Council on May 22, 2014, in Thailand. The military also intensified nationwide censorship and restrictions on all news media immediately after the coup. Radio and TV stations were ordered to halt their regular programs and broadcast the military’s TV channels for almost 24 hours.

Myanmar Leader Dashes Hopes for Press Freedom

Since taking power in 2015 elections that were hailed by observers as a victory for democracy and freedom of expression, the government of Aung San Suu Kyi has targeted 44 journalists with legal action—both civil and criminal cases—for their reporting. Reporters were charged under colonial-era legislation that prohibits the publication of information which “causes fear or alarm” or “disrupts public tranquillity.”

The Departure of Outspoken Japanese Anchors

Three prominent Japanese news broadcasters, Ichiro Furutachi, Hiroko Kuniya, and Shigetada Kishii, who were known for their critical commentaries to the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, were replaced almost simultaneously in 2016. The departure was believed to be the government’s attempt to silence criticism toward the administration as the week before, the country’s internal affairs minister, Sanae Takaichi, warned news organizations of the possible suspension of broadcasting programs that do not reflect political neutrality.

Vietnam’s Force 47

In 2017, the Vietnamese government launched a cyber unit, named Force 47, in an effort to clamp down on free speech and censor online content. The cyber team consists of military officials who screen content on online platforms, particularly on the most popular social network in the country, Facebook. Their main tasks include countering online dissent and anti-regime content as

well as promoting their pro-government propaganda.

Erosion of Press Freedoms in Hong Kong and Macau

Beginning in 2014, only China-approved candidates were allowed to run in elections for Hong Kong leadership positions. This plus other punitive measures led to social unrest and a fear of a loss of press freedom in the region. For instance, since the change, journalists could be jailed or incur large fines if they reported information that resulted in vaguely defined “psychological harm” or “loss.” Reporters have been increasingly steering clear of topics that might upset the Communist Party and large corporations. Hong Kong’s national security law, passed on June 30, 2020, brought about a significant decline in the country’s media landscape. Independent news outlets began to experience the effect of the law just a month after it was enacted, including the arrest of Apple Daily’s executives, journalists’ self-censorship as a safeguard, and foreign reporters’ visa denials. Many fear that press freedom in Hong Kong will continue to erode at a rapid pace.

Similar events have been occurring in Macau. There is a growing trend of authorities to limit access to information and journalists have been expelled or denied entry. A recent survey of journalists in Macau found that they felt that press freedom still exists, but that their jobs are becoming more difficult.

Kim Jong-un Health Rumors

In the spring of 2020, many media outlets around the world speculated on the health—and even the life—of controversial North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, who had not been seen in public for some time. North Korean state media insisted he was fine. While much of the world wondered if he was gravely ill or had died, China, and perhaps more surprisingly, the South Korean government, downplayed these rumors.

The Closure of the Philippines’ ABS-CBN

Press freedom has also eroded in the Philippines under Rodrigo Duterte’s presidency. Duterte

shuts down the nation’s biggest broadcaster, ABS-CBN, in early May 2020, as an effort to silence media critics toward the government. The network reportedly triggered the president’s anger after refusing to broadcast his presidential campaign commercials in 2016 and covering controversies surrounding Duterte, including his order to kill thousands of suspected drug dealers.

Asian Media During the Global Pandemic

The recent coronavirus outbreak that impacted global society has influenced media freedom in covering the public health crisis, particularly in Asia. Asian media tend to report figures that are conveniently accessible to the public, such as the number of new cases and deaths, which could be inaccurate. A recent analysis by Reporters Without Borders showed that China is one of the countries that exercise extensive censorship in coronavirus reporting. In December, 2019, the state suppressed the initial reporting and information on the outbreak in Wuhan and claimed that the country had the spread of the virus under control. The government prohibited local news to report the circumstances in the epicenter of the outbreak in Wuhan. It also removed digital documentation and social media posts from Wuhan residents that showed their struggles in obtaining access to medical treatments. On the other hand, the heavily controlled media in the neighboring country, North Korea, reported that no coronavirus infection had been found in the country, despite bordering with China and being a primary trading partner with China (accounting for around 80% of its trade).

On the contrary, Taiwan has shown achievement in containing the outbreak through its transparency and free flow of information related to the coronavirus for the public to access. Since the outbreak began in late December 2019, the Taiwan government established the Central Epidemic Command Center in January 2020 that holds a daily press conference and utilizes social networks to circulate recent updates on the pandemic. Their independent fact-check groups, such as Taiwan FactCheck Center and MyGoPen, actively take part in correcting false information circulating online. Similar to Taiwan, South Korea’s success in

controlling the contagion is greatly influenced by the transparency of information that is available in various outlets, including local media.

Journalists in Southeast Asia countries face dilemmas when it comes to coronavirus reporting. The coronavirus that spreads across the region has prompted governments to continuously adopt new measures to contain the number of infections. These steps include establishing decrees to combat misinformation and disinformation that would potentially create public fear. Thailand authorities invoked an emergency decree in response to the outbreak on March 26, 2020, which prohibits the spread of fake news related to the coronavirus and allows public officials to censor and alter the information provided by media outlets that are deemed incorrect, with possible penalties for up to 5 years in prison for violators. On the other hand, Cambodia, under the autocratic leader Prime Minister Hun Sen, has tightened their grip on the free flow of independent news and information related to the coronavirus with more stringent surveillance and control of the media and social networks.

Dian Puspasari and Philip Auter

See also Asia, Central; Asia, South; Censorship; China; Japan; Press Freedom

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ASIA, SOUTH

This entry discusses the state of journalism and challenges facing the profession in eight South Asian countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Almost 90% of the South Asian population lives in three countries—India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. These three countries dominate the media landscape as well. The population of South Asia, around 1.95 billion, is almost 25% of the global population. Almost two thirds of the population in South Asia lives in rural areas. Much of South Asia has relatively low rates of literacy, although the literacy rate is over 90% in both Sri Lanka and Maldives.

South Asia also accounts for nearly 30% of the global population living below the poverty line. These factors (rural-urban divide, low literacy, and poverty) have contributed to low newspaper readership. However, the privately owned news television industry has been booming in these countries since 2000. Monthly cable television subscriptions compared to buying a newspaper

daily. This entry provides an overview of the news industry and challenges facing the industry and journalists in South Asia.

India is the second largest country in the world by population and has a diverse, multilingual demographic with more newspaper consumers than any other country in the world. There are around 17,500 registered newspapers and over 100,000 periodicals in India alone. About 40% of these publications are in the national language (Hindi), 12% are in English, and the remaining publications are in regional languages. India is a unique case in a world where print journalism is generally on the decline. Several new titles of newspapers and periodicals are registered in India every year and the readership numbers as well as advertising revenue have shown an upward surge in recent years. There are more than 550 FM radio stations and around 900 television channels (including nearly 400 news and current affairs television stations). There are 58 big media outlets concentrated in major metropolitan areas. They own a majority of the market share and have tie-ups with regional news outlets as well.

In Bangladesh, there are over 3,000 print publications including 1,200 daily newspapers. Circulation rose steadily beginning in the 1990s but began to decline in 2017. Radio is not as popular (around 35 operational radio stations) because television has grabbed a majority of the electronic media audience share in Bangladesh. Since 2002, the government has awarded licenses to news and entertainment televisions mostly offering 24/7 broadcasts. There are 40 television channels in Bangladesh (including 30 news channels) and their collective viewership has doubled (from 42% to 90%) in the past two decades. Outside of India and Bangladesh, the print industry (local or national newspapers and magazines) and regional journalism (catering to a local city) are not as thriving in other South Asian countries. However, the popularity of news television at the expense of print publications is consistent in all these countries. News organizations are concentrated in major metropolitan areas as well.

There were just over 600 print publications of all types in Pakistan in 2020, down from 1,820 in 2007. The electronic media have seen a mushrooming growth in Pakistan since the formation of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory

Authority and award of licenses to private sector in 2002. As of 2020, Pakistan has around 200 radio stations and close to 100 satellite television stations, including over 40 TV channels dedicated to news and current affairs. None of the television news stations in Pakistan, other than the state-owned PTV, air English content. Most are broadcast in the national language, Urdu.

There are 175 newspapers (including 25 dailies) in Afghanistan but the print media readership is hardly 1% of the total population. The major market share goes to 196 radio stations (73% of the population) and 95 television stations (40% of the population). The radio and television audience are primarily urban based but penetration in rural areas is increasing each year. There are more than 30 daily newspapers and a similar number of television stations in Sri Lanka. However, the news readership has declined since 2016 and the audience base is shifting toward television. Similar trends were witnessed during the 2010s in the relatively smaller media markets of Nepal, Maldives, and Bhutan.

Digital Media Platforms

Only 36% of the total population in the South Asian region is urban while the majority lives in rural areas. Because of this reason, media markets are also primarily urban-centric, and the digital divide is very much a reality. The impact of digitization in media is not as widespread in South Asia as elsewhere in the world. The relative affordability and investment in infrastructure have seen an upsurge in internet users from 2% of the region in 2004 to almost 30% in 2019. However, Internet usage is dominated by the urban and literate demographic. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan have the lowest Internet usage (14–16% of the population) in the region, while only one third of the population in India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka have access to Internet. The two smaller countries in the region, Bhutan (48%) and Maldives (63%), have slightly higher rates of individuals using the Internet compared to neighboring countries.

There are close to 500 million social media users in South Asian countries. However, Internet-enabled smartphones are seen as a game changer in these countries and the governments are encouraging adoption and use of smartphone

applications. Mobile Internet subscription has increased to 51% of the total Internet users in the region and the social media penetration through smartphones in the South Asian region as a whole has risen from 9% to 27% between 2015 and 2019. Almost all the countries have shown a 50% jump during the 5-year period (2014–2019) in the Mobile Internet Connectivity 2020 factsheet for South Asia.

Recognizing this trend, most mainstream news organizations have made plans to increase their online presence and also started pushing tailor-made content to smartphone users. A Reuters Institute survey of English-speaking, online news users in India in 2019 reported 68% of respondents consumed news through smartphones. India's digital advertisement market grew by over 30% in 2020. The numbers are not as high in other countries (given the smaller population compared to India) but the trends related to online news consumption and shifting revenue from traditional to online platforms are quite similar.

Ownership Structures and Censorship

In all the South Asian countries, state-owned media dominated the landscape for a long time. The governments started deregulating at the start of the 21st century, coinciding with the introduction of Internet in the region. However, licenses were primarily awarded to big conglomerates with political connections. These licenses can be withdrawn at any time by the government's regulatory agencies. Even if these new media organizations don't make profits, the political clout and access to power corridors is considered a good enough reward by the business houses. Governments also provide advertisements and other business favors to media owners.

Cross-media ownership is common and the nexus between media owners, governments, and other pressure groups has contributed to high levels of censorship in South Asian countries. Several organizations monitoring media freedom globally have provided details of the concentration of media ownership in South Asian countries and how it results in censorship practices. In Pakistan, the powerful military and intelligence agencies keep the media under control. There are several

reported cases of journalists who went missing or were tortured because their work raised questions about the government or other powerful groups. In other cases, they have been forced out of jobs.

Repression against journalists grew more severe in India after the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party assumed power in 2014. The conglomerates that bankrolled the party's election campaigns bought stakes in big news outlets and have made sure any criticism of the ruling party is either muted or shunted out. Several influential politicians have controlling stakes in the mainstream and regional news organizations in India. The situation in Bangladesh is similar. The reelection of Sheikh Hasina Wajid as the prime minister of Bangladesh in 2018 resulted in a considerable spike in press freedom violations. Several journalists were picked up and beaten by the supporters of the ruling party and critical media outlets were barred from covering official press conferences. There has been an upsurge in state-sponsored attacks against journalists in Sri Lanka and Nepal as well. The regime changes in Maldives and Bhutan after the 2018 elections promised improvement but any tangible steps to ensure press freedom have not been taken so far.

National Security Narrative

South Asian countries have been a hotbed of regional conflicts rooted in history. Since achieving independence from Britain in 1947, India and Pakistan have fought four wars. After the 1971 war, what was then East Pakistan was carved out as a separate country (Bangladesh) on the grounds of oppression from the military regime ruling Pakistan at the time. India and Sri Lanka have been engaged in a conflict over Tamil rebels while Nepal and other smaller neighbors also have grievances with the expansionist designs of India.

Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan have regularly traded accusations of cross-border terrorism. These complex regional dynamics have made journalists vulnerable and subservient to the national security narratives in each country. The decision by India's government in August 2019 to revoke the limited autonomy of its Kashmir region resulted in a 6-month communication back out, with Internet service shutdown. The reporting on the condition of Muslims and other

minority communities in India was labelled as anti-national by several politicians and the sentiment was also echoed in a section of the mainstream media. In Pakistan, coverage of opposition parties was banned by the government in July 2019 and it remained in effect for several months. The government had to relent after the protest lodged by prominent journalist and trade unions. Still, the protests of minority groups such as Pash-tuns and Hazaras against the security forces in the restive tribal areas hardly receive any news coverage by the mainstream media. The editor of a newspaper in Bangladesh was arrested in 2019 for writing favorably about an opposition leader who was executed after being convicted of war crimes committed during Bangladesh's 1971 war of independence. Journalists are expected to follow the state narrative on national security without raising any questions. Any dissenting voice is quickly marginalized. Several journalists have lost jobs and faced threats for refusing to toe the line.

Safety Threats

South Asia is consistently ranked as one of the deadliest regions for journalists. Most countries in the region have traditionally ranked low on the press freedom indices published by international organizations. In Reporters Without Borders's 2020 World Press Freedom Index of 180 countries, 6 out of the 8 South Asian countries slid further down in the ranking compared to 2019. India was ranked 142 (two points down), Pakistan was ranked 145 (three points down), Bangladesh was ranked 151 (one point down), Afghanistan was ranked 122 (one point down), Sri Lanka was ranked 127 (one point down), and Nepal was ranked 112 (six points down). Only two smaller countries, Bhutan and Maldives, showed significant improvement in 2020 after the general elections and change of government in both countries during 2018. Bhutan was ranked 67 (13-point jump) and Maldives was ranked 79 (19-point jump).

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2011, 188 journalists have lost their lives in eight South Asian countries for known causes according to a database compiled by the Committee to Protect Journalists. Almost one third of these cases, 57, were in Pakistan alone followed

by 51 in Afghanistan and 36 in India. Eighteen journalists were killed in India, 16 in Sri Lanka, 8 in Nepal, and 2 in Maldives from the period after 9/11 through 2020. Bhutan is the only country in South Asia that reported no deaths of journalists in the two decades after 9/11. In the high-profile case of *The Wall Street Journal's* Daniel Pearl, who was killed in Karachi, Pakistan, in 2002, four accused were tried. The main accused, Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, was sentenced to death and three others were given a life sentence. However, the Sindh high court in April 2020 commuted the death sentence of the main accused to 7 years in prison and acquitted the remaining three on the grounds of insufficient evidence. The sentence has been appealed to the Supreme Court by the government and Pearl's family. Hearings in the case continue but the Supreme Court as well as members of the legal and media community have criticized the flawed prosecution, raising suspicions of collusion. Hardly any of the perpetrators in other cases of journalists from the region have been brought to justice even though the motive was known in all these reported cases.

The assassination of outspoken Indian journalist Gauri Lankesh in September 2017 received global coverage. She had been receiving death threats from the right-wing Hindutva militant elements. The man who allegedly pulled the trigger in Lankesh's death told the police that he did so to save his religion. Sagar Sarowar and Meherun Runi, a married journalist couple in Bangladesh, were stabbed to death in their apartment in 2012. Since July 2018, 12 people have been arrested on the suspicion of having a role in the murder and as of April 2021 the case remained under investigation. In Afghanistan, most of the 51 journalists who lost their lives, including 18 foreign journalists, were either killed in crossfire or at the hands of militant groups. Eighteen journalists were killed in 2018 at the height of peace negotiations with the Taliban in Afghanistan.

South Asian journalists continue to face oppression from state governments and other powerful groups in the discharge of their duties. The International Federation of Journalists reported 14 journalists were killed in South Asia in 2020 alone. The organization's 2019–2020 South Asia press freedom report also highlighted

at least 219 cases of attacks on media freedom during the year under scrutiny. These included 52 cases where journalists were put behind bars, 90 threats to journalists' lives, 65 nonfatal attacks, 35 attacks on media institutions, 8 gender-based attacks, and 82 cases of threats or some kind of attack on journalists from rural, regional, or minority groups.

Regulatory Frameworks

The South Asian countries have used state machinery to undermine press freedom and introduced new regulations to suit their purposes. Recognizing the importance and popularity of online platforms as mediums of expression, these governments have moved to curb freedom of expression online as well. The 2018 digital security law in Bangladesh allows any "negative propaganda" to be punishable by up to 14 years in prison. In February 2021, the government of India also announced plans to regulate all digital media platforms under the ministry of Information Technology. The Pakistani parliament passed the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) in 2016 that enabled the government to regulate Internet usage and censor online content in the country. Websites and online social media platforms were regularly blocked in almost all South Asian countries at various points in the 2010s. Journalists and social media users were picked up and beaten for writing social media posts against governments, security agencies, or other powerful groups. Some, including India's Jagendra Singh, Bangladesh's Mushtaq Ahmed, and Pakistan's Mashal Khan, were brutally killed. No action has been taken in any of these cases.

South Asian governments also have used social media to circulate fake news and propaganda in support of official positions. In December 2020, the EU DisinfoLab revealed a network of fake local media outlets and nongovernmental organizations that was circulating disinformation to serve the interests of India. Twitter in 2020 and Facebook in 2019 removed hundreds of fake Pakistani accounts for running propaganda campaigns for the country's security agencies. In 2020, as many as 30 news outlets called upon the Afghan government to implement the access to information law and ensure safety of journalists.

Other than Afghanistan, all other South Asian countries (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives) have access to information laws in one form or the other but these exist mainly on paper. None of these countries have taken practical steps to implement these laws for protecting independent journalism.

COVID-19 and Economic Losses

In the privately owned news organizations in South Asia, job security, training, and safety gear have never been prioritized. Internal and external pressures have made journalists in the region a vulnerable group. The COVID-19 pandemic further aggravated the situation during 2020. Press Emblem Campaign reported in April 2021 that 149 journalists had died in South Asia after getting infected by COVID-19 in the line of duty. These included 62 journalists who died in India, 48 in Bangladesh, 25 in Pakistan, 9 in Afghanistan, and 5 in Nepal. Dozens of journalists, mainly in rural India, were arrested for criticizing the government's response to the pandemic. The dip in revenues because of the adverse business climate and loss of advertising resulted in cost-cutting and job losses in almost all the South Asian media markets. More than 3,000 journalists in Pakistan and around 2,000 in India lost jobs. Mass layoffs and pay cuts or delays in paying news organizations' staff members were reported in other countries too. Several small media organizations in South Asia closed as a result of the pandemic. The impacts of the pandemic were predicted to reverberate for several years and the smaller news outlets were projected to be more adversely affected than the big players in the industry.

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See also Asia, Central; Asia, East and Southeast; India; Pakistan; Press Freedom

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ASIAN AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

Asian American journalism can be defined in two ways: through publications and electronic media that focus expressly on Asian American interests and issues and through Asian American journalists who ply their craft in any medium. This subset of journalism is rising in importance, due to the large Asian immigration influx that has taken place in the United States over recent decades. Prior to the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, a set of preferences based upon “national origins” had established quotas that limited the number of immigrants arriving from Asia. Under the new law, these restrictions were lifted, leading to a sustained growth in arrivals from that region.

According to the Migration Policy Institute, in the period from 1960 to 2017, the number of U.S. immigrants born in Asia grew from 491,000 to 13,908,000. This represented a growth from 5.0% of the U.S. immigrant population to 31.2%.

This entry describes Asian Americans working as journalists and outlines the history and current state of media intended specifically for an Asian American audience.

Asians in the United States

Asian Americans are generally defined as persons who are descendants of immigrants or who are themselves immigrants from Asia and who are also either citizens of the United States or are permanent residents. However, the term *Asian American* cloaks an enormous diversity in cultures, religions, and other aspects of social life that characterizes those who come from the Asian region. (Usually persons from the Middle East are not considered Asian Americans, even though this region is conventionally viewed as part of Asia.) Asia is the world’s largest continent and its total population exceeds that of the rest of the world combined. Hence the diversity of Asian Americans reflects the broad spectrum of immigrants originating from different countries of the continent, with their vast range of linguistic and ethnic identities.

Current estimates identify Chinese Americans and Philippine Americans as the largest groups, each at about 3.8 million, followed by Asian Indian Americans at about 2.8 million. Korean and Vietnamese immigrants and descendants each number more than 1 million.

The majority of Asian Americans reside in coastal states, and most live in major urban centers. According to the 2010 U.S. census, cities with the highest concentrations of Americans claiming Asian ethnic heritage were Honolulu, the population of which was made up of 43.9% of Asian Americans, while similar figures for Los Angeles and San Francisco were reported as 14.7% and 23.3%.

The racial prejudices that gave rise to the earlier immigration barriers have become less obvious, though critics continue to be outspoken in their complaints of persistent discrimination experienced by Asian Americans in journalism. According to a 2018 survey by the American Society of News Editors, 22.6% of newsroom staff are members of minorities, a figure that has changed little in the previous decade. This constitutes a serious concern in a nation whose ethnic diversity has

grown steadily for several decades and represents a significant disparity with the more than 35% of Americans who identify as minorities. Of these minorities, a relatively small proportion are Asian Americans. A 2019 study by the Radio Television Digital News Association found that only 2.0% of TV newsroom workers claimed Asian heritage, while radio journalists of Asian heritage amounted to 2.1%.

Development

The number of Asian Americans who have gained prominence in the news media has continued to grow despite the aforementioned barriers, and a number of these individuals have become familiar to most Americans. William Woo (1936–2006) was the first Asian American to become editor of a major U.S. newspaper when he was named to that post at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1986. He later joined the journalism faculty at Stanford. Among other leading Asian American journalists are Nancy Yoshihara, who served in various reporting and editorial capacities for the *Los Angeles Times*; Connie Chung, who coanchored the *CBS Evening News*; John Yang, correspondent for the *PBS Newshour*; Sanjay Gupta, CNN senior medical correspondent; and Fareed Zakaria, columnist editor of *Newsweek* and CNN host.

Newspapers serving Asian Americans have been published since the mid-19th century. In 1854, immigrants from China started publication of *Kim-Shan Jit San-Luk* (Golden Hills' News) in the San Francisco area. Before 1900, a number of other publications aimed at different communities appeared as well. Because of their diverse nature, media aimed at Asian Americans tend to be segmented according to country of origin or language. For the smaller population groups, publications can be newsletters rather than broadsheets or tabloids, and some of these may appear irregularly. Newspapers for each of the major immigrant groups as well as many smaller immigrant nationalities tend to be found where populations are concentrated around the United States.

Like the rest of the newspaper industry, publications aimed at Asian Americans currently face declining circulations and rising costs, but they also are affected by changing immigration patterns. As their readers become more fully integrated into U.S.

society, newspapers must strive to remain relevant to their Asian American communities. Thus, as immigration from their host countries waxes and wanes, so does demand for their publications. An example of this trend is *Hokubei Mainichi* (North American Daily), a newspaper aimed at Japanese Americans. Published in San Francisco five times weekly, its distribution was mainly in northern California. It ceased publication in 2009, leaving only one bilingual Japanese American newspaper still operational on the West Coast. Another newspaper that ceased publication in 2009 was *AsianWeek*, a weekly aimed at readers among all Asian American communities. This tabloid enjoyed a circulation of about 60,000 when it closed, mostly in the San Francisco region where it was published. *AsianWeek* had become embroiled in controversy when in 2007 editor Kenneth Eng authored an inflammatory column titled "Why I Hate Blacks." The publisher later apologized for the column and the author was fired.

Nevertheless, many newspapers have survived, and some have thrived. Most successful Asian American newspapers do not publish daily, but rather are weekly or biweekly. For readers from the Indian subcontinent, the leading publication is *India Abroad*, which offers itself as "a window into the Indian-American world." This highly regarded weekly calls itself the largest and oldest of the South Asian American publications and has been in operation since 1970. It claims a circulation of more than 30,000, but it is also available online. Another weekly for persons of South Asian origin is the English *Lok News*. For Pakistani Americans, there is *Sada E Pakistan*, an Urdu-language weekly published in Brooklyn, New York. It focuses on metropolitan New York City but also offers national coverage of U.S. news concerning South Asia.

As noted, newspapers for Chinese Americans have had a long history in the United States, and they remain important today. Immigration from greater China has grown substantially in recent decades, and the number of Chinese Americans is almost seven times larger in 2020 than it was in 1980. The *World Journal* (*Shie Jie Yee Bao*) claims to be largest Chinese-language newspaper in the United States, with a reported daily circulation of 350,000. With headquarters in New York City, it publishes in a number of cities across the United States. It has ties to business and political interests in Taiwan.

For nearly every immigrant group, there are newspaper resources of some sort. For the Cambodian American community, there is *Nokor Thom* (Great Nation), a daily newspaper with a circulation of about 25,000, published in Long Beach, California. It was once the largest daily published in Phnom Penh but relocated to the United States after the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia in the 1970s. The oldest Vietnamese language newspaper is *Nguoi Viet Daily News* (Vietnamese People Daily News) published since the mid-1970s in California. It was founded by Yen Do, who had been a war correspondent for American newspapers before Vietnamese reunification in 1975 when he immigrated to the United States. The daily currently has a circulation of 12,000 and weekly editions are published for Houston, San Francisco, Utah, and the northeastern United States. The *Korea Daily*, which promotes itself as having the largest readership among Korean Americans living in the United States, and the *Korea Times*, based in Los Angeles (not associated with *Korea Times* published in South Korea), are dailies published in a number of cities across the country.

By the end of the 1960s, a new generation of Asian American publications emerged based less on a single ethnic identity and presenting a more pan-ethnic perspective. These publications frequently presented themselves as alternative voices for all Asian Americans. The ensuing decades have continued to be politically turbulent, and many of these alternative publications have had a strong political agenda. Many have been short lived. Arising out of this period was *Amerasian Journal*. It is a scholarly publication for general subjects concerning the Asian American community and it calls itself the “leading interdisciplinary journal in Asian American Studies.” Begun at Yale University in 1971, it is now hosted by UCLA. Its contents are devoted to serious scholarship on Asian American topics, especially on historical and current issues faced by Asian Americans.

Electronic Media

In addition to print publications serving the Asian American community, electronic media are important as well, and with the rise of online media these electronic channels have proliferated. In

localities where large numbers of Asian Americans have settled, one can often find local radio broadcasts or television programs aimed at these communities. This trend has gained impetus from a growing fragmentation of broadcast audiences in the United States. As more and more radio and television stations and cable channels have opened, outlets have been forced to appeal to ever narrower audience segments.

Los Angeles leads in Asian American television audiences, with more than 700,000 viewers, followed by New York and San Francisco each with more than 600,000 and 500,000, respectively. The San Francisco area has enjoyed a comparatively large variety of Asian American media because Asian Americans make up nearly a third of the population in the city. One of the pioneers of Asian American broadcasting, Leo Chen, who has been dubbed the “father of Chinese television in America,” was based there. He used his own financial resources to purchase airtime for his program *Asia-Am TV* on San Francisco’s KEMO-TV beginning in 1973. Chen was producer and newscaster in the weekly telecasts.

Among several over-the-air television stations that provide programming for Asian Americans is KTSF in San Francisco, which makes broadcasts available throughout the Bay area. News is presented in a number of languages, including Mandarin, Cantonese, Tagalog, and Japanese. The station airs 12 hours of news each week and since 2016 has presented a morning news magazine show in Cantonese from 6:00 to 8:00 a.m. each weekday. In the Los Angeles area, KXLA labels itself as an independent ethnic broadcaster and offers television programming in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Korean. In the past, some communities have made use of public-access cable channels to provide local news programs in Asian languages. An advantage of these channels is that access to their schedules is free, or nearly so, and cable companies sometimes provide facilities and production support. In metropolitan New York City, WMBC offers programming for children in a variety of Asian languages, including Mandarin and Korean.

Even more radio stations present programming for Asian Americans. One radio station in Southern California that broadcasts to American Vietnamese audiences is KVNRR-AM in Santa Ana. It

provides music and talk shows in Vietnamese and rebroadcasts programming from Radio France International and the BBC in Vietnamese. KVNR promotes itself as Little Saigon Radio, and in addition to local transmissions, it shares its programming with stations in the San Francisco and Houston areas. Another Santa Ana station serving the Vietnamese American community is KALI-FM, and it also offers a weekday talk show in Japanese.

Asian American audiences' news habits have changed along with those of the rest of the U.S. population, and this has included a shift to online news sources. Currently, very few if any major Asian American news organizations lack an online presence. As a result, many websites for the Asian American community, though certainly not all, are extensions of existing legacy media. For instance, *World Journal* provides a very rich and deep news website in Chinese with sections devoted to the arts and sports in addition to breaking news. For some weeklies, an online website is especially important, as it allows a newspaper to maintain contact with its readership between editions.

Not all Asian American online news sources are tied to traditional print or broadcast outlets, and those that are exclusively Internet-based tend to offer alternative perspectives to those of traditional media. *AsAm News* provides news stories that link in some particular way with various Asian American communities, drawing from sources across the Web as well as their own volunteer staff. One section of the news website is titled Bad Ass Asians and hosts stories about the lives of Asian Americans, mostly focusing on their positive achievements. Another news website, *Angry Asian Man*, provides news coverage that highlights contradictions to stereotypes about Asians and Asian Americans. *Hyphen*, another online only media news source, subtitles itself as "Asian America unabridged" and has a culture emphasis with stories on the arts and literature.

Naturally, the Internet makes available to Asian Americans a wide array of culturally and linguistically diverse news sources from across the world. Many Asian Americans follow closely events in their ethnically related countries via online sources from abroad. For instance, a Thai American might follow daily events in Thailand by watching the

daily morning news show of one of the leading TV channels in Bangkok posted on YouTube.

Community

In 1981, the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) was formed as an organization to support Asian Americans working in the media and to encourage Asian Americans to consider careers in the news field. At the time, Asians were practically invisible in the media. This nonprofit organization has grown to become the predominant professional association for Asian Americans working in the media, and its membership numbers about 2,000. AAJA strives to support newsroom diversity and fair and accurate reportage of communities of color. The organization has more than a dozen chapters scattered across the United States, and it hosts a national annual convention. AAJA provides training for Asian American and Pacific Islander journalists so that they can promote positive change in the news field while building relationships with their communities.

The South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA) was established in New York in 1994 and today claims to serve more than 1,000 members. The organization asserts that it is not a competitor to AAJA, and many of its members belong to both. It is a volunteer organization that annually hosts a convention attended by participants numbering in the hundreds. It is an organization that serves not only Asian American journalists but also news staff who cover South Asia and the South Asian diaspora.

Research into the media preferences of Asian Americans has been somewhat limited, though the studies that are publicly available suggest, not surprisingly, differences in consumption preferences among various communities. Much as in the general U.S. population, Asian Americans tend to watch television, listen to radio, and read newspapers avidly. Asian Americans are digitally connected with 99% of their households having Internet access, as compared with 93% for U.S. Americans overall. Language appears to be a small factor in media; one report indicated that 95% of Asian Americans 35 years of age or younger speak English well, very well, or exclusively. Research has suggested that Asian Americans have a greater interest in technology than the

general population and are more likely to use social media in their daily lives. One study of Asian American women found that they often admitted to cyber dependence, though in building networks through social media were more restrictive in selecting members, possibly due to concerns about risking reputations or “saving face.”

For Asian Americans, media tend to serve broad functions: First, Asian American media help build and sustain a sense of community, without which many immigrants would simply be swept into the general population. Such media present their readers with a reassuring affirmation of their identity and cultural heritage. Second, for some Asians, media of all types provide a valuable means to acquire language proficiency. Immigrants frequently arrive with limited ability to use English, and so media, especially television, can provide daily lessons in conversational U.S. American speech. Finally, community media offer recent immigrants an opportunity to become acquainted with the everyday concerns and interests of U.S. Americans—in short, to serve as a tool of acculturation. In this sense, these media serve an important purpose not only for the community but for the larger society as well, helping provide a smooth induction for immigrants into the national mainstream.

Drew O. McDaniel

See also Asia, East and Southeast; Asia, South; China; Émigré News Media; India; Japan

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press (AP), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit, global news organization that relies on factual newsgathering and reporting to provide news, photos, and graphics to member newspapers. Founded in 1848, the AP was the first private sector organization in the United States to operate on a national scale. Since its founding, the AP has been first to report to news consumers many of history’s most important moments, from the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the bombing of Pearl Harbor to the death of Pope John Paul and the 9/11 terrorism on U.S. soil. In the 21st century, the AP remains a trusted source of fast, accurate, unbiased news in all media formats and the essential provider of the technology and services that are central to news dissemination. Journalists with the AP have been recognized with numerous awards, namely 54 Pulitzer Prizes that include 32 for photography since the award was established in 1917. The AP has 248 bureaus in 99 countries relaying breaking news, covering war and conflict, and producing enterprise reports. This entry briefly traces the development of the AP, its growth over the course of the 20th century, and its evolution during the 21st century. The entry also examines the role of the associated press in election and sports polls and closes with a discussion of the AP Stylebook.

Early Development of the AP

As part of an effort to share the increased costs of the growing news competition in the early nineteenth century, cooperative newsgathering took shape in the 1820s by New York City's newspapers, which decided to split the cost of news boats to the harbor. In 1848, the city's major newspapers agreed to share the bill of chartering a steamer from Boston to meet ships from Europe at Halifax, Nova Scotia, as well as the costs associated with telegraphing the news that the steamer obtained from Boston to New York.

The telegraph, developed in 1837 when Samuel F.B. Morse applied for a patent that was granted in 1844, uses electricity to send signals over wires. The first line connected Washington, DC, and Baltimore. Operators transcribed 25 to 30 words a minute and used code to send a message, including a news dispatch. The invention contributed to the growth in the railroads and reduced information costs for firms. It also gave rise to The AP as a cooperative wire service that sends news to member newspapers. In 1846, five New York City newspapers pooled together to fund a pony express route through Alabama to deliver news of the Mexican-American War.

The AP evolved from the old Harbor News Association that was established in 1848 by five New York daily newspapers when they agreed to pool information traffic and share the costs of covering the Mexican-American War. This included the expense of chartering a steamer from Boston to act as a news dispatch boat to meet ships from Europe at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the cost of telegraphing the news that the steamer obtained from Boston to New York. Moses Yale Beach (1800–1868), the second publisher of the *New York Sun*, organized the venture. The other four daily publications joining the *Sun* were the *New York Herald*, the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, *The Journal of Commerce*, and the *New York Evening Express*. Two other newspapers, the *New York Tribune* and *The New York Times*, joined later.

James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *Herald*, used the telegraph to advance in the New York circulation wars. Over the next several years, many cities across the United States were connected by the telegraph, including those in the

west. Bennett's *Herald* was the first major newspaper on the East Coast to report the discovery of gold in California in the August 19, 1848, edition. The California Gold Rush officially began on January 24, 1848, with the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in Northern California. Yet most people in America at the time were not aware of the strike until seven months later, when the *Herald* reported on the rumors of gold in California. This announcement encouraged people to leave their homes and head west for the gold rush.

In 1850, the newspapers created the Telegraphic and General News Association of New York to receive telegraphic news from Boston, Washington, and other locations. The agency had two other name changes before becoming the New York Associated Press (NYAP) in 1858. The NYAP maintained access to its original members, representatives in other major American cities, and the Reuters news agency. It also contracted with other regional news agencies in other parts of the United States. By 1850, the group had its first paying customers, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and the *Baltimore Sun*, which were given access to wire service dispatches for a fee without becoming actual members of the cooperative. Over the next several years, the number of client newspapers outside of New York grew, and the agency was able to recover about half of its expenses. The NYAP maintained its transmission costs by sending news to each geographical area only one time. The newspapers in each area were left to distribute the news among themselves. This led to the formation of several regional associations modeled on the NYAP.

The NYAP faced competition from the Western Associated Press, which was organized in 1862 after several Midwestern daily newspapers criticized NYAP's monopolistic newsgathering and pricing methods. Other groups sprang up over the next few years, including the Northwestern Associated Press, the New England Associated Press, the Philadelphia Associated Press, and the New York State Associated Press. As the regional associations, especially the WAP, gained strength, friction developed between them and their New York parent. The Western papers felt they were being overcharged for European news, which by the 1860s was flowing steadily to the United States by underwater telegraph cable. Agreements were

made, leading to peace for several years. Several competitors to NYAP arose during the 1870s, but none were able to break the virtual monopoly NYAP held on the transmission of domestic and international news by wire. The first serious rival emerged in 1882 when the United Press (UP), led by William M. Laffan of the *New York Sun*, was formed.

In 1891, Victor Lawson of the *Chicago Daily News* produced evidence that top executives of the NYAP and UP had engaged in a secret agreement that gave UP free access to NYAP News. Angered by this revelation, NYAP's Western members broke from the association and established the AP of Illinois under the leadership of general manager Melville Stone in 1892. The NYAP folded and its original members defected to the UP. However, the AP's contracts put UP in an untenable position, and by 1897 the UP relented. All the New York dailies except the *Sun* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* were given memberships in the new AP. Meanwhile, the telegraph continued to improve. In 1899, the AP performed the first news test of the new wireless telegraph invented by Guglielmo Marconi when it covered the America's Cup yacht race at Sandy Hook, New Jersey.

In 1870, three major European news agencies—Reuters in Great Britain, Havas in France, and Germany's Wolff in Germany—combined efforts to divide world coverage. Reuters covered the British Empire, including China and India; Havas was responsible for the French empire, including much of Africa and all of South America. These three shared all the news they received. Under Stone's leadership, the AP joined the Reuters-Havas-Wolff news cartel in 1893, remaining with the arrangement until it dissolved in 1934. The AP, to compete with UP, concentrated on international expansion in the 1930s by establishing foreign news bureaus in other countries.

In 1900, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Inter Ocean Publishing Co. v. Associated Press* that the AP was a public utility operating in restraint of trade. This decision meant that the AP had to provide service to anyone who wanted it. The AP opted not to follow Illinois high court's ruling, and the AP of Illinois was dissolved. This resulted in the AP's move from Chicago to New York City, where the AP could organize as a

nonprofit membership association. Stone continued in his role as general manager. Further, the AP could maintain control over who was accepted as a member. The new AP was a cooperative, in which the members shared news and the costs of maintaining staff to control the flow of news among members.

Growth in the 20th Century

By 1880, one-third of all dailies in the United States subscribed to the AP, which relied mostly on Western Union to carry its press reports over the wire. In 1893, the organization shortened its name to the AP. The AP provided coverage of the Spanish-American War that amounted to about \$250,000 in expenses in 1898, including the costs of dispatch boats and wire charges. A year later, the AP used Guglielmo Marconi's wireless telegraph to report the America's Cup yacht race off Sandy Hook, New Jersey. This marked the first news test of the new telegraph.

By 1914, the AP had about 100 member newspapers. Until 1915, AP members were prohibited from buying news from other services. There were, by this time, two viable competitors from whom AP members could get additional news: the United Press Association, formed in 1907, and the International News Service, founded by Hearst in 1909. The original UP agency, after thriving for a few years, had collapsed by 1916.

From 1892 to 1921, Melville Stone, who had founded the *Chicago Daily News* in 1875, served as general manager of the AP when it was established in Illinois. Throughout his tenure, he embraced the standards of accuracy, impartiality, and integrity—journalistic qualities that continue to serve as the news agency's foundation. The AP became one of the world's most prominent news agencies under his leadership.

Under the tenure of Kent Cooper, an Indiana reporter who joined the AP in 1910, the AP cooperative evolved rapidly. Prior to joining the AP, Cooper approached Stone with a proposal to use telephone rather than telegraph to send news to newspapers. With the emergence of the teletype machine in 1913, the telephone approach was short-lived. However, because of his innovative spirit, Stone hired Cooper as AP's traffic chief. Cooper climbed the AP career ladder to assistant

general manager by 1920 and later led the AP from 1925 to 1948. During his leadership, he grew the bureau staffs in South America, Europe and, after World War II, the Middle East. He emphasized news reporting as a more effective prose style. He also incorporated new technology into the news dissemination process, introducing telegraph printing and the first system to transmit photographs via wire into the offices of the AP in 1927. He also advocated for the freedom of the press and the public's right to know.

One of Cooper's most significant contributions in the United States was the development of state bureaus as AP's primary operating units. He also expanded coverage to reflect the public's changing interests more effectively. This involved the addition of an afternoon sports service, as well as financial information and features. The AP also embraced human interest stories, which it had historically disdained, leading to the organization's first Pulitzer Prize awarded to Kirke L. Simpson in 1922 for a series on the Unknown Soldier buried in Washington, DC's Arlington Cemetery.

As modern media emerged in the first half of the 20th century, especially after World War II, the AP and other wire services used automated transmission equipment to create uniform news products sent to small towns and large cities, serving to standardize the formats of news articles. In 1914, Cooper introduced the telegraph typewriter, also known as the teletypewriter, into newsrooms. Member newspapers were equipped with the AP teletype machine that dispersed state, national, foreign, sports, and feature stories at 45 to 60 words a minute. The teletypewriter also was used by the United Press and International News Service. Styles in punctuation, capitalization, abbreviation, and other usage considerations differed among these news wire agencies. Together, in the 1950s, these news cooperatives agreed on a basic style and prepared a stylebook that set standards for style in the mainstream newspapers.

In addition, the AP started the Wirephoto network in 1935, which gave the news agency an advantage over other news outlets. This development allowed transmission of news photographs over leased private telephone lines on the day the photos were taken. The first photo to transfer over the wires was of a plane crash in

Morehouseville, New York, on January 1, 1935. The photo network initially was among the major cities of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Eventually, the AP's photo service spanned across the United States.

Meanwhile, some newspapers attempted to restrain other newspapers, especially those from the same market, from subscribing to the AP. The AP kept out new members until 1945 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the AP had been violating the Sherman Antitrust Act by prohibiting member newspapers from selling or providing news to nonmember organizations as well as making it difficult for nonmember newspapers to join the AP. This legal decision particularly favored, for example, the *Chicago Sun*, which had been blocked from AP membership by the *Chicago Tribune*. Prior to the court ruling, newspapers with AP memberships had been allowed to refuse competing publications from subscribing to the AP. This meant that publishers either were forced to buy weak newspapers with existing AP memberships or subscribe to other wire services, such as the United Press International.

Challenges that involved the rise of radio also surfaced for the AP in the first half of the 20th century. In 1933, the American Newspaper Publishers Association pressured the AP and other wire services to stop providing news to radio stations, although brief bulletins were allowed to encourage people to read the newspaper. The effort was not successful, as radio networks established their own news operations. The AP started a service in 1940 for radio clients, expanding from print to radio broadcast news, and created its own radio network in 1974.

By the early 1980s, newspapers generated approximately half of AP's revenues. New media, especially cable television, began to minimize the newspaper's role in delivering news to Americans. In 1982, the AP amended its bylaws to allow the use of its news reports by member newspapers on cable systems. The AP also developed ways of transmitting news reports via satellite. By 1984, more than 300 news and photo bureaus throughout the world were part of AP's global network, delivering reports to 1,300 daily newspapers and 5,700 broadcast stations in the United States. In addition, there were 8,500 subscribers in foreign countries.

The United Press International was the AP's major competitor and longtime rival until it collapsed in 2000, leaving the AP as the only nationally oriented news service based in the United States. The other news services that had divisions to communicate their news reports, such as Reuters in Great Britain and Agence France-Presse in France, remained AP's rivals.

21st Century Developments

The AP practices a straightforward, "just-the-facts" writing style, often using the journalistic story structure known as the inverted pyramid to allow news stories to be edited to fit available space in a newspaper without losing the essence of the story. This can be attributed to the telegraph because publishers wanted as few words transmitted as possible to save on wire costs. This style of writing would prove to be useful for the AP as it would come to rely on the Internet and digital technology in the early 21st century. This time period reshaped how the AP distributed its news reports, evolving as an interactive endeavor between AP and its 1,400 U.S. newspaper members as well as broadcasters, international subscribers, and online customers. In 1994, the AP established the London-based Associated Press Television News (APTN), a global video news-gathering agency. The AP later purchased Worldwide Television News from the ABC News division of the Walt Disney Company. APTN then merged with Worldwide Television News in 1998 to establish APTN, which provides video to international broadcasters and websites. In 2003, the AP became the first news agency to offer a live video news service.

In early 2005, the AP launched a new website focusing on the Freedom of Information Act to help news consumers be more aware of their rights toward governmental disclosure. The AP also joined a group of journalists and newspaper organizations to form the Sunshine in Government Initiative, designed to fight increased secrecy in the government.

By 2016, the work of the AP was published and republished by more than 1,300 newspapers and broadcasters. The AP also operates the AP Radio Network, which provides newscasts twice hourly for broadcast and satellite radio and television

stations. Along with APTN and AP Radio Network, other principal operating units are AP Ad Services, AP Broadcast, AP Digital, AP International, and AP Photo Services.

Many newspapers and broadcasters outside the United States are AP subscribers, paying a fee to use AP material without being contributing members of the cooperative. As part of their cooperative agreement with the AP, most member news organizations grant automatic permission for the AP to distribute their local news reports. In 2019, the AP produced 2,000 stories and 3,000 photos daily.

Election and Sports Polls

In 1848, presidential candidate Zachary Taylor and the Whig Party won the White House. The AP used the telegraph to declare Taylor the next president of the United States. Since then, the AP has tracked voting in U.S. elections, including national, state, and local races, plus key ballot measures. The AP collects and verifies returns in every county, parish, city, and town across the United States and declares winners in more than 5,000 contests.

The AP is the only organization that collects and verifies election results in every city and county across the United States for all political races on the local, state, and federal levels. Using a 50-state network of freelance "stringers" who collect votes from county clerks and other local officials, the nonprofit wire service is known for its integrity and accuracy, so much so that major news outlets rely on AP's polling data and results before declaring a winner in major political races, especially the presidential election. Early in U.S. history, elections took place over many days, and not all states voted on the same day. The advent of the telegraph contributed to the development of a single presidential election day in the country. Rather than learning the results in mid-December when the Electoral College representatives from each state meets to cast their votes, Americans and candidates often turn to the AP for the announcement of the victor based on the vote count.

The AP's complex process involves a reliance on a network of local reporters who have extensive knowledge of assigned territories and relationships with county clerks as well as other local

officials. Plus, other AP journalists monitor and gather data from county websites and electronic feeds provided by states. The research team made up of analysts further verifies the results by considering demographics, number of absentee ballots, and other political issues that might affect the final results.

In addition, the AP in 2018 began using a machine called *VoteCast* as an exit polling approach to survey people via phone and online surveys whether they voted, their ballot choices, and the reasons for their selections. The 2020 presidential election is the first time that the AP used *VoteCast* in a presidential election. Prior to the implementation of *VoteCast*, AP reporters surveyed people leaving their polling precincts after they voted to find out for whom they voted.

Along with election polls, the AP conducts college sports polls in the United States. Weekly rankings of the top 25 NCAA teams are provided in each of three Division I college sports: football, men's basketball, and women's basketball. The rankings are determined by 65 sportswriters and sports broadcasters who are polled across the nation. Voters provide their own ranking of the top 25 teams. The individual rankings then are calculated to produce the national ranking by giving a team 25 points for a first-place vote, 24 for a second-place vote, and so on, with 1 point for a 25th place vote. Ballots of the voting members in the AP Poll are made public.

The AP compiles preseason polls, regular season polls, and final season polls. The AP college football rankings were created in 1936 and began including the top 25 teams in 1989. Since 1969, the final poll of each season has been released after all bowl games have been played.

The AP college basketball poll launched in 1949. The college basketball poll started with 20 teams and was reduced to 10 during the 1960–1961 college basketball season. It returned to 20 teams in 1968–1969 and expanded to 25 beginning in 1989–1990. The final poll for each season is released prior to the conclusion of the NCAA tournament, so all data include regular season games only.

Although the AP sports polls focus mostly on collegiate sports, the AP began issuing a weekly pro football ranking, the AP Pro32 rankings, in 2012.

AP Stylebook

In the 1950s, the AP, the United Press International, and the International News Service produced a stylebook that reflected their agreement on how punctuation, capitalization, abbreviation, and other language matters should be treated. This stylebook set standards for mainstream newspapers to follow in their news copy. In August 1977, the AP printed its first edition of the AP Stylebook, which was 60 pages and bound together with staples. A basic guide for news writing, the AP Stylebook has evolved into a comprehensive reference manual and a resource for writers. Once published annually, the AP Stylebook began publishing biennially with the 2020–2022 edition.

The stylebook, which has become the standard for news writing in the United States, features basic rules on grammar, punctuation, usage, and journalistic style. In addition, the book is divided into sections about media law, social media, health and science, data journalism, business, sports, religion, and other topics. Plus, new entries are added to reflect changes in language. Throughout the year, top AP editors discuss possible updates and improvements to the stylebook. If the changes are approved, the updates are published immediately in the AP Stylebook online. The AP staff, member news organizations and subscribers, journalism teachers and students, and other individuals also contribute ideas for new or revised stylebook entries.

Melony Shemberger

See also United Press International

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Many journalism stakeholders believe they need to better understand and communicate with the news audience to accomplish their goals, a significant departure from the profession's previous approach to its readers. News organizations routinely draw on analytic data to quantify their audiences—and pursue a variety of techniques designed to engage with them—in hopes of shifting to more audience-supported revenue models, improving the quality of their journalism, and increasing the level of public trust in news media.

Journalism's privileging of the news audience has identified what some see as a need for journalism studies scholars to understand who the news audience comprises, who it excludes, and what its members actually want from the news. This entry uses the changing dynamic between news producers and consumers as an opportunity to review the primary methods researchers draw on to study news audiences and to describe each method's strengths and weaknesses. These methods include quantitative approaches such as surveys, digital trace data analyses, and experiments, as well as qualitative approaches such as interviews and focus groups. They also include more innovative, recently developed approaches to studying news audiences, including two-sided ethnography as well as data collected from observations of journalists and audience members interacting with one another.

The entry concludes by discussing potential research into the news audience. It suggests possible studies that could embrace mixed-methods, cross-national, longitudinal, and comparative approaches to help researchers better understand how news audiences differ from one context to another, whether their behaviors and attitudes align with or contradict journalists' assumptions, and even *if* news audiences' expectations of journalism can ever truly be known.

Quantitative Methods

Scholars utilize a number of quantitative methods when it comes to researching and understanding audiences. The most common approaches include surveys, experiments, and analyses of digital trace

data. These approaches are typically aimed at understanding how frequently audiences interact with news, as well as how they feel about the news they are (or are not) consuming. Some of these methods are better suited for the former, and some for the latter.

Surveys

Studies that utilize surveys to understand news audiences tend to ask respondents to provide self-reports of their media use. Consequently, scholars who utilize surveys must reckon with the fact that news audiences are notoriously bad at accurately recalling where they get their news, as well as how much time they spend with it. Indeed, Markus Prior found that self-reports of news exposure can result in the inflation of the size of the news audience by more than 300%. However, surveys are useful for capturing how a large number of people feel about the news that they choose to consume. Scholars at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, for example, regularly utilize surveys of people in countries throughout the world for their annual Digital News Reports. In doing so, they provide insight into some of the most pressing topics in journalism, such as people's trust in news media, concerns about fake news, and willingness to pay for news.

Experiments

Experimental studies allow scholars to overcome these issues of self-reporting that arise in surveys. They do so by creating an environment in which participants are asked to engage with news in some observable way. Consequently, in their effort to test a specific hypothesis, the researchers behind these experiments are only able to emulate a narrow slice of the actual news media environment. This methodological approach to audience research may therefore have the undesired effect of leading participants to act differently within these experiments than they would in real life. Additionally, because these experiments limit the number of available media options—typically to a number of news sites—they leave unanswered the question of whether the participants of these studies, if left to their own devices, would even choose to consume news in the first place.

The upside to this approach is that experiments can accomplish something outside the scope of other audience research methods: demonstrate a causal relationship. While other methods such as analyses of digital trace data and surveys reveal both how audiences engage with news and how they feel about the news, neither is as well-suited as experiments are for demonstrating the effect of specific interventions within journalism on altering news audience behavior or perceptions. Experiments have been successfully utilized to reveal how audiences respond to comment sections below news stories, framings of content within news stories, social media discussions about news stories, and assessments of when and how audiences choose to verify the news that they encounter.

The value of experimental studies of news audiences has become especially clear more recently, as this sort of research can be used to test the hypotheses people have for how best to improve journalism's financial and credibility challenges. For example, many within the news industry believe that audiences are more likely to find news stories credible if those stories are accompanied by demonstrations of journalistic transparency, such as reporter biographies, story labels, and explanations of how news stories get reported. Scholars at the Center for Media Engagement at the University of Texas at Austin have performed a variety of experimental studies that have shown which of these sorts of attempts at transparency impact audience trust—as well as which do not. At a moment when many within the news industry are convinced that drastic changes should be pursued to improve journalism's standing among the public—as well as its economic prospects—news audience research that utilizes experiments are increasingly indispensable as a means by which scholars and practitioners can uncover which of these changes may succeed.

Digital Trace Data

Finally, scholars using quantitative methods to study news audiences frequently draw on data derived from passive observations of actual audience behavior. These data—sometimes referred to as digital trace data—tend to derive from commercial firms such as Nielsen and Comscore, both

of which passively monitor the media consumption of representative panels of citizens within specific countries and then uses those panels to provide reports of aggregate online audience behavior. Comscore data, for example, provide monthly reports of aggregate audience behavior that show which news sites audiences visit, how much time they spend on them, and the degree to which audiences to one news site also visit another.

Yet online audience data are valuable because, unlike self-reports and experiments, they show how audiences actually behave within the real world, thus allowing them to overcome some of the accuracy issues presented by these other methods of news audience research. These sorts of data can therefore be quite useful when it comes to answering important, ongoing questions throughout the field. For example, many believe that news audiences self-segregate into ideological “filter bubbles” or “echo chambers,” wherein they only consume news from politically like-minded news sources. However, research drawing on data derived from actual observations of audience behavior consistently concludes that audiences instead tend to congregate among a small number of familiar, highly popular, and far less ideologically extreme news sources.

A significant downside of digital trace data is that, because these data are collected passively from actual people interacting with media within the real world, their ability to illustrate any sort of causal relationship is limited. Furthermore, although they reveal how audiences actually behave, they do not reveal *why*. To understand the motivations underlying audience behavior when it comes to news consumption—as well as how audiences feel about the news they choose to interact with—it is therefore helpful to turn to more qualitative methods.

Qualitative Methods

In addition to these quantitative methods, journalism studies scholars have increasingly begun pursuing a variety of qualitative methods to understand the motivations underlying audiences' approaches to news, as well as the assumptions they have about who news

organizations comprise, how the news gets reported and published, and how much (or how little) the news should ultimately be trusted. These methods typically take the form of interviews with individual audience members, as well as focus groups that assemble a number of audience members for the purpose of holding a discussion framed around how they feel about the news. These types of interview-dependent, qualitative methods have long been the norm within journalism studies for understanding news *production*—the discipline includes many influential ethnographies that draw on interviews and observations to assess how journalism gets made, as well as how journalists perceive their profession and the way in which it has changed over time. However, the application of these methods to understanding news *consumption* is a much more recent—and welcome—phenomenon.

These types of studies are especially useful for understanding how different types of people perceive the news, what they think journalists do well, and what they would like to see journalists do differently. Ruth Palmer, for example, interviewed ordinary citizens who became sources for news stories and, in doing so, discovered that how the public *perceives* of journalists is very different from how journalists tend to perceive themselves. This research is consequently much more effective at investigating the root causes of journalistic distrust than other methods of audience research and has become popular among scholars looking to better understand how people living within marginalized communities consider and approach the news. Although these methods suffer from the same limitations as qualitative studies of newsrooms—namely difficulty generalizing findings—they are remarkably effective when it comes to exploring underlying motivations, assumptions, and preferences that ultimately shape how news audience behavior unfolds. In short, while quantitative methods are highly useful for understanding the *what* and the *how* of audience behavior, these qualitative methods are well-equipped to explore the *why*.

Jacob L. Nelson

See also Audiences; Digital Journalism Tools

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AUDIENCES

Journalists, like all media producers, depend on their audiences for both societal relevance and economic stability. A news story that exposes government corruption, for example, is unlikely to result in any sort of reaction unless that story first grabs the attention of the public. And news organizations are unlikely to survive financially unless they reach a group of people large enough—or loyal enough—to make advertising- or subscription-supported revenue models feasible. Journalism does not solely comprise reporting, writing, and publishing the news—it also includes the act of building and maintaining audiences, groups of people who are willing and able to consume the news.

Consequently, journalists have always considered their audiences in one way or another as they have gone about performing their duties. Although the tools journalists rely on to understand, measure, and communicate with their audiences have changed over time, the sense that journalists must

give at least some thought to the people they hope to reach has held constant. Furthermore, in addition to navigating a seemingly endless amount of competition in the contest for audience attention, journalists now also must deal with historically low levels of trust in news as well, according to Megan Brennan (2019). The result is a situation in which it is perhaps more important than ever before for journalism scholars to understand how journalists perceive audiences, as well as how audiences perceive journalists.

This entry examines these two issues. It begins by exploring scholarship focused on how journalists perceive and approach audiences. It then explores scholarship focused on how audiences perceive and interact with journalism. It concludes by exploring the implications of both for the relationship between those who make the news and those who consume it.

Defining Audiences

Although the term *audience* is ubiquitous throughout journalism research and practice, its meaning lacks both an obvious and a universally agreed-upon meaning. At their most basic, audiences are collective entities. They comprise people who are at the receiving ends of message producers. However, the way that reception unfolds—specifically the extent to which that reception is either active or passive, has changed over time. Before the written word, message production and reception occurred at the same time, in the same place. Consequently, the interplay between media producers and the audiences assembled before them was both active and interactive. Equally important, the size and composition of audiences were more straightforward, as these audiences comprised the very real group of people assembled together to watch something.

The advent of the written word, followed by the printing press, and more recently digital communication, has both transformed and complicated the relationship between media producers and their audiences. Understandings of what makes an audience expanded to include not only groups of people standing before a performer but also any person reading a newspaper, listening to a news broadcast, or, more recently, reading or watching a news story online. In short, media

reception expanded from being solely public, immediate, and communal to also involve something more asynchronous, private, and individual. The process by which determinations were made about who comprises the audience consequently grew less affixed to what media producers could see before them as they delivered their messages.

Instead, audiences became an abstraction. Audiences are *real* in the sense that how they are perceived and pursued by media-makers has real consequences both for those who create media and those who receive it; however, audiences are also artificial, man-made conceptualizations more than they are reflections of reality. The result is the ironic set of circumstances that continue to face journalism researchers and practitioners: Those on the receiving end of news are among journalism's most important stakeholders—yet they are also the most unknowable.

This “unknowability,” combined with the necessity for journalists to find and maintain audiences, raises two questions within the profession that continues to be among the most significant—and consequently most studied—aspect of the relationship between those who made the news and those who consume it:

1. How do journalists determine who their audiences comprise and what they want from news?
2. How aligned are journalists' determinations about their audiences with their actual audiences?

Journalism's Perception of and Approach to Audiences

Historically, journalists have perceived their audiences through a fairly narrow lens. Because news audiences are in many ways unknowable, journalists rely on their own assumptions to fill in the gaps. What this means in practice is that journalists typically envision their audiences as looking much like themselves. Even when news audiences comprise a diverse mix of people across different geographic, socioeconomic, and political circumstances, journalists envision those audiences in ways that are much more homogenous.

For example, in the United States, journalists have traditionally written their stories for white,

middle-class citizens. A review of seminal ethnographies about journalism that were published throughout the 20th century reveals that, at least within the United States, journalists envisioned their audiences as extensions of themselves or their peers. This approach to news audiences is consistent across media platforms such as broadcast and print. It is also consistent when it comes to journalists within both national and local news organizations.

There are two reasons for this consistent perspective of the news audience. The first one is the tension between scale and imagination. Journalists have historically seen the audience as a large, homogenous mass of people. The advent of mass media (i.e., media that have the ability to reach a large number of people) was accompanied by the notion of the mass audience (i.e., the large group of people on the receiving end of said media). It is therefore difficult—if not altogether impossible—for media producers to hold a comprehensive understanding of all the different kinds of people their media can reach. In the absence of such absolute knowledge about or understanding of these mass audiences, media-makers generally—and journalists specifically—instead tend to envision their audiences as comprising their peers, supervisors, and competitors.

The second reason that this narrow perspective of the audience has held constant even as the media environment has undergone significant changes over time is because of the demographics of those who actually make the news. Newsrooms have historically comprised reporters and editors who have overwhelmingly been white, middle class, and male. The demographics of newsroom staffs, in other words, have long been out-of-step with the demographics of the people they hope to reach. So, when journalists skew white and male, the prevailing understanding of the news audience follows suit.

Journalists have also traditionally perceived audiences as passive recipients of the news, rather than as active participants in the news. This perception of news audiences among journalists stems from two long-standing assumptions: first, that audiences lack the expertise and skills necessary to do more than simply consume news; and second, that audiences lack an interest in expanding their relationship with news beyond that of

reception. Consequently, journalists have historically been dismissive of—and uninterested in—feedback from their audiences. In short, instead of conceptualizing their audiences as comprising a diverse mix of people with an interest in not only consuming the news but also more meaningfully participating in its production, journalists considered their audiences monolithic and passive.

Audiences in Transition

These circumstances have begun to change over the course of the first few decades of the 21st century as the news industry has confronted a much less hospitable set of circumstances in a digital environment from what the profession previously faced. Journalism faces a combination of economic, technological, and social obstacles that have caused the news industry to plunge into a period marked by uncertainty and instability. Journalism credibility and revenue are both low, as newsrooms struggle with limited resources to recapture the audience trust, attention, and support they took for granted throughout much of the 20th century.

These circumstances have led journalism stakeholders to consider different approaches to measuring, understanding, and approaching news audiences. Audience measurement tools, for example, have grown increasingly popular in newsrooms across the globe as news publishers look to better understand what their audiences were choosing to spend time with when it comes to journalism. Although news media publishers have previously drawn on measurement tools and services to quantify their audiences in one form or another (e.g., numbers of subscriptions for newspapers, television ratings for broadcast and cable news), the role of measurement has expanded due to financial necessity for and technological sophistication of digital audience analytics. Now, many news organizations maintain subscriptions to a number of online audience measurement providers, such as Google Analytics, Chartbeat, and Comscore. These measures are capable of tracking, among other things, the amount of time audiences spend with news, the size of the audience that a news site attracts, and the way in which audiences share news content via social media.

What these measures cannot do, however, is reveal audiences' underlying motivations. These measures reveal *what* audiences do, but not *why*. Consequently, even in an era of increasingly sophisticated audience data, journalists continue to rely on their gut instincts and intuition to draw conclusions about audience behavior. This explains why there is inconsistency throughout journalism surrounding what audiences want and expect from news. For example, while many journalists continue to believe that audiences want a relationship with news in which they are passive recipients of news content, a growing contingent of the news industry believes that audiences would like a more active role in journalism. Consequently, a number of journalism publishers, practitioners, funders, and researchers have begun advocating for the news industry to practice more "engagement" with their audiences, by explicitly offering audiences opportunities to participate in the news production process.

The pursuit of "engaged" journalism within the news industry, as well as its increasing acceptance in certain segments of the profession, illustrates the power and inconsistency of *perceptions* of the news audience, as well as the limitations of audience data. Because audiences can never truly be known, journalists will continue to draw on a variety of tools as well as their own instincts and intuition to fill in the blanks about the people they are attempting to reach.

Audiences' Perceptions of and Approaches to Journalism

While news audiences can never expect to be fully understood, a rich body of journalism and audience research has shed light on important and revealing elements about news audience behavior. Perhaps the most notable, overarching theme of this line of research is that, when it comes to news consumption, audiences are not driven solely by their tastes and preferences, nor are they pulled to news solely by mechanisms outside of their control. Instead, according to it is the interplay between the structures of everyday life and the preferences of individual audience members that shapes news audience behavior. Communication scholar James Webster refers to this approach to understanding how media audiences take shape as

a *structural* approach—one that considers the interplay between agents and structures. This theory originates from sociologist Anthony Giddens's notion that the social world is mutually reproduced and altered by agents and structures through the process of "duality."

A number of studies have explored the implications of this dynamic as it relates to news audiences. For example, a growing body of research has concluded that news audiences tend to congregate among a small number of familiar brands, even as the news media environment continues to grow saturated with options. This phenomenon does not occur because audiences share widespread agreement regarding the best and worse news brands, nor does it occur because these news brands are best equipped to push their content onto unsuspecting news audiences. The answer instead is a bit of both. People privilege popularity when it comes to evaluating quality, as do structures such as social media platforms and search engine algorithms.

Why, in a news media environment where people can access all sorts of news media—including that which most aligns with their preferences—do so many congregate on a small number of familiar news brands? First, research has shown that audiences tend to stick to their media habits, even when the media environment undergoes significant changes, and these habits are predisposed toward popular content. In addition, the structures that comprise the news media environment, such as social media platforms and search engines—privilege popularity over most other media attributes. Finally, there is a vicious cycle effect, in that the news brands that comprise the largest audiences usually have more financial resources available, allowing them to invest in the means by which they can ensure their content is more prominent and available to audiences than that published by their smaller, less popular competitors.

While the audience research just described focuses on how audiences *consume* the news, other research has utilized a variety of innovative methods and theoretical frameworks to better understand how audiences *perceive* the news. For example, a number of scholars are interested in understanding what determines audience trust in news, as well as whether a relationship exists

between audience trust in news and loyalty to news. More recently, as many within the news industry pursue novel ways to improve their engagement with and representation of their audiences, a growing body of scholarship has explored what impact these interventions have on how news audiences perceive and approach the news.

In addition to seeking to understand how news audiences perceive the news, and how those perceptions shape their interactions with the news, scholars have also begun to study those who go out of their way to *avoid* being part of the news audience in the first place. Part of the reason this topic is attracting more attention is because the number of people who seek to remove themselves from the news audience appears to be growing. As economist Markus Prior found, the increasing variety of media options in a digital media environment means people now find themselves faced with a seemingly infinite number of alternatives to news. Consequently, it has grown much easier for people with little interest in news to remove news from their media diets and replace it instead with something they find more entertaining. Understanding the growth of this group is therefore increasingly important for those within journalism seeking to improve their relationship with their audiences and for those who study journalism seeking to understand what motivates audiences to tune in—or tune out—of the news. In addition, as the news industry becomes more audience-focused, news organizations become more determined to reach specific, niche audiences rather than a single, large, monolithic one. This shift raises important questions regarding which audiences journalists choose to pursue, which they do not, and why.

The news industry continues to grow more audience-focused in hopes of recovering audience trust and support necessary for the profession's continued survival. As this transition unfolds, journalism researchers and practitioners would do well to remember that, regardless of how much thought and attention is given to the audience, and how much data are collected from the audience, news audiences themselves can never be truly known. Consequently, the efforts by journalists to reach their audiences will always be based at least in part from their assumptions about the people they hope to reach. Furthermore, the

extent to which audiences consume, interact with, or avoid news will stem not only from their own tastes and preferences about the news but also from the structures that comprise the news media environment.

Jacob L. Nelson

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AUDIO AND VIDEO NEWS SERVICES

An audio or video news service is usually a commercial entity that provides prerecorded sound or video for news media, general business corporations, or (more recently) individuals. In its overall purpose, it somewhat parallels the function of a photo agency. Some entities operate as a part of long-recognized news services (such as the Associated Press or CNN) that make their own reports or footage available, but increasingly, many are independent firms making use of the Internet for inexpensive distribution of both professional and amateur (or “home”) audio or video recordings.

Audio and video news services developed as recording and playback technology made them possible. In the Internet era, much of the business lacks a formal structure—there are new companies popping up all the time. Some firms produce video news releases, while others focus on producing “stock” audio or video that can be used as background for station news programs.

Audio News Services

Audio news services appeared as effective means of analog sound recording made them possible. The earliest began in the 1950s as more and better

reel-to-reel audio tape recording equipment became available, and as equipment prices dropped. The innovation of audio tape cartridges and cassettes in the 1960s and 1970s made the handling of sound recordings much easier for stations to use. Early automated radio station operations relied on such technology where music and advertisements could be preprogrammed, allowing occasional inserts of live news and other features.

Both United Press International (which was first, in 1958) and the Associated Press initiated audio services to serve their radio station subscribers with recorded hourly newscasts and sound actualities they could insert into their own news. Stations received a daily menu of recorded stories and features from which they could select. For the first time, even “local” radio news from smaller markets could feature a variety of audio features from across the country and around the world. Audio quality was a problem as the news agencies used telephone lines for distribution. AP Radio began in 1974 and became a 24-hour all-news operation two decades later. UPI Audio became the UPI Radio Network with extensive hourly feeds to local stations, but closed in 1999 as the parent agency began to wither.

Government agencies quickly joined what became an expanding audio services bandwagon. Many federal agencies maintain sources of sound bites and scripted reports for news media use (though others can also use them). The U.S. Department of the Interior, to cite one example, provides recordings concerning the national parks, as well as Native Americans. The Department of Education offers recorded reports on all aspects of primary and secondary education. Availability of such audio reports makes their use by broadcast stations more likely.

One type of specialized audio service that dates to the 1930s is the production and distribution of sound effects. While early stations and fledgling networks produced needed sounds in the studio (as in the network *March of Time* series), by the late 1930s, prerecorded sound effects of all types were coming on the market for use by radio journalists and others as needed. Indexed collections of 78-rpm discs provided almost any imaginable sound effect. Most were used in drama, as most radio broadcasters traditionally conceived of news

as using only sounds that might be actually present and not added later on.

Video News Services

Several factors contributed to the development of video news services, the first of which was technology, as had been the case with audio. News film was the only means of recording images for television for the medium's first decade. It was cumbersome to use and required extensive processing before it could be used on the air. Major news events—such as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in June 1953—were filmed and (in this one case) the film was developed aboard aircraft flying across the Atlantic to Canada. From there, developed pictures were sent to New York for transmission by the networks to their affiliates—all less than a day after the real events. Still, the process was time consuming and costly.

The transformative breakthrough came with video tape recording in 1956. While pricy and cumbersome at first, and thus used only on the network level (including for both the CBS and NBC evening newscasts), video equipment grew both smaller and less expensive. Development and use of time-base correctors and other devices made use of video recordings on the air easier. As programming (newscasts and documentaries) became widespread, demand by networks and stations for video clips and reports rose. By the 1970s, portable equipment further expanded video use. And in the next decade widespread availability of satellite distribution made transmission of video news and feature material to stations and cable systems almost cost-free.

As with audio recordings, federal departments (and many nonprofit organizations as well as commercial courses) soon provided video as well. The U.S. Department of Defense, for example, became a ready source for video clips, often completing narrated reports on weapons of land, sea, and air.

Developing Online Services

Just as technology had made earlier audio and video news services possible, development of the

commercial Internet in the mid-1990s soon suggested new options. Audio was used first in an era of narrowband connections and limited capacity. Many organizational websites soon offered archives of audio news and related clips, chiefly for news media, but often available to anyone.

Adding broadband capabilities by the 2000s opened up the ability to syndicate speedily video to news media as well as individual consumers. Facebook and other popular networking websites soon flooded over with news clips. Advertisers, eager to reach a global audience, snapped up options to purchase space on such websites, which provided free consumer access.

Broadband distribution further blurred the one-time division between traditional journalism and wider civic participation and sharing of news. Such widespread distribution naturally raised questions of copyright. Websites made clear that material was copyrighted and placed limits on how it could be used (beyond individual viewing on personal computers or laptops).

MSN Video was by the mid-2000s the largest video-only streaming service on the web, offering 41 channels of content updated many times each day. In addition to streaming an average of 66 million news, entertainment, and sports video clips per month from more than 45 content partners, MSN Video provided an array of live events. Advertiser supported, MSN Video is available to consumers at no charge and is available in the United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia; and in beta testing in the United Kingdom.

Announced late in 2005, the Associated Press's Online Video Network (OVN) was launched early in 2006 and by mid-2007 was reaching 61 million unduplicated visitors and serving over 1,800 radio and television affiliates after having begun with less than 500. Using a Microsoft Network local video contribution option, OVN affiliates could use their own content to combine AP breaking news video with national advertising. Also by mid-2007, OVN was providing some 40 video clips per day covering national, international, technology, business, and entertainment news. At about the same time, CNN.com launched its own broadband video news service and the other cable and broadcast networks were soon active as well.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Advertorials; Associated Press; Copyright; Digital Sound; Ethics; Feature Syndicates; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Photo Agencies; Podcasting; Recording; Spin; Streaming Media; United Press International; Video News Releases

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AUDIO JOURNALISM

Since large-scale production of Guglielmo Marconi's radio began in the 1920s, audio journalism has played a prominent role in the way the world consumes news and information. Now, nearly a century since the first news reports were delivered via modulated radio wave, audio journalism is not simply relegated to traditional terrestrial radio stations, but is streamed via the web, delivered across cellular networks, and downloaded via mobile devices.

Although more than a century has passed since the invention of the radio, audio journalism finds itself in a renaissance period. With the ubiquity of smartphones, the speed of cellular data networks, and the plunging price point of professional audio equipment, there has been an explosion in the creation and demand of audio content. This entry discusses ways that audio journalism often differs from print journalism before looking at some of the features of radio journalism and digital audio journalism. It concludes by discussing some of the ways media convergence and digital technology have changed the work of an audio journalist.

How Audio Journalism Differs From Print

Writing for broadcast, podcast, or streaming media requires consideration of factors unique to aural media. Audio journalists are mindful that while a newspaper or digital article can be factual, grammatical, and readable, it may not be at all appropriate for a listening audience. Writing for the *ear* is different than writing for the eye. In a print article, a journalist can cram a significant amount of information into one sentence. If a reader becomes confused at any point, they can go back and reread the sentence. However, if the facts a radio correspondent is reporting are broadcast out of the speakers faster than a listener can absorb and process them, critical details can be misheard or lost entirely. Even with Internet archives, it is rare that a listener will take the time to relisten to an audio report after its original transmission. Additionally, print outlets have the luxury of a headline to alert readers what a story is about; no such device exists in the terrestrial broadcast form, so a strong introduction or lead-in is critical to engage the listener's attention.

To ensure maximum retention, audio journalists write in a style that may seem basic or unsophisticated on the printed page, but when read aloud, makes the salient points of the story clear and unambiguous. Simple sentence structure is stressed when writing for audio broadcast as is a basic vocabulary. Facts are presented in as direct and concise a manner as possible giving the listener an opportunity to absorb and register what is being delivered. Editors take great pains to ensure that information is given out at a pace that allows listeners to retain it.

Additionally, audio journalists are taught to write the way they speak. Listening is an innately personal activity. Often individuals are alone in their cars, by themselves at their desks, or tuning in through headphones when listening to the radio or a podcast. Audio journalists take advantage of this personal space by writing as if they are talking to a single person rather than the thousands of individuals who might be tuned in at any given moment. People generally do not speak the way they write; audio journalists craft scripts that feature similar syntax, vocabulary, cadence, and grammar to the way they speak, thus making their stories more personal. Additionally, by speaking in

their natural voice, rather than using the stereotypical “radio announcer” voice, audio journalists can foster connections with larger and more diverse audiences. Audio journalists entering the profession are coached to “forget” any preconceived notions of speaking on mic as well as most of the ways they learned to write in school, or at any of the print publications where they worked prior to their audio reporting career.

With the rapid growth of podcasting and other digital audio reporting platforms, many of the rules embraced by audio journalists for decades are changing. The core tenants of audio journalism have not changed, however: simple, clear, conversational writing. As this field of journalism continues to mature, the fundamentals central to writing for the ear will remain a key component of successful audio stories.

Radio Journalism

Newscasts

These short news reports are broadcast at least once each hour on many U.S. radio stations to update listeners on breaking news and other news headlines. Radio networks generally place newscasts at the top or bottom of an hour so listeners know exactly when they can tune in to hear what is happening. Newscasts can be as short as 60 seconds or up to 8 minutes in duration depending on the network and the time of day. Often newscasts are composed of short updates, lasting no longer than 20–30 seconds.

The most common types of stories in newscasts are “readers” where the newscaster reads a story from copy provided by a wire source, such as the Associated Press or Reuters. Newscasts can also feature submissions from reporters who file a “spot,” or a story containing actualities and natural and ambient sound. On rare occasions, a newscaster may interview a reporter about a high-profile news story that is updating by the minute. Radio networks that broadcast newscasts are time sensitive, lasting a specific number of minutes, as the network needs to rejoin other programming at an exact time. In network newscasts, time often dictates not only the number of stories presented but also the order of the stories. Breaking news generally leads the newscast followed by news that will

have the greatest impact on people, with other timely news presented afterward.

News Radio Stations—20-Minute Clock

Radio stations featuring an all-news format are generally programmed to deliver the day’s major stories in approximately 20-minute cycles. This specific time is equivalent to the average commute length, allowing listeners to consume the day’s most important news items in one sitting. Reporters and producers filing for a news radio station are generally given a specific length of time the story must fill by their editor ranging from 20 seconds to 2 minutes. When aired, these stories most commonly feature the anchor or host reading a brief lead into the story followed by the reporter delivering a report containing actualities and natural sound. Depending on the news cycle, these reports can be repeated numerous times over the span of several hours. As news radio stations often feature business, sports, entertainment, traffic, and weather reports along with advertisements, traditional news reporting might only account for 7 or 8 minutes of the 20-minute cycle. Editors at news stations must balance the mix of national and international news along with local and regional news to ensure listeners have an appropriate degree of coverage given the day’s events.

Newsmagazine Long-Form Features

Many public radio listeners are familiar with long-form features as they are the most common program element presented in the flagship drive-time programs, *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*. Generally between 3 and 5 minutes in duration, these reports incorporate a reporter’s audio copy along with a variety of outside voices, taken from interviews conducted for the piece, and natural and ambient sounds collected during the interviewing process. Unlike most reports filed for audio journalism outlets, newsmagazine stories are typically longer in length and take a more nuanced and in-depth look at a particular problem or issue. The result is these pieces feature actualities from interviews that are longer in length and provide more context than actualities or sound clips in shorter audio news reports.

A narrative style is generally utilized when reporting long-form features. This storytelling approach is often part documentary and part hard news. The scene in which the story takes place is generally a critical part of any long-form feature as it helps the listener establish a time and place in which to ground the report. The feature's characters are also critical to getting audience members to be willing to invest 3–5 minutes of their time listening to it. Long-form features are often framed as an argument, which allows the reporter to pose a problem at the beginning of the piece and feature voices from both sides of the issue to give the report as balanced a viewpoint as possible. This device assists the reporter in structuring a piece around the best interview recordings while maintaining a narrative flow that will be interesting and engaging when broadcast.

Two-Ways

Two-ways are how audio journalists refer to the on-air conversations between the host/anchor and the reporter. When news breaks and a report must be delivered quickly, it is logistically simpler for the host to ask the reporter on-site questions. Two-ways usually do not include the actualities or natural sound commonly found in reports filed for audio news outlets, but they do provide a sense of immediacy that is often absent from highly produced pieces. It is common for audio journalists to opt for a two-way when a deadline cannot be met or there is no audio to build a report around, as is the case when a statement is released but no one has yet commented on it.

Two-ways receive criticism when they come across as scripted. This stems from the fact that the journalists on site typically know the questions they will be asked beforehand; in some rare cases, the reporters write the questions for the hosts and script out their answers. This leads to additional detail that might be left out or forgotten in an unscripted conversation but sounds stilted and unnatural. Public radio reporters are commonly criticized for scripted two-ways. Two-ways work most effectively when the host and reporter confer beforehand and outline the topics to be covered during the interview. This leaves the host the flexibility to ask follow-up questions and the reporter the opportunity to provide additional context.

Digital Audio Journalism

The rapid growth of the Internet coupled with ever faster broadband connections and mobile data networks means traditional media—radio, television, and newspapers—are no longer the primary mechanisms of news delivery in the 21st century. While the web has changed the way audio reporters do their jobs, the fundamental tenets of audio journalism are still the same. In fact, audio itself is seeing renewed growth and interest with the rise of new digital media technologies.

Podcast Journalism

The concept of podcasting as we know it today originated in the early 2000s. Most early journalism podcasts were simply rips of radio feeds of news, sports, and entertainment features downloaded to a mobile MP3 player. By 2007, journalists from major outlets including the British Broadcasting Corporation, National Public Radio (NPR), and *The New York Times* were creating compelling and engaging audio content, but the reach of these podcast episodes initially was limited. In 2014, the syndicated public radio program *This American Life* broadcasts the first episode of *Serial*, a 10-episode podcast series, on-air in place of a regular *This American Life* episode. The producers encouraged listeners to subscribe to the *Serial* podcast and listen to additional episodes for free. The tactic worked; *Serial* quickly became the most downloaded podcast in history.

Serial's long-form storytelling approach resonated with listeners and the program won a Peabody Award in 2015. When presenting the *Serial* production team the award, the Peabody committee noted that the innovative approach utilized in the podcast's production had major implications to the way stories could be told in this new medium. The investigative journalism conducted in the production of the first season of *Serial* was quickly emulated and an entire genre of long-form nonfiction narrative-based true crime podcasts has since been released.

In 2017, *The New York Times* began production of the news podcast *The Daily*. Produced weekdays, *The Daily* calls upon vast resources of *The New York Times*, featuring interviews with staff reporters about the news topics of the day.

The podcast, usually 20–30 minutes, concludes with a brief summary of the day's news. *The Daily* immediately resonated with listeners and accumulated more than 100 million downloads in the first year of production. *The Daily's* success is attributed to the candid conversations between journalists about the day's news. Additional insight and context can be provided in the podcast that would not be possible in a printed version of the same story.

It is common today to see podcasts produced by ABC News, NBC News, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, NPR, and public radio stations such as WNYC and WBUR to have productions at the top of charts tracking the most popular podcasts by download. Podcasts have provided an innovative way for listeners to understand truth, reality, and current events and news departments spanning radio, television, and print are beginning to take advantage of this new approach to storytelling.

Smartphones and Mobile Journalism

The ubiquity of smartphones and high-speed cellular networks provides distinct advantages for today's audio journalist. Given the storage capacity of most modern smartphones, they can easily double as a digital audio recorder. If equipped with enough battery life and an external microphone appropriate for high-quality recording, there is no reason that an audio journalist on assignment needs any additional pieces of equipment. Further, several smartphone applications exist that allow for advanced editing and mixing. While more cumbersome than audio-editing software that can be used on a personal computer, these technologies afford journalists the ability to produce, edit, and submit stories entirely from the field, making high-quality, fully produced up-to-the-minute reports possible.

Today's Audio Journalist

Given the rapid changes in technology and the ever-shifting media landscape, today's audio journalists must be mindful that their work will most likely not be limited solely to audio. There is a blurring of lines between traditional media companies; television stations are producing podcasts

and newspapers have invested in video production departments. Audio-based outlets and the journalists who work for them are often required to file a web story to go along with any audio report they produce. In addition to still images, audio journalists are increasingly shooting video to integrate on social media. Large audio-based outlets are investing in web technologies to integrate data visualization applets into their websites. As technology changes and more tools become available, audio journalists remain, at their core, storytellers. The more tools they master to effectively tell stories, the more engagement they will have with their audience.

Dave Nourse

See also Mobile Journalism; Newscasters, Radio; Podcasting; Public Radio Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

The neighboring countries of Australia and New Zealand in the South Pacific region share many similarities although in physical terms the two countries are significantly different. Australia is vast, 7 million square kilometers in area, much of

it sparsely populated semidesert. The population of 25 million mostly live in coastal cities, with each of the capitals of the six states containing at least half of their respective state's population. New Zealand, by contrast, is relatively small: 250,000 square kilometers covering two islands of almost equal area, well-watered, fertile, and mountainous. New Zealand's population of 5 million is more spread out, with the largest city, Auckland, holding less than a third of the national population.

However, as a result of history, economics, and personal connections, the journalistic cultures of the two countries are quite similar. This entry first discusses characteristics of the two countries that influence their media systems and journalistic practices before discussing the history of journalism in the two countries and present-day news media.

Where differences between the two countries' journalistic traditions are obvious, they are mainly due to the disparity in geographical size and population. In Australia's larger cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne, a competitive journalistic culture between several daily newspapers arose in the early 20th century. Both broadsheets and tabloids would compete for readers and advertisers, similar to the newspaper markets of London or the large American cities. By contrast, New Zealand's larger cities tended to have just one staid morning broadsheet newspaper, with a slightly racier afternoon publication, always separately owned. Australia's radio and television stations are mostly city- or state-based, whereas New Zealand radio is largely networked nationwide, and all television stations are national.

By the late 20th century, the rise of television, and the tendency of most workers to commute by private car, led to the demise of afternoon newspapers. For a brief period in the decade or so either side of the turn of the second millennium, each New Zealand city, and smaller Australian state capital, had just one daily newspaper. Sydney and Melbourne each had two, one a broadsheet and the other a tabloid, but there was plenty of advertising revenue to go around, largesse which one commentator called *rivers of gold*. Radio and television also thrived on advertising revenue, bringing constant changes and consolidation of ownership of stations in both countries. The

arrival of the Internet in the 1990s brought the first threat to that comfortable environment, and the loss of audience and revenue gained pace in the early 2000s.

Background

Australia's Aboriginal people first settled the continent by land from what is now Papua New Guinea some 60,000 years ago and had variegated into hundreds of language groups by the time the first Europeans arrived. New Zealand's Māori people arrived by sea from the central Pacific in the first centuries of the second millennium CE. Māori are closely related to the other Polynesians of the Pacific, such as those of Tahiti and Hawai'i, both ethnically and linguistically. The Māori language was spoken throughout New Zealand at the time of European exploration, with only minor dialectical variations.

Both countries' populations are now largely of European descent, with many of their ancestors having emigrated from Britain and Ireland, but much less so than in the middle of the 20th century. Immediately after World War II, Australia actively recruited immigrants from continental Europe, especially its south and east, making it much more multicultural than in earlier years. But due to an official "White Australia" policy, that was the limit of the cultural mix of its new arrivals, while Indigenous Australians were largely marginalized in the remote outback and small urban ghettos.

During the 20th century, New Zealand continued to take immigrants mostly from Britain, but also the islands of the Pacific. Both countries broadened their migration intake considerably in the 1980s and subsequent years, taking immigrants in big numbers from all over the world, but especially east and south Asia. According to the 2016 census, 90% of Australians were of European descent, but a third of residents were born overseas, and 3% were Indigenous. In 2018, two-thirds of New Zealanders were of European ancestry, with a quarter of the population born overseas, and Indigenous Māori making up 17% of the population. The close historical ties between the two countries mean there is free movement between them for their respective citizens: More than half a million New Zealanders live in

Australia, while some 50,000 Australians call New Zealand home.

Australia and New Zealand are now both prosperous, modern societies, with strong democratic governments and high levels of social capital, based on largely state-funded health care and education. They are both consistently highly rated in international surveys of “liveability,” ranking alongside Canada and the social democracies of Northern Europe. They both have a robust media sector based on a strong journalistic culture, with high levels of consumption of news in print, through broadcast, and online. But like the rest of the world, journalism in Australia and New Zealand, mostly funded by advertising, is facing strong challenges to its viability from digitization, the greater availability of offshore content from online providers, and the loss of advertising revenue to overseas digital providers. This prompted the Australian government to pass a law in early 2021 requiring Google and Facebook to pay Australian news providers for their content which the tech giants carry on their platforms.

The Australian and New Zealand economies are also closely linked, with a common market-style agreement, Closer Economic Relations in force since the 1980s. Large areas of New Zealand’s economy are owned by Australian companies, including retail, banking, and, most significantly, media. Some New Zealand companies also have large investments in Australia, but the flow of income is mostly in the larger country’s favor. These links have meant that there is a constant interchange of journalism practitioners between the two countries. Many of Australia’s most prominent journalists have been born in New Zealand, and many Australians also work in New Zealand, although they are outnumbered by New Zealanders who have spent time gaining experience in Australia, then returned home.

History of Journalism

The first newspaper in Australia, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, was founded in 1803 and published for a further 39 years, initially under the stewardship of a convict, George Howe. It was a semiofficial publication of the New South Wales colonial government and was subject to official censorship for its first two

decades. In 1831, three Gazette employees founded the *Sydney Herald*, which became the *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 years later, and under that name is Australia’s oldest continuously published newspaper. Newspapers were founded in the other colonies in the 1850s, some of which are still printed today, although with name changes, such as the *Age* in Melbourne, the *Mercury* (Hobart), and the *Courier-Mail* (Queensland).

From the earliest days of Australian journalism, family dynasties of proprietors began to emerge. John Fairfax acquired the *Sydney Herald* in 1841, and the Fairfax family retained control of it and other newspapers in Australia’s eastern states for almost 150 years. In the early 20th century, two new dynasties arose, which between them dominated the Australian media industry for most of that century: the Packers and the Murdochs. They competed fiercely in print and television, but followed different long-term strategies. The Packers concentrated on Australia alone, diversifying into pay television and gambling before selling out of news media altogether in the early 2000s. Meanwhile, under the scion of the second generation of Murdochs, Rupert, the family bought up media outlets across the English-speaking world. Rupert Murdoch also founded the country’s first national newspaper, the *Australian*, in 1964.

All three family companies, and others, expanded into electronic media, with the Packers setting up Australia’s first television station, Sydney’s Channel Nine, in 1956. This made Australia unusual, in that television started under private ownership with populist, commercially funded programming, rather than with a state-owned public broadcaster such as the British Broadcasting Corporation or New Zealand’s NZBC. Australia’s equivalent of the BBC, the ABC, did not add television to its radio broadcasting fare until 1958. The addition of large numbers of television viewers to already avid newspaper readers and radio listeners gave the dynasts not only enormous financial income but also political power, with the endorsement of the Packer or Murdoch publications (television news was essentially apolitical) allegedly able to make or break governments. Both the Packer and Murdoch publications favored both major political groupings, the center-left Labor Party and the center-right Coalition, at various times. But both sets of publications more

often opposed Labor governments, or the party's attempts to win office, and backed the more business-friendly Coalition, both at the federal and state level.

New Zealand's early media, as befitting a much smaller country, were much more sedate. The first newspapers were founded in the middle of the 19th century, with some, such as Dunedin's *Otago Daily Times* and Auckland's *New Zealand Herald*, still appearing today. The mid-19th century also saw a number of Māori-language newspapers published, most notably *Te Karere* from 1842 to 1863 (with interruptions), while others stayed in print until the 1930s. Like Australia's early journals, New Zealand's were family owned, but did not expand to nationwide dynasties, rather taking on small town publications in their respective cities' hinterlands in an incremental manner.

Radio started under private ownership in the 1920s, but the stations were almost all nationalized by the first Labor government in the 1930s, and the resulting NZBC became the sole television broadcaster, starting in the largest city, Auckland, in 1960. Private radio only returned to the New Zealand airwaves in the 1970s, prompted by an offshore ship-based pirate station, Radio Hauraki, in the mid-1960s, itself inspired by the British pirates of the same era, such as Radio Caroline. Private television arrived in 1989 with TV3, but only after a long legal and political campaign by its backers, and soon found itself in financial distress, having underestimated the energy and innovation of its state-owned competitor, Television New Zealand, which had been put on a full commercial footing with the breakup of the NZBC in the mid-1980s.

New Zealand's tightly regulated media market started to open up with the repeal of the News Media Ownership Act in 1974. A process of consolidation of media properties then took place, first in print, then broadcast, as state-owned radio stations were privatized and new private stations launched. New Zealand's print sector is now dominated by two conglomerates, both in financial difficulties. Several attempts to merge them in recent years have failed due to political and legal hurdles, and one, Stuff, was sold in mid-2020 for \$1 to its employees, who also took on its liabilities.

Journalism in the 21st Century

Coverage of politics in both Australia and New Zealand is heavily focused on personality, popularity, and polls, with serious examination of policy struggling for print space and broadcast time, even during election campaigns. The political agenda is often influenced, and sometimes set, by radio "shock jocks," mostly right-wing, with backgrounds in general broadcasting rather than serious journalism. News coverage of politics, especially by the dominant Murdoch tabloids in Australia, can be quite partisan, mostly in favor of the conservative side of politics. New Zealand newspapers are less biased, with impartial news coverage. Even the endorsement of political parties (as in Australia, usually conservative) on the eve of elections largely disappeared with the switch to a proportional voting system in the 1990s. Both television and radio news coverage is also impartial, overseen by broadcasting standards authorities in both countries.

Both Australia and New Zealand are frequently listed at the top of international surveys of social development and democratization, and also for one of the key components of those qualities, press freedom. The international watchdog, Freedom House, in its 2020 survey rated Australia and New Zealand both at 97 in its Global Freedom Score, compared to Norway at the top with 100, and the United States at 86. The international journalists' organization Reporters Without Borders placed New Zealand ninth, on a par with the Nordic countries, and Australia 26th, 10 places behind Canada, but almost 20 above the United States, out of the 180 countries in its 2020 survey.

With no national newspaper in Australia until the 1960s, and none in New Zealand, news agencies took on a prominent role in the business of newsgathering and distribution. Each country had a monopoly operator: Australia Associated Press (AAP), founded in 1935, and the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA), founded in 1879. Throughout the 20th century, they were both profitable, highly professional, and productive, but fell prey to digitization and consolidation in the early 2000s. NZPA folded in 2011, and AAP looked about to close in 2020, but was reprieved by a last-minute staff buyout.

Although geographically isolated at “the bottom of the world” from a Euro-American viewpoint, both Australia and New Zealand have always been outward looking, drawing societal and cultural influences from overseas, initially Europe, especially the “mother country” of Great Britain, and after World War II, the United States. This also applied to news and current affairs, with weekly and monthly periodicals from the United Kingdom and the United States having devoted readerships in both Australia and New Zealand. An additional facet of “imported news” was the large readership for Australian publications in New Zealand.

Both the total number and social makeup of journalism workers have changed considerably in recent decades. As with all developed nations, there has been a steady decline in the total number of workers describing themselves as “journalists” in Australian and New Zealand national censuses since the turn of the 21st century, as well as a decline in membership of journalists’ professional associations and trade unions. The makeup of the profession has also changed. Many more women and ethnic minorities now work in journalism than 50 years ago, when it was overwhelmingly white and male. Just over half of journalists in both countries are women, but they tend to be younger and perform lower status roles than their male colleagues. But the proportions of people of color, especially members of the Indigenous minorities, in journalism are nowhere near those of the general population, and their share of jobs is even smaller in management and other highly paid positions.

The low representation of women and ethnic minorities in mainstream media in the late 20th century prompted some to found their own publications and broadcast outlets, with state assistance in the case of Indigenous broadcast media. While both Australia and New Zealand had a popular “women’s magazine” sector from the 1930s, such as the *Australian Women’s Weekly* and the *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*, these were largely apolitical general interest magazines, framing women in traditional housewife roles. The first feminist press appeared in the 1960s, initially as semiunderground publications, but then adopted by the print conglomerates in the 1970s. Non-English-language newspapers serving

immigrant communities in Australia proliferated after World War II, as did ethnic radio stations. The Australian government founded a second public-service radio broadcaster, the Special Broadcasting Service, to serve ethnic communities in 1975, which expanded into television in 1980. It now broadcasts in 68 languages on radio and rebroadcasts news programs from around the world on television, as well as serving the Indigenous community through its National Indigenous Television (NITV) channel. In New Zealand, ethnic radio stations and print outlets have also expanded since the 1980s, as have Indigenous broadcasting ventures. The foundation in 1993 of a state-funded agency specifically to foster broadcasting in the Māori language led to the establishment of 25 iwi (tribal) radio stations, and in 2004, a Māori television service.

Journalists in both Australia and New Zealand face challenges from the state and corporate interests in freely supplying information to the public. Neither country has a law equivalent to the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and publication. In Australia, there have been several high-profile raids on media organizations by the federal police in recent years, seeking evidence of leaking of government information. Both countries have defamation laws that favor the plaintiff more than similar laws in other countries. This can have a “chilling” effect on news outlets and enforce a prior restraint on publication rarely seen in other jurisdictions, such as the United States. In New Zealand, full reporting of the courts of law is often hampered by sweeping suppression orders, especially of defendants’ names.

Journalists are not generally highly regarded by the general population in either country. A recent survey in New Zealand found positive public attitudes to journalists at only 23%, just a point higher than politicians, and around a quarter that of emergency workers such as firefighters and police. Historically, journalists in both Australia and New Zealand were trained on the job in the so-called *cadetships*, akin to an apprenticeship in manual trades. Although the first university-level journalism course in Australia started in the 1920s, widespread professionalization of the training of journalists did not begin in either country until the 1970s, initially with 6- to

12-month courses at trade training institutions, then development of full 3-year bachelor's degrees. More than half of the 43 Australian universities now have journalism courses, mostly as undergraduate degrees, although several also offer postgraduate diplomas, and one has a Masters of Journalism course. Journalism education is similar in New Zealand, with three of the country's eight universities and several polytechnics offering journalism training.

One area where the news media in both Australia and New Zealand are regarded as providing positive coverage that serves their communities is that of disasters, natural and man-made. Both countries have harsh environments, with Australia prone to devastating forest fires and flooding, and tropical storms, while New Zealand is geologically unstable, with regular earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. In addition, Australia and New Zealand each have suffered from rampages by lone gunmen, most notably the Port Arthur massacre in Australia in 1996 that killed 35 people and the Christchurch mosque shootings in New Zealand in 2019 that killed 51.

News coverage of disasters often emphasizes empathy and the importance of community, focusing on the role of political leaders as comforters and mourners-in-chief. Equally, leaders who are seen not to rise to those roles are the subject of strong public and media criticism, as the prime minister of Australia was when he was holidaying overseas during the devastating forest fires of late 2019. His reputation was largely redeemed by a much more empathetic performance, and favorable media coverage, in early 2020, as the coronavirus pandemic began to take hold. Similar "sensitive" coverage was also seen at the height of the coronavirus epidemic in early 2020, although both countries suffered relatively lightly compared to the rest of the world. Coverage in New Zealand particularly featured the unity of the "team of five million" (the entirety of the country's population) and the emphasis placed on "kindness" by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.

Both Australians and New Zealanders have traditionally been enthusiastic adopters of new technologies, and Internet usage grew rapidly after the introduction of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s. Commercialization of the Internet and professionalization of its news providers

spread, with both specifically online sites, and traditional media across all means of communication offering online content, including convergent content such as audio and video on the sites of newspapers, and text from legacy broadcasters. The international accessibility of the Internet also meant that many subscribers spread their news consumption to offshore sites, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. But the real effect on what had been the rich revenue streams for media companies in both countries was firstly, the loss of classified advertising to dedicated, easily searchable sites, especially those featuring listings for motor vehicle and real estate, then, with the arrival of search engines such as Google and social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, the migration of display advertising to those companies, made more attractive by data-driven targeting of consumers.

Australian print newspaper circulations have been steadily declining since the early 2000s. In 2005, the total weekday circulation of national, state, and territory capital city newspapers was 2.3 million. By 2018, it had almost halved, to just over 1.2 million. A similar sample in New Zealand, of newspapers in four of the largest cities, saw a more than 20% decline in just 2 years to 2019. Readership fell even faster, as the younger members of households ignored the daily paper, even if their parents still subscribed. Revenues, both from sales and advertising, plummeted, and the inevitable staff layoffs and closures followed.

During the same period, Australian television news also lost viewership. In 2008, 17 news or current affairs programs were in the top 50 most viewed in the state capitals, with a peak audience of 2.4 million. The last year news made it into the top 50 was 2018, with a single program at 50th position with an audience of 1.4 million. New Zealand television viewership has been stronger, with the two main news programs maintaining a collective audience of close to 20% of the population.

Crisis and Challenges

By the start of the third decade of the 21st century, the outlook for traditional media in Australasia was uncertain, with continuing falls in the numbers of readers and viewers, and ever-increasing

budgetary pressures. Some glimmers of hope were evident, with new online offerings based on traditional titles, some of them new entrants from overseas, such as the Australian web versions of the British *Guardian* and *Daily Mail* sites, as well as those locally produced. But an already weak media sector in both Australia and New Zealand was dealt a body blow in early 2020 with the arrival of the COVID-19 virus and the resulting lockdowns of a large proportion of economic activity. Advertising revenues shrank, and in New Zealand many publications could not go to print because of lockdown restrictions. The most notable casualty was the German-owned Bauer Media Group, which had acquired many of the most iconic weekly and monthly magazine titles in both Australia and New Zealand in the early 2000s. Its Australian properties were sold in mid-2020 for a large loss of both equity and jobs, while the New Zealand titles were sold to a range of corporate and individual buyers in late 2020.

Mark Boyd

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Media Ownership; Tabloid Newspapers; Women's Magazines

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AUTOMATION

In news production and journalism, automation can be divided into three broad areas: newspaper automation, in the area of layout and printing technology; broadcast automation, in the area of live directing and playback; and research/writing automation, in the area of news wire services and software for newsroom writing, collaboration, and editing. There has been a progression of convergence between these three aspects of automation as the technology of printing, broadcasting, and newsgathering continues to move further into electronic digital platforms, and older analog or physical formats become obsolete or artisanal. This entry discusses the origins and evolution of automation in the news industry, the implementation of automation in newsrooms, and uses of automation in the contemporary news industry.

Origins and Evolution of Automation

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the process of typesetting, printing, and finishing newspapers and magazines became increasingly industrialized. The wide-scale application of

steam-powered engines and precision manufactured presses sped the printing process and shortened the time required between news deadlines and distribution of finished newspapers. The technical evolution of linotype, off-set lithography, rotary presses, and flexography allowed for both increasing sophistication of typography and visual components, as well as faster layout of individual print runs. Phototypesetting, also referred to as *cold printing*, was perfected in the 1940s and made the process of page layout faster while calling for increasing automation processes in editorial oversight and the mechanical processes of printing. Early digital technologies in the 1960s and 1970s such as Digiset and VideoComp used cathode ray tubes (CRTs) as the light source for phototypesetting. Design software developed during this period automated both page layout and editorial workflow.

Continuing alongside this mechanical industrialization was process automation, which decreased the need for individual workers in the mechanical process of printing. As these new printing technologies did not require metal type plates, the physical location of the printing presses could be moved away from the location of the newsroom and layout. Throughout the late 20th century, this process of automation again decreased the production time for daily and weekly printing. By the mid-1980s software programs such as PageMaker and Quark allowed for layout and design to be done using desktop personal computers. Simultaneously, the wide-scale adoption of word processing software allowed for full workflow automation of print journalism from reporters and editors through layout and printing. Newspaper automation also changed the style of layout, advertising, and content editing of newspapers and magazines.

The process of automation in research and newsgathering arguably began with news pools in the early 19th century and continued with the establishment of newswire services in the mid-19th century. Individual reporters and editors had access to basic factual information gathered by other on-location reporters not necessarily directly employed by the newspaper or broadcast network. Early news pool stories were gathered by editors and physically posted in newsrooms. Wire services grew in sophistication together with the

technology of telegraphy and later telephony and proto-Internet information services.

As wire stories were collected in newsrooms, stories could be assigned to reporters by editors. More importantly, text from the wire story could be integrated directly into the reporter's story. As information moved into newsrooms faster, the process of story assignment, research, and writing was increasingly automated. Wire services adopted Telex automation technologies in the mid-20th century, further speeding the process of newsgathering. Simultaneously, newspaper archives were cataloged using early electronic information storage and retrieval technologies allowing for fast, searchable databases of stories, topics, and newsbeats.

Together with electronic cataloging of public records, business information, and large academic libraries, the process of news research was increasingly automated using early database management software using a standardized programming language (e.g., COBOL) which allowed for early search functions by the 1980s using a standardized query language (SQL). Automation in news research and database search functions improved during the 1980s and 1990s with object-oriented database management, and moved online via open data formats such as HTML and XML.

The rise of radio and television broadcast networks in the early 20th century posed several logistical problems that were solved by automation. Among these problems were multiple live and playback sources, far tighter broadcast deadlines than print journalism, and the need to standardize the division of labor within broadcast facilities.

Early broadcast automation involved control of network switching and playback machines using simple electronic pulse control. This was further automated and standardized using SMPTE time code and network switching in television network newsgathering and distribution. (SMPTE is an abbreviation for Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, which developed the time code standard.) Networks and individual television stations adopted master clocks that generate a time code to which all playback and routing devices are synced. A central control device, usually a broadcast switcher can then control live elements together with playback. Broadcast

automation expanded in the 1980s and 1990s to include graphics character generators and robotic cameras.

As media production moved away from technologies relying on magnetic tape and became digital, playback devices began using standardized transfer protocols such as Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol (TCP/IP) to ensure the compatibility of hardware and software. Newsroom computer systems used in the 1990s were split into those for production automation, such as the BASYS system for tape control, and those for workflow automation, such as scheduling software.

With the evolution into full news automation, wire stories, production rundowns, and finished stories can be acquired, tracked, and loaded from individual reporters and editors into a central computer server for access by the all members of the production team. Key to this process is the addition of metadata and tags to each piece of information. This metadata allows each operator to determine if the information is relevant to their production or news story. During live broadcasts, directors and technical operators can control all linked machines using a single protocol for moving information using open Internet of Things (IoT) technologies, and XML standards for data control. Video-over-IP (VoIP) technologies allow backpack journalism, which originally required a story to be edited and transmitted or uploaded to the studio but can now be delivered by live on-air reporters using cellular connections and automation software.

During automated playback, a central control system operates all playbacks, cameras, and other studio devices with limited personnel. Broadcast automation made possible the specific techniques needed for vast interconnected global broadcast news operations. Automation systems also allow for inexpensive redundancy and archiving of productions and a more intuitive graphic interface.

Implementation of Newsroom Automation

Many broadcasters and newsgathering operations adopted automation in phases. The first phase is automation of playback devices and cameras. The second is the automation of rundowns and story editing along with wire services and

teleprompters. The final phase is a complete switch to digital media and the addition of metadata to all media, stories, and rundown for control and oversight.

Newsroom automation has been resisted by some news professionals. Lisanne Bainbridge criticized the process in her article “The Irony of Automation” in 1983, noting the paradox that while more automation may reduce the number of workers in a system, it requires more attention from each worker and a higher level of both education and technical skill. Historically, it has been small and mid-sized newsgathering operations that first embraced news automation, and leveraged its benefits. Automation also evolved for simultaneous publishing to social media platforms, streaming services, podcast providers, and the use of RSS and other automatic syndication services. The BBC was an early adopter of these technologies and has made the RSS feed and archive searchable through its Juicer project, which allows for data visualization of large number sets.

Contemporary News Automation

Contemporary news automation takes many forms in digital research, editing, vetting, and even writing. The use of big data applications in journalism can be traced through early academic applications, then market research, then tagging and annotation of news sources, and finally for large data set analysis using artificial intelligence. The use of digital metatags in journalism began in the mid-1980s along with the rise of HTML and other hypertext-based organization. Although traditional journalism had used headwords and slug lines from the early days of mechanical printing, these new metatags could be easily accessed, sorted, and shared quickly by multiple individuals and across news publications.

Several national newspapers and chains began to utilize open-source applications for tagging articles, topics, and syntax structures from the mid-2000s. *The New York Times*’s Editor project made this process automated during the research and writing phases. *The Washington Post* created a Knowledge Map project involving automated metatagging to allow readers to follow articles and topics across years.

Automation has also been adopted in fact-checking, editorial oversight, and vetting of news sources. Recurrent neural networks are several artificial neural networks working in tandem to look at large data sets over time and predict specified patterns in very large data collections. In the case of automated vetting and fact-checking, these neural networks can be designed to detect the syntactic and narrative patterns of satire, hoaxes, and misinformation. As more and more journalists and editors come to rely on social media platforms to locate and investigate breaking news stories, these neural networks are frequently used to determine the likelihood of rumor, public relations spin, and misinformation before making a decision to further investigate a story. Very similar neural networks are used for speech-to-text automation that can be used for audience accessibility and by journalists as a means of input to replace transcription.

By the late 1990s, financial newswires were using automation and artificial intelligence to locate patterns in their databases of articles and financial data and produce journalistically useful information. These practices led to the evolution of data journalism and data visualization in the mid-2000s and their use in areas such as political polling and sports handicapping. Data journalism and data visualization rely on automation and artificial intelligence to analyze data before the narrative of the news story emerges.

The website FiveThirtyEight began as a sports data reporting publication using the automated Sabermetrics data analysis for baseball and other professional sports statistics. The creator, Nate Silver, used automated sports handicapping software applications to compare multiple political polls during the 2008, 2012, and 2016 U.S. presidential campaigns. In 2012, the site was licensed by *The New York Times*, and in 2013 it was purchased by ESPN. In 2018, the site was acquired by ABC News, although FiveThirtyEight was expected to continue participating in ESPN's sports coverage along with continuing to cover economics, politics, and other topics. Both ABC News and ESPN are divisions of the Walt Disney Company.

Starting with the use of automation and artificial intelligence for aggregation and data analytics, many news providers have begun to use the same system for automated writing of short

recaps, news blurbs, and summaries. Some news organizations have begun experimenting with the use of neural networks to create narrative stories based on data sets. Automatic writing, sometimes called *robot journalism*, has been used to automate the story research and writing for minor league sports, local government and zoning decisions, and real estate and small-transaction financial information. The Associated Press began using technology from Automated Insights to produce earnings report stories in 2014, and in 2016 the wire service announced it would use the same technology to cover minor league baseball games. In 2014, the *Los Angeles Times* began publishing preliminary articles on earthquakes written by a software application it refers to as Quakebot, which uses data from U.S. Geological Survey sensors. A *Times* employee looks over each Quakebot article before it is published, and when an earthquake is significant reporters add more context to the article after it is first published online. The initial Quakebot articles sometimes reflect errors in the data the software application receives, sometimes with dramatic results: In 2017, Quakebot reported on a magnitude 6.8 earthquake from 1925 as though it had just occurred. *The Washington Post* began using its in-house artificial intelligence technology, Heliograf, in 2016 for short articles on the Rio Olympics, and subsequently used it for Election Day reports and to cover Washington, DC-area high school football games.

Virtual assistant and chatbot technologies are expected to begin playing a larger part in the automation of research, writing, and editorial oversight as well as news aggregation and consumption. The long-term trend in automation will likely involve the blurring of boundaries between authorship by humans and that by machines and artificial intelligence. In 2016, several news publications, including the *Guardian*, began experimentation with chatbots over Internet messaging systems (e.g., Facebook Messenger, WeChat) to create daily briefings and news digests for subscribers based on the technology used for newsroom automation, blurring the line between creation and consumption of news.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism; Associated Press; Bots; Data Journalism; Data Visualizations; News Aggregators; Printing; Reuters

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B

BANDWAGON JOURNALISM

Bandwagon journalism is when journalists follow the actions and storylines of other journalists or broad trends in media coverage as a result of journalism habits, mores, and culture. The term often refers to political news coverage, although the topic of coverage can vary, and it is often meant as a pejorative. The term is not widely used today, though *pack journalism* is still heard and has a similar meaning. This entry discusses the background of the term, its application to journalism, and its evolving usage.

Background

The term takes its name from the late 19th-century bandwagon, a large wagon pulled by draft animals that was part of political processions, sometimes even carrying a band and political figures. The term also refers to circus bandwagons, which carried circus animals, musicians, and supplies. To jump or hop on the bandwagon indicated one's willingness to join the winning political side or the side appearing to have momentum.

Bandwagon journalism should not be confused with the bandwagon effect in public opinion research. The bandwagon effect suggests voters are influenced in an election by their perception of which side is winning. The bandwagon effect holds that there is pressure on some audience members to alter their opinions to be in agreement

with those enjoying greater support, renewed interest, or greater enthusiasm for their cause.

Application to Journalism

Bandwagon journalism describes the behavior of journalists who, broadly speaking, appear to be following the lead of other journalists in their news coverage. In this way, bandwagon journalism is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *pack journalism*, which is the tendency of journalists to concentrate on the same stories and storylines. The term *pack journalism* originated in the 1970s and is now more widely used and understood than bandwagon journalism.

Bandwagon journalism differs from pack journalism by the emphasis on the reasons why the coverage looks the same across media outlets. Bandwagon journalism is when journalists cover a political candidate or social movement because it is seen to have momentum and growing support. One example of this is when a political candidate is considered likely to win political office and therefore attracts more news coverage than other candidates. Bandwagon journalism suggests that journalists react to political momentum by concentrating their coverage on the candidate who is benefiting from that momentum. Often this coverage is considered more favorable than that accorded others in the race.

At the same time, the favorable news coverage prompted by the bandwagon can be short lived. Once a candidate has moved to front-runner status or has received greater attention in the news,

journalists may resume a more critical “watch-dog” stance in their coverage.

Thomas Patterson has pointed to what he sees as the opposite of the bandwagon, the “losing-ground” candidate. When a candidate is seen to have lessening support in polls or a campaign in disarray, news coverage becomes steadily less favorable. In this case, the losing ground bandwagon takes place as journalists follow the lead of other journalists in writing about problems within the campaign and the likely loss of the election.

Several scholars have focused on examples of bandwagon journalism in presidential primary news coverage, which can move negative to positive nearly overnight and thrust candidates into the spotlight or consign them to also-ran status. A candidate perceived to be winning enjoys more coverage that is more positive. An example in recent history is the news coverage of Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean during 2003. Dean was the front-runner and presumptive nominee after raising more money than expected and engaging his supporters online, which was fairly new at the time. Polls predicted a victory, but his electoral support was thin and he quit the race a month after the first caucuses in Iowa in January 2004, never having won a caucus or primary. The criticism of bandwagon journalism was also made of the press coverage of Barack Obama, especially the 2008 presidential campaign. Critics argued that campaign coverage was disproportionate and overly positive because of the consistent lead Obama had in the polls, his charismatic candidacy, and the possibility he would make history as the first Black president.

Not all bandwagons are related to political campaigns. The U.S. media was criticized for bandwagon journalism prior to the 2003 Iraq War because of their failure to challenge false claims that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. There was broad political and public support for the war in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Sometimes the pressure is more overt. Bandwagon journalism has been used to describe self-censorship, journalism uncritical of government corruption, and blind support for those in power. For example, journalists and historians use the term *bandwagon journalism* to describe the lack of critical coverage of government corruption in

the domestic media of certain Latin American countries in the 1970s and 1980s. In this example, the pressures to jump on the bandwagon might include government closing media outlets or political violence.

The term pack journalism centers more on journalists’ behavior in relation to each other. It is promoted by journalistic norms that reward reporters for obtaining “scoops,” or exclusive stories, and even more importantly, not being scooped by others. Journalists thus practice what has been called *defensive journalism*, or covering events mostly to preclude a competing media outlet from obtaining an exclusive. This practice discourages journalists from reporting on their own and encourages them to stay close to their competition. It may happen more often when journalists are forced to work closely together, such as during political campaigns or legal trials, where reporters may travel together and work side-by-side for long periods of time. The term pack journalism takes its name from journalists moving in a group (or pack) while covering a story.

Both pack journalism and bandwagon journalism share this tendency of journalists to adopt similar storylines in news coverage and to be unwilling to deviate from the accepted wisdom of the current coverage. Journalists may be risk averse, and shy away from coverage too dissimilar from their colleagues to avoid criticism. The same thing may take place among editors or broadcast producers who must compare journalists’ output with that of other news sources. In doing so, both reporters and their editors or producers push coverage to greater sameness. The effects of both bandwagon and pack journalism are the same: similar news content from similar sources centered around widely accepted storylines. However, the reasons for this coverage differ between the two.

In common usage, the phrase *bandwagon journalism* is generally a pejorative. Occasionally, the phrase *bandwagon journalist* is used with the same intent. The terms are often a criticism of news media coverage or the behavior of journalists, and often used in a broad, general way. The terms suggest reporting that is lazy, unthinking, and shackled by journalism habits. They are often used by one side in a political race to downplay the reporting of the other side.

Evolving Usage

The evolving nature of journalism has influenced how we think of bandwagon journalism in several ways. Some critics have suggested bandwagon journalism in the 21st century is driven by easy Internet access to enormous information resources. Immediate access to prior media coverage encourages the repetition of sources, themes, and story lines, and sometimes even rumors and errors. The decline in the number of journalists at many media outlets suggests fewer media voices and less original reporting. Journalists with less time may feel pressure to follow common storylines. In addition, blogs and social media have challenged the definition of a journalist and professional practice more broadly. Untrained citizen journalists may amplify the echo chamber for a bandwagon, or may provide a new perspective outside the limitations of journalists' habits and practices. These changes suggest the criticism of bandwagon journalism will continue.

Joseph Graf

See also Bias; Citizen Journalism; Ethics; Media Criticism

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BANGLADESH

This entry provides a brief overview of journalism in Bangladesh. It starts with a country profile and background. After presenting the early beginnings, it traces the development of journalism practice during the periods of state control, market liberalization, and digitization. It ends with a

presentation on journalism education and challenges in the profession of journalism in Bangladesh.

Background

Bangladesh is a nation situated on the Ganges River (Padma) delta on the Bay of Bengal in South Asia. It is surrounded by India (in the west, north, and east) and has a border with Myanmar in the southeast. The southern part of the country opens up to the Bay of Bengal. With a population of 168.1 million (2019 estimate of the United Nations Population Fund) and a territory of 147,570 square kilometers (55,598 square miles), it is the world's most densely populated country. The major religion is Islam (90%), followed by Hinduism (9%). Other religious groups in Bangladesh include Buddhists, Christians, and Animists.

According to the World Bank, in 2017, the life expectancy in the country was 72.43 years and the per capita income was US\$1,563.99. Around 98% of the population speak Bengali as their first language, making Bangladesh the only monolingual country in South Asia.

Bangladesh was part of British India during the colonial period, which lasted 190 years. In 1947, before its withdrawal, the British partitioned the subcontinent along religious lines in a hastily drawn up arrangement. Two countries then emerged: India (mostly Hindu) and Pakistan (mostly Muslim). Pakistan initially consisted of two parts: West Pakistan and East Pakistan, which later became Bangladesh. Historians likened Pakistan to an experiment given that the two territories were separated by 1,500 km of Indian land. Consisting largely of raw material producing regions as well as having a nonlocal civil service, East Pakistan became the subordinate partner to its western counterpart. It faced internal economic exploitation and attempts to suppress its mother tongue. In 1971, East Pakistan fought to gain its freedom. The Liberation War resulted in the independence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its founding father.

Soon after independence, Bangladesh spent 15 years under military rule until 1991, when parliamentary government was restored. Its economy has been growing rapidly since 2000 and it has

seen gains since then on the United Nations Human Development Index. In 2015, the World Bank reported that Bangladesh was among four formerly low-income countries that had become lower middle-income countries. However, it still beset with myriad problems such as poverty, unemployment, city and foreign migration, inadequate health facilities, poor transportation, family disintegration, and religious discrimination. The United Nations Development Programme identified fundamental challenges facing the country such as rapid industrialization, structural change, and substantial rural–urban migration. Environmental problems have remained significant and are expected to worsen as a result of climate change.

Beginnings of Journalism

The origin of journalism may be traced to British colonial times. In the late 18th century, *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* (which was in English) was published in Kolkata. This weekly publication was the first modern newspaper in the Indian subcontinent. In 1818, Bengali newspapers started to appear—the monthly *Digdarshan* (1818), the weekly *Samachar Darpan* (1818), and the weekly *Bengal Gazette* (1818).

In 1947, after British rule and with the partition of the Indian subcontinent, there was a lack of newspapers and broadcast facilities in Pakistan. However, newspapers that catered to Muslim readers soon transferred their operations from India. In East Pakistan, *Dainik Azad* (Daily Freedom) shifted from Kolkata to Dhaka in 1948. In 1949, an English daily the *Pakistan Observer* (renamed as *Bangladesh Observer* after independence in 1971) was published from Dhaka. Two other newspapers, *Dainik Sangbad* (Daily News) and *Dainik Ittefaq* (Daily Unity), were established in 1949 and 1953, respectively. These four dailies are regarded as the pioneers of the national press system.

Also, after British rule, there were only three radio stations located in Pakistan (Dhaka, Lahore, and Peshawar), which were a legacy of All India Radio. The radio broadcasting service was called Pakistan Broadcasting Service and in 1948, was renamed as Radio Pakistan. The Radio Pakistan Dhaka Centre started airing

from a house in Nazimuddin Road (located in the older part of the capital). In 1960, it moved close to Dhaka University in a building constructed specifically for broadcasting purposes. East Pakistan's first television station was launched in 1964 as part of the Pakistan Television Corporation. The corporation's objectives included disseminating information, entertaining, improving education, and motivating people to take part in developmental efforts. Both the radio and television stations were established based on the British Broadcasting Corporation model of public broadcasting.

Period of State-Controlled Media

After Bangladesh gained independence in 1971, the Bangladeshi press enjoyed some democratic space given the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression. However, after consolidating its position, the new government increasingly became intolerant of criticisms from the press. The Printing Press and Publication Act of 1973 was then enacted to give the district magistrate the power to grant permission to publish newspapers, magazines, and so on. When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman imposed a one-party presidential system, he banned all newspapers except the four pioneers of the national press system. However, these newspapers were placed under strict government control and management.

In 1974, the Press Council Act was passed; the law established the Bangladesh Press Council with the authority to restrict the media, including the power to censor. With the change in government in 1975, more newspapers were given licenses to operate. Generally, the authoritarian regimes that followed continued the policy of strict censorship and regulation. Any newspaper critical of military rulers was closed down.

The state-run radio (renamed as Bangladesh Betar) and television (called *Bangladesh Television*) were extensively utilized as propaganda tools. During the one-party presidential system, state-run radio and television praised the achievements of national leaders. The succeeding military governments influenced broadcasting stations in an attempt to either sway the news or intimidate the broadcasters. In many instances, radio and television newsrooms were visited personally by

government ministers to ensure that the official line was followed.

Era of Market Liberalization

In 1990, Bangladesh became a democratic country once again. Soon after, economic reforms followed, which included the adoption of free market economic policies and the privatization of state-owned enterprises. With the change in the political and socioeconomic system, the private sector began to grow. This had positive implications for the newspaper and broadcast industries as wealthy businessmen invested in the media for the sustainability of their enterprises. These included large conglomerates such as Beximco, Globe, Karnaphuli, Transcom, Jamuna, Ha-meen, Bashundara, Gemcon, and Kazi Farm Group. These business groups targeted the burgeoning middle class as potential consumers of their products and services and accordingly expanded media holdings and advertisements to reach them. In addition, many of these conglomerates had either direct or indirect political interests.

As a result, there was a change in the nature of Bangladeshi media. In the past, the media were owned by the government and political parties. They propagated the ideologies of political parties, focusing on daily events and political analysis. News actors were mainly politicians. After market liberalization, corporate houses started dominating the media. With this, media reported on political issues as well as business matters and social activism. They diversified news genres and included investigative news and opinion columns. News actors consisted of politicians, business people, experts, nongovernmental organization activists, and civil society members.

The media likewise expanded its audience. AC Nielsen Bangladesh reported in 2005 that newspapers reached 24% of the population (48% in the urban and 16% in the rural areas), while magazines reached 6% (13% in the urban and 4% in the rural areas). Radio covered 22% of the population (16% in the urban and 25% in the rural areas), while television covered 64% (88% in the urban and 56% in the rural areas). In 2010, the Ministry of Information reported the number of media outlets as follows: 292 daily newspapers,

125 news weeklies, 23 private satellite television channels, two government-owned television channels, four private FM stations, one government-owned radio station, and 14 community radio stations to be in operation in the country. Competition among media outlets to reach the population and influence the public agenda has become very intense.

Rise of Digital Journalism

In 2005, Bangladesh became connected to the information superhighway via the SEA-ME-WE 4 submarine cable, which costs US\$35.2 million. As a result, there was a reduction in internet connectivity charges—leading to the expansion of digital media. It then became possible to launch a Bengali blogging site known as *Somewhere in... blog* in December 2005. The following year, the Norwegian telecommunication company Telenor opened 500 community information centers, which brought internet access to the rural areas. In the urban areas, internet cafes started to mushroom. After winning the December 2008 elections, the Awami League set out to fulfill its slogan “Digital Bangladesh.” The government advanced the conceptual development of “Digital Bangladesh” and published three documents on building an information society—*Digital Bangladesh Strategy in Action*, *National ICT Policy 2009*, and *Strategic Priorities of Digital Bangladesh*. These documents set into motion the roadmap for Bangladesh’s ICT development.

With this roadmap, access to the internet in the country drastically improved. The Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC) reported that in 2000, only 0.07% of the population could access the internet. By 2015, the figure increased to 14.40%, and by 2018, it was 56.3%. The astronomical increase was due to mobile internet usage estimates. According to the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission’s November 2017 report, there were 143.106 million mobile phone subscribers. Among them, 74.736 million people used internet. Most of them spent a majority of their time online using social media, with Facebook the most popular site. As of 2017, there were approximately 25–30 million Facebook users in Bangladesh, with 72% of them male and 28% female.

With these advances in internet access, news websites (which catered to the urban educated youth) grew in popularity. The first news website is bdnews24.com, which features content free of charge in both Bengali and English. Established in October 2006, it is among the most visited websites in the country with an estimated 120 million page views per month. With the success of bdnews24.com, more news sites were established. Among these, the largest were bd24live, banglanews24, and banglatribune. Moreover, the print media started producing their own online versions. Among the Bengali newspapers were the *Prothom Alo*, *Bangladesh Protidin*, *Dainik Jugantor*, and *Kalerkontho*. Among the English newspapers were the *Financial Express*, *Daily Star*, *Independent*, *New Age*, and *Dhaka Tribune*. Media houses have begun to place more emphasis on new journalism skills such as video editing, mobile journalism, online journalism, live reporting, multiplatform writing, newsgathering, fact checking and search engine optimization.

Advent of Journalism Education

Akin to other countries, the training of journalists in Bangladesh started out informally, that is journalists learned on the job. Media houses later on saw the need for hiring people with more high-end skills and a holistic educational background. Hence, the first journalism program was established in 1962 at Dhaka University. In 1991, a second program was set up at Rajshahi University. Two years later, a third program was introduced by a private university, the Independent University of Bangladesh.

By the end of 2018, a Deutsche Welle Akademie Study listed 18 journalism and media-related programs in the country—nine from private and another nine from public universities. Among public universities, Chittagong University had the most students, with 370. Among private universities, the University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh was the largest with 770 students. In total, there were 4,509 journalism and media students in the country—52.8% coming from the private universities and 47.2% from public universities. Aside from universities, journalists get their training from institutes, which conduct postgraduate diploma programs and certificate courses. These included the

government-owned Press Institute Bangladesh (established 1976), National Institute of Mass Communication (established 1980), Management and Resources Development Initiative (established 2001), and Bangladesh Institute of Journalism and Electronic Media (established 2003).

Challenges in Journalism Practice

Three challenges facing journalists in Bangladesh are gender bias, job security and compensation, and safety and security.

Gender Bias. Several studies have depicted the challenges of women journalists in Bangladesh. These issues included being highly outnumbered by men in the profession, with the male:female ratio in entry-level positions estimated at 5:1; a lack of women journalists in leadership capacities, with the male:female ratio in decision-making roles estimated at 85:15; being allowed to only cover “soft” beats such as lifestyle and entertainment; and being unable to stay long in the profession (57% of women leave in their third year at work).

Job Security and Compensation. The 2019 Deutsche Welle Akademie Study showed that many journalists were pessimistic about their journalism careers given job insecurity, low salaries, and lack of financial incentives such as housing and transport allowances. There was a lack of standards regarding the compensation, regularization, and promotion of journalists among the media houses. Only a few media houses have written human resource policies, procedures, and guidelines.

Safety and Security. In the 2019 World Press Freedom Index, Bangladesh ranked 150th—dropping by four places from 2018’s 146th. Undertaken by Reporters Sans Frontieres (Reporters Without Borders), the index annually reviews 180 countries and their relationship with the media. One reason for the drop in ranking was the Bangladesh Digital Security Act 2018. Amnesty International warned that the law imposes restrictions on the freedom of expression, fueling a heightened level of fear among journalists.

Jude William Genilo

See also Asia; British Broadcasting Corporation; India; Internet: Impact on the Media; Pakistan

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BERNAYS, EDWARD L.

Edward Louis Bernays, among the early leaders in public relations, advertising, and propaganda, is often referred to as the “father of public relations.” Known for linking the theories of psychoanalysis and the practice of public relations, Bernays effectively popularized techniques that influenced public opinion and changed consumer behavior, as described in the sections that follow.

In 1935, *Time* magazine proclaimed Bernays as “America’s #1 Publicist.” Bernays published several notable books such as *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928), *Public Relations* (1945), and *The Engineering of Consent* (1955). *Propaganda* has been seen as a code of ethics for the profession of public relations, and *The Engineering of Consent* includes an eight-part formula that is widely utilized in modern public relations campaigns. These steps include 1) define objectives, 2) conduct research, 3) modify objectives based on research findings, 4) develop a strategy, 5) create themes, symbols, appeals, 6) create organization to execute strategy, 7) develop tactics, and 8) carry out plans. In *Crystallizing*

Public Opinion (1923), Bernays discusses how to identify and capitalize on heightening trends. He also oversaw the English translation of his famous uncle Sigmund Freud’s *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, a compilation of talks delivered by the pioneering analyst in Vienna between 1915 and 1917 that examined the relationship between the unconscious and conscious domains of the human psyche. Bernays also taught the first public relations university course at New York University in 1923.

Genealogy, Education, and Early Career

Edward Louis Bernays (November 22, 1891–March 9, 1995), of Austrian-Jewish descent, was born in Vienna and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At 1 year of age, in 1892, Edward moved with his family to New York City. He was one of five children of Ely Bernays and Anna Freud Bernays, sister of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. His father’s sister, Martha Bernays, was married to Sigmund Freud, making Edward Bernays a double nephew through both parents’ families of origin. In 1922, Bernays married Doris E. Fleischman, a childhood friend and a staff writer for his firm, with whom he would have two daughters, Doris Held and Anne Bernays. Once married, Fleischman and Bernays were equal partners at the firm of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel of Public Relations.

In February 1912, Edward Bernays graduated from Cornell University with a degree in agriculture, a career path heavily decided by his father, Ely Bernays, who believed that rural development was an important path for America’s future. Edward, however, who detested agriculture, chose instead to pursue a career in journalism and became a writer for the *National Nurseryman Journal*. Eventually, he became a medical coeditor for the *Medical Review of Reviews* and the *Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette*, two monthly journals owned by Bernays’s father. It was during this time that the persuasive techniques developed by Bernays to sway public opinion emerged.

Creative Press Agent and World War I Involvement

Two months into his editorial position, Bernays and his coeditor, Fred Robinson, were hired to

promote a play titled *Damaged Goods*, which addressed a topic that was taboo for its time—sexually transmitted diseases. Eugene Brieux's play—which was about an engaged man who contracted syphilis from an affair but decides not to disclose this information to his fiancé—provided Bernays an opportunity to creatively promote a controversial topic. Specifically, Bernays's strategy included reframing what once was a taboo topic into an opportunity to inform the public about venereal diseases. For example, Bernays created a *Medical Review of Reviews* sociological fund committee consisting of notable individuals such as John D. Rockefeller Jr., Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Reverend John Haynes Holmes of New York's Unitarian Community Church to endorse the play. He believed that soliciting the approval and testimonials of notable public role models would be an effective strategy in swaying public opinion. The play became a huge hit and was even performed before Supreme Court justices, members of the president's cabinet, and congressional representatives.

As a press agent in the arts, Bernays also found success promoting other theatrical productions such as *Daddy Long-Legs* and the U.S. tour of Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballet Russe*. *Daddy Long-Legs*, a play about a 12-year-old girl who goes to an orphanage, was successfully promoted by linking the play to a worthy cause. Bernays's technique included collaborating with New York's State Charities Aid Association to generate funds for orphans. This proved fruitful as colleges and high schools began to raise money for orphans. In addition, 10,000 *Daddy Long-Legs* dolls were manufactured, with proceeds going to the Aid Association. With Diaghilev's *Ballet Russe*, Bernays was tasked with promoting ballet during a time when the United States was not very knowledgeable about European culture and skeptical about seeing male ballet dancers dressed in tights. This opportunity led Bernays to conduct public opinion research in order to obtain information on what the United States understood about ballet during that time. Results from public opinion research assisted Bernays to effectively write—under the pseudonym of Aybern Edwards—promotional pieces for *Vanity Fair* and run promotional materials in *Ladies Home Journal* to

educate and alter the public's opinions about ballet. Additionally, Bernays also strategically transformed the principal ballerina in the production, Flores Revalles, into a national celebrity. Bernays was also able to generate additional publicity by having a seductive photo shoot featuring Revalles posing with a snake wrapped around her body at the Bronx Zoo. The stunt proved successful, and Revalles became a national celebrity; the pet snake was used as her trademark.

After his success as a press agent in the arts, Bernays attempted to enlist in the military when the United States declared war on Germany, but he was rejected for medical reasons. Undeterred, Bernays attempted to demonstrate his commitment to World War I in unconventional ways, such as volunteering to sell U.S. bonds and war savings stamps and promoting rallies to recruit individuals for the military. Eventually his publicity tactics earned Bernays an opportunity to become involved with the Committee of Public Information (CPI), also known as the Creel Committee. The Committee of Public Information, created by President Woodrow Wilson to influence the general public to support U.S. participation in the war, was an independent committee consisting of George Creel, Robert Lansing, and Josephus Daniels. Utilizing similar techniques from his experiences as a press agent, Bernays was successful in changing public opinion on United States involvement in World War I.

Notable Campaigns

In 1928, George Washington Hill, President of American Tobacco Company, hired Edward Bernays to promote Lucky Strike, America's fastest-growing brand of cigarettes, to the female population, which, at the time, accounted for only 12% of the market share. Several notable campaigns emerged from Bernays's involvement and success with Lucky Strike that other cigarette companies began to use similar persuasive tactics such as linking the product to a cause or belief. In the first Lucky Strike campaign, known as the Anti-Sweet Smoking campaign, Hill wanted Bernays to increase cigarette sales among the female population by creating a relationship between weight loss and cigarettes by using the slogan "Reach for a Lucky—instead of a sweet." Bernays's tactic, which he called *crystallizing public*

opinion, included creating and accentuating a “get-thin” trend by having “experts” and members of the press commenting on the appeal of thinness. Various photographers and artists, including Bernays’s photographer friend Nickolas Muray, were convinced to provide testimonials on the positive effects of being slender. Fashion editors also began publishing photos of haute couture-wearing slim Parisian models while news editors reported on expert medical testimonies on the benefits of smoking. For example, a former chief of the British Association of Medical Officers of Health put out a public health warning about the correlation between tooth decay and consumption of sweets. Specifically, Dr. George F. Buchan suggested that individuals should finish their meals with a cigarette instead of desserts. Bernays also strived to normalize cigarettes by elevating their everyday use to that of a household staple, similar to coffee. For instance, he urged homemakers to employ kitchen cabinetmakers to build physical spaces to hold cigarettes and encouraged hotels to include cigarettes on their menus. These tactics proved to be successful, as a letter from Hill to Bernays revealed that by December 1928, sales revenues for Lucky Strike cigarettes had risen by \$32 million.

In addition to successfully changing attitudes regarding the social taboo of female smokers, Bernays was next challenged to popularize outdoor smoking among females. Known as the Torches of Freedom campaign, Bernays used psychoanalysis to achieve insight into consumers’ motivation and insight and consulted with psychoanalyst Dr. A. A. Brill, a disciple of Sigmund Freud. Brill advised that a link between smoking cigarettes and women’s liberation could be made by promoting cigarettes as a social symbol of freedom from oppression. On March 31, 1929, Bernays coordinated an Easter Day parade featuring prominent females lighting “torches of freedom” as they walked down Fifth Avenue.

While Bernays was successful at changing societal taboos regarding female smokers, he also needed to strategically popularize the Lucky Strike brand to appeal to female smokers. Market research had indicated that the color green found on Lucky Strike packaging was unpopular among females. Bernays attempted to make green a fashionable color by targeting the fashion and

accessories industry. Tactics included hosting a Green Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel that was attended by leading debutantes, each wearing green, which was hosted by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderbilt, chairwoman of the Woman’s Infirmary of New York. Bernays also had fashion magazines such as *Vogue* run advertisements featuring fashionable green-colored Parisian dresses. A Color Fashion Bureau, created by Bernays, also sent out 5,000 announcements about the appeal of green to various department stores and merchandise managers. Thus, his third campaign for Lucky Strike demonstrated that through repetition of an idea, such as redefining the color green as fashionable, Bernays was able to positively change attitudes among female smokers about the packaging on the Lucky Strike brand.

Similar persuasive tactics were also crafted for Beech-Nut Packing Company. As America’s eating habits changed after the Industrial Revolution and the simple slice of toast breakfast or packaged cereal became popular, Beech-Nut Packing Company seek Bernays’s expertise to increase their bacon sales. Through Bernays’s strategic use of endorsements from doctors on the importance of a hearty breakfast, he was able to persuade the public that a bacon-and-eggs breakfast was a staple of the all-American diet.

Political Campaigns

Prominent political figures also solicited Edward Bernays’s expertise in influencing public opinion during election campaigns. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge hired Bernays as a media advisor to assist with reshaping the president’s stiff image. Bernays suggested a breakfast meet-and-greet with the country’s leading celebrities at the White House and created one of the first publicity stunts for a U.S. president, known as the “pancake breakfasts.” Bernays also arranged for a White House concert featuring entertainers Al Jolson, Ed Wynn, The Dolly Sisters, Buddy deSylva, and approximately 40 Broadway performers. The *New York Times* reported the following headline: “Actors Eat Cake with the Coolidges . . . President Nearly Laughs.” President Coolidge subsequently defeated Democratic candidate John W. Davis, with 382 to 136 electoral votes.

Impressed with Bernays's success with Coolidge's campaign, Herbert Hoover hired Bernays to help with his 1932 presidential reelection campaign against Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then governor of New York. President Hoover was challenged with a depressed economy during his reelection efforts. Bernays's first persuasive tactic included the creation of a nonpartisan fact-finding committee consisting of 25,000 disinterested thought leaders, who suggested that the economic outlook was not as bleak as it appeared. Hoover lost, however, to Roosevelt, who offered the economic "New Deal" and won 472 electoral votes to Hoover's 59.

Other notable political figures who worked with Edward Bernays include Thomas E. Dewey, two-time presidential nominee for the Republican Party; first lady Eleanor Roosevelt and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who would succeed Harry S. Truman as president. Notable government campaigns included a national campaign for the War Department to find employment placements for veterans. In addition, under President Hoover, Bernays created the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, which helped U.S. citizens who were out of work during the early years of the Great Depression.

Propaganda and Politics

Bernays was highly successful in political campaigns because he understood the importance of appealing to the emotions of the public. In *Propaganda*, Bernays explains that three elements of emotional content are needed for a political campaign to be successful. First, he proposes that emotional content must coincide with all aspects of a campaign. For example, emotions must emerge both during large mass meetings and appear in the finer details of a campaign such as the candidates being photographed with children. Second, Bernays contends that emotional content in a campaign must be adaptable to each target audience. Specifically, he explains that the public is not only made up of specific groups such as Democrats and Republicans but that public groups overlap in economical, educational, racial, local, and hundreds of other domains. Thus, Bernays was able to create a voter portrait by categorizing voters according to specific attributes. This philosophy can be seen in Bernays's "pancake

breakfasts" publicity stunt and White House concerts during Calvin Coolidge's presidential campaign. Third, emotional content must be conveyed by the target media. Platforms such as radio and the press must do more than further the ideas of the campaign, they must engage the audience's emotions.

United Fruit Company

In the early 1940s, Samuel Zemurray, owner of the United Fruit Company, hired Bernays to increase banana sales in the United States. United Fruit Company, which controlled more than half of the U.S. market in imported bananas, was one of the largest U.S. companies, with earnings of \$54 million by 1949. Bernays successfully increased banana sales by persuading the public that bananas provided many health benefits. Specifically, he promoted scientific findings by Dr. Sidney Haas, a New York pediatrician, suggesting that the consumption of bananas assisted in curing celiac disease. Bernays also creatively promoted the positive health benefits claimed for bananas on Dr. Haas's 50th anniversary as a physician and mailed approximately 100,000 copies of Haas's findings to dietitians, medical doctors, editors, and librarians. Bernays was also able to connect the importance of bananas to U.S. National Defense and rallied to have bananas positioned everywhere from hotels to airplanes to movie studio cafeterias and to make bananas visible to the public by having large groups (i.e., Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts, professional and college football teams, and students) consume them. Bananas were also included in recipes for pastries and candy.

Legacy

Pioneering the profession of public relations, Edward Bernays lived until the age of 103; his career spanned more than 80 years. Bernays's mass persuasion techniques influenced U.S. Americans' eating habits, changed the social norms concerning female smokers, and manipulated both public opinion and consumer behavior. He pioneered several public relations tactics such as the focus on two-way communication with sectors of the public, propaganda, publicity events, and the use of testimonials and endorsements from

notable public figures. In 1990, *Life* Magazine named Edward L. Bernays as one of the 100 most influential people in the 20th century.

Linda Dam

See also Advertising; Lee, Ivy Ledbetter; Polls and Public Opinion; Propaganda; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Public Relations, History of; Spin

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BERTELSMANN

Bertelsmann, or the Bertelsmann SE & Co. KGaA, is the largest media corporation in Germany and the country's only media conglomerate of global significance. Established in 1835 as a Protestant publishing house in the village of Gütersloh in Central Germany, the Bertelsmann group, as of 2021, employs more than 126,000 people in about 1,200 different companies. It holds shares in television and radio channels, magazines, newspapers, and websites in about 50 countries. The group's total revenue in 2019 amounted to 18 billion EUR. Its geographic core markets are Western Europe—in particular, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom—and the United States. In addition, Bertelsmann invests heavily in growth markets such as Brazil, India, and China. This entry opens with an overview of the company and its role in Nazi Germany. It then examines Bertelsmann's television and radio group, book and magazine divisions, and corporate strategies. The

entry closes with a discussion of the Bertelsmann Group's commitment to diversity and journalistic balance.

Company Overview

While Bertelsmann's list of business areas is long, its number one source of income is the RTL Group, which grew out of the Luxembourg-based station Radio Télévision Luxembourg (Radio Television Luxembourg, or RTL). With currently 68 television channels and 30 radio stations in 10 countries, it is the largest private television and radio operator in Europe. With a revenue of 6.65 billion EUR in 2019, the RTL Group generates about 36% of the total income of the Bertelsmann Group. By contrast, the total revenue of the German Public Broadcasting Station (ARD) was around 6.6 billion EUR in 2019.

As a decentralized organization, Bertelsmann is involved in a range of media and communication markets and services. Since 2016, the conglomerate has been divided into eight separate divisions. Besides the RTL Group, it includes the Bertelsmann Education Group, the Bertelsmann Printing Group, and Bertelsmann Investments. Bertelsmann BMG (music rights) is an international music company with 19 offices in 12 core music markets, representing more than 3 million songs and recordings. This includes, among others, the catalogs of Alberts Music, Broken Bow Music Group, and Trojan, as well as thousands of artists and songwriters (e.g., the rights in songs and recordings by artists such as Kylie Minogue, The Rolling Stones, and David Bowie). The Group also owns the service company Arvato with more than 65,000 employees working in a wide range of sectors in more than 40 countries worldwide. Since 2020, Bertelsmann is also the sole owner of the world's largest book publishing group (based on revenue), Penguin Random House, controlling a quarter of the world's book trade, and it owns the international publishing group Gruner + Jahr (G+J). While each division is largely independent, all divisions work together under the umbrella of Bertelsmann. As such, they take advantage of synergies where these exist (e.g., the Bertelsmann Content Alliance).

Like most German media corporations, Bertelsmann is a family-controlled business. After World

War II, it rose from being a medium-sized enterprise to a major conglomerate under the leadership of Reinhard Mohn. As of 2021, the Mohn family holds 19.1% of the company's shares and Mohn's widow Elisabeth and his son Christoph Mohn are on the group's supervisory board (next to Thomas Rabe who was appointed to the board in 2006, and has been its chairman and CEO since 2012). The majority of capital shares, 77.6%, belong to the Bertelsmann Stiftung, a foundation founded by Reinhard Mohn in 1977. Mohn (its long-term chairman) initiated this transfer in 1993. In doing so, he not only secured the long-term control of the family over the company but also saved it about 2 billion EUR in taxes. As of 2021, the Bertelsmann Stiftung is one of the largest and most influential foundations in Germany. Financed by the profits of the company, it spent a total of 90 million EUR in 2019 for nonprofit work (in areas such as education, health, and digital technology). Among its four executive board members are Elisabeth Mohn and her daughter Brigitte Mohn. The other 3.3% of Bertelsmann's shares belongs to foundations, namely the Reinhard Mohn Stiftung and the BVG Stiftung. Members of the Mohn family serve on the executive boards of both.

Bertelsmann's Nazi History

In 1998, when Bertelsmann acquired Random House (a former Jewish group of publishers), a commission of historians investigated the company's role in Nazi Germany. The commission published its results in 2000 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), a conservative national newspaper. Calling Bertelsmann Hitler's best supplier, the FAZ stated that Bertelsmann topped the Nazi German production statistics due to the unusually high number of books it had produced for the Nazi German army. Due to its regime-friendly publishing policy, Bertelsmann thrived under the Nazis.

After 1945, Bertelsmann's market rise paralleled the more general economic boom in the Federal Republic of Germany. Bertelsmann soon became one of the country's largest book publishers. In the 1960s, the group extended its activities to other European countries; in the 1970s, it targeted the U.S. market (e.g., by acquiring 51% of

Bantam Books). In the 1980s, when West Germany allowed private broadcasting, Bertelsmann entered the commercial television sector. By the 1990s, Bertelsmann had become the world's second largest media conglomerate: It extended its business relations to Central and Eastern Europe, had about 350 direct subsidiaries, and about 45,000 employees. From 1990 to 1991 alone, Bertelsmann reached sales of 14.5 billion Deutsche Mark, and 63% of the sales involved business outside of Germany, mainly in the United States.

Television and Radio: The RTL Group

In addition to radio stations and television channels, the RTL Group offers eight national streaming services, content production, and other digital services. In 2019, the overall revenue of the RTL Group amounted to 6.651 billion EUR with an increase in profit by 10.1% to 864 million EUR.

Key business areas of the RTL Group are the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (Germany), Groupe M6 (France), Fremantle (United Kingdom), and the RTL channels in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Croatia and Hungary, and Antena 3 in Spain. While the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (Germany) is the group's largest business unit, most profits lie with London-based Fremantle (a producer of drama and talent shows, such as *American Gods*, *American Idol*, *America's Got Talent: The Champions*) and streaming services (e.g., 300 YouTube channels). Thanks to Fremantle, the RTL Group is one of the world's leading producers of television content. Combining the catch-up TV (shows available online for viewing at any time) services of its broadcasters, its multichannel networks (BroadbandTV, StyleHaul, and Divimove) and Fremantle Media's YouTube channels, the RTL Group has also become the leading European media company in online video. Since 2013, the Group also operates in Southeast Asia. On the channels RTL CBS Entertainment and RTL CBS Extreme, it broadcasts for instance in Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines.

Initially one of many shareholding companies, Bertelsmann has been involved in what was to become the RTL Group since the 1990s. Over time and under the leadership of Thomas Middelhoff, Bertelsmann neutralized other shareholders

(such as Pearson TV in the United Kingdom and Groupe Bruxelles Lambert [GBL] in Belgium) and acquired the majority share in 2001. Since then, the RTL Group has been responsible for most of Bertelsmann's sales and profits, with an increase in shares to up to 90% by 2005. Attempts in 2002 and 2007 to take over completely failed due to financial and legal issues. After this, Bertelsmann changed strategies. In 2013, it sold part of its shares in free float, reducing its ownership share from 92.3% to 75.1% for a profit of 1.4 billion EUR. This profit financed the growth of Bertelsmann, particularly in the digital market.

Since 2019, Bertelsmann CEO Thomas Rabe has also served as the CEO of the RTL Group. While the RTL Group continues to grow in its core businesses (radio and television, partly by means of alliances and partnerships with other European media companies), it currently invests heavily in local streaming services and the development of advertising technologies.

Books and Magazines: Penguin Random House and Gruner + Jahr

Two other highly profitable divisions of the Bertelsmann Group are book publishing (Penguin Random House) and magazines (Gruner + Jahr, G+J). While G+J is one of the largest premium magazine publishing companies in Europe, Penguin Random House is the top player in the international book market, controlling a quarter of its production. Penguin Random House has had this role since July 2013, when Random House (Bertelsmann) and Penguin Books (Pearson Media Group) merged. For a long time, Bertelsmann held 53% of the shares, while Pearson held 47%. Since 2020, Bertelsmann has been its sole owner.

Penguin Random House is a conglomerate of publishers made up of more than 300 imprints across six continents. Its book brands include Doubleday, Riverhead, Viking, and Alfred A. Knopf (United States); Ebury, Hamish Hamilton, and Jonathan Cape (United Kingdom); Plaza & Janés and Alfaguara (Spain); Sudamericana (Argentina); and the international imprint DK. As of 2021, the publishing house employed more than 10,000 people in 23 countries and publishes about 15,000 new titles per year, selling around

600 million print books, e-books, and audio-books. In 2019, the company's turnover amounted to 3.6 billion EUR.

In 2019, Bertelsmann also invested heavily in strategic growth platforms such as the digital business of G+J. Similar to the RTL Group and Random House, the company, founded in 1965, was slowly acquired by Bertelsmann, whose influence grew steadily between 1969 and 1973. Having held the majority share until 2014, Bertelsmann has since been its sole owner. While in the 1990s, G+J was a big player also in the newspaper business (such as in the United States), at the turn of the millennium, the company sold several regional daily newspapers and refocused on the magazine market. As of 2021, G+J's activities primarily focus on Germany and France, where it publishes more than 500 magazines and digital products. Its main associated companies outside Germany include the Groupe Prisma Media (France), Brown Printing Company (United States), and BODA Publishing (China).

G+J, the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (RTL Group) and Random House are part of the Bertelsmann Content Alliance. Consisting also of the film production company UFA, RTL Radio Germany and BMG, the Alliance takes advantage of synergies by developing common media content and formats across different markets. As a first collective venture, the Audio Alliance produces podcasts and audio-on-demand offerings, and publishes new products exclusively on its own platform, Audio Now.

Corporate Strategies

Having taken over the RTL Group, G+J and Random House, Bertelsmann, for years, pursued a typical—not innovative—corporate strategy. It acquired and invested vast sums in new media and communications technologies of a market player that had already proved successful. This could also be said for the involvement of Bertelsmann in other media markets (e.g., music, services). As of 2021, the strategy of the group has shifted. Next to strengthening its core businesses, Bertelsmann invests heavily in digital transformation. In particular, G+J launches new magazines and develops digital journalistic pay models, such as Stern Crime Plus, its first paying subscriber

model for digital journalism. Bertelsmann also invests in expanding its other growth platforms (e.g., Fremantle, or the digital businesses of RTL Group, BMG, Arvato Systems), and into growth regions, such as India or China.

In particular, the RTL Group, as Bertelsmann's financial stronghold, aims to translate digital growth into its own business strategies. With massive transformations in the industry, traditional media companies, particularly in the United States, are spending billions of dollars in the battle with global platforms such as Netflix and Amazon. Disney, Apple, AT&T/WarnerMedia, and Comcast/NBCUniversal have launched—or plan to launch—new streaming services. In response to these so-called streaming wars, the RTL Group focuses on building national streaming champions in European countries where the Group already owns leading TV channels: TV Now in Germany, Videoland in the Netherlands, and Salto in France, where the RTL Group company Groupe M6 developed a technical platform for the pay streaming service it operates with TF1 and France Télévisions, stylized as france tv. Complementing global services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Disney+, the RTL Group plans on increasing its streaming content expenditures from 85 million EUR in 2019 to around 350 million EUR in 2025.

Thereby, its overall goal is a higher (linear and nonlinear) reach and the more effective monetization of that reach by means of significant investments in content, marketing, and state-of-the-art tech platforms. With higher investments in advertising technology and data, the group also aims for better targeting and an increased customization of content. The underlying financial requisite, however, is cost reduction. This means consolidations, a wide-ranging review to reduce costs, and the sale of several noncore assets.

Diversity and Journalistic Balance

Bertelsmann highlights its commitment to diversity—in its people, content, and businesses. The company's goal is to have one third of the top and senior management positions across all divisions be occupied by women by the end of 2021. A cross-divisional, international working group

has been issued with this task as well as with promoting diversity at other levels. The RTL Group, having adopted the goal of workplace diversity, broadened its scope. Next to gender diversity, it added ethnicity, disability, and socioeconomic status.

With regard to content, Bertelsmann's vision of diversity lies with journalistic balance. Its aim is to represent the range of opinions of the societies it serves. According to the Bertelsmann Code of Conduct, this means editorial and journalistic independence (within the company), the freedom of the press (from political and economic influence), artistic license, and a compliance with existing laws regarding the separation of editorial content and commercial advertising. In addition to this Code of Conduct, several subsidiaries have implemented their own individual editorial statutes and rules. These focus primarily on duties of journalistic care, respect for privacy, issues with the representation of violence, and the protection of minors.

One question for Bertelsmann and its subsidiaries is how to appeal to a mass market across national boundaries while including issues of cultural, ethnic, or gender diversity in content. While changing audience demands open new market niches (e.g., G+J's magazine *Brigitte Be Green* responds to the social trend toward sustainability), by default, content must be profitable while markets must be large (e.g., geographically, demographically). Bertelsmann's general answer to this question lies in digital transformation. With more investments going into marketing and state-of-the-art tech platforms and with higher investments in advertising technology and data, content offerings and new formats based on (advertising) data are to allow for more customized services. These are the driving forces also behind current transitions in the production in journalistic content under the Bertelsmann umbrella—a technology-driven journalism, individualized by ad-based algorithms.

Mandy Tröger

See also Diversity in Journalism; Germany; Media Conglomerates; Media Markets; Media Ownership; Publishers; Streaming Media

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BIAS

Journalists covering news in countries where freedom of the press is legally protected are expected to report on a range of issues with clarity, comprehensiveness, accuracy, and a balance of quoted viewpoints. A news story is expected to be free of the reporter's own overt opinions—to be objective. When a news story is judged less than comprehensive, accurate, or objective, the story might be interpreted as biased. Bias is an allegation usually reserved only for news journalists whose professional expectation is to quote others but to keep their own viewpoints out of the story, because of the long-standing cultural expectation of journalistic fairness, viewpoint balance, accuracy, and objectivity.

This entry provides an overview of different notions about news-media bias, the ways it has been formally studied, and what researchers have found. It then briefly points to recent changes in journalism and society that may call into question the traditional notion of news bias.

Background and Overview

Journalistic bias is a relatively recent concept, historically speaking. Journalistic *neutrality*—and therefore, news bias—could not have had any meaning in the earliest days of American journalism, when political partisanship in the press was the norm. It was only through the commercialization of the press, beginning in the United States in the 1830s, and the professionalization of news reporting, around the turn of the last century, that the gradual development of qualities such as objectivity, fairness, and viewpoint balance could be recognized as routine traits of news coverage. The door was finally open for allegations of news bias, since the public might now reasonably expect their news to be delivered “straight,” with no political or ideological taint one way or another.

Opinion pieces and editorials in traditional newspapers would not typically be the subject of bias because opinions—which routinely appear on op-ed pages clearly segregated from news pages—are persuasive by nature. Nor does so-called fake news fit within the concept of news bias because fake-news stories, appearing on digital media sites, are either purposely embellished or wholly fabricated, so to call these biased is beside the point.

Bias, then, is a potential problem existing within “straight” (putatively objective) news reporting, and might be deemed to exist when any news story is judged to not meet expected professional journalistic norms because it is alleged to be slanted or skewed favorably *toward* mostly just one political or ideological side of an issue, and slanted *against* one or more opposing sides. Bias might be in evidence when a news story's content or overall presentation is judged, fairly or not, to fall short of providing a fair, viewpoint-balanced, comprehensive, and objective account of a disputable issue. But bias might also be found in any individual's perception of it, regardless of whether a given story is biased in content or not. In other words, what may be biased for one news consumer may be fair and accurate for another.

Media bias has been studied for several decades by communication and political scholars using a wide range of methods and variables to attempt to document its existence in various news mediums. Media scholars and commentators point out that

the concept is hard to define in any stable way or to consistently document because of the different ways that scholars have theorized and studied it. But bias remains an enduring allegation against news media if only because large numbers of news consumers consistently allege its existence.

Trust in the news media has been low for decades, and this could partly explain why so many news consumers continue to think the news is biased. A 2018 study by the Pew Research Center found that only 47% of Americans, regardless of political or ideological affiliation, said the news media covers the news fairly, while slightly more, about 56%, thought the news was covered accurately. A 2019 national study by Pew that asked about trust in 30 well-known news outlets found self-identified Democrats were far more likely to trust most of the outlets than were Republicans, who trusted only a handful. Roughly the same divide was noted when respondents were asked about journalists' ethical standards: Republicans were far less willing to see high ethics among journalists than were Democrats.

The Nature of Media Bias

Academics have found it difficult to develop common measures of news bias because there are so many possible ways to conceive of and document it, with no single agreed-upon standard. Is news bias simply the existence of some aspect of coverage in a given story, such as a headline, deemed to be unfair, or too many partisan sources in a story depicting one side, but none or only a few sources included representing the other side? Or is it what might be left out of a story that someone believes should be in it? In this latter case, bias would be defined not by what is there but by what's not.

Others might think bias exists when, for example, a conservative-branded cable TV broadcast, such as Fox News, de-emphasizes a clearly relevant and politically charged story by giving it scant coverage on a given evening, while a competing liberal-oriented news program, such as MSNBC, gives the same story much more air-time and prominence. Any systematic emphasis or de-emphasis of this nature could possibly indicate bias on a given evening, but this would have to occur routinely to qualify as an enduring problem of news bias.

Scholarly studies looking at the *content* of coverage can only attempt to capture what kind of information is in a story, and from there attempt to discern how well or poorly a given set of stories meets some standard of bias, or, alternatively, non-bias. But other studies consider not so much (or not only) news content but the news *consumer* and his or her inherent political and ideological "cognitive" biases—the preexisting beliefs every person has that could lead to individual perceptions of news bias regardless of whether it exists in actual news content.

The Search for News-Centered Bias

Several decades of academic studies attempting to define and track news media bias provide conflicting means of measuring the concept. Regardless of the method, these studies generally find only weak and inconsistent, if not negligible, evidence of any enduring liberal or conservative bias among news outlets themselves. Some media scholars contend bias, if it exists, may be found not only among partisan journalists but also from within a newsroom's structure, such as too few reporters covering too many things or pressing deadlines leaving reporters with only so much time to cover a topic more fairly.

A frequently cited 1999 study found something like a self-fulfilling prophecy about bias—that the news media's persistent, critical coverage of the topic of bias *itself* seems to foster subsequent perceptions, among the public, of media bias, more often from Republicans than Democrats. Ironically, coverage of media bias may create the perception of media bias among news consumers.

Studies showing actual, persistent, overt bias in news media content, in general, have found only negligible support for it. A 2006 meta-analysis of nearly 60 scholarly media-bias studies focused on newspaper, newsmagazine, and television network news coverage of U.S. presidential elections found only weak support for any persistent content bias. A lingering problem in any study of news content bias is just what elements count as biased. Is bias the result of how news-media outlets select and prominently present, or, by contrast, *de-emphasize* different stories? Maybe it's the amount of print space or television air-time devoted to any story. Or, according

to another measure, bias could be evaluative in nature—how words or phrases themselves might subjectively slant a story. The lack of certainty about the existence of news media bias could easily stem from academics choosing different methods of documenting it.

Some studies track media content for unique indicators of bias—such things as how many paragraphs are devoted to one side or another; how many quotes are given to different sides; how the same news story is reported by different news outlets; and certain word choices that may reveal bias. These latter studies, dealing with the content of news stories via quantitative content analysis, are in search of what some scholars have called *partisan* bias, the partisanship being linked to the reporter or reporting organization, as revealed via one-sided content.

Also to be considered within content studies is what might be labeled “structural” bias—that journalistic work routines, constant deadlines, and daily pressures of simply putting a story together day in and day out may result in a story being biased just because there was inadequate time to make it more balanced and fair. A 2006 study along these lines, reviewing 2004 U.S. presidential election-coverage bias among the three major TV networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) found some arguably slight bias by CBS against incumbent candidate George W. Bush, but no statistically significant bias overall among the networks. Another content study, published in 2019, found that TV stations in four U.S. markets owned by the conservative Sinclair media chain did display a somewhat larger number of partisan (conservative) sources, compared to non-Sinclair stations in those same markets, but the study was limited to only those four markets. But other bias studies, not primarily focused on news content, take the *person* as the locus of bias.

Perception Biases Within the Individual

Many studies have found that the individual’s own assumption about the existence of bias is the predominant factor in “seeing” bias regardless of whether the content comes from traditional or social news media. The bulk of the available evidence from scholarly studies, especially in recent years, seems to show that the person, rather than

news media outlets and actual content produced, is the creator, or the *projector* of any perception of bias.

The basis of bias typically lies within a given person’s own preexisting political and ideological beliefs, especially among those with stronger partisan views one way or another. This was the case in a 2010 scholarly study that showed one’s own stated political ideology, during a high-profile governor’s race, was the key element behind any allegation of media bias; those with partisan views “projected” or created their own sense of news bias, and those favoring the candidate deemed most likely to win (in this case, the Democratic candidate) saw generally less news bias during the governor’s race than did Republicans, whose candidate was less likely to win. Other factors, such as one’s propensity to selectively expose oneself to ideologically “friendly” news outlets, or a person’s ongoing association with politically like-minded individuals, can also be factors in one’s finding bias in a story. Some studies review news consumers’ stated attitudes and assertions about the existence of bias revealed, for example, through surveys of news content keyed to a disputable issue over time. Individuals’ ideological and political preferences and affiliations, or more generally, psychological attributes, in other words, tend to result in individual or group allegations of biased content.

A phenomenon validated for over three decades, the “hostile media effect”—the idea that people “see” bias in news coverage against (i.e., hostile to) their own political side—is based in the person’s own closely held political attitudes and associations. In other words, a conservative will see a liberal bias in a story, and vice versa, though studies generally show that the effect is greater among conservatives than liberals. A related concept is “confirmation bias,” a similar psychological attribute in which a person selectively seeks information that confirms one’s already existing ideological beliefs, thereby “confirming” and strengthening the preexisting bias.

Some experimental studies, where certain test variables are manipulated in a lab setting, show that how a story is “framed” to focus on one or more significant thematic features may lead a person to see bias in it, especially when specific story attributes are “primed”—purposely

highlighted—which then might lead a person toward a certain heightened interpretation. It is important to note that what might be manipulated and tested in a lab setting, which might then lead test subjects to see news bias, is entirely different from the actual real-world setting in which each media consumer, carrying his or her own political, ideological, and psychological beliefs, has free selection over how much and what type of news media content to consume.

The Fracture of Consensus

With just over a decade of smartphone use and the continuing rise of partisan social media news, as well as, more recently, “fake news” proliferating through bots or ideologically driven digital sites that can alter existing news reports or even wholly create false content, the notion of news bias may itself be somewhat antiquated. The veracity of truth and facts as bedrocks of social understanding are now in question as information from an array of partisan and even false sources increases, leading to what some call a “post-truth” world. A 2017 study discovered a person’s “trust” in media, whether in traditional media, social media, or even citizen-created sites, did not grow regardless of the chosen medium, and that the greater a person’s perception of media bias the *less* one tends to consume news, regardless of news format.

Many persons now silo themselves into their own friendly ideological groups and partisan-based news outlets, thereby comfortably confirming their preexisting beliefs and personal biases. In a world of constant and highly selective digital news consumption, the concept of news bias—always difficult, at best, to demonstrate, whether sought for in news content, newsroom structure, or news consumers themselves—may have to be rethought alongside ever-changing notions regarding the nature, value, and reliability of information, facts, and truth itself.

Joseph C. Harry

See also Credibility; Fake News; Framing; Free Expression; History of; News Values; Objectivity

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BLACKLISTING

The relationship between news/public affairs broadcasting and political affairs has been close since radio’s launch in 1920. The ability to transmit messages to potentially large audiences made broadcasting a tantalizing prospect to politicians of all colors. The divisive political struggle between conservatives and liberals influenced broadcasting most visibly and negatively during the period

known as the *Red Scare* (1947–1957). Although news media are constitutionally protected from government influence in the United States, the historical reality is that broadcasting is frequently susceptible to political pressures.

The early cold war (1945–1960) following World War II saw a growing distrust of communism and a deep-seated fear that “Reds” were infiltrating the United States. Political conservatives sought and identified suspected Communists in every walk of life. Although anti-Communists vigorously asserted that they were responding to a threat to national security, historical evidence is ambiguous. Some historians interpret the Red Scare as a conservative backlash against liberals long in power. Recent research in the former Soviet Union, however, reveals that the country did successfully infiltrate several institutions in the United States during the 1940s and 1950s. At the time, however, with little evidence to support the Red denunciations but innuendo and blacklists, the fear of being labeled a Communist left the country nearly paralyzed.

Broadcasters were susceptible to politically motivated attacks for a number of reasons. Significantly, they are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which is overseen by the legislative branch. Further complicating their vulnerability to the Red Scare was broadcast dependence upon sponsors. Until about 1960, network entertainment programs were produced by sponsors and their advertising agencies. The considerable profits reaped by selling airtime enabled broadcast networks to subsidize news and public affairs programming. Accordingly, accusations of coddling Communists threatened that relationship. At the same time, the rapid transition from radio to television placed networks and stations under greater financial pressure.

Network Response

Although the influence of the Red Scare on broadcasting started as early as 1941, a single publication in June 1950 escalated political pressure on the industry. A conservative group issued a paperback book titled *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* that took the form of a “blacklist” that publicly identified an individual with communism with the intent of

denying employment and socially alienating the accused. *Red Channels* listed the names of nearly 150 individuals, including 10 broadcast journalists. NBC and CBS took immediate notice of *Red Channels*, although the two networks responded differently.

NBC was undeterred by *Red Channels* or other blacklists and rarely denied employment to a person accused of being a Communist. NBC was a subsidiary of RCA, one of the most profitable and powerful corporations of the mid-20th century, and was led by David Sarnoff, whose power over NBC/RCA was unquestioned and whose conservative politics were indisputable. Further, NBC enjoyed the luxury of RCA's financial resources to support it through the transition from radio to television. For these reasons, NBC could financially and politically afford to risk criticism for failing to heed the blacklists; its corporate and political credentials were above reproach.

CBS was more vulnerable as it lacked the financial largesse that NBC enjoyed from RCA. By 1950, when *Red Channels* was published, CBS was involved in two very expensive endeavors: developing its television network and its consequent need for programming and affiliates, and the innovation of a color television system. Further complicating the situation was the perception that network chief William S. Paley was considered politically liberal. These factors prompted CBS to respond very differently to *Red Channels*. It developed a two-layer system of investigating alleged subversive activities of its employees. A “clearance” system vetted talent for “suspicious” activity and individuals whose names were blacklisted were fired or not hired by CBS. The second layer required employees to sign loyalty oaths on which they swore they were not and never had been Communists.

The elite corps of broadcast journalists at CBS, led by Edward R. Murrow and including Eric Sevareid, William Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Alexander Kendrick, and Don Hollenbeck, was incensed by the loyalty oaths. Nevertheless, Murrow encouraged his team of journalists to sign the oath, as he did himself. Murrow chose his battles carefully and was already considering future broadcast investigations of the Red Scare; thus he was willing to sign the loyalty oath. CBS's willingness to institute a loyalty oath for its employees

revealed the lengths to which the network went to protect itself and its business interests.

Broadcast Journalists

“Are you now, or have you ever been, a Communist?” Although relatively few broadcast journalists were asked this question before a congressional hearing, being labeled as suspected Communist or sympathizer was an anxiety that many endured. Radio commentators were an early target of *Counterattack*, the newsletter that began publishing in 1947 as, in the words of writer David Everitt, an “anti-Red muckraking publication that would drag not only Communists but all their defenders out into the light.” Anti-Communists feared journalists would use their access to the airwaves to broadcast views favoring Communist positions and responded by publicly naming journalists they believed to be Communist sympathizers.

In 1950, the publishers of *Counterattack* released *Red Channels* and identified 10 broadcast journalists whose political affiliations allegedly indicated Communist sympathies. The list included prominent journalists such as Kendrick and Shirer, as well as Howard K. Smith and Lisa Sergio. The evidence cited was questionable, largely depending upon the testimony of suspected Communists before congressional committees, or on the speeches, appearances, or organizational memberships of the journalists. For example, chief among Shirer’s “offenses” was that he signed a petition to the Supreme Court encouraging reversal of the convictions of the “Hollywood Ten” for refusing to testify as to their political beliefs. Smith allegedly criticized the U.S. government for meddling in the 1948 Italian elections. Kendrick’s offenses included publishing essays in *New Masses* and *Soviet Russia Today* and leading a panel discussion during a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sergio, a commentator and broadcast journalist for both NBC and ABC, was cited for signing a petition that urged outlawing anti-Semitism.

It is notable that none of the “evidence” that *Red Channels* listed against the 10 broadcast journalists included any actual broadcasts. Smith and Kendrick later reported that their inclusion on the blacklist did not affect their professional

or personal lives. Shirer, on the other hand, believed that being blacklisted had a significant impact on his career, and soon after his *Red Channels* appearance he left broadcasting and turned to freelance writing and lecturing. Interestingly, Soviet archives later revealed that one of the lesser-known journalists included in *Red Channels*, Johannes Steel, was, indeed, a Soviet agent.

Blacklisting was accomplished through other means in addition to *Red Channels*. Aware, Inc. was formed in 1953 to ferret out Communists from radio and television. It produced “Publication No. 12” in which suspected Communists were named and, as John Cogley writes in *Report on Blacklisting*, “decreed ‘unemployable.’” Other journalists were identified in the popular press. One of the tragic repercussions of blacklisting was the case of Don Hollenbeck, who worked for CBS News and was identified as a Communist-sympathizer by Jack O’Brian, a columnist for the Hearst-owned *New York Journal American*. Hollenbeck’s subsequent suicide in June 1954 was understood to be partly the result of being blacklisted. Whatever the means of public identification, the reputations and credibility of broadcast journalists suffered as a result of extreme political pressures.

News Programs

Fundamentally, the Red Scare in broadcasting came down to concerns about content. Although there is no evidence to suggest that any broadcast journalist communicated pro-Communist messages, blacklisters nonetheless feared that they might. Anti-Communists sought to prevent the spread of communism by creating a climate of fear in which journalists self-censored their material. Broadcast journalists who were blacklisted correctly understood that they were targeted because their personal convictions challenged conservative politics.

Although the networks and many advertisers capitulated to the atmosphere of fear, either tacitly like NBC or overtly like CBS, one voice of resistance was heard amid the silence. By the autumn of 1953, Murrow, arguably the most influential broadcast journalist of his time, decided to confront the Red Scare. In a series of reports

broadcast for his television program *See It Now*, Murrow hosted a number of investigations into prominent figures of the Red Scare, including Air Force Lieutenant Milo Radulovich and Pentagon employee Annie Lee Moss. Radulovich had been dismissed from the Air Force for maintaining close relationships with suspected Communists (his father and sister), while Moss was suspended from her clerical position for being a suspected Communist. The most influential and historically significant broadcast, however, was Murrow's March 1954 investigation of the tactics used by Senator Joseph McCarthy, in which Murrow used television clips to skillfully and publicly denounce the senator.

Although Murrow did not espouse a pro-Communist message, he adeptly used television to publicly challenge the power of the leading anti-Communist crusader. Even so, the business aspects of the broadcasts remained paramount. Murrow had to get his sponsor's permission to shift its commercials, and CBS refused to advertise the programs for fear of the political and commercial backlash. Nonetheless, many historians consider the Murrow-McCarthy broadcast to be one of the more important in the history of television as an early example of the medium's power, particularly in the hands of a skilled and credible journalist.

Implications

The Red Scare started to fade with the U.S. Senate's censure of McCarthy in 1954, and blacklisting was fully exposed and discredited in 1962 when *Aware, Inc.* was found guilty of libel when it blacklisted an actor. With enough political and historical distance, industry leaders such as Paley and Frank Stanton of CBS later regretted instituting the loyalty oaths and using blacklists. Certainly the lives of blacklisted figures were changed, some more than others.

The Red Scare period of blacklisting is a case study of the dangers of using political yardsticks to measure journalists. Although anti-Communists did not directly engage in prior restraint, their accusations and blacklists had a strongly chilling effect on broadcast journalists whose personal politics were used as "evidence" of their lack of objectivity and credibility. The end result was

that one of the most significant news stories of the 1950s received remarkably little broadcast news attention.

The tenuous relationship between politics and broadcasting reverberated after the decline of the Red Scare and continues today. Walter Cronkite's denunciation of the Vietnam War in 1968 was a turning point in the public's antiwar attitudes. Richard Nixon used the FCC to target television stations that opposed his politics. By the late 1990s, as American politics became more conservative and the FCC loosened station ownership restrictions and suspended its former fairness doctrine, the number of broadcast and cable outlets that carried conservative talk shows escalated while liberal voices remained largely unheard.

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See also Anchors, Television; CBS News; Censorship; Commentators, Radio; Congress and Journalism; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Paley, William S.

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BLOGS AND BLOGGERS

A blog (short for weblog) is a type of webpage format that generally utilizes a reverse-chronological order. However, there are strong definitional issues when attempting to elucidate blogs within a journalism context. Unlike traditional media, blogs refer to both the technological means of delivery and the content of that delivery. The means of delivery offers access to a greater proportion of the public than traditional media distribution methods and features, which in turn modifies the types of content created.

Despite not having a concrete definition that clearly separates blogs and bloggers from their traditional media counterparts, blogs and bloggers play a unique role within the modern journalism ecosystem. Blogs and bloggers are shifting the boundaries of what is considered acceptable from journalists, while also acting as a check on the media. Much research on participatory digital journalism has shifted to social media networks and big data as they have come to once again shift the overall atmosphere around online journalism since they came to prominence for the general public in the late 2000s onward. However, blogs and bloggers should not be discredited for their impact on the audience, their interplay with traditional media, the original reporting, and analyses that they have brought to view.

Some scholars have attempted to define the specific characteristics of journalism blogs as a genre or category within the larger journalism sphere while others have claimed that it is not possible to effectively define. In the same way that high-level questions and related concepts like “what is and is not considered journalism?” and “who are and are not considered journalists?” are contentiously debated, blogs and bloggers are not easy concepts to define. Blogs can be viewed within the specific contexts, wherein they reside or in relation to the more general journalism ecosystem. As such, this entry discusses various characteristics and elements that differentiate many (but

not all) journalism and journalism-adjacent blogs as well as people behind those blogs.

From their origins in the 1990s, blogs were initially an avenue for citizen and public journalism. Bloggers were often experts, insiders, and enthusiasts seeking an outlet for their knowledge. One such early example includes Matt Drudge and the *Drudge Report* that utilized Drudge’s political connections within right-wing circles as sources. As they grew in popularity, news organizations began to incorporate staff- and topical-based blogs into their offerings. At times, the traditional media created content aggregation agreements with or outright purchased blogs instead of creating their own, with a few such examples including *The New York Times* working with Freakonomics from 2007 to 2011 and Ziff Davis purchasing Mashable in 2017.

Blogs run the gamut of topics, ideologies, specialties, and approaches, although individual blogs generally take a specific niche or focus. Websites such as Crooks and Liars and RedState each cover news and politics, but from an outwardly progressive and conservative bias, respectively. Other sites take a different approach to what they add to the content, such as FiveThirtyEight, which covers a wide range of topics, including politics, sports, news, entertainment, but usually from a statistical analysis perspective. Similarly, sites like Pharyngula unabashedly examine science from the perspective of a “godless liberal,” which is in the blog’s tagline.

However, one need only look as far as the Huffington Post to understand the difficulty in defining what is and is not a blog and what is and is not a traditional media organization. The Huffington Post historically has had both staff journalists and unpaid contributors. The organization was the first digitally run platform to win a Pulitzer Prize in 2012. It continued to utilize unpaid contributors until it removed that platform in January 2018. Much of the content that is published is still not necessarily original reporting and functions like an aggregator. Some of the stories involve personal narratives and opinion mixed in with analysis and reporting. The website has specific sections that focus content for different audiences, including a “Communities” section with subsections for Black Voices, Queer Voices, Women, and more. There are still reporters and

editors, but the lines are significantly blurred compared to the traditional structure of newspapers. On top of that, it was acquired by AOL in 2011 and later AOL was acquired by Verizon in 2015, making it part of one of the largest telecommunication companies in the world. The website rebranded as HuffPost in 2017 and was again acquired by a different parent company, BuzzFeed, in 2020 after which numerous layoffs occurred. Many still consider the website a blog, however there are significant qualitative differences between it and countless other blogs. HuffPost still shares some qualities of a blog, including technological, tonal, and topical similarities but also has some elements of more traditional news, including utilizing wire services, limiting access for the comment section for posts to only registered users, and others.

Technological Characteristics

Although blogs are not necessarily built on content management systems (CMS), those CMSs have helped usher in the ease of use and availability of blogs, and websites with a blog component. Services such as Blogger (purchased by Google in 2003), Blogspot, and WordPress provide platforms that allow individuals and organizations to create and distribute blogs. Other forms of blogs, such as the centralized and pseudo-socially networked platform that Medium utilizes, have grown in popularity over time. In fact, WordPress has become such an important platform within the World Wide Web ecosystem that one survey by W3Techs.com estimates that around 35% of all websites are built on the CMS.

Common features include posts and pages, widgets, comment sections, and more. Blog posts and pages are often differentiated in terms of the timeliness (or timelessness) of the content. Posts are produced, published, and distributed within the main area of a blog in the reverse-chronological order, making up the timely nature of the content. These posts can be supplemented by pages, which are generally more timeless. Pages often include elements like contact information, privacy policies, an “about” page, and more.

Within the overall scope of blogs and blogging technology, a variety of approaches to content

creation have come to be. One such approach includes the idea of “live blogging” an event or story, wherein one or more reporters give short and quick updates on the story at hand so the audience can follow along in almost real time. Live blogs can take multiple forms depending on the type of story. Certain stories tend to lend themselves more readily to this format, including political debates and election night coverage. Blogs run by traditional media organizations, such as ABC or *The Washington Post*, may utilize a live blog to keep the audience apprised of the facts of the event while a nontraditional news organization, such as Politico or Daily Kos, may focus more on real-time analysis of those facts. Both are utilizing the same types of technology to create different content along organizational standard lines. Live blogging is also used to cover some press conferences and product releases. The website MacRumors publishes a live blog whenever Apple holds a press conference to announce new products. Those live blogs often incorporate text and images from the event.

Other technological aspects of blogs can be seen in the differentiation between blogs and microblogs. Microblogs such as Twitter limit the author’s communications to a small and restricted set of options. In the case of Twitter, one can only post a single tweet with up to 280 characters (up from the previous maximum of 140 characters when the service launched, which at the time aligned with the length of an SMS text message).

Comparisons and Connections With Traditional Media Organizations

Blogs that are independent of news organizations offer different types of coverage and analysis in comparison to those of most mainstream news organizations in the United States. One element that is significantly different is less of an emphasis on objectivity. In many cases, these blogs are not necessarily doing original reporting. However, much of the content is not that type of original reporting but instead an analysis of others’ reporting. One instance was when then-Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott resigned his leadership post after numerous blogs highlighted and focused on quotes wherein Lott had supported Strom Thurmond’s 1948 presidential candidacy that

highlighted numerous racist policy positions after they were originally underreported by other legacy outlets. Those legacy outlets, in turn, then covered the story again but focused on the angle highlighted by the bloggers. Other instances often involve augmenting the reporting with additional sources, context, opinion, and facts, among other elements. Examples of those blogs include the previously mentioned Crooks and Liars and RedState that generally bring together information from a variety of different sources and cases to analyze a news story from their specific political perspectives.

In that respect, blogs and bloggers do have distinct roles that often do not necessarily mirror that of traditional journalism outlets. One such shift is the distinction in that there is a different division of labor. If a blog is run by an individual, they would be handling all of the writing, editing, managing, distribution, advertising, and essential functions that are often separated across numerous individuals and roles within a traditional organization. One positive is that it allows a more nimble and agile approach that does not require numerous layers of reporters and editors prior to publication. With that, one might be more apt to make errors but with the added advantage of being able to publish more quickly when focusing on the timeliness of a story. Those same blurred lines can still occur even in organizations where the traditional structure may not apply. Generally, as blogs become more popular and post more frequently, they take on a different organizational structure that more closely mirrors that of traditional media. Such structure then leads those blogs to focus on highlighting traditional journalistic values, including focusing on original reporting and separating editorial and business operations.

Over the course of their existences, some blogs have gone from independent to aligned/converged with corporate media, including the website FiveThirtyEight. The website was founded in 2008 by Nate Silver, a statistician who had been working as a baseball analyst and blogging on the political site Daily Kos. He founded FiveThirtyEight as an independent blog, but formed a content agreement with *The New York Times* in 2010. With that agreement, some of the content characteristics (such as frequency of posting and length of articles) and authorship shifted, thereby

highlighting how traditional, corporate influence can either directly or indirectly manipulate a blog's content. ESPN then acquired FiveThirtyEight in 2013 with a plan to broaden the site to include sports and economics along with politics. In 2018, FiveThirtyEight moved to ABC News, which shares the corporate parent Disney with ESPN.

Blogs often invite direct communication with the audience in a way distinct from the traditional media. For traditional media, there are limited means wherein the audience can communicate with the organization, including letters to the editor, calling the office, commenting on the organization's website. Many traditional journalism providers, including NPR, *Popular Science*, and Reuters, have limited online comments as they work to determine how best to monitor and display comments. For blogs, the participatory nature of interaction between the audience and the authors is often viewed as a defining quality, particularly in the form of comments.

One must also consider the role of blogs within the sociopolitical arena to which they are compared. For blogs in countries that utilize state-run media, they can act as a voice against the hegemonic control of the government. The increasing access to the technology that makes the blogs possible allows for more dissenting opinions voiced. However, those blogs and the bloggers that write for them do still have to worry about attempted censorship and threats of violence.

Comparisons and Connections With Traditional Journalists

Blogs offer a different venue for individuals to counter the traditional gatekeeping role over which the mass media have generally had control. Markos Moulitsas, founder of Daily Kos, in part founded the blog as a means of challenging what he viewed as a lack of input from the average person in the dominant narrative coming from media organizations and elite journalists. Similarly, others have questioned whether blogs under the umbrella of corporate media organizations are qualitatively within the category of blogs as the bloggers themselves do not have as much freedom within the organization's editorial and ownership structure. From there, one role

that independent bloggers can have that is not duplicated by traditional journalists is that of the “fifth estate,” wherein bloggers act as a watchdog of the journalists. While there is the role of the ombudsperson or public editor for singular publications, a watchdog blogger can look for greater trends and issues across the journalism spectrum. A watchdog blogger can offer their critiques across different organizations to see if journalism as a whole—rather than within a single organization—is displaying a particular issue, concern, or trend.

There is a symbiotic relationship between traditional journalists and bloggers. That relationship can be more particularly pronounced in niche content areas. Topics such as science or business journalism that often require specific training and knowledge to communicate the often wonkish details or context of a story, while at the same time those areas receive relatively fewer resources within traditional media, can bring bloggers that do not view themselves as journalists to the fore. From there, journalists can learn from the expert bloggers to shift the agenda or practice their gatekeeping function differently. Research has also shown an intermedia agenda setting function of the traditional news organizations on bloggers with many posts linking back to corporate media websites. Additionally, as reported by Homero Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues in 2011, over time, more bloggers have come to view their work as journalism.

Although not unique to blogs, hyperlinks are a central element in the content of blogs. The hyperlinks act as a verifiable source for the audience to make decisions about the source material for themselves. Instead of simply quoting an original source without the full context of the surrounding information, the users can choose whether or not to follow the link and better understand the veracity of the author’s claim or statement. The hyperlinks support the type of content that many bloggers create: analysis and opinion based on facts and others’ original reporting. The bloggers can then contextualize and combine the various reports together to create something new. These links also function as a means of highlighting other, similar sources, which in turn can lead to those other sources linking back to the original blog. However, some have criticized this practice

as a means of creating echo chambers within the digital sphere.

In line with the shifting news values illustrated by blogs in comparison to traditional media, many bloggers also shift the lines in terms of what is generally considered acceptable behavior by newsmen. For example, many organizations have specific codes of ethics and conduct that outline what objectivity and subjectivity mean for the organization and what conduct is considered acceptable and unacceptable for its reporters. Bloggers, on the other hand, often include elements of their identity and self-presentation front and center in their coverage and analysis. There has been some loosening on those expectations for traditional journalists, which varies significantly by organization, beat, and medium. Additionally, traditional journalists may have more leeway around identity and self-presentation through personal social media channels rather than incorporated into pieces published by their organizations.

The audience’s reaction to the differentiation between bloggers and journalists is another important characteristic. Various studies have looked at the uses and gratifications for why the audience seeks out independent bloggers (either amateur or professional) in contrast to journalists. For some, there is a strong distrust for anything that is aligned with corporate media influence. Others want the analysis that is included with the specific slant of their choice. The genre, topic, and presentation of the blog also dictates how the audience views the credibility of the blogger. One example includes looking at amateur war bloggers—sometimes soldiers themselves—in contrast to war journalists. The journalists were viewed to have less credibility on the events of war as they are disconnected from the fighting and firsthand experience of the soldiers. However, the bloggers had more credibility as they could include personal narratives that described their experiences on the ground in a way that traditional journalism norms did not allow.

Jeremy Saks

See also Bias; Citizen Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Gatekeeping; Internet: Impact on the Media; Objectivity; Social Media

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BLOOMBERG

Bloomberg News is a news service based out of New York operated by Bloomberg L.P. that since its founding in the early 1980s has increased the competition among business news wires. Although it is best known for providing business and economic news to investors, it also carries content in other areas, including the arts and politics. In 2019, Bloomberg News had more than 2,700

reporters and editors in 130 countries and published more than 5,000 stories per day. It has become a well-known newsgathering organization that has won dozens of awards and now includes television, radio, magazines, and book publishing divisions. This entry discusses the company's history, its impact on journalism, its newsroom culture, the influence of its founder and namesake, and its expansion in the beginning of the 21st century.

Former Salomon Brothers general partner Michael Bloomberg founded the company that became Bloomberg L.P. with his severance pay in 1981. Originally, the company just sold computer terminals to Wall Street investment banks that included financial data about stocks, bonds, and other investments. Those financial data still provide the bulk of the company's revenue.

The name changed (1986) and the company began what was originally called *Bloomberg Business News* (1990) with a six-person editorial team. Bloomberg hired *Wall Street Journal* reporter Matthew Winkler, who had written a story about Bloomberg for the *Journal*, to run the operation. The news service was—and still is—provided on the terminals, which are leased for about \$2,000 per month. The first Bloomberg news story was published in June 1990.

During its first year, Bloomberg Business News opened bureaus in New York, Washington, London, Tokyo, Toronto, and Princeton, New Jersey, writing about the stock market and company news that had previously been covered by other wire services such as Dow Jones, the Associated Press, and Reuters. By early 1995, the organization had grown to 325 reporters and editors in 54 bureaus and had started an investing magazine called *Bloomberg Personal* that was distributed as a Sunday newspaper supplement. The two main newsrooms at that time were in Princeton—for business and company news—and New York—for markets and financial news.

In its early years, Bloomberg Business News distributed its editorial content to other media organizations to improve its name recognition, giving terminals for free to newspapers in virtually every U.S. city. Those newspapers then pulled Bloomberg stories off the wire and ran them in their business sections. In many cases, Bloomberg helped the newspapers by creating an index of

local stocks that could run each day in the business section.

Bloomberg attracted business journalists from daily newspapers and other media organizations by offering them higher salaries and stock certificates that fluctuated in value based on the number of terminals sold by the company. The number of installed terminals reached 10,000 in 1990 and doubled by 1992, the same year that the company introduced *Bloomberg Markets* magazine. The 50,000th terminal was installed in 1995, and the company leased its 75,000th terminal in 1997. In 2004, the company surpassed the 200,000 installed terminals mark. In 2019, it had more than 300,000 terminals.

The organization purchased WBBR-AM, a New York-based radio station with a business focus, and launched a show on several New York area television stations in the 1990s. WBBR is the flagship radio station of Bloomberg Radio (1993), which syndicates reports to radio stations around the world. Bloomberg Television (1994) operates 24 hours a day, competing against CNBC and Fox Business Network, operating in seven languages. In 2019, Bloomberg Television is available in more than 433 million homes in more than 70 countries.

In 1996, Bloomberg started Bloomberg Press, which publishes books for financial professions and the general public on investing, economics, and current affairs. One of the first books was based on the reporting of Bloomberg business journalists Carrick Mollenkamp, Joseph Menn, and Adam Levy.

In 1997, *Time* magazine's Wall Street columnist Daniel Kadlec criticized Bloomberg in a *Columbia Journalism Review* article for putting pressure on newspapers and other media outlets to use more of the media organization's content. Kadlec noted that Bloomberg had pulled its terminals out of some newsrooms that weren't using or attributing Bloomberg editorial content in their publications. Bloomberg's Winkler denied that the organization placed quotas on other news organizations. However, by the end of the decade, Bloomberg had stopped giving its terminals to other media organizations at no charge.

As Bloomberg grew in the business news world, its competitors became wary of its success. "Bloomberg found niches that Dow Jones and

Reuters didn't fill," wrote Bloomberg in his 1997 autobiography *Bloomberg by Bloomberg*, cowritten with Winkler. "From the start, it was easier for us to add to our basic product what they provided, than for them to add what we built to theirs." Dow Jones ended up selling its Telerate data operations (similar to the Bloomberg terminal in that they were leased to Wall Street traders and contained data about investments) because it couldn't compete with Bloomberg, and in 1998, Reuters employees were accused of stealing confidential data from Bloomberg in an attempt to copy some of its services. A competing service, Bridge Information Systems, started in the 1990s, but went out of business after the stock market bubble burst in 2000.

Bloomberg has been a major force behind changes in journalism. For example, Winkler was behind a push for Regulation Fair Disclosure, a law enacted by the Securities and Exchange Commission that requires public companies to disseminate important information to everyone at the same time. Previously, companies could choose to block investors, analysts, and journalists from listening to its conference calls discussing its earnings or other news, and from attending meetings where it discussed its operations. The new regulation gave business journalists access to more information about the companies they covered.

Bloomberg's newsrooms have traditionally included fish tanks with exotic fish from around the world for a soothing presence and snack bars filled with soft drinks, potato chips, cookies, and fruit designed to keep reporters and editors at their desks. The company also has a reputation of having an intense, editor-driven culture.

Business journalists who join Bloomberg are trained to write stories in a specific manner based on the internal stylebook, *The Bloomberg Way*. The book, which has been updated several times since its original publication in 1995, tells its reporters how to cover specific stories, such as company earnings and the daily stock market performance. Basic Bloomberg News stories are known for their four-paragraph lead structure, which includes the "nut" paragraph (the paragraph that explains the rationale for the story) as the third paragraph and a quote in the fourth paragraph.

The Bloomberg terminal has become a handy reporting tool for many business journalists around the country. The terminal provides access to information about millions of company executives, Wall Street analysts and investors, and industry consultants, including phone numbers and email addresses. It also provides Securities and Exchange Commission documents for all public companies, and a recent addition to the service includes lawsuits and legal rulings.

Michael Bloomberg's political career has caused issues for Bloomberg News, which has struggled with how to cover its owner. When Bloomberg was mayor of New York, the news service appointed one reporter to cover him. However, it does not include him in its billionaires list, which was launched in 2012, although he easily qualifies. His net worth is \$54.3 billion, according to *Forbes*. During his candidacy for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination, Bloomberg banned his reporters from aggressively covering his campaign or writing investigative stories about his rivals.

Business journalist Carol Loomis of *Fortune* estimated in 2007 that the company's 2006 operating profits were about \$1.5 billion with \$4.7 billion in revenues. Loomis also estimated that Bloomberg's stake in the company is worth more than \$13 billion, and that the overall company is worth about \$20 billion. Bloomberg L.P. reached \$10 billion in annual revenue in 2018, and it is the market share leader in financial market data, analysis and news, with 32.5%, according to Burton-Taylor International. Reuters is No. 2 with 22% market share.

Bloomberg acquired *BusinessWeek* magazine from McGraw-Hill in 2009 and renamed it *Bloomberg Businessweek*. It now has a global circulation of 600,000. Arlington, Virginia-based Bureau of National Affairs, which provides news to business executives and government officials, was acquired in August 2011 for \$990 million to bolster its existing Bloomberg Government and Bloomberg Law news services. *Economist* editor John Micklethwait replaced Winkler as editor in chief in 2014, and the news service won its first Pulitzer Prize the next year. Reporter Zachary Mider won the Pulitzer by documenting how U.S. corporations could lower their taxes and gain an edge on competitors

simply by claiming a new legal address in a foreign country.

Bloomberg began an expansion of Bloomberg Radio in 2016, and in 2018 it launched TicToc by Bloomberg, a news service available on Twitter. The same year it began charging for access to its content on the Internet, and it has greatly expanded its podcast strategy. With business news coverage growing in importance in the 21st century, it seems likely that Bloomberg News' stature will likely continue to grow.

Chris Roush

See also Business Journalism; Dow Jones; Reuters

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BLY, NELLIE

Although her newspaper career began in the 1880s, Nellie Bly remains one of the most remembered and romantic figures in the field of journalism. Under the tutelage of her editors and with the encouragement of publisher Joseph Pulitzer, Bly captivated readers with her journalistic adventures, which were often a mix of muckraking and sensationalism that led her from the depths of New York's notorious Blackwell's Island Asylum for women to a race around the world. At a time when female journalists were a rarity, especially outside the realm of women's publications or literary journals, Bly lent her distinctly female perspective to stories that otherwise would have often gone unnoticed or, at best, would have been covered by male journalists in a way that lacked her human connection with her subjects.

Bly is remembered even now for her bravery and her bravado. The iconic image of Bly in her checkered coat and jaunty hat, carrying her small valise, has been immortalized in children's books, games, and even an American Girl doll. Few figures in journalism, male or female, have managed to capture the public's imagination in the way that she did. Fewer still have had their legacy stay alive long enough to remain an inspiration to budding journalists, especially young women, for more than a century. This entry traces her career from its precocious start with the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and her stories of subsequent travel in Mexico, to her relocation to New York City and the assignments for the *New York World* that would make her famous, her subsequent marriage and widowhood, and her work for the *New York Evening Journal*, which she continued until shortly before her life ended in 1922.

Beginnings

Nellie Bly's work carried her into the public eye at an early age, and as she gained popularity, her early life story quickly became part and parcel of her persona and only added to her intrigue. Bly began life as Elizabeth Jane Cochran when she was born on May 5, 1864, in Cochran's Mills, Pennsylvania, a small town near Pittsburgh aptly named after her father, Michael Cochran. Her mother, Mary Jane, who was Cochran's second wife, clearly doted on Elizabeth and dressed her in pink to the extent that the little girl soon took "Pink" as her moniker, a harbinger of changes to come. Her life was drastically altered, though, after her father's death in 1870 left her mother and her siblings in tight financial straits.

Although her mother struggled to support the family, Pink was able to begin attending the Indiana State Normal School in 1879, when she was 15 years old. It was at this time that she added an "e" to her last name, making it Cochrane. The move was never really explained, but nonetheless followed by her mother and younger brothers. Soon after, Pink's chance for an education disappeared as her family's financial situation became dire. Pink was forced to leave school and move to Pittsburgh with her family, where they would be closer to her older brothers and find greater opportunities for work. These were formative years for Bly, as she never forgot her mother's financial struggles, intensified by her gender, as she sought some of the few avenues of employment available to women of that time.

Early Newspaper Work

Although she did not finish her formal education after leaving the Indiana Normal School, Pink was drawn to reading the local newspapers in Pittsburgh, including the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, which published Erasmus Wilson's regular column, "Quiet Observations." It was in one of those columns that Wilson criticized women who ventured outside the realm of the home to work, thereby, he alleged, ignoring the needs of their husbands and families. After reading his words, Pink took it upon herself to defend women who, like her mother, were forced by circumstances beyond their control to find ways to feed their families,

and so she wrote Wilson a letter. She chided him for ignoring the realities of so many women's lives, and then, in closing, she signed her name as "Lonely Orphan Girl." Clearly, as would happen so often in her life, Pink caught the eye of an editor, and the *Dispatch* printed a query asking for "Lonely Orphan Girl" to reply. Rather than send another letter, Pink showed up at the newspaper's office, and in no short time, despite her problems with spelling and grammar, she found herself with a job and a way to aid her family's fortunes. The *Dispatch's* managing editor at the time, George Madden, decided she would need a better byline than "Pink," and after throwing out the question in the newsroom, the name Nellie Bly was suggested and adopted. Although its origin is unsure, it appears likely to have come from a popular Stephen Foster song at the time, "Nelly Bly," with a slightly different spelling. With her new name in tow, Pink began to hunt down and write stories that zeroed in on the social ills of the day, including the perils of young girls working in local factories, archaic divorce laws that disgraced women, and labor laws that disproportionately penalized them. It was 1885, and 21-year-old Nellie Bly, as she would now forever be known, was off and running to her future.

The World Awaits

Bly stayed with the *Dispatch* about 9 months before deciding she wanted to broaden her horizons. In just one instance of her audacity, Bly, without even a year under her belt at the paper, complained to her editors about the inconsequential articles she was expected to write. So, without much thought to what she would do, she left the *Dispatch*, although articles continued with her byline, probably the result of freelance work. But, in January 1886, with her mother in tow, Bly headed south. While with the *Dispatch*, she had been part of an "entertainment" committee for a delegation from Mexico that had visited Pittsburgh. The country and its culture intrigued her, so Mexico was where she decided to land. Bly kept detailed notes of her trip, commenting on the people, other journalists, the country's culture, and its politics. She learned the ropes of how to censor her stories to get them past Mexican

authorities, and she saved some truths for when she would return to the states. She traveled the country extensively, not endearing herself to the local governments, and returned to Pittsburgh in late June, earlier than anticipated. She returned to the *Dispatch* to write her most honest impressions from the trip, resulting in the publication of *Six Months in Mexico* (1888), the first of her books chronicling her journalistic adventures.

Although glad to be back in Pittsburgh at the time, it did not take long for Bly's restless nature to take over again. Deciding to seek even greater opportunities, she boldly made the decision to move to New York City in May 1877 and try her hand with one of the big newspapers there. She went without the offer of a job, so to make money while she searched for employment, she brilliantly proposed a series of interviews with New York City newspaper editors, which the *Dispatch* then agreed to publish. It was an inspired move, as Bly introduced herself by way of the interviews, including one with the editor of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, who offered her a job with the paper. It was here, with the *World*, that Bly's career would take off as she undertook one of her most famous assignments, reporting on the mistreatment of patients at New York City's notorious Women's Lunatic Asylum, located on Blackwell's Island in the East River. Although it has never been clear which one of them proposed the idea, either the *World's* managing editor, Colonel John Cockerill, or its publisher, Joseph Pulitzer, asked Bly to pose as an insane woman and have herself committed to the asylum, so she could investigate the veracity of reports on the conditions there.

Bly threw herself into the assignment, taking on a disguise and the name Nellie Brown, as she exhibited behavior that landed her in Bellevue Hospital and ultimately Blackwell's Island. Her experience was horrific, even as she no longer acted as though insane. She made notes on the substandard care, food, and treatment and left after 10 days when a lawyer for the *World* came to arrange her release. Bly's stories from her experience ran as columns in the *World* in October 1887, and the attention they received surpassed anything she or her editors could have imagined. There were immediate cries for reform at Blackwell's Island, and the asylum and other

institutions like it came under intense scrutiny. Before the end of the year, Bly's columns were released in book form and sold under the title *Ten Days in a Madhouse* (1887). At 23, Bly had made a legitimate journalistic name for herself and acquired a reading public thirsty for more.

In the months that followed, Bly would go on to use her newfound fame to continue reporting on societal ills, especially those facing working girls and women in the city. She even took on stories investigating government corruption and she always seemed to find a way to gather proof, much to the chagrin of her subjects. Her writing was often referred to as *sensational*, in a demeaning way that portrayed it as inappropriate work for a woman. Bly paid such charges no mind and continued reporting and writing on what she wanted. Her dogged determination would lead to another story that solidified her reputation even more, but this time her name would be heard around the world.

Travels With Nellie

Joseph Pulitzer and his *World* were always on the lookout for ways to sell more newspapers and outstrip their competition, especially the Hearst papers. Again, there are discrepancies as to exactly who first thought up the idea, but the paper pounced on sending a reporter to try and recreate the journey in Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in 80 Days* (1872). Bly insisted that she be chosen for the trip, but there were reservations about sending the young (age 25) woman without a chaperone on such a journey. The discussion was cut short by Bly's assertion that she would go to work for another newspaper if not given the assignment, and she was soon preparing for her trip. One interesting side note that has never been fully explained is that Bly wrote down the wrong year for her birth on her passport. Instead of 1864, she wrote 1867 and did not correct the record when her age was reported as 22 on the trip. It was an error she would let stand until her death.

On November 14, 1889, Bly set sail on the *Augusta Victoria* and began the trip that would have readers eagerly awaiting every word she wrote about her travels. She was the talk of the town and the country as the *World* challenged

readers to guess her arrival times at her various destinations and offered money to the winners. Although *Cosmopolitan* had its own female reporter, Elizabeth Bisland, making a similar journey, it was Bly who captured the country's imagination. Much to Pulitzer's pleasure, the trip was a resounding success as Bly bested Verne's character, Phileas Fogg, by 8 days. The *World's* circulation skyrocketed as New Yorkers greatly anticipated her arrival back home on January 25, 1890. In the same way as *Madhouse*, Bly's newspaper stories of her journey were quickly compiled into a book, *Nellie Bly's Book: Around the World in Seventy-Two Days* (1890), which became an instant success.

It was this adventure that sealed Bly's reputation as a popular culture figure, and her likeness could be found on games, trading cards, paper dolls, and numerous other collectables. She found herself in demand for lectures, as people wanted to hear directly from her about her experiences. She also had other offers of money to write, and so by the end of 1890, she had left the *World* to pursue these other ventures. It would not last, though, as she ended up back at the *World* in 1893, again pretty much writing whatever stories caught her attention, from government malfeasance to high society, and on occasion being accused of taking license with some of her facts.

Post-World

In her late 20s and early 30s, Bly did progressively less of her journalistic work and, for a period beginning in 1895, she was married to Robert Seaman, a millionaire businessman who, at 69, was 39 years older than Bly. The marriage got off to a rough start, but the two stayed together until his death, at age 80, in 1904. Bly, who was almost 40 at the time, was left to handle his failing business ventures and spent several years in Europe trying to raise capital to keep things afloat. When World War I broke out, she turned once again to the skill that had never failed her, and she wrote stories as a foreign correspondent covering the war in Europe, one of the few female journalists to do so. When she did finally return to New York in 1919, she wrote regularly for the *New York Evening Journal*, whose publisher, William Randolph Hearst, was

a nemesis of her old boss, Joseph Pulitzer, who had died in 1911. She would write until the end of her life, with her last article being published on January 9, 1922, a little over 2 weeks before her death from pneumonia on January 27.

Bly's rise to fame and her journalistic record are astounding even without taking into consideration the time period. But, in light of her limited education, her family's subsequent poverty, and society's limitations on women, her achievements are even more impressive. In an industry completely dominated by men, Bly held her ground, fought for stories, and stood up for better pay for herself. She was a champion for women who struggled to work and survive in this time, and although she died relatively young at 57, she did live long enough to see women gain the right to vote. Her name has not lost its cachet, as her image is still found today in the form of dolls, new books, and games. Her early journalistic career can be described as a form of muckraking, investigative journalism that would thrive in the early 1900s, as her writing resulted in societal change and advanced opportunities for women in journalism. In her iconic travel coat and hat, Nellie Bly, who was always moving forward and never shied away from the attention she garnered, left a journalistic legacy that continues to inspire and encourage young women today.

Dianne M. Bragg

See also Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Sensationalism; Stunt Journalism

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BOTS

Bots are software programs that are programmed to achieve predetermined missions. Bots range from simplistic script bots to more sophisticated smart bots that can aid in server processing functions. Bots are automated technology that can perform uniquely human functions, which operate without the need for human assistance once programmed. Bots can be used to follow or interact with profiles on social media platforms such as Twitter. Bots are increasingly a visible and invisible force in the production of news, social media, the spread of misinformation, aggregation, customer service, and artificial intelligence (AI). This entry examines bots in the context of newsgathering and discusses different types of bots. The entry also discusses past and potential future bots.

Newsgathering

Newsgathering operations use bots to gather stories from specific outlets for distribution on an aggregate website, wherein bots are employed to skim the web for stories. This example is foundational to the functioning of aggregate news websites. One of the primary reasons for the advent of bots is to accomplish the goal of executing repetitive tasks without the need for human operators, as bots are often faster than humans with regard to repetitive tasks. Bots are used to execute workflows without the need for extensive human interaction or oversight, enabling organizations to save money on human labor and capital. Companies use bots for instant chat services that, for example, automate answers to questions for customer support. This ability to execute repetitive tasks in an efficient manner makes bots valuable tools, especially when applied to the Internet and through social media networks. Bots that interact with the Internet sphere are used to comb through data, analyze content on web pages, and interact with human users. Users interact with bots online every time a query is made or an input rendered. With the increase of social media platforms as aggregators of news information and the circulation of news, the interaction between bots as nonhuman actors and human accounts is complicated by a lack of transparency.

Bots spread information to human actors and attempt to push conversations, narratives, news stories, and trending topics in programmed directions. As a kind of AI, voice-activated bots such as Google Assistant or Siri can respond to human prompts and provide answers to questions. While not all bots are manipulative, people can use bots for nefarious purposes such as scamming human users, breaking into accounts, and spreading malware, misinformation, disinformation, or spam. People can use bots to spread “fake news” as well as propagate opinions that masquerade as facts on social media and that ultimately may be true or untrue. Another emergent use for bots in this same vein is to promote products, services, or even currency, such as forex trading, cryptocurrency trading, and mobile and web-based gaming applications. Since bots can often execute functions more efficiently and expediently than human actors, bots are able to buy up or control commodities and deny the ability of the market to

service the needs of the consumer as intended. For instance, people can employ bots to auto-buy consumer electronics or other desired retail products, which has been an issue in terms of scarcity caused by a high demand for products such as new video game consoles.

Types

There are several different types of bots with specific umbrellas of purpose and scope that vary depending on their affordances and capabilities outlined below.

Chatbots

Chatbots are one of the most commonly used types of bots and are the most frequently encountered by human users. People often use chatbots in customer and technical support applications. These bots respond to inputs established by programmers to aid users without the presence of human intervention. The outputs of chatbots are uniform and regular and, in some ways, can eliminate some innate human biases that exist in interactions. Organizations also use chatbots to offer users 24/7 support in whatever application the bots service. Transactions between organizations and consumers are an executable task for chatbots; for example, chatbots can complete certain transactions with cable providers or banks.

Web Crawlers

Another type of bot is the web crawler. Web crawlers are bots that analyze data and content over a wide spectrum of domains on the Internet. Web crawlers are sometimes referred to as *spiders* or *spider bots*. The intention of these spider bot missions is to index pages across the Internet. This work is integral for research purposes, and for many types of Internet research to be efficient, researchers need web crawlers to function as the organic workforce necessary to index and retrieve pages in a cost-effective manner. For example, web crawlers are used extensively in university research systems as well as medical research systems. Web crawlers index pages that aid search engines in more effectively collecting and organizing web pages, which gives users a more orderly search

and research experience. Users are on the receiving end of the work of web crawlers when they input queries into search engines. The results rendered are the work of web crawlers and algorithms, despite the user never directly interacting with web crawlers. People also use crawlers for image indexing in addition to data and text indexing. Image indexing performed by web crawlers is augmented by AI applications that aid in the work of categorization and filtration of content. This is evident in reverse image lookup applications, and this action is only possible through the use of web crawlers and other skimming bots. Reverse image lookup allows users to input an image, rather than words, to obtain search results.

Social Bots

Social bots are commonly seen on social media platforms such as Twitter or Instagram. One can classify these profiles, operated by social bots, as “fake” accounts. These accounts garner “followers” to artificially inflate the influence and value of other real or artificial user accounts. Social bots can challenge the perceived authenticity of interactions on social media platforms. Many social bots have integrated the behaviors of chatbots, making it difficult to distinguish between real and artificial accounts for users who are aiming to interact with other human actors on social media platforms. Social bots can work to shape public opinions and attitudes of users who interact directly or indirectly with social media platforms, similar to the role that Internet influencers perform in popular culture. These social bots are used to post comments on news platforms as well as video hosting platforms. Companies responding to the rise of social bots, especially around election time, have tried to limit this infiltration by employing various safety measures and protocols. For example, Yahoo has at times disabled their comments section entirely to protect the user experience. Other sites such as *The New York Times* and *Fox News* have tried to employ bot detection through the Completely Automated Public Turing Test to Tell Computers and Humans Apart, as well as the periodic culling of inactive accounts to avoid having comments sections be compromised by bots. Further complicated by regulation, even if the use of social bots becomes

illegal, it will still be a strategy used by influencers around the world, as virtual private networks and other proxy mechanisms can easily mask the origin of bots and their “owners.”

Malicious Bots

The last major classification of bots is the malicious bot. These bots distribute spam, scrape content, obtain financial information and passwords, monitor and log keystrokes, and participate in the infiltration of secure information and the scamming of users. Financial institutions, such as brokerages, have to take extreme precautions and security measures to safeguard sensitive information. Companies such as Sony and Target, for instance, have been compromised by coordinated bot attacks, which have resulted in the credit card numbers and password information of users being stolen.

Malicious bots are also used in denial of service (DoS) attacks. DoS attacks are a crucial component of cyber warfare. These attacks are often carried out by bot “swarms” that seek to degrade the integrity of the network connection between specific vulnerable systems. For example, malicious bot swarms could be used in this capacity by disrupting the connection of a regional airbase communication network to the Internet and, therefore, the larger military communication infrastructure. To combat these bot swarms, other bots are employed to stop these attacks by identifying malicious behavior from unknown sources. However, there are some positive uses for bot swarms. People can use bot swarms to analyze information from automated drones in search and rescue operations to find stranded hikers, sailors lost at sea, as well people impacted by the chaos of natural disasters. Medically, bot swarms can be integrated with nanomachines to analyze physiological phenomena within the body in real time and give researchers and medical professionals insight that previously has been unable to be gleaned.

Past and Future

Although one can trace the first recognizable instances of bots back to Alan Turing and the Turing test (e.g., tests related to the presence of mind, thought, or intelligence) and Joseph Weizenbaum’s

creation of ELIZA (one of the first chatbots), bots entered the realm of social networking with Internet relay chats (IRC) and the rise of instant messaging. The reason for the employment of these early bots was to keep IRCs open even when users were absent. These webcrawler bots operated to index varying web pages and service search engines and platforms such as America Online. However, by the mid-2000s, bots were so prevalent and had infected so many computers and networks that hackers were able to use these newly established botnets to carry out criminal activity, such as the infiltration and acquisition of information on secure sites and the explosion of spam through email.

Bots are now highly influential in the emergence of social media platforms globally and can be problematically deployed when left unregulated. A prime example is the bot infestation on platforms such as Facebook during the 2016 U.S. election cycle, as well as the elections of many other nations, intended to spread misinformation and shape public opinion and perception. Bots have transformed rapidly across platforms, and laws are unevenly applied with regard to bots. Before leaving office, President Barack Obama signed into law on December 14, 2016, the “Better Online Ticket Sales (BOTS) Act of 2016,” which makes it illegal to use automated software, so-called ticket bots, to purchase tickets to popular events. Bots continue to become more prevalent as the amount of data on the Internet continues to expand. Bots aided by AI entities will continue to evolve and adapt to the vast quantities of information that they can encounter. For example, bots and AI work in conjunction in the reverse lookup of images. As of 2021, it is logical to believe that the same function used with regard to images may be used to reverse lookup other content such as video content and gifs. This would require bots that are more sophisticated than the ones that are already in common employ. The continued evolution of bots into intelligent agents could usher in new applications and methods of aiding users and new challenges within the realms of security and privacy. Bots are an integral, vital pillar upon which many of society’s digital experiences rely.

Benjamin Burroughs

See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism; Clickbait; Deception; Fake News; Internet: Impact on the Media; New Media; Social Media; Twitter

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BOYCOTTS

A boycott is an organized refusal to purchase from, trade with, or work for an organization in an effort to influence or reform it or otherwise draw attention to an issue that it represents. Boycotts are publicized and sometimes organized by news organizations, as well as targeted at them. After considering the history of boycotts, this entry describes different kinds of boycotts aimed

at or originating from news organizations, notes how boycotts have proliferated due to the affordances of digital and social media, and concludes with an examination of the politics of boycotts, in terms of their effectiveness and their structural role in the media system.

Histories of the Boycott

The term *boycott* was coined in 1880 in the wake of a community-wide withdrawal of labor and trade from English land agent Captain Charles C. Boycott. Organized by the Irish Land League, the withdrawal was a response to Boycott refusing to negotiate reduced rents for struggling Irish farmers and moving to evict them. The idea of using *boycott* as a term to describe this form of protest was arrived at by a local priest and an American journalist reporting on the Irish land troubles. As it became publicized in the press, the term *boycott* quickly entered common parlance, was translated into other languages, and appeared in *Webster's Dictionary* by 1882.

Its rapid adoption likely occurred because while the term was new, the practice was not. The origin story of boycotts as a practice is frequently located in pre-Revolutionary America, when non-importation and nonconsumption of British goods was a key way that colonists expressed their displeasure at British rule, as well as built common cause and a unified political identity across different social groups. This movement highlighted the political potential of consumer power, dramatically illustrated by the Boston Tea Party of 1773, during which protestors tossed imported tea—that most British and imperial of drinks—into Boston Harbor to protest British tax policy in the American colonies. The notion that boycotts are particularly American in nature has persisted, particularly given the prominence of boycotting in the mid-20th century Civil Rights movement, when African American activists organized a mass withdrawal of patronage from the Montgomery Bus system in Alabama, as well as in Don't Buy Where You Can't Work campaigns against discriminatory employers, to name just two examples.

However, boycotting as a social practice has a longer and broader history. Boycotting foreign goods has been a feature of several resistance movements to colonization, just one example

being the Indian practice of *swadeshi*, a movement originating in the 19th century where people boycotted foreign-produced goods, particularly clothing, in favor of domestic products.

Boycotts and American Journalism

The American media, including news organizations, are mostly for-profit enterprises that depend on some combination of consumer purchase, subscription, and advertiser support. When Americans are unhappy with what they see in media, boycotts are one of the tools they use to express their displeasure and attempt to change it.

The most direct kind of media boycott occurs when audiences stop purchasing a particular media product. This occurred in the early days of the American press in 1731, when clergy encouraged people not to purchase Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* or patronize his printing business in protest of an advertisement he had printed, for a ship offering berth for passengers to Barbados, that stated clergymen would not be admitted. Franklin's "Apology for Printers," a letter he published on the front page of the *Gazette*, made it clear that such threats to withdraw support from his newspaper arose on a regular basis. He went on to offer a full-throated defense of his right as a printer to publish what he saw fit, given both his need to make a living and his bedrock belief that truth would vanquish falsehood when subjected to public debate, and that such judgments ought to be made by the public and not the printer.

Franklin's passionate defense of press freedom may well have bolstered the many publications that would be on the receiving end of public disapprobation via boycott in years to come. For example, in the early 1930s, the *Baltimore Sun* and *Evening Sun* papers were widely boycotted because their most famous columnist, H. L. Mencken, vigorously denounced two lynchings that took place on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and the lack of criminal accountability for those who had perpetrated them.

While editorial positions have inspired boycotts against news organizations, investigative reporting has been another cause. For example, General Motors withdrew its advertising from the *Los Angeles Times* in 2005 for 4 months to protest its unflattering coverage of the company,

returning only once they felt convinced the paper had come to understand its point of view. This kind of advertiser boycott illustrates one of the reasons why, as Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky argued in their book *Manufacturing Consent*, a mostly advertiser-supported media system has a systemic pro-business bias. Even if these kinds of boycotts are not frequent, they create an incentive for journalists to self-censor in order to avoid conflicts with important advertisers.

Another type of media-targeted boycott leverages advertisers by pressuring them to withdraw ad dollars from objectionable content. While this type of boycott is more indirect, it is often favored when targeting media funded completely or in part by advertisers. Activists realize that media organizations will react more quickly to a loss in ad revenue than a loss in audiences. Further, it is easier to influence the behavior of a few large advertisers, who tend to be sensitive to bad press or a dip in sales, than to change people's media habits. This strategy is particularly relevant if the audience of the target media does not share the politics of the activist organization, as when the socially conservative American Family Association pressured the Ford Motor Company in 2005 and 2006 to stop advertising in publications serving gay and lesbian readers, such as *The Advocate*. The American right-wing cable channel Fox News has been a frequent target of this boycotting strategy. Bill O'Reilly, *Fox News*' leading star for many years, was fired in 2017 after a campaign encouraged advertisers to withdraw their support for his program *The O'Reilly Factor*, in light of revelations that the network had arranged settlements with a number of women due to an ongoing pattern of sexual harassment by Mr. O'Reilly. Other Fox News personalities have been reprimanded or temporarily taken off the air for comments deemed offensive or inaccurate, in response to pressure from advertisers who, in turn, are responding to pressure from individuals and liberal advocacy organizations such as Media Matters.

The converse also happens, when consumers threaten to boycott a company if they withdraw their advertising support from a favored program or publication. In 2017, USAA, a financial services and insurance company that serves the members of the military and veterans, withdrew its

advertising dollars from *Hannity* on Fox News due to the host's continued repetition of disinformation about the murder of a Democratic National Committee staffer but then reinstated its support due to customer complaints and threats to boycott, encouraged by right-wing advocacy groups such as the Media Research Center.

News organizations can themselves be instrumental in advocating a boycott. This was the case in the late 1970s, when the gay press rallied gay and lesbian consumers to boycott Florida oranges and orange juice, because the Florida Juice Commission's spokesperson, Anita Bryant, was a prominent opponent of gay rights. In 2002, a coalition of six African American newspapers promoted a boycott of the *Philadelphia Daily News* to protest racially insensitive reporting. And in 2016, the far-right online publication *Breitbart* called for a tit-for-tat boycott of Kellogg's products because the company had pulled its advertising from the site due to content deemed offensive.

Even when news organizations do not themselves initiate a boycott, their coverage is crucial to boycotts gaining attention and public support, especially since the impact of boycotts can be as much through damaging an organization's reputation as on its bottom line. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were even alternative press publications in the United States devoted solely to reporting on consumer boycotts at the national level.

Boycotts, Digital Media, and News

The rise of digital media has escalated the frequency, speed, and geographic reach of boycotts. The greater ease of publicizing boycotts via websites and email, eventually enhanced by social media platforms, creates a more even playing field where boycotts emerging from the grassroots can gain widespread public attention without having to go through journalistic gatekeepers. However, the ease of calling for boycotts online has also meant that their proliferation can hurt the impact of a single campaign. When many boycotts compete for consumers' attention and when they seem to come and go with great frequency, the seriousness of their threat can diminish.

The rise of digital has also changed how advertising space is sold, leading many advertisers to

find their marketing messages placed next to offensive and misleading content, often on sites that are, or claim to be, doing journalism. Programmatic advertising means that advertisers increasingly do not buy ad space in particular publications but participate in automated marketplaces that sell ad impressions for particular demographics or individual users wherever they may be online. As a result, more politically extreme and journalistically questionable publications have earned significant advertising revenue online in a way that was not possible in a print world. Some activists, such as those affiliated with the organization Sleeping Giants, now inform brands in a very public way on social media when their ads appear next to offensive or misleading content, giving them an opportunity to remove their ad support in order to prevent a consumer boycott.

In 2020, a coalition of civil rights organizations called for a pause on advertising on Facebook, a campaign called *#StopHateforProfit*. More than 1,000 advertisers, including large brands such as Adidas, Unilever, Microsoft, and Ford, pulled their ad dollars to pressure Facebook to take the elimination of hate speech and the spread of disinformation on its platform more seriously. The campaign pointed to the role of hate speech and disinformation in the genocide of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, starting in 2016, as one example, and conspiracy theories about the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020 as another. While much of this content appears on Facebook in posts from individuals and ads, some of what passes for news also perpetuates disinformation.

The Politics of Boycotts

Boycotts are a strategy of protest used across the political spectrum, ranging from small collectives on the local level to large corporations, nation states, and even transnational coalitions. Their effectiveness varies tremendously. Some boycotts actually lead to more sales or bigger audiences for the target, as they unintentionally provide free publicity and activate those from opposing perspectives. Some boycotts have no discernible impact, while others do lasting damage. Even when a boycott does not impact sales, the resulting

damage to an organization's reputation can hurt its share price, its standing with regulators, and its relationships with business partners.

Beyond the politics of a particular boycott, or whether it achieves its goals, are the meta-politics of boycotts, especially in relation to journalism. News organizations that have been the target of boycotts appeal to the principles of free expression and freedom of the press, as Franklin did in the first half of the 18th century. Franklin's concern that journalists and publishers receive undue pressure that stifles novel or unpopular content continues to be relevant in 2021. In the American media system, self-censorship and chilling effects have been more likely to occur as the result of advertiser or corporate pressure than from government action. The proliferation of boycotts in recent decades targeted at advertisers in order to reform media content reflects the reality of U.S. media economics and reinforces the power of advertisers in the news ecosystem, rather than challenging that structure. Boycotts are a market-based form of activism that position audiences as consumers rather than citizens and strengthen the market-based nature of journalism rather than question it.

Emily West

See also Advertising; Audiences; Breitbart; Censorship; Digital Advertising; Facebook; Fox News; *Los Angeles Times*

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BRADY, MATHEW B.

Mathew B. Brady (1823/1834–1896), the father of photojournalism in America. While portraiture was the centerpiece of Brady's early work, he is best known for his studio's work documenting the American Civil War.

For someone whose work depended entirely on sunlight, Brady lived his life largely in the shadows of history. According to historians, he left either three or zero letters written in his own hand, no diary, papers, or any other sort of written record of his experiences, thoughts, or observations. If it could not be said with silver nitrate on a piece of glass, he was essentially mute. Furthermore, he personally was responsible for shooting only a fraction of all the thousands of Daguerreotypes and glass plates he left behind.

Early Years

Brady's birthplace and year have never been firmly established, nor does anyone—including Brady himself—know what his middle initial stood for. Even his birth is something of a mystery. Brady claimed in an 1861 interview with George Townsend of the *New York World* to have been born in upstate New York in Warren County, but he demurred at giving his actual age. He even chided Townsend for asking him how old he was. Brady replied to the question of his age, "Never ask that of a lady or a photographer; they are

sensitive" (Townsend, 1891). The photographer continued by saying that he would tell the reporter, for fear he would find out some other way, that he had been born in Warren County, NY, between 1823 and 1824 to Irish immigrants Andrew and Julia Brady. Despite his claim in the interview, on his 1863 draft form and in prewar census records, Brady is listed as having been born in Ireland. Some historians have speculated Brady disavowed his Irish birth because of anti-Irish sentiment.

Absolutely nothing is known of his earliest years—no information survives regarding his schooling, how his family made its livelihood or how many siblings he had, though one historian claims he was the youngest of three. Historians disagree even over whether Brady could write, though they do seem to agree that he could read. One historian points out that three existent letters signed by Brady were clearly written by another party. It is known that when he was about 16 years of age, he suffered an eye ailment and traveled to Saratoga, NY, for treatment. Brady received the treatment, though he would be plagued by weak eyesight his entire life. However, the trip changed the trajectory of his life.

In Saratoga, he met painter William Page, who offered to give him drawing lessons at his studio in Albany. Page eventually moved to New York City, he opened a studio near what is today New York University, where he had studied with Samuel F. B. Morse, better known to journalists as the inventor of the telegraph, but who worked as a professor of art and design at the college and had been one of Page's instructors. Page introduced Brady to Morse who showed the boy a new art form he had learned about on a trip to France to patent his telegraph—the Daguerreotype, an image affixed chemically to a copper plate. The process produced a living image rather than a piece of art. Morse brought back one of Louis Daguerre's cameras and used it to open a school of Daguerreotype photography in order to supplement his meager university salary. Brady was one of his first students.

Portraiture Projects

Brady, wearing blue-tinted spectacles that helped his weakened eyes, worked as a department store clerk for Irish-American immigrant Alexander

Turney Stewart and studied with Morse for several years before opening his first studio, the Daugerrean Miniature Gallery, in 1844, at around the age of 21. The gallery was on the top floor of the building. He chose this location so that he could install skylights. He had noticed that Morse had built his house to let in as much sunlight as possible. Brady added the skylights to accomplish the same objective in his gallery's Operating Room (studio).

Unlike New York's other famous 19th-century photographer, Jacob Riis, who made his reputation photographing the squalor and plight of New York City's poorest residents, Brady focused on American success stories by specializing in portraiture of prominent politicians and other famous individuals. A year after opening his first gallery, Brady conceived a massive project of photographing all the prominent Americans he could for a work to be titled the *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*. His manuscript included portraits of noteworthy politicians of the day such as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and an aged Andrew Jackson. The portrait of Jackson may have been taken by Nashville photographer Don Adams. The custom of the day was for the gallery owner to receive credit for photographs taken by members of his staff or, apparently, even contract employees.

Another of his early projects was undertaken in either 1845 or 1846. Brady worked with feminist author Eliza Wood Farnham, warden of the female prison at Sing Sing, to illustrate a book she was bringing out. Originally published in England, the book, *The Rationale of Crime* by Marmaduke B. Sampson in 1841, dealt with phrenology and crime. Brady took headshots to illustrate the manuscript.

Published in 1850, the *Gallery of Illustrious Americans* was a huge book weighing nearly 5 pounds. It was bound in brown leather with gold lettering and sold for \$30. Probably because of the price, the book was never much of a financial success, but it did receive excellent reviews, which helped draw attention to Brady's work and contributed to his winning multiple awards at the 1851 World's Fair in London and establish American superiority in the field of Daguerreotype photography. As he had worked on the project, he also began entering his portraits into different

competitions. He won competitions so frequently that one Daguerreotype journal commented in 1848 drolly, "Mr. B. has won again" (Horan, 1955, p. 9).

Brady was in London for the World's Fair because overwork had worsened his eyesight and he needed a break to recover. Also, he had married Julia Hardy, daughter of a Maryland plantation owner in 1849, and a trip abroad would give them the opportunity to take a delayed honeymoon.

At the World's Fair, American photographers took three of the top five awards; Brady himself received the award for general excellence. The European press grudgingly admitted that the Americans had perfected an art, developed in France, to the point that they surpassed European practitioners. Some claimed the reason for American superiority in the art was the country's superior atmosphere. Others claimed the Americans won because they were not constrained by the same patents that bound what European photographers could do with the art. Despite the reviewers' comments, as Brady and his wife made their trip across Europe, they continually saw advertisements from European Daguerreotypists who claimed they used "the American process" (Horan, 2015, p. 19). Other critics admitted that Brady's work was far superior to that of European artists.

When he returned from Europe in 1852, Brady began experimenting with blue skylights and even blue filters for his lenses. Blue filters help bring out highlights in black-and-white photography, which is presumably why Brady wanted to use them. Brady also trained in a new photography technique called *wet plate*. The wet plate technique, developed by English sculptor Frederick Scott Archer, used a chemical process to create light-sensitive glass plates that could be used to make multiple exposures. This technique would eventually make Daguerreotype obsolete. While in Europe, Brady had met Scotsman Alexander Gardner, who would eventually follow Brady to America and become part of the gallery staff. Gardner was a particularly valuable addition because of his expertise in the wet plate technique. The new process was both faster and more profitable than Daguerreotype, which allowed only one picture to

be made from an exposure. Gardner and Brady produced some 30,000 portraits annually.

Brady's success allowed him to move to bigger quarters on Bleacher Street in March 1860. This new studio was the largest and most luxurious in the city. It featured velvet drapes embroidered in gold, a frescoed ceiling, and glass chandeliers. Business grew quickly, and before long, Brady realized he needed an even larger space. He moved to the corner of Tenth and Broadway and opened a new gallery that was furnished with the most modern gas lamps and the best heating system available. The new gallery was so impressive, that in January 1861 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* declared that, were the facility in England, it would be named the Royal Gallery.

Given his success in New York, Brady opened a second gallery in Washington, DC, in 1858. He called that facility the National Photographic Gallery. It was in this gallery where Brady shot multiple portraits of President Abraham Lincoln, and even his son Tad. Lincoln's image on the \$5 bill is a reproduction from a Brady photograph.

By 1850, Mathew Brady, a farm boy from upstate New York, had become one of the most renowned photographers in the world. His fortunes would climax in that decade, though the Civil War would put an end to that. His reputation as a photographic historian would expand with his work as a pictorial war correspondent.

War Photography

In the 1891 interview with Townsend, Brady said he had decided to document the war because he felt called to do so by destiny. "A spirit in my feet said, 'Go, and I went' . . ." (Townsend, 1891). Going, however, meant getting the approval of military authorities as well as the War Department. Brady approached his old friend Winfield Scott, at that point commander of the Union armies, and asked for permission to cover the war at the front. Scott told Brady that he was soon to be removed from command and suggested Brady go see his replacement, General George McDowell. Instead, the photographer headed to the White House to see another old acquaintance, Abraham Lincoln, whose inauguration he and his staff had just photographed.

The president did grant Brady permission, including a handwritten pass, to cover the war—with one proviso: he had to cover all costs himself. Brady believed at the time that he would eventually be able to sell the photographic record he planned to the government and recoup his losses. That was a dreadful miscalculation. Brady would spend \$100,000 to put more than 20 teams of photographers and "Whatisit" (traveling dark-rooms) wagons in the field in the different theatres. They would shoot more than 10,000 plates. The pictures sold well during the war, but afterward, neither the government nor the public was interested in pictures of the bloody carnage that had left 750,000 Americans dead or maimed.

Not knowing what the future would hold, in early July, Brady began making preparations to head to Virginia, the anticipated site of the first major battle of the war. He equipped his black-hooded wagon with light-proof doors and walls, donned a linen duster and broad-brimmed hat and headed toward Manassas with Dick McCormick, a veteran war correspondent who had covered the Crimean War, *Harper's* artist Al Waud, and his chief darkroom assistant Ned House. As McDowell prepared his men for battle, Brady prepared his equipment to record the anticipated Union victory for history.

Unfortunately for both, the Confederates routed the Union troops, who retired from the battlefield in disarray. In the disorderly retreat, made even more difficult by the many civilians who had come to watch the battle, Brady became separated from the rest of his team. He spent the night wandering the woods. The photographer eventually made his way back to Washington after 3 days, with his plates.

Humphrey's Journal, a photography journal, commended Brady for his shots of "grim-visaged war." They wrote that his were the only reliable records of the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). They opined that newspaper reporters were unreliable liars but that Brady could be counted on to capture the truth. The *American Journal of Photography*, in its August 1, 1861 edition, referred to him as the *irrepressible photographer*.

Brady's next major foray into the battlefield was for Antietam in the fall of 1862. With him were Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan. The pictures they took of that bloodiest 1-day

battle of the war brought home to Americans for the first time the realities of war. Brady and Gardner traveled with General Joseph Hooker's troops, and they shot numerous pictures of dead Confederate soldiers after the battle. Gardner is credited with moving one body six times to pose it so as to capture the drama of the day. Gardner was photographing as a burial team was working to inter the dead—he may have only had the one body to work with, or he may merely have moved the body around out of convenience. In any case, the same body appears in at least six photos taken by Brady's team that day. There is no indication that this was done at Brady's instruction, but neither did he stop Gardner. The pictures taken that day at Antietam stunned Americans.

Brady went on to photograph with his teams the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He had a team with General William Tecumseh Sherman during the March to the Sea, both of whom were under orders from the Quartermaster to photograph all infrastructure they encountered. Brady also went back into the field during the Siege of Petersburg and photographed a duel between Confederate and Union artillery. His horse bolted when the cannon began firing, but Brady continued to shoot while under fire.

One of Brady's proudest accomplishments occurred just a few days after the war. Neither he nor any of his teams had been at Appomattox Court to photograph Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender. Brady had known Lee since the Mexican-American War, and he wanted a picture of the defeated Confederate commander, so he went to Lee's home and with the help of Lee's wife persuaded him to don his uniform for a picture. This is the well-known picture of Lee standing on the porch of his house (see Figure 1).

Brady also wanted a picture of Sherman after the war, but the irascible general refused to be photographed alone. He would only pose for a picture with his entire staff, and they had all scattered home to their families. Brady persuaded Sherman to come to his studio the next day at 2 p.m. if he could get all of Sherman's staff there by then. The general agreed, and Brady sent his staff scurrying to get messages to the general's staff. All agreed to participate in the picture, so Sherman arrived at the studio the next day at the arranged



Figure 1 Photograph of Robert E. Lee

Source: Mathew B. Brady/National Archives 525769. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/525769>

time. The only problem: one of his men, General Francis Preston Blair Jr., was missing. To compound matters, a mother arrived to keep an appointment to have her 3-year-old daughter photographed. Brady asked her to wait, and she agreed. Blair did not arrive until 3 p.m., but Sherman spent the ensuing hour happily playing with the 3-year-old.

At the end of the war, Brady was deeply in debt, and the War Department refused to purchase his collection of war photographs. Brady disbanded his teams and put his images in storage. After getting the pictures of Sherman and Lee, he stopped shooting with the exception of a few photographs taken of Lincoln's funeral cortege, and a portrait of the new president, Andrew Johnson. Brady tried to make up some of his losses with an exhibit of war photographs at the New York Historical Society in 1866, but the public was not interested in pictures of the war. He kept his studio running, but he was mired in debt. In 1875, Congress purchased several thousand of his images for \$25,000, an amount that was insufficient to relieve all his debt.

Anthony and Sons, his chief creditor, took possession of his negatives. To compound matters, Brady's wife had developed a heart ailment that would make her an invalid until her death in 1887.

Legacy

Despite Brady's renown as a photographer, his finances never recovered from the Civil War. However, he continued his photography business in partnership with his nephew, Levin Handy. Handy would take the business over completely in 1896 after Brady's death. In April 1896, Brady had been hit by a street car. His death was hastened by a kidney ailment he developed later that year. Brady died alone in Presbyterian Hospital in New York City on January 15, 1896. He was buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC.

Brady was a tireless worker and a gifted photographer. The first issue of *Photographic Art-Journal* referred to Brady as the *fountain-head* of photography. Others have also lauded his work. Brady likely would not have considered himself either a journalist or a photojournalist, yet he was both, and while much of his work has been lost, enough has survived to demonstrate the horrors not just of the American Civil War but of civil war generally.

Debra van Tuyl

See also Photography; Photojournalists; War and Military Journalisms; War Correspondents

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BRAZIL

Since 1808, Brazilian journalism has demonstrated its relevance, not only to public news consumption in the largest country in South America but also in its coverage of different Latin-American and global topics. As of 2021, Brazil is classified as the ninth richest country in the world based on its gross domestic product, which reflects a country's purchasing power, current prices, and international dollars. However, this wealth was not enough to ensure job security for many journalists when economic crises struck in 2008, 2012, and 2016, changing the course of the industry throughout the country.

This entry covers the main advances in Brazilian journalism since its beginnings and highlights important aspects of this field that have arrived in the first part of the 21st century. It suggests the practice of traditional journalism is no longer enough in Brazil, as of 2021, and the field has been forced to adapt to changes, particularly those of the technological, economic, and political varieties. Brazilian publications have rapidly evolved; what was once an "opinionated" attribute of publications has given way to objectivity and more informative types of coverage. The creation of different newspapers, radio stations, and television channels has altered the course of journalism in Brazil and provided another face to the field. The increasing recognition of Brazilian journalists as serious and competent professionals signals why Brazilian journalism is important to research.

Brief History of Traditional Brazilian Journalism

In relation to journalism in other countries, Brazilian journalism had a relatively late start. In 1808, Hipólito da Costa created the *Correio Braziliense* (*The Brazilian Post*), a Rio de Janeiro newspaper that circulated in the country until 1822 and informed Brazilians about the news in the Portuguese court in Lisbon. Even though the *Correio Braziliense* is considered the first newspaper in Brazil, the publication had some particular characteristics, such as being in the shape of a book and including 100 pages in each edition. The content of the monthly publication included news

from Portugal, literature, arts, science articles, poems, and international news. Another peculiarity of this publication was its circulation, which consisted of only 500 subscribers. Because of these characteristics, the *Correio Braziliense* is considered a modern publication despite the era in which it was printed. Currently, there is another publication with the same name (*Correio Braziliense*) which was created in 1960 and continues to circulate in Brazil. This newspaper also has an online version and focuses on informing the population about national news. The newspaper often criticizes the government.

Other Brazilian publications were created throughout the early 19th century such as *A Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (*The Rio de Janeiro Gazette*), which differed greatly from the *Correio Braziliense*. Contrary to the modern vibe of the *Correio Braziliense*, *A Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* was created to focus on positive news about the Portuguese Court. In a tabloid format, the publication was known as the *official* newspaper of the Portuguese Court and ran opinionated articles and a large volume of propaganda. All editions were published every Wednesday and Saturday and required approval by the court before publication. Later, after Prince Dom Pedro declared Brazil's independence from Portugal on September 7th 1822, Brazilian intellectuals created different publications with the intention of covering local news in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil at the time.

The 100th anniversary of Brazilian independence in 1922 also marked the beginning of radio transmission in the country. Radio was the communication vehicle used by the government to transmit and celebrate the independence of Brazil. Other radio stations were soon created with the intention of informing the population about local news, politics, and sports. Brazilian journalism at the time, influenced by Portuguese-style journalism, instituted a tradition of covering specific facts in an opinionated fashion, but also had the focus of informing the population while exploring both sides of a story to ensure the validity and objectivity of the text.

Attributes of Traditional and Contemporary Brazilian Journalism

Family Business

A small group of intellectuals and businesspeople created and traditionally operated the majority of newspapers, radio stations, and television channels in the country. These businesses, considered family traditions, tend to be inherited by subsequent generations in order to maintain control of the field of journalism without changing the main characteristics (such as logos, coverage preferences, and other aspects of branding and news production) of the publications.

Five families, including the Marinho, Abravanel, Macedo, Saad, and Dallevo families, are part of the intellectuals and businesspeople who control half of the 50 media markets—including newspapers, radio stations, and television channels—with the largest audience in southeastern Brazil, particularly the state of São Paulo. Media ownership information was released in a larger study conducted by the Media Ownership Monitor and subsidized by the German government in 2017. The Marinho family owns the largest media network in Brazil, with a total of 26 of the 50 largest communication markets in the country. The Marinhos opened their business in 1965 with a single television channel and over the years expanded to include radio stations, newspapers, magazines, and online platforms. Brazilian radio stations followed the same pattern of monopolization. Between 1930 and 1950, Brazil saw the creation and consolidation of the main radio stations in Brazil, creating monopolies of the market which have persisted until today.

Monopolies

When discussing traditional journalism in Brazil, it is important to highlight the fact that it had—and continues to have—monopolist tendencies. Major news companies, such as *Grupo Estado* and *Grupo Globo*, traditionally owned print journalism. With affiliated companies throughout the country, these larger outlets have the greatest market share of print journalism in Brazil. They are responsible for the coverage of national topics as well as state and local issues.

In the traditional Brazilian news environment, the media and smaller markets were responsible for a share of the market that does not have much space in the industry and is often suffocated by the power of larger markets. However, economic crises changed the course of many businesses and the larger media markets. Media outlets were forced to shed their traditional strategies to keep their doors open during and after the crises. Print newspapers were obligated to layoff workers, which caused a great impact in the field. Many journalists lost their jobs, and thousands of employees did not have any sources of income. With that, traditional journalism failed to meet information needs, and the Brazilian population met a new type of journalism.

New Directions in Brazilian Journalism

Economic crises have a tendency to promote the reinvention of journalism in Brazil, and many of the characteristics of what was once considered traditional mainstream journalism practices have been left behind. Brazil's economy grew quickly from 2004 through 2008 and then stagnated as the world sank deeply into economic recession. Along with this recession came the downsizing of traditional media, which included laying off and firing journalists. With thousands of Brazilian journalists unemployed and many seeking employment in the market, reporters, photographers, editors, and other professionals of the field created their own businesses, becoming entrepreneurs in new forms of journalism. Independent agencies created by journalists had to find ways to fulfill the information needs of the population that mainstream media could not, while surviving without assistance from the government.

In 2011, three journalists founded the independent journalism outlet *Agência Pública* (*Public Agency*), which was the first nonprofit investigative journalism agency in Brazil. Along with independent journalism came citizen journalism through the award-winning network *Mídia Ninja*, an acronym for *Narrativas Independentes, Jornalismo e Ação* (Independent Narratives, Journalism, and Action), independent stories, journalism, and action. *Mídia Ninja* began in São Paulo in 2011, covered a good deal of Indigenous activism and police injustice, and featured a livestream. In

2020, it had more than 2.5 million followers and had more than 30,000 posts.

This new means of producing journalism spread to other parts of the country and in about a year, a variety of independent media were operating throughout the country. For instance, the independent agency *Real Amazon* covers topics and issues that involve the Amazon rainforest, such as Indigenous people, property conflicts, wildfires, political, and economic issues. Another example of independent media is *Ground Zero Content*, an investigative journalism collective focused on approaching three topics: power relations, urbanism, and the semiarid northeastern region of Brazil. Other independent media focus on specific topics, such as politics, economy, and environmental issues in the country.

Independent Media Move Online

Independent media caused a revolution in Brazilian journalism. This new approach to dealing in information was an avenue through which recently unemployed journalists could continue working in the field and inform the population. More importantly, the independent media have had powerful impacts on larger Brazilian markets. With the success of the first wave of independent media, other journalists increasingly embraced the idea and moved to create their own communication channels. Smaller radio stations, podcast channels, and websites were created with the intention of informing the population about specific topics. This approach transformed traditional journalism in Brazil, as the manipulation of the news and the concentration of power in the hands of a small number of families dissipated into smaller markets that were capable of creating stories with greater details, local relevance, and accuracy. The rush of the big markets gave space to longer interviews and richer information being associated with news stories disseminated largely through websites. As of 2021, one can find opinions in journalistic articles, however they are always identified as opinionated articles so the public understands the bias.

The independent media also brought new challenges and obstacles to those working in the field. To be a media entrepreneur required many hours of work and large budgets to cover equipment,

photographers, and editing expenses. The greatest challenge regarding this new type of journalism is that the Brazilian population is not traditionally accustomed to seeking information in small markets. Although there is an increase in the number of Brazilians using online platforms to gather information, the majority of the population relies on television channels, radio stations, and print newspapers, as of 2021. To overcome these difficulties, many journalists have worked together to create websites and other online platforms, such as podcasts, to cut costs and provide accurate information to their audiences. As a result, independent media increased in its influence and more online platforms were created with the intention of spreading news and information. Print newspapers decreased their circulation and began publishing most of their content online. Television channels also created websites with their content. Radio stations soon followed suit and created online platforms to complement the traditional format.

Attacks on Journalism and the Industry's Response

A serious trend affecting Brazilian journalism includes reputational, online, and even physical attacks on journalists. Many of the government's attacks take the form of defamation and slander charges against journalists. Some attacks come from other elements in the population and have included knifing attempts on victims (e.g., staff of *TV Globo*), shooting victims (e.g., Vamberto Teixeira, Fábio Márcio), and, in the case of journalist Patricia Campos Mello, extensive and coordinated online harassment. More Brazilian journalists were attacked (and killed) between 2010 and 2020 than in the previous 20 years combined. Although the trend is distressing, collaboration and decentralization have emerged as strategies to continue coverage in what may be an increasingly hostile environment. These strategies have brought other benefits as well. While financing originally played a role in collaboration, Brazilian journalists have discovered that collaboration also increases the reach of various stories while enhancing the quality of content.

In light of journalists finding themselves increasingly under attack and discredited by Brazilian state officials, collaboration has been beneficial to Brazilian journalism. Collaboration is predicted to become a core value in Brazilian journalism in the coming years as journalists work more closely with citizens and one another. This process creates a certain transparency that may help the practice survive government-sanctioned discrediting and other attacks on the credibility of the profession.

Diversity and Journalism in Brazil

Men have traditionally dominated journalism around the world. Around 2014, Brazil began passing initiatives to not only enhance workplace diversity, but to provide databases of diverse sources for journalists to contact for information. Universities, collectives, and intellectuals have heavily promoted such initiatives. The coronavirus pandemic altered the course of history.

During the pandemic, various media outlets were forced, as they were during periods of financial crisis, to cut staff. Due to the trajectory of the spread of the virus, particularly through poorer communities, the pandemic led to a de facto de-diversification of news organizations in 2020. Yet calls for increased diversity in journalism and journalistic sources continue in 2021, as Brazil also has seen Black Lives Matter protests related to police killings, racial disparities, and injustice, much as the United States saw in 2020.

Journalism in Brazil has changed considerably over the years, particularly during the first part of the 21st century. Economic crises and changes in political paradigms have directly influenced the practice of journalism in the largest country in South America. The old-fashioned journalism practiced following the traditional American format based on objectivity with a strong lead, an impactful title, and a supportive subtitle has been replaced by less restricted formats. Journalism in Brazil has also sought diversity in voices and technologies, among journalists, sources, and formats, which have allowed for more creativity in incorporating different elements—photographs, recorded interviews, text, and illustrations—into news production. Although the influence of independent media is relatively new in Brazil, these communication channels have garnered lucrative

audiences and more people search for information on these platforms every day.

To ensure a stable future for journalism in Brazil, reporters and journalists in general may continue to invest in smaller markets and eventually build strong reputations, as media outlets in the larger Brazilian markets have over the past two centuries. Although the transformative process continues in Brazilian journalism, news consumers expect more from journalists every day. Traditional journalism has proven to be no longer enough to satisfy the increasing information needs of media-savvy and sophisticated populations.

Leticia Pires and T. Phillip Madison

See also Bias; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Editorials; Environmental Journalism; Human-Interest Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; Investigative Journalism; Media Ownership; News Values; Social Movements and Journalism; Streaming Media

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BREITBART

Breitbart is a conservative news website that primarily focuses on American politics, media, and culture. Founded in 2005, Breitbart established itself as one of the primary voices of the emergent Tea Party movement on the American Right, focusing on stories critical of immigration, the mainstream media, and liberal influence on American culture. In 2016, Breitbart rose to mainstream prominence after becoming one of the most vocal backers of Donald Trump's successful campaign for the U.S. presidency, with former Breitbart staff moving to roles within the Trump administration after his victory.

Since establishing itself as a significant voice within American journalism, Breitbart has seen a significant number of advertisers dissociate themselves from the platform due to its controversial editorial stances as well as the departure of influential chief executive Steve Bannon, casting doubts over the future of the site. Nevertheless, the

influence of the site over a relatively short period of time renders it an important object of study for those interested in the study of alternative and partisan media, as well as those interested in media during the Trump presidency. This entry discusses the formation and history of Breitbart, its relationship to the alt-right, and its role in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

Formation and Early Years

Breitbart was founded by Andrew Breitbart, initially as a news aggregator that would harvest links from other sites onto the main page. Within 2 years, he sought to evolve the site into a conservative version of the Huffington Post (now HuffPost), another tabloid-style website that he helped establish. Breitbart began producing his own stories that attacked not only Democratic and establishment politicians but perceptions of institutional liberal bias within American cultural institutions, mainly the mainstream media and Hollywood.

The aggressive tone of Breitbart's stories would go on to become not only a hallmark of their journalistic output but of their early journalistic practices too. In 2009, one of the earliest breakthroughs for Breitbart involved the "exposing" of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), a community-based social advocacy group for low- and middle-income people working largely within inner cities of the United States. An undercover recording appeared to show two Breitbart contributors posing as a prostitute and a pimp, attempting to seek advice from ACORN employees on how to traffic underage girls into the country, as well as how to claim government benefits for them.

The Breitbart story on ACORN caused a national controversy. Although the video was later revealed to have been misleadingly edited, and ACORN and its staff were exonerated from any wrongdoing, the organization lost the overwhelming majority of its funding and was forced to fold. Breitbart would also heavily doctor a video depicting government official Shirley Sherrod speaking at an NAACP event, professing a reluctance to provide aid to a farmer because he was white. Although this video was again misleading, Sherrod was initially fired and the NAACP was heavily criticized.

However, in spite of these occasional controversies, Breitbart remained a relatively minor and oft-unknown figure both within the American news sphere and among the American public. By the time of Andrew Breitbart's death in 2012, U.S. President Barack Obama, a Democrat, had been reelected for a second term in an election in which Breitbart struggled to challenge and influence mainstream media coverage. The site appeared to face an uncertain future, without its most important figurehead.

A Platform for the Alt-Right?

After Breitbart's death, the leadership hierarchy of the organization was restructured, during which time Bannon, a Breitbart board member since the founding of the site, was named executive chairman. Media scholars and commentators would later identify Bannon's appointment as an evolution of Breitbart's journalistic style toward one that aggressively pursued anti-immigrant, anti-globalist positions, and one that would result in Bannon later referring to Breitbart as "the platform for the alt-right." Here, it is useful to reflect on what constitutes the alt-right, the extent to which Breitbart can be seen as a platform for the alt-right, and the importance of this in relation to the influence of Breitbart upon both the media and political landscapes in the United States.

The alt-right is problematic to define, largely because various scholars, commentators, and others have attempted to group a number of conservative political ideologies under the broad banner of "the alt-right," a move that has arguably normalized political views formerly considered extreme. The most widely accepted starting point, however, is that the alt-right is a branch of right-wing conservatism that emphasizes white supremacy, as well as implicit or explicit forms of racism. Primarily an online movement that began to emerge around 2010, the alt-right rose to prominence in 2016 as the Trump presidential campaign gathered momentum, with prominent self-identifying members of the movement publicly supporting Trump's "Make America Great Again" message.

Similarly, Breitbart's association with the alt-right and white identitarianism is complicated to parse. Breitbart has at times intentionally

obfuscated their positions, identifying with particular elements of the movement and decrying others, only to alter their stance at a later date. As an institution, they have often attempted to publicly dissociate themselves from the most overt white supremacist elements of the movement, such as neo-Nazism or the Ku Klux Klan, with Bannon referring to prominent American neo-Nazi Richard Spencer as a self-promoting “freak,” as well as accusing former KKK leader David Duke of using the Trump presidency as a means of staying in the public eye. However, Breitbart published a piece in 2016 titled “An Establishment Conservative’s Guide To The Alt-Right” that softened elements of the movement (the article characterizes one subgroup by comparing it to “the more reasonable white identitarians”) while affirming that many alt-righters “would rather [neo-Nazis] didn’t exist” (Bokhari & Yiannopoulos, 2016).

The combination of Breitbart’s appeals to some elements of the alt-right movement combined with their refusal to promote outright white supremacy, as well as a larger difficulty with trying to effectively categorize the alt-right, have led many to consider Breitbart as part of what has been termed the “alt-light.” Presenting as separate from both mainstream conservatism and the extreme elements of the alt-right, the “alt-light” will often publicly repudiate the most extreme white nationalist elements of the alt-right movement, while offering support for other parts of the movement, such as strict anti-immigrant policies. By presenting themselves as distinct from the alt-right, but willing to engage with some ideas offered by extreme elements of the Right, the alt-light can traverse both mainstream and fringe political discourses, providing channels for extremist ideas to enter the political mainstream.

Role During the 2016 Election

It is difficult to overstate the level of support that Breitbart provided to Trump over the course of his 2016 election campaign. While Trump’s upset in the general election against Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton is widely remembered, it is perhaps less well-remembered how Trump emerged from a large Republican field in the primaries to become the nominee and how Breitbart assisted him in doing so.

Trump initially distinguished himself from the rest of the field in a campaign speech that depicted the United States as a failing power on the world stage, directing anger at the politicians who had allowed this to happen, as well as immigrants from Mexico whom he referred to as “rapists” as well as “bringing drugs and crime.” Breitbart soon began to back Trump explicitly over many of the more moderate Republican candidates, not only in terms of positive coverage for his campaign but by making overt attacks on candidates who were depicted as part of the Republican establishment and out of touch with the feelings of the average American citizen. These emotional, populist appeals to “left-behind” voters perfectly aligned with the anti-globalist, anti-immigrant politics of Breitbart and galvanized Trump as a candidate distinct from the rest of the Republican field.

Having secured the Republican nomination, in August 2016, Trump hired Bannon as the chief executive of his campaign. Breitbart and Trump continued a similar strategy in the campaign against Hillary Clinton, by attacking her—as well as her husband, former President Bill Clinton—as part of the elite American political establishment who had failed the American people. Additionally, Breitbart began to increase attacks on mainstream media institutions, whom it routinely depicted as inherently biased toward Hillary Clinton instead of adhering to traditional norms of journalistic impartiality. These attacks were echoed by Trump, who routinely argued that he received unfair treatment from the press in comparison to Clinton. Not only did this affect conservative media outlets’ coverage of the election, which largely echoed Breitbart’s attacks, but it pressured mainstream media into drawing equivalencies between Clinton’s indiscretions and Trump’s. In this way, Breitbart was significantly influential in altering perceptions of Trump and Clinton in ways that reached far beyond its online audience. Trump’s eventual victory was not only celebrated as a political victory for Republicans but as a major triumph for Breitbart and conservative alternative media over established mainstream media institutions.

Breitbart Today

After the 2016 election, it appeared that Breitbart would continue ascendant for the duration of Trump's inaugural term, and possibly further beyond. Bannon was hired as Trump's chief strategist and special counsel, while contributors Julia Hahn and Sebastian Gorka also took positions within the Trump administration, forging an even closer link between the organization and the president. Yet as the administration was engulfed in controversies, from speculation over Russian interference in the election to backlash over Trump's draconian immigration policies, the relationship between Bannon and Trump began to deteriorate.

Press speculation over Bannon's disdain for many of Trump's White House staff, alongside Trump's resentment for Bannon receiving too much credit for his role in the administration, saw Bannon allegedly fired from his post in August 2017. Bannon returned to Breitbart but stepped down swiftly in January 2018 after it was revealed that he had spoken to author Michael Wolff for the book *Fire and Fury*, an insider account of the Trump White House in which Bannon referred to Trump's meetings with Russians before the 2016 election as "treasonous." By the spring of 2018, Bannon was doing consulting work for far-right political parties across Europe as part of a wider effort to further the nationalist-populist cause and was no longer involved with Breitbart in an official capacity.

Bannon's departure has led some to speculate that Breitbart has subsequently pursued a slightly more subdued editorial tone, but it is far from the only reason that Breitbart has attempted to tone down. Another reason was the emergence of the Sleeping Giants group, an activist organization that lobbies advertisers to boycott right-wing news sites such as Breitbart, which has significantly impacted Breitbart's economic viability. Additionally, algorithmic changes to Facebook's News Feed have limited the number of people that Breitbart can reach with their content, making their product less valuable to the advertisers that are attracted to them. There are signs that this shift in tone has benefited Breitbart.

As of late 2020, Breitbart found itself in an unusual position. It could no longer easily claim to

be a brash voice outside the echelons of mainstream American journalism, considering its close links with the administration of a sitting U.S. president. Nor could it—or would it want to—legitimately claim to be part of that mainstream, as much of the mainstream press was fundamentally at odds with Breitbart's predominantly pro-Trump messaging. Perhaps most crucially, by 2020, Breitbart was no longer the only outlet willing to bridge the ideological gap from the alt-right into mainstream Trumpian politics.

Numerous competitors have emerged online, each willing to put forth similar anti-immigrant, "pro-Western" views that mirror the output of Breitbart under Bannon. Even mainstream broadcast outlets such as Fox News have been accused of shifting further to the right in order to appeal to viewers who see traditional conservatism as too liberal. Whatever the future holds for Breitbart, it is perhaps its success in shifting conservative politics and conservative media in the United States toward an overtly nationalist-populist stance, as well as undermining public confidence in American mainstream media, that will be its lasting legacy.

Jason Roberts

See also Alternative News Media; Bias; Digital Journalism Ethics; Election Coverage, U.S.; Emotion in Journalism; Immigration, Coverage of; Internet: Impact on the Media; New Journalism; Presidents, Coverage of

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BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is a British public service broadcaster, comprising television, radio, and other electronic media outlets whose primary mission is to serve public needs for information and entertainment. Established by Royal Charter in 1922, the BBC is the world's oldest broadcaster headquartered at Broadcasting House in Westminster, London. It is also among the largest broadcasters in the world, employing more than 28,500 staff in 2019. Operating under an Agreement with the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, the work of the BBC is primarily funded by an annual television licensing fee paid by companies and British households that use any type of equipment to receive or record live broadcasts. The BBC's domestic broadcasting services are financed by television licenses and the government sets the level of the license fee, which is also used to fund the BBC's television, radio, and online services that cover United Kingdom, nationally. This also funds the BBC World Service, which broadcasts internationally in 28 languages, reaching an average of 279 million people a week in 2020.

The BBC has a governing body called the BBC Trust, which issues a service license to every BBC service and sets the key direction through four strategic objectives for the BBC. It works to uphold the independence and standards of the

corporation. As a body it is separate from the BBC executive body that manages the key delivery of BBC's services and is led by the director general. This entry discusses the growth and evolution of the BBC from a radio company to a globally influential broadcaster. In the process, it also traces many milestones and controversies that have contributed to its expansion and reputation.

Founding Years: Establishing a Presence

Renowned for its high journalistic standards, the BBC plays an important role in the lives of British people as well as loyal listeners around the world. Colloquially referred to as Auntie Beeb or The Beeb, it has been described as the most visible international identity of any British institution. It is a curious behemoth, being a conglomerate while remaining in the public sector with a worldwide reputation for its programs and reportage. John Reith, a Scottish Calvinist, appointed general manager in 1922, a few weeks after its first official broadcast, set what is known as the Reithian directives and which the BBC still follows—inform, educate, and entertain.

From the beginning Reith was keen that the BBC remained a public service entity rather than a corporate or commercial one. The 1926 general strike in the United Kingdom proved to be a turning point in the growth of the BBC. Called by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, it was an unsuccessful attempt to force the government to implement better working conditions and wage protection for the beleaguered coal miners. The government was ready and ensured that essential services were not hit, but the production and printing of newspapers was affected in a way that left the BBC as the main source of news. There was a bit of a tussle between Winston Churchill, who wanted to use the broadcasting prowess of the BBC to best advantage, and Reith, who wanted to postulate an impartial character to the BBC. The coverage of the miners by the BBC impressed the public who were largely unaware that broadcasts from the Labor Party had been banned by government orders. The miners nicknamed the BBC the "BFC" for British Falsehood Company. Official BBC Historian and Professor of Media History, Jean Seaton, has described this

as the start of “modern propaganda in its British form” (Curran & Seaton, 2003). Churchill remained one of the BBC’s fiercest critics, and much had been written about his battle with the entity. Feeling excluded from the airwaves prior to World War II, Churchill “complained that he had been very badly treated . . . and that he was always muzzled by the BBC” (Robinson, 2012). This has largely been considered the motive behind the Television Act 1954 that permitted the creation of ITV, Britain’s first commercial network, which is today considered a competitor.

In its long and distinguished history, this was the earliest controversy the BBC faced but it certainly was not the last. Arguments over its impartiality has risen since 1927, the time it became a public body. During the Cold War, the BBC had MI5 (United Kingdom’s domestic counterintelligence and security agency and is part of its intelligence machinery) officers vetting applications. As a 2006 report in *The Observer* said, various secret files showed that when the conflict with the Nazis was at its zenith, the BBC was infused by anti-communist suspicion bordering on paranoia to remove so-called subversives. Documents later made public by MI5 show that folk singer Ewan MacColl and his wife and theatre producer, Joan Littlewood, had been banned. Scholars have compared this to the CBS newsroom at the height of McCarthyism in the United States.

Reith’s legacy is not without its fair share of quibbles either. In her 2006 book *My Father—Reith of the BBC*, Marista Leishman, his daughter, said that he banned the playing of jazz music on the BBC, writing a diary entry that said, “Germany has banned hot jazz and I’m sorry that we should be behind in dealing with this filthy product of modernity” (Leishman, 2006, p. 148). This had little impact on the prominence of jazz, which as a 2019 survey showed was beating classical music in audience preferences. During the war, there was strict censoring of music from Axis nations. Today, the organization has an extremely strict stance on editorializing matters whether on air or on social media. In 1933, Vernon Bartlett’s on-air commentary on the Nation’s Disarmament Conference invoked intense criticism leading to his resignation.

The BBC has been criticized as being supportive of elite views long before the 2019 Naga

Munchetty controversy, in which the celebrated presenter of programs like *BBC Breakfast News* was reprimanded for her comments on racism. In 1965, *The War Game*, a British pseudo-documentary film on nuclear war and its devastation, written and directed by Peter Watkins, was withdrawn because its contents were deemed much too alarming to be broadcast. In 1967, the film won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. Despite such complaints, the BBC remains one of the most trusted sources of news in the United Kingdom. For example, during major incidents with global ramifications, such as the 2005 London bombings, audiences turn overwhelmingly to the BBC.

While these incidents may seem against the spirit of unbiased reporting that the BBC adopts, impartiality, for the BBC, is extremely important. Reith, in his book *Broadcast Over Britain* (1924), had mentioned that persuading the public about concepts of impartiality would not be easy but was extremely necessary. These views were amply supported by Tony Hall, who was director general from 2013 to 2020 and believed that in how the venerable conventions of journalism work under the pressures and demands that changing times bring must be considered. Perhaps, the 1940 explosion that rocked the building while Bruce Belfrage read the 9 p.m. news is an indicator of the way the organization values news and audiences. Seven BBC staff members were killed. Audiences heard the explosion as Belfrage paused for a moment in the dust-covered studio before completing the bulletin.

The BBC has grown not just nationally but internationally as well with its World Service. The BBC News is the largest newsgathering procedure in the world. This system provides service to network services such as the BBC News service and BBC World News. To reach audiences and increase its reach, the corporation has applications, podcasts, and its famed BBC Mobile as well as email and other digital alerts.

To ensure seamless service, the BBC has built a strong online presence that includes an easy-to-search archive and a well updated website, which has grown from the BBC Networking Club, its first online service launched on May 11, 1994. BBC figures say that this is Europe’s most popular site, visited by millions in the United Kingdom

alone. The site is funded by licensing fees, but advertisers can display ads that can be viewed by audiences outside the United Kingdom and Europe.

Constituting International Services

The world's largest international broadcasting service, BBC World Service, is owned and operated by the BBC. Funded by the profits of BBC Studios, the United Kingdom's television license fee, and limited advertising, the BBC broadcasts in over 40 languages, reaching an average of 279 million people, per week, via television, radio, and online. This licensing fee has often been criticized by other broadcasters as being unfair advantage that prevents fair competition. This service that broadcasts 24 hours was inaugurated December 19, 1932, as the BBC Empire Service. At the outset, not much was expected from this and Reith had his doubts, thinking that they may not be very intriguing. The first disruptions to the service happened in 1985 due to protests when workers rallied against the British government's decision to ban the documentary featuring an interview with Martin McGuinness, the Irish republican Sinn Féin politician who was the deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland from May 2007 to January 2017, but the project reconvened and recent figures show that it returned profits amounting to £210.5 million to the BBC.

Today, the BBC World Service encompasses a 24-hour English global radio network and other services in 27 other languages. Most of these programs are available on the BBC website and mobile applications. As its website says, its primary role is to use BBC brands and shows to build its reputation among audiences and champion British creativity globally. The UK government allocated the service £289 million (over a 5-year period ending in 2020), and in its largest expansion since the 1940s, in November 2016, the BBC announced that it would start broadcasting in languages like Amharic and Igbo. In 2017, figures from the BBC showed that the BBC Natural History, premium drama, and local adaptations of hit UK shows were globally its most popular programs. Besides, the impact of *Planet Earth II*, *Sherlock* and *Doctor Foster* can be felt

in different parts of the world. For example, *Father Brown* and *DCI Banks* are popular in Sweden. News is at the core of BBC's identity. The *Global News* podcast is broadcast twice a day, and figures from the BBC show that it was downloaded more than 300 million times.

In Africa, the BBC World Service website lists 80 FM stations broadcasting content from the United Kingdom, South Africa, Ascension Island, Cyprus, and the BBC Atlantic Relay Station with much of the schedule focusing on Africa-specific programs like *Africa*, *Have Your Say* and *Focus Africa*.

In Asia, the largest audiences are those listening in the languages of English, Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Bengali, Sinhala, Tamil, Marathi, and other major languages of South Asia. But censorship in Russia, Iran, Iraq, Burma, and China have often resulted in BBC World services, especially programs cast in English and Mandarin, being jammed. In a 2012 World Service submission to the Foreign Affairs Select Committee inquiry into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Performance and Finances, the BBC had included a section on media freedom and noted that "concerns have been growing about the global threat to impartial and independent news through censorship and intimidation" (p. EV 52). Strict censorship at the BBC existed during World War II when nothing could be added to predecided news casts. Its wide radio channels across Europe were used to transmit American broadcasts across Europe.

Strong Regional Broadcasting

When the Second World War broke out, the BBC replaced its national regional programming with a single channel called the BBC Home Service. The BBC's international broadcasts are popular, but as a broadcasting organization, it also has a strong focus on regional programming. In the document *Extending Choice*, its preliminary contribution to the public debate, the corporation unambiguously stated that the BBC is the British Broadcasting Corporation, not to be mistaken as the London Broadcasting Corporation. It made clear that keeping in touch with the views, changing tastes, and priorities of audiences throughout the United Kingdom was imperative and that programming

had to reflect the diversity that different regions and cultures in the country had.

In July 2020, the organization announced that nearly 450 jobs in its English regional TV news and current affairs, local radio, and online news were to be cut. New program changes are also on the chopping block. The magazine program *Inside Out* will be replaced by 30-min investigative episodes made in Newcastle, London, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol and Norwich.

Important Milestones

CNN has described the BBC as “one of the biggest commissioners of content in the world and an important global launching pad for seminal shows and creators from Dr. Who to Phoebe Waller-Bridge (Gold, 2020).” With 75 bureaus in the world, the BBC has many milestones to its credit beginning from its first broadcast in 1922 to its television launched in 1936 but suspended till 1939 for World War II. It was among the earliest broadcasters in 1948 to televise the Olympic Games. Its live broadcast of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 was watched by more than 27 million people. In July 1985, the BBC Live Aid concerts were among the largest satellite link-ups with an estimated global viewership of 400 million viewers. In 1951, *The Archers*, the world’s longest running drama with over 19,200 episodes, first aired. In the *EastEnders*, on air since 1985, the BBC used concepts of entertainment and education to talk about AIDS and its aftermath. The BBC aired in color in 1967. In a recent report, the Office of Communications (Ofcom) said that the BBC must do much more to ensure relevance to audiences that are used to YouTube and social media for news.

Young people are an important aspect of the BBC and few organizations have done as much as the BBC to bring computers, coding, and programming to young people in the United Kingdom. In 2015, BBC launched the Make it Digital, a major UK-wide initiative focused on encouraging young people to create digital products. Aimed at addressing the severe digital skills shortage, the project ensured that school students in England and Wales received a micro:bit, a pocket-sized codable computer, developed by the BBC to become more active media consumers. Created in

conjunction with 29 other organizations, the BBC worked with Computing at School to equip teachers with the skills to use micro:bit effectively in classrooms.

In keeping with the times, on April 2020, the BBC announced that it will provide daily programming comprising quizzes, articles, podcasts, and other children’s lessons to help students with schoolwork during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. The BBC has collaborated with companies such as the Royal Shakespeare Company and Puffin Books to support education in the United Kingdom. This is among the largest education efforts the BBC has ever initiated.

The BBC is also following and seeking out audiences online and on social media. The BBC’s approach to social media has been visual, and through the BBC shorts, short 15-second videos about trending stories, the organization plans to draw viewers to social media sites such as Instagram, Twitter, and Tumbler. A 2019 Ofcom report has stated that audiences on social media seek out the BBC as a reliable and authoritative source of news often giving BBC news and stories more likes and shares than *The Guardian*, its nearest competitor. Although comments online are almost always positive, audiences tend to vent about current affairs rather than the stories posted on social media. As its presence on social media show, the BBC appears to be valued for its documentaries and humanistic coverage of issues. The BBC’s famed impartiality is present online as well, as personal views and editorializing are not allowed online. It has a very strict approach to trolls especially in the sports section, stating that they will block offenders and report issues to the authorities, in a special move to maintain and ensure equality in the coverage of sports, including women’s sports.

Criticisms of Relevance

Yet the BBC’s in-depth reporting, investigative journalism, holding officials accountable, creative programming and reflecting the diversity of the country is important in the current polarized and uncivil environment. Politics is more populist, and streaming services and over-the-top media platforms are posing a serious challenge to the ways audiences consume news. Many have asked, Is the BBC still

relevant and how is it poised to handle the disruptions of the digital age? The BBC's losses provide impetus to those opposed to the public service model of broadcasting. In its early years, its competition was the concert halls and other media like theater and the recording companies. Today, its closest competitors are other broadcasters such as CNN, ITV, Channel 4, Sky PLC, and Viacom.

Once accused of dismally underserving minority populations, the organization has emerged a strong supporter of diversity. The BBC announced in June 2020, that it plans to spend \$124 million on more diverse programming. Now the corporation has a rule that as of April 2021 all new programming must have at least 20% diverse talent. Apprenticeship programs have been expanded to appeal to those from all backgrounds and include 10% differently abled people. Emphasizing their dedication to diversity and representation, the BBC Director-General has also, recently, made clear that the strength of the BBC lies in its breadth and reach in the United Kingdom, which puts it in a unique position to lead and show by example how to address and work with the demands of changing times and effect true and lasting social change.

Paromita Pain

See also British Commercial News Broadcasting; Broadcast, or Broadcasting

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BRITISH BROADCASTING REGULATION

Regulation has played a major role in the development of British broadcast journalism. In a number of areas, British broadcasting regulation has been more rigorous and extensive than that in other Western democracies. British regulators have set high standards for broadcast content—not only in traditional areas for regulation such as taste and offense (the portrayal of sex and violence, offensive language) but also in journalism—requiring broadcast news and current affairs to be both accurate and impartial.

As well as setting content standards, regulators have also been closely involved in determining the structure of British broadcasting and assessing the quality of its program output. Regulation has extended to the scheduling and length of news programs, their resources and budgets, as well as the amount of current affairs programming. At the same time, the regulatory bodies, in a country that does not have the same constitutional protection of freedom of expression as the United States, have had to maintain their own independence from political and commercial influence and protect the independence of the broadcasters.

For much of the 20th century, this approach to broadcasting regulation helped ensure high programming standards in both publicly funded and commercial broadcasters. The benefits of this competition were most clearly seen in journalism, where the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and its commercial counterparts were encouraged to devote substantial resources and air time to high-quality journalism. But with the growth of a more competitive media market in multichannel television and online media at the end of the century, the traditional British model came under severe pressure, and the role of regulation in commercial broadcasting began to weaken, although it continued to have a major role in publicly

funded broadcasting such as the BBC. The implications for British broadcast journalism were significant. This entry opens with a discussion of the BBC, and then examines commercial television, independence and impartiality in British broadcasting regulation, as well as harm and offense standards. The entry also comments on the effects of multichannel television with respect to regulation, a 21st-century shift in the structure of regulation, and editorial and managerial scandals that led the BBC into crisis. The entry closes with a look at the structure of regulation recommended by a government-appointed independent committee and its implementation.

The BBC

British broadcasting regulation began in 1926 with the first BBC charter. The BBC at the time had a monopoly on radio, and politicians wanted to ensure that it could not be captured by any special interest. The BBC charter gave the job of regulating to the BBC Board of Governors, 12 men and women appointed by the Crown on the advice of the government to ensure that the BBC was properly managed, that its programs met the required standards, and that it remained independent. The charter was renewed and reviewed every 10 years until the replacement of the governors by a new body—the BBC Trust—in 2006.

From the start, the BBC was expected to be impartial in its coverage of public affairs and not broadcast its own or its staff's opinions. Impartiality became an essential part of the BBC's culture, and the governors were responsible for regulating it. The 1996 charter reinforced this by formally requiring the governors to ensure that controversial subjects were treated with due impartiality, but it was only making explicit a requirement that had existed for more than 70 years.

The governors combined these regulatory responsibilities with the strategic direction of the BBC—hiring and firing the director-general (chief executive) and approving the BBC's budget. Constitutionally, the governors *were* the BBC, putting them in the unusual position of being both regulator and part of the organization they were regulating. This led, at the end of the century, to growing criticisms that their regulation of the BBC was insufficiently independent and rigorous—that in

arguments over BBC news coverage, for example, or the way the BBC's growing commercial activities affected its competitors, the governors had been “captured” by the management and would support it against valid outside criticism.

Commercial Television

The arrival of commercial Independent Television (ITV) in Britain in 1955 meant the BBC faced competition for the first time. A separate regulatory structure was created to ensure that the new commercial stations were in some ways as tightly regulated as the publicly funded BBC. Initially, the regulators—first the Independent Television Authority and, from 1972, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)—were legally the broadcasters and had the right to decide what could be broadcast. The regulators also had enormous power over the regional companies that made up the ITV Network. The regulators awarded and renewed their licenses on the basis of the companies' promises to deliver high-quality programming in areas such as regional and national news, education, current affairs, and documentaries.

The regulators would set quotas for the amount of programming in different categories and for the amount of regionally based production—local news and documentaries, for example. In addition, the commercial broadcasters were subject to the same content regulation as the BBC in areas such as taste and offense—as well as the same obligations of accuracy and impartiality in news.

When a second commercial channel—Channel 4—was launched in 1982, it was again subject to tight regulatory control. Although its role was to innovate, it was also clearly part of public service broadcasting. The regulator set out the channel's program content in some detail, including the minimum amounts of time to be devoted to different genres—such as news, documentaries, and education. The result was the launch of Channel 4 News in 1982, a 50-minute-long nightly news analysis program combining news and current affairs that rapidly became one of the channel's iconic programs.

When the license for the third commercial broadcaster—Channel 5—was awarded in 1996, the regulator gave the license to the company that had the most ambitious news plans, and *Five*

News, with a new, informal, style of presentation, rapidly became one of the key programs on the new network. The *Five News* newscaster, Kirsty Young, the first woman to be the principal newscaster of a UK network, presented while perched on a desk in the newsroom or walking around, rather than seated behind a conventional desk on a conventional news set. *Five News* also made more use of video diaries and user-generated content than its competitors. Both of these new news services were subject to the same regulatory obligations on impartiality.

A similar regulatory model was adopted when commercial radio was introduced into the United Kingdom in 1973. Licenses were awarded on promises of performance, and stations were encouraged to provide current affairs programming and news as well as music. Radio journalism too was required to be impartial.

In 1990, the Broadcasting Act set up two new regulators for commercial television. The Independent Television Commission (ITC) took over most of the IBA's functions but no longer had the right to censor programs before they were broadcast. And somewhat confusingly, the ITC had to share responsibility for content standards and complaints with a new, separate regulator, the Broadcasting Standards Council, whose authority was also extended to hearing standards complaints about BBC programs (except for those related to impartiality and accuracy). Radio received its own regulator, the Radio Authority. The multiplicity of commercial regulators was all replaced in 2003 by a new single regulator, the Office of Communications (Ofcom).

Independence

A key objective of British broadcasting regulation, in addition to high programming standards, is independence. The BBC governors and the members of the various commercial regulators were mainly independent figures from the professions—such as lawyers and academics, business executives from media and nonmedia industries, and people with experience in creative arts, such as writers and directors—rather than politicians. They were expected to operate in the public interest rather than as representatives of any party. As politicians became more aware of the growing

influence of television, from the 1960s onward, there were tensions between broadcasters and the government that often found expression in arguments over regulation.

Generally, regulators tried to maintain their own independence as well as that of the broadcasters, but there have been occasions where they were seen to bow to government pressure, particularly over coverage of the tense political and religious situation in Northern Ireland. In 1978, the government of James Callaghan persuaded the IBA to use its powers of pretransmission censorship to pull from the schedule a current affairs documentary by Thames Television, the biggest ITV company at the time, on allegations of ill treatment of suspected members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the Castlereagh interrogation center in Northern Ireland.

In 1985, the BBC governors, under pressure from the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, previewed and stopped transmission of *At the Edge of the Union*, a documentary that featured the Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness. Sinn Fein was the political wing of the IRA and McGuinness, as well as being a prominent figure in Sinn Fein, was also believed at the time to be an IRA commander. The decision of the governors led to a protest strike by BBC staff. At the insistence of the director-general, who argued that as editor in chief of the BBC the final decision was his, the program was later broadcast.

On other occasions, the regulators stood firm. In 1986, the IBA defied a government request to ban the transmission of *Death on the Rock*, a current affairs documentary by Thames that challenged the official version of the killing by British security forces of three IRA terrorists in Gibraltar. In 1988, after the Thatcher government had failed to persuade the broadcasters and the regulators to stop programs carrying interviews with members of Sinn Fein, the government bypassed the regulators and ordered a ban on Sinn Fein and other republican voices heard on the airwaves. The broadcasters, with the support of their regulators, continued to interview republicans, but had their words voiced by actors. The ban was eventually lifted in 1994.

In 2003, the BBC governors backed a BBC broadcast that alleged that Prime Minister Tony Blair's government had deliberately misled the

public when it claimed before the Iraq War that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. The BBC's source, a government scientist, Dr. David Kelly, was revealed and committed suicide. A judicial inquiry into the affair by Lord Hutton found that the most damaging part of the story—the allegation of dishonesty—was untrue. The BBC's management and governors were severely criticized. The publication of the Hutton Report in January 2004 provoked the biggest crisis in the BBC's history. Gavyn Davies, the chairman, resigned on the day of publication. The next day, Greg Dyke, the director-general, resigned, having failed to win the full support of the Board of Governors.

Impartiality

One of the most striking characteristics of British broadcasting regulation is its insistence that news and current affairs should report on controversial subjects with *due impartiality*—that is, not show any bias in favor of any argument or party. This obligation was actively policed by the regulators, who also acted as the final court of appeal in the event of any complaint that a program had failed to show impartiality. The BBC governors and their replacement, the BBC Trust, were responsible for impartiality on the BBC; the commercial regulators had similar responsibilities for all other broadcasting.

Impartiality was an essential part of the culture of British broadcasting from the start and continued to be a key value into the 21st century. It was recognized and appreciated by the audience—surveys of public opinion show that broadcast journalism was far ahead of print journalism in its reputation with the public for accuracy and fairness. As trust in many British institutions and professions—including politicians—declined in the last quarter of the 20th century, public trust in broadcast journalism remained high. In 2004, a major independent review of UK government communications by Bob Phillis, the chief executive of the Guardian Media Group, reported research that showed 74% of the British public trusted television newscasters to tell the truth, compared with 36% for civil servants and 29% for business leaders. The report also pointed out that in the 2003 Iraq War, 70% of the British

public thought television news was the most trustworthy source of information, compared with 14% for radio and just 6% for newspapers.

The notion of impartiality is a controversial one. Some critics argue that it is unachievable—that what the broadcasters call *impartiality* is simply their preferred bias—though critics disagree over whether the bias is too liberal or too conservative. At the start of the 21st century, a new criticism of impartiality arose—that it was irrelevant in a world of multiple news sources where plurality mattered more than impartiality. It was argued that impartiality rules should only apply to the traditional UK public service broadcasters and not to foreign news channels such as Fox News and Al Jazeera.

Harm and Offense

British broadcasting regulation has always set content standards in areas such as harm and offense—bad language, portrayal of sex and violence, the protection of children from inappropriate content at times when they were likely to be watching television—as well as fairness in the way broadcasters behave regarding issues such as respecting individuals' right to privacy and proper treatment of interviewees and contributors. The regulators' role has been to try and strike a balance between freedom of expression and the rights of broadcasters to be creative and experimental. They and the broadcasters evolved a system of programming codes and guidelines to make clear what was permitted, and the regulators acted as the court of final appeal in the case of complaints about programs.

The regulators also have the role of policing the “watershed” in British television. This is a rule that material unsuitable for family viewing is not shown on broadcast channels before 9:00 p.m. In making their judgments on taste, the regulators have always taken into account the time at which programs were broadcast and the likely composition and expectations of the audience.

Regulators have substantial powers to punish broadcasters who break their codes and guidelines. They can require the offending program to be re-edited, prevent its retransmission, and, in many cases, fine the broadcasters. They are particularly concerned about the honesty of

broadcast journalism. In 1999, the ITC fined Carlton Television, a leading ITV company, the record sum of £2 million for broadcasting *The Connection*, a documentary on the cocaine trade that had faked a number of sequences.

The End of the Duopoly

The unique British experiment in regulating all broadcasting as a public service could only exist as long as there was effectively a duopoly of the BBC and the commercial broadcasters, who in turn enjoyed a monopoly on advertising revenue. The arrival of multichannel television—particularly Rupert Murdoch’s BSkyB in 1990—changed that stable situation, as satellite and cable television services were subject to much lighter regulation. The commercial television regulators were responsible, however, for ensuring that news programs on multichannel television (such as Sky News, the first 24-hour British news channel) met existing national standards for impartiality.

Margaret Thatcher’s 1980–1991 government used regulation to inject further competition into what it saw as a complacent and overmanned industry. The 1990 Broadcasting Act marked the beginning of the end of the long British experiment in public service broadcasting. The new commercial regulator, the ITC, was given the job of awarding new ITV licenses when they came up for renewal in 1992, not on the basis of program promises, as in the past, but in a blind auction where once a minimum-quality threshold had been met the highest bidder received the license.

The new ITV companies lobbied the ITC to be allowed to make cost savings through mergers and to be relieved of the most expensive of their surviving public service obligations. By 2003, ITV in England and Wales was one company. Although some programming obligations remained, these were seen as living on borrowed time as Britain moved toward its digital transition (planned for 2008–2012) at the end of which, the ITV companies argued, their licenses were no longer worth enough to justify providing expensive programming such as regional news. They had agreed to invest in these genres when their licenses, in an era of spectrum scarcity, gave them a near monopoly of television advertising. The move to digital meant that their competitors could take channels

on the new platforms without having to make expensive promises to the regulator.

In the new, more commercial environment, regulators allowed broadcasters, particularly ITV, to cut back on their commitments to news and current affairs. ITV lost its dominant position in regional news to the BBC. ITV also fought a long battle with the regulators in the 1990s to move its most successful network news program, *News at Ten*, from its regular weeknight slot to make way for entertainment programming. The move proved a disaster for ITV, which eventually restored the news to its traditional slot in 2008, by which time it had lost much of its news audience to the BBC.

The New Age of Regulation

At the start of the 21st century, two new institutions were created that marked a significant shift in the structure of British broadcast regulation. In 2003, the Blair government (1995–2007) set up a new telecommunications and broadcasting regulator, the Office of Communications, or Ofcom. This agency policed surviving public service obligations such as regional production quotas and was given an overarching role as a “converged” regulator, to consider long-term policy in the telecoms and broadcasting fields as the two industries came closer together. It was responsible for all content standards in commercial television and all standards, except impartiality and accuracy, for the BBC.

Ofcom published a series of far-reaching reviews of public service broadcasting from 2004 to 2008 that suggested a difficult future for commercial broadcast journalism. In particular, in its analysis of the future of news in 2007, it put forward that ITV, the main commercial channel, would not be able to afford regional news in the long term. Ofcom offered various options for broadcast financing in the future—including the possibility of some of the BBC license fee being “top-sliced” (taking some of the license fee income that had always been given only to the BBC and giving it to Channel 4 and others) to help subsidize commercial public service broadcasters.

An equally significant change took place in BBC regulation. When the BBC’s charter was renewed in 2006, the governors were replaced by a new body, the BBC Trust, tasked with

representing the interests of licence fee payers (the British audience) and being more clearly independent of BBC management. It retained the governors' old responsibility for accuracy and impartiality.

The new system's first real test was a series of scandals in 2007 involving dishonest programming by both BBC and commercial broadcasters. Radio programs had been broadcasting faked calls from viewers. The results of television competitions had been rigged. Viewers had been encouraged to take part in phone competitions (and charged high tariffs for the privilege) when the competition had already closed and their calls had no chance of winning or being counted.

Ofcom and the BBC Trust both commissioned independent investigations into what had gone wrong. A number of producers lost their jobs; commercial companies and the BBC were fined; and new and tougher guidelines and rules were introduced. The scandals did not involve journalistic programs, and public trust in broadcast journalism was not undermined.

BBC in Crisis

However, a few years later, the BBC Trust was itself overwhelmed by editorial and managerial scandals. In 2012, one of the BBC's most famous entertainment figures, Jimmy Savile, was exposed to have been a serial pedophile, raping and abusing hundreds of children he met through his BBC work over a period of more than 20 years. Savile had died in 2011 and his victims began to tell their stories. BBC journalists on the main news analysis program, *Newsnight*, had started work on an exposé, but their editors had stopped it. ITV then took up the story and transmitted a documentary on Savile that was seen as the journalistic scoop of the year. To make matters worse, another team on the same *Newsnight* program then falsely implicated a wholly innocent politician in an unrelated sex abuse scandal. The BBC's newly appointed director-general, George Entwistle, was forced to resign after 54 days on the job. Independent investigations cleared the BBC management of deliberate cover-ups, but were highly critical of the decision not to run the story and of the BBC's failure over many years to spot the evidence of what Savile had been doing. The BBC management and

the Trust then came under further fire for their handling of a controversial series of senior executive pay-offs and the apparent lack of control and accountability. A UK parliamentary committee, which investigated the debacle in 2013, concluded that the BBC's governance system was broken.

A New Structure

The government appointed an independent committee to recommend a future structure. It proposed that the Trust be replaced by a unitary board of executives and nonexecutives which would manage the BBC, with Ofcom as the external regulatory responsible both for its overall strategy and its editorial content, including the accuracy and impartiality of its news and current affairs. This was an historic decision for BBC journalism. It meant that for the first time, the BBC was no longer the final arbiter of the impartiality and accuracy of its news coverage. The new system took over in 2017 with the start of the BBC's renewed 10-year charter and began with some signs of strain. Sharon White, the chief executive of Ofcom, noted a fundamental tension in the relationship between Ofcom and the corporation. However, Ofcom's early decisions did not suggest, as some had feared, that it would curb the BBC's editorial independence. It defended the BBC's journalism from complaints by pro-Leave politicians about its coverage of Brexit after the 2016 referendum. Its first review of the BBC's journalism, in 2019, was notable for criticizing the BBC for not being bold enough in its approach to fake news and what it called the *false equivalence* between accurate and inaccurate information.

The new structure of regulation meant all British broadcasting was under the same regulator, though with very different obligations, reflecting the fact that the commercial and publicly funded parts of British broadcasting were parting ways at the start of the 21st century. The BBC was to continue to be tightly regulated, as an organization paid for by the public through the television license fee. The commercial sector could look forward to lighter regulation. However, public and political support for high-quality, impartial broadcast news, guaranteed by external regulation, remained as perhaps the last enduring journalistic

legacy of the British experience with public service broadcasting.

Richard Graham Tait

See also Al Jazeera; Bias; British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial News Broadcasting; Fox News; Indecency and Obscenity

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BRITISH COMMERCIAL NEWS BROADCASTING

Since 1955, British commercial broadcast journalism services have provided an alternative to and competition for the publicly funded British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). For 60 years, that competition has resulted in high levels of investment in broadcast journalism, both news and current affairs, and high standards of editorial and production quality together with a commitment, in the main, to a quality editorial agenda. Journalism on commercial networks has been supported by a regulatory regime that rewarded investment in high-quality news and current affairs and insisted on impartiality and accuracy as the key journalistic values. For most of the period, commercial broadcast journalism enjoyed a reputation for enterprising and investigative reporting and was seen to match the BBC for quality. At the end of the 20th century, however, growing competition for audiences and the progressive deregulation of British television led to a decline in the significance of broadcast journalism in commercial television. By the early 21st century, one of the major issues as Britain switched to digital television was how much of that journalist heritage would survive. However, British commercial news broadcasting has so far proved the pessimists wrong and, as of 2021, remains an important source of impartial and accurate journalism. This entry examines network news on the Independent Television Authority (ITA) and discusses the *News at Ten*, *Channel 4 News*, and *Five News* broadcasts, as well as current affairs and regional news. The entry also presents a brief overview of British cable and satellite news and radio news. Finally, the entry looks at effects of the deregulation of the British television market and the arrival of digital television, the direction of British commercial public service broadcasting in the digital age, and major changes in the sector of British commercial broadcast journalism.

Network News on Independent Television

When commercial television was launched in the United Kingdom in 1955, it was as a network of regional companies. None of them had the resources or expertise to produce national and international news. Despite that, the then regulator, the ITA, insisted that the Independent Television (ITV) companies provide high-quality national and international news as part of their license obligations. With the regulator's encouragement, they set up a separate company, Independent Television News (ITN), to provide the network news service. It soon established itself as an enterprising and innovative operation. Geoffrey Cox, ITN's editor from 1956 to 1968, was one of the creators of modern television news in the United Kingdom. Where the BBC had used presenters to read the news, he hired experienced journalists to write as well as read news stories. ITN soon also employed the first woman newscaster (Barbara Mandell) in British television.

Cox introduced interviews into news programs, making headlines with a controversial interview by his star interviewer, Robin Day (later the BBC's main current affairs interviewer), with President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in 1957, a few months after British forces had temporarily seized the Suez Canal. ITN's news coverage was equally enterprising and daring. When the Soviet Union crushed an uprising in Hungary in 1956, ITN's cameraman shot the classic pictures of the column of Soviet T34 tanks heading for Budapest. During the 1960s, ITN developed the technique of the "reporter package"—cutting pictures to match the correspondent's commentary—which had been pioneered by CBS and other American broadcasters. Cox was convinced that television news should be accurate and impartial and have the same high ethical standards as the BBC. He helped ensure that the culture of impartiality was deeply embedded in British broadcast journalism.

News at Ten

Cox's most important innovation came at the end of his editorship. In 1967, he persuaded the regulator and the skeptical ITV companies to experiment with a 30-minute news program in prime

time—at 10 p.m. on weeknights. The broadcast was called *News at Ten* and it immediately established itself as one of the most important programs on the network, with audiences regularly in the top 20 or even top 10 ITV programs of the week. In 1968, it was the most popular show on British television on three occasions, and for 30 years, it remained a fixed point in the ITV schedule. Its newscasters from Alastair Burnet to Trevor McDonald—the first Black journalist to be a British television network's principal newscaster—became household names. Its style of presentation owed something to American network news at the time with a combination of serious, frontline reporting and stories with a popular touch—the program often ending with a lighter, human interest item introduced with the words “and finally . . .”

Starting in the 1970s, ITN offered three main newscasts each weekday—at lunchtime, in the early evening, and *News at Ten*. The company had a reputation for technical innovation—making effective use of lightweight electronic newsgathering cameras, video editing, computer graphics, and satellite newsgathering. ITN usually matched and sometimes beat the BBC in its coverage of major events—elections, space shots, the fall of European communism, and the 1990–1991 Gulf War. However, its owners did not allow it to diversify into current affairs or regional news, and it entered the 1990s too dependent on its contract with ITV and on the reputation and prestige of *News at Ten*.

Channel 4 News

When Channel 4 was launched in 1982, its remit was to provide a commercially funded alternative to both the BBC and ITV. Nowhere was that more evident than in its news service. Channel 4 was a publisher/broadcaster—it did not make its own programs but commissioned them from independent producers. It commissioned its news from ITN, but with the brief to be very different from the ITV service. Where ITV was appealing to the mass audience, *Channel 4 News*, at 7:00 p.m. each weeknight, was unashamedly highbrow—combining news and current affairs in an hour-long program with specialist reporting, in-depth analysis, and studio interviews.

After a disastrous start with zero ratings, *Channel 4 News* was turned around by its second editor, Stewart Purvis, who soon made it one of the channel's most respected programs and a key part of its assignment from the regulator. Like *News at Ten*, it became a fixed point in its channel's schedule and its investigative, in-depth approach to journalism won it numerous industry awards. In 1992, a joint *Channel 4 News/News at Ten* team discovered the Bosnian Serb detention camps at Trnopolje and Omarska. The pictures of emaciated Bosnian Muslim prisoners, which were rapidly distributed around the world, caused an international outcry.

Five News

The last over-the-air television network, free to air to audiences with an antenna, to launch in Britain was *Five News*. It had a much smaller budget than ITV and Channel 4, but the company that had won the license had promised the regulator a high-quality news service with a distinctive approach to news, aimed at a younger audience than its competitors. *Five News* initially commissioned ITN to produce the program, presented by Kirsty Young, the first woman to be chosen as principal presenter of any British network's news service. While her (predominantly male) rivals sat behind desks in conventional news studios, she perched on a desk in the middle of the newsroom.

The program launched in the middle of the British general election in 1997 and rapidly established itself as one of *Five News*'s most distinctive and admired offerings, with an appeal to younger viewers who were turning away from more conventional newscasts. A number of its innovative approaches to news production—video diaries and deconstructing the reporter package—were copied by other programs.

Current Affairs

From the early days of ITV, the regional companies were obliged by the regulator to produce and broadcast serious current affairs programming in prime time. Over the first 40 years of its history, ITV produced an impressive amount of analytical

and investigative journalism—notably two flagship programs in prime time.

The first, *This Week*, began in 1956. It was produced by the company that held the London weekday franchise, initially Associated Rediffusion and then its successor, Thames Television. It specialized in controversy and investigations—bringing it into conflict with the British government, particularly over tensions within Northern Ireland. In 1977, a program criticizing the treatment of Irish terrorist suspects was pulled from the schedules by the regulator under government pressure. In 1988, a program titled *Death on the Rock* challenged the official version of the circumstances in which three members of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) unit had been killed by British security forces in Gibraltar. There was speculation that *Death on the Rock* was a factor in the government of Margaret Thatcher deciding to have a blind auction for ITV licenses in 1991, as a result of which Thames lost its license and stopped broadcasting in 1992.

From 1963, *This Week* was joined by *World in Action*, produced by Granada, which held the franchise for the northwest of England. *World in Action* also produced a string of hard-hitting programs. It investigated miscarriages of justice such as the Birmingham Six—a group of men wrongly convicted of an IRA Birmingham pub bombing in 1974 who were eventually released in 1991.

ITV also produced more populist current affairs, particularly consumer investigations such as *The Cook Report*, which usually ended with a dramatic confrontation between the reporter and the alleged villains. And an impressive roster of current affairs programming was completed by the more cerebral *Weekend World*, produced by London Weekend for a Sunday lunchtime slot, which from 1972 to 1988 offered an hour's analysis of an issue of the week, including an extended interview with a key figure in the news (usually a politician), rather like the American networks' Sunday morning programs.

Channel 4 was also under a regulatory obligation to carry serious current affairs in prime time. After a number of experiments, it found a format that worked—*Dispatches*. This was a 45-minute program that looked in depth at a single subject each week. Each edition was produced by a different independent production company. It focused

on investigative journalism and international stories and won numerous industry awards for its analytical reporting.

Regional News

ITV had begun as a network of regional companies, so the regulator required them as a condition of their licenses to produce high-quality regional news and current affairs programming. For many of the smaller companies in the network, these local programs were the most important output they produced and a key factor in retaining their lucrative licenses when they came up for review. ITV was the most important broadcaster of regional news in the United Kingdom. Its programs were better resourced and had larger audiences than their BBC counterparts. Their newscasters were important personalities in their local communities. Many, if not all, of the senior executives in the ITV system began their careers in local newsrooms.

The regional companies also fed pictures and stories to ITN for incorporation in the network news, but resisted any attempts to merge the different operations. Their programs carried the names of their companies—*Granada Reports* and *Thames News*—rather than any reference to the ITV network as a whole. The regions they served were determined by the location of the regional transmitter network, so the companies began to split some of their regions into subregions. At the system's peak, ITV was running 17 different early evening news programs to its regions and subregions. At the end of the century, the British government established a Scottish Parliament and similar assemblies in Northern Ireland and Wales, with new powers to run major parts of domestic policy such as health and education. This led to a wave of investment in broadcast journalism (facilities and programs) in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland to match the transfer of responsibilities from the Westminster Parliament to the new bodies.

Cable and Satellite News

In 1989, Rupert Murdoch launched Sky News as Britain's first 24-hour news channel. Although produced at a loss and with small audiences

compared with the terrestrial newscasts, it brought credibility to the emerging satellite and cable sector. Its fast-moving, popular style of journalism gradually won it greater respect and it established itself as a channel with a reputation for frontline reporting and innovative techniques.

Until 1997, when the BBC launched its news channel, Sky's only competition was from international news channels such as CNN International. Sky was able to position itself as the first place for viewers to go for breaking news. It benefited from consistent and heavy investment by the Murdoch empire. By the turn of the century, BSkyB, a satellite operation, was spending more on its news service than terrestrial ITV, and Sky News was beginning to compete head-to-head with the BBC and ITN for industry awards.

Throughout the 1990s, Sky News tried hard to persuade the terrestrial broadcasters to move their news contracts from ITN to Sky when they came up for renewal. The competition helped the terrestrial broadcasters force down the price of their news from ITN at a time when they were trying to cut costs. ITV and Channel 4 stayed with ITN. But in 2005, *Five News* moved the contract for its news service to Sky, giving Sky News a significant foothold in public service broadcasting. However, the contract moved back to ITN in 2012.

In 2000, ITN entered the news channel market with its own 24-hour channel, ITN News. After 2 years of losses, ITV bought the channel and renamed it *ITV News*. But it continued to lose money, falling third in the ratings behind Sky and the BBC. ITV closed it in 2005.

Radio News

When British commercial radio was launched in 1973, it was as a growing group of local stations, which were required by their licenses to provide local, national, and international news. They decided to provide their own local news services, but to take their network news from a new company, Independent Radio News (IRN), which was run by the main London radio station, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC).

IRN and LBC were pioneers of new approaches to radio journalism with much greater use of location reporting and introducing program

techniques such as the phone-in during which correspondents and presenters could discuss the news with listeners. They borrowed formats from North America and Australia, and many of their editorial staff were Australian and New Zealand journalists. IRN became a training ground for many reporters and producers who went on to great success in commercial television. But British commercial radio lacked network service, and there was never a 24-hour news and information station to support further expansion of the news service beyond mostly short newscasts aired on music stations.

In 1991, after LBC ran into financial problems, the IRN service was contracted out to ITN. This was one of the first “bi-media”—combined radio and television—operations in British journalism, with ITN television staff providing material for radio bulletins. As BBC Radio expanded its news and current affairs output, the gap between publicly funded and commercially funded journalism in radio was much more pronounced than in television.

The System in Decline

The range and quality of commercial broadcast journalism had been protected by spectrum scarcity that had limited competition and by a regulatory system that actively encouraged and rewarded investment in and commitment to high-quality journalism. The deregulation of the British television market in the 1990s and the arrival of digital television undermined the business model that had supported commercial broadcast journalism as a match, on television at least, for the journalism produced by the publicly funded BBC.

The first sector to show the strain was ITV current affairs programming. A senior executive of one of the new ITV companies that won the blind auction in 1991 said that it was not the job of ITV programs to get innocent people out of jail. In an environment in which entertainment and ratings were the priorities, the network’s serious current affairs programming began to decline. In 1992, after Thames Television lost its license, *This Week* disappeared from ITV schedules, to be replaced by less successful and less demanding programs such as *The Big Story*. Six years later, *World in Action* was replaced by a more populist program, *Tonight*,

with a similar agenda and approach to U.S. news magazines of the period such as *Dateline NBC*. The new regulator, the Independent Television Commission (ITC), allowed ITV to cut the number of network current affairs programs and cut back radically on regional current affairs and factual programming.

Equally dramatic changes took place in network news. From 1992 to 2001, ITV halved ITN’s budget for national and international news in real terms. In 1998, it shut down its most important journalistic brand, *News at Ten*. This proved to be a disastrous decision. When the regulator, alarmed at collapsing news audiences, tried to get ITV to reinstate it a year later, the result was an unsatisfactory compromise where the program started sometimes at 10 p.m. and sometimes at 10:30, leading it to be branded “News at When.” ITV then got the regulator to agree to move its news to 10:30 p.m. again in 2002, only for *News at Ten* to be revived by new ITV management in 2008. But by that time, the BBC had moved its flagship news to 10 p.m., and ITV found it very difficult to get viewers back to a program it had abandoned.

The picture in regional news was equally grim. ITV changed its early evening schedule and began to cut back on regional news budgets. By the end of the century, the BBC had for the first time overtaken the early evening ITV regional news audience in every region of the United Kingdom. ITV executives warned that their commitment to regional news could not be guaranteed after digital switchover, where all viewers would have access to multichannel television and ITV no longer enjoyed the advantages of being one of the five terrestrial networks.

Uncertain Future

The beginning of the 21st century saw government, industry, and regulators engage in a complex debate and negotiation about the future of British commercial public service broadcasting. Many of those discussions centered on how much of commercial television’s journalistic heritage could be preserved for the digital age.

Analysis by the Office of Communication (Ofcom), the ITC’s successor in 2004 as commercial broadcasting’s regulator, suggested that

network news of high quality on ITV, Channel 4, and *Five News* would probably survive digital switchover and there would still be room in the schedules for some current affairs. But Ofcom was much more pessimistic about the regional news services on ITV—which might have needed to cut back the network to a smaller group of big regions and even in that case might have required some form of public subsidy to survive.

There was also the beginning of a debate about whether the obligations of impartiality should still apply to commercially funded news and current affairs, with some politicians, regulators, and broadcasters arguing that in a world of digital media, plurality of opinion and approach to news was more important than adherence to the strict rules of impartiality at least as far as commercial broadcasting was concerned.

New Approaches and New Owners

However, over the first two decades of the 21st century, news has survived on UK commercial television far better than the most pessimistic forecasts. British audiences had always expected high-quality news as part of their main commercial channels, and the broadcasters realized news helped differentiate their brands from the growing competition of multichannel television and video on demand. Digital technology helped reduced costs. ITV, after the dramas of the past, continued to run a flagship *News at Ten* and reorganized its regional news service to provide the BBC with effective competition. ITV's current affairs and documentaries continued to make waves—in 2012 ITV's *Exposure* program broke one of the biggest stories in British broadcasting history—the revelation that one of the BBC's top entertainers, Jimmy Savile, had been a serial pedophile who abused hundreds of children on BBC premises. *Channel 4 News* remained the channel's most respected program, with exclusives such as the investigation into Cambridge Analytica.

The commitment to news has also survived changes of ownership with both Channel 5 and Sky being taken over by major U.S. media companies. When Channel 5 was bought by Viacom in 2014, its new owners stressed the importance of journalism by increasing its commitment to 5 News. In 2018, Comcast bought the Sky network after a bitter battle for control with Rupert

Murdoch's NewsCorp. As part of the takeover, it gave assurances that it would maintain the budget of Sky News at its current level for 10 years and announced an independent editorial board to safeguard the channel's journalism.

Despite the major changes in the sector, British commercial broadcast journalism remains more diverse, better resourced, and more committed to high standards than in many other Western democracies, where commercial pressures and deregulation have resulted in a more marked decline. And the strong program culture of British broadcast journalism—a commitment to impartiality and accuracy and to a less tabloid agenda than many mass circulation newspapers—ensures that in many ways those standards have been maintained into the digital age. The longer term challenge may come from the spectacular growth of social media as a source of news and the switch to on-demand viewing, especially among younger audiences.

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See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Broadcasting Regulation

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BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers play a significant role in British social life. They are, generally, highly regarded by the readers in providing important social, cultural, financial, and political perspectives. As a result, newspapers play a critical role in ensuring the functioning of British democracy. The national, regional, and local newspapers in the United Kingdom continue to be influential in shaping the public debate by reaching the vast majority of the people. On an average weekday, 5.7 million national newspapers were sold in the United Kingdom in December 2017; between October 2016 and September 2017, national dailies reached on average 11.3 million adults, 21.5% of the United Kingdom under 21 years old. In this context, British newspapers effectively provide a plurality of views on current issues and reporting on matters that are deemed to be in the public interest.

As of December 2019, there are 10 “national” daily newspapers and Sunday-only weekly newspapers circulated in England and Wales. National daily newspapers publish every day except Sundays and Christmas Day.

Scotland, however, has a distinct tradition of newspaper readership. In addition to Scottish editions of national newspapers, Scotland has its own quality and tabloid newspapers. As of November 2019, there are four national daily newspaper in Scotland: *Daily Record*, *The Scotsman*, *The Herald*, and *The National*. Sunday newspapers include the *Sunday Mail*, the *Sunday Herald*, and *Scotland on Sunday*.

General Characteristics

British newspapers are among the oldest, readily recognized, and highly respected in the world. *The Times* was established in 1785, *The Observer* began publishing in 1791, and *The Guardian*

published its first print in 1821. The *Daily Telegraph* was established in 1855 and *Daily Mail* was founded in 1896.

The modern newspaper industry in the United Kingdom remains a significant force in the political, social, and economic life of the nation. From the temperate analysis of the *Financial Times* and *The Guardian* to the tub-thumping of the tabloid press, the British public has access to a healthy mixture of domestic, foreign, and investigative reporting.

One of most important characteristics of the British newspaper industry is that, in both sales and reputation, the national papers published in London dominate. London’s Fleet Street was once considered the most important location for journalism in the world, with Britain’s national newspaper making the street its home for centuries. Although most newspapers have moved away from the location, Fleet Street remains the embodiment of the British newspaper industry. The Fleet Street demise began in 1986 when Rupert Murdoch moved publication of his newspapers—*The Times*, *News of the World*, and *The Sun*—to new premises in East End of London. However, Fleet Street’s legacy lives on, as a byword for the United Kingdom’s national newspapers.

The next prominent characteristics of the British newspapers relate to “classification” of the papers. British newspapers can generally be split into three distinct categories: the broadsheets, the tabloids, and the free press.

Broadsheets

The first category relates to the more serious and highbrow newspapers; they are usually referred to as the *broadsheets*. This category of newspapers is also known collectively as the *quality press*. The titles normally associated with this category are *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Telegraph on Sunday*, and *The Observer*.

The Guardian, for example, is one of Britain’s more trustworthy newspapers and is the newspaper most associated with liberal middle-class and university-educated readers. At the core of the paper’s organizational ethos lies concern over the environment and sustainability as well as trepidations about social, economic, and political

inequality. *The Guardian's* investigative journalism is some of the best in the industry, and the newspaper won the Pulitzer Prize for public-service reporting in 2014. Winning a Pulitzer Prize is the highest accolade in U.S. Journalism and is recognized globally.

While *The Guardian* represents the social democratic elements of British politics, *The Daily Telegraph* is more aligned with Conservative politics. Through the 1970s and 1980s, *The Daily Telegraph* remained relatively free of labor disputes and maintained financial stability under its group ownership headed by Lord Hartwell. In 1985, Canadian financier Conrad Black bought a majority interest in *The Telegraph*. Questions about Black's management of the newspaper, combined with financial scandals, forced change of ownership. In July 2004, the paper was acquired by twin brothers Sir David and Sir Fredrick Barclay who also owned *The Scotsman*.

Unlike *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* and *The Times* have changed in recent years to a compact format, the same size as the tabloids. *The Guardian* moved in September 2005 to what is described as a "Berliner" format, slightly larger than a compact. Its Sunday stablemate *The Observer* followed suit. Both *The Guardian* and *The Observer* now use the tabloid format, having done so since January 2018. Despite these format changes, these newspapers are all still considered broadsheets.

Other Sunday broadsheets, including *The Sunday Times*, which tend to have a large amount of supplementary sections, have kept their larger sized format. The national Sunday titles usually have a different layout and style from their weekly sister papers and are produced by separate journalistic and editorial staff.

Tabloids

The second category is assigned to what is generally known as the *tabloids* and is collectively referred to as the *popular press*. The British tabloid newspapers mostly tend to focus on celebrity news and human interest stories rather than political or reporting the news from abroad. The tabloids in turn have been divided into the more sensationalist mass market titles, or "red tops," such as *The Sun*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Daily*

Star and the middle-market papers such as the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*.

In the tabloids category, *The Sun* occupies a special place in the industry. The paper was for a long period Britain's most-read newspaper and is currently owned by Rupert Murdoch's News UK, the same group that also owns *The Times*. *The Sun* dominated the circulation market for daily newspapers from the late 1970s to the late 1990s. However, as of September 2019, *The Sun* has an average daily circulation of 1.2 million and, therefore, has lost its claim to be the most read newspaper in Britain. *The Sun* has been involved in numerous controversies in its history, including the trial of six of its senior editors and journalists for misconduct in a public office in 2014.

Free Press

The third category is the free newspapers and is now collectively known as the *new business model* in British newspaper industry. The most notable free papers in the United Kingdom are *Metro*, *Evening Standard*, and *City A.M.* These newspapers collectively reach around 2 million commuters across the United Kingdom. According to figures published in 2019, *Metro* now has the largest circulation of any British newspaper, with 1.5 million copies handed out every weekday.

Metro, which is available in multiple cities across the United Kingdom, is a morning "commuters" newspaper. The free newspaper is distributed from Monday to Friday mornings on trains and buses, and at railway and underground stations, airports, and hospitals across selected urban areas of England, Wales, and Scotland. *Metro* follows a very similar journalistic style to other British tabloids. Most of the stories are rather brief and the main focus is on entertainment, sports, and celebrity news. However, unlike tabloids, there are no editorial or opinion columns in *Metro* and news is presented without a political pitch.

Metro was launched by Daily Mail and General Trust, the owner of the *Daily Mail* in 1999. For much of its life, it was seen to be too insignificant by most media commentators. But *Metro* is turning a growing profit and is now the most-read in the country.

While *Metro* has succeeded in reaching high circulation figures in 2019, the paid-for

newspapers are under increasing pressure to compete in paid-for market. One reason for the decline of the paid-for press relates to a particular episode in British newspaper history that is now regarded as the defining moment in the industry, that is, the scandal that engulfed a popular Sunday newspaper, the *News of the World*.

***News of the World:* A Special Case in the History of the British Newspaper Industry**

The *News of the World* is a particularly interesting case in the long history of the British newspaper industry. The paper was a weekly national newspaper published every Sunday from 1843 to 2011. It was at one time the world's highest selling English-language newspaper, and at the time of closure still had one of the highest circulations in the country. The paper was originally established as a quality broadsheet by John Browne Bell in 1843 and was generally regarded as a respected Sunday paper. Rupert Murdoch's News Limited acquired the paper in 1969 and initially retained its broadsheet format until 1984 when it was launched as a red-top tabloid for the first time. *News of the World* later became the Sunday sister publication of *The Sun*.

In many ways, *News of the World* had all the traits of a paper passionately committed to issues related to public interest. It cleverly addressed the readers directly by giving space to their opinions. This was a hugely successful commercial, enabling *News of the World* to claim 2.6 million regular sales every Sunday.

From 2006, however, the paper was increasingly entangled in allegations of phone hacking. The allegations were initially related to the revelation that the paper had hired a private investigator to intercept the voicemails of a missing teenager, Milly Dowler, who was later found murdered. In 2011, it eventually became clear that the paper had hacked into the phones of many people who were deemed as "subjects of interest" or seen as "news worthy." They included the families of British military personnel killed in action, celebrities, and high-profile politicians. As further allegations against the paper were made public, a number of senior editors of *News of the World* were arrested, convicted, and jailed for phone hacking.

News International announced on 7 July 2011 that, after 168 years in print, *News of the World* would print its final edition on 10 July 2011 with the loss of 200 jobs. In the paper's final editorial, the paper admitted that "phones were hacked, and for that this newspaper is truly sorry . . . there is no justification for this appalling wrongdoing." The final edition of *News of the World* sold 3.8 million copies, about 1 million more than usual.

The *News of the World*'s absence from the Sunday market represents an unprecedented episode in the history of the British newspaper industry. The phone hacking by the paper's journalists led to the closure of a historically significant media establishment and had formed the basis of a parliamentary inquiry and the launch of three police investigations. Furthermore, the phone hacking episode led the Conservative government to instruct Lord Justice Leveson to conduct a two-part inquiry to assess the culture, practices, and ethics of the British press and its relationships with the police, the public, and the politicians. The Leveson report concluded that there was recklessness in the way *News of the World* had prioritized sensational stories irrespective of the harm the stories could cause the rights of those who would be affected. The Leveson report has since become synonymous with the way regulatory bodies failed to prevent the journalists working for *News of the World* to act unlawfully, and unethically, by using their profession to intrude into private citizens' lives.

Recent Structural Transformations in the National Newspaper Industry

The *News of the World*'s demise and *Metro*'s recent success underline a much deeper institutional and structural transformation in the British newspaper industry. During the first two decades of the 21st century, British newspapers, and the provision of news as a whole, has gone through considerable changes. Fueled by shifts in reader behavior and preferences, and by technological innovation, particularly among younger age groups, readers are now able to access news via multiple means from a wide variety of sources and often at no cost. Increasingly, news is also mediated by social and search platforms, which,

despite the availability of tools and practices to help publisher's monetize their content on their platforms, do not necessarily compensate the original producers of much of the news journalism surfaced online.

Overall, national newspaper readership has dropped by one fifth since the 1990s, according to the National Readership Survey. Circulation of national newspaper titles has decreased from almost 30 million in 2003 to 12.4 million in 2017. National Sunday titles have gone from 13.9 to 5.4 million and national daily titles from 13.3 to 7 million.

The most significant implication of this trend has been in the way advertisers have shifted to other media to get their messages across. According to *Press Gazette*, the national newspapers' share of advertising spending has decreased from 21% in 1985 to 10% in 2018.

Another major impact of the falling readership trend is related to young people's consumption of news brands. The young are just not buying newspapers the way their parents did. The number of newspaper readers under the age of 24 had shrunk by a considerable size since the 1990s. According to Ofcom, only 21% of 16- to 24-year-olds are prepared to buy newspapers in 2018. When young Britons do read newspapers, they tend to like the ones without much news. Richard Desmond, the former owner of Express Newspapers and publisher of titles ranging from *Women on Top* to the *Daily Star*, managed to reinvent this end of the market by relying heavily on celebrity news, often jointly with *OK!*, a specialist weekly magazine published by the same group.

All the major British newspapers currently have websites, some of which provide free access. *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* have a pay-wall requiring payment on a per-day or per-month basis by nonsubscribers. The *Financial Times* business daily also has limited access for nonsubscribers. *The Independent* became available online only upon its last printed edition on 26 March 2016. However, unlike the previously mentioned newspapers, it does not require any payment to access its news content. Instead, the newspaper offers extras for those wishing to sign up to a payment subscription, such as crosswords, puzzles, weekend supplements, and the ability to

automatically download each daily edition to read offline.

Regional Newspapers

Most towns and cities in the United Kingdom have at least one local newspaper, such as the *Evening Post* in Bristol and *The Echo* in Cardiff. They are not known nationally for their journalism in the way that some city-based newspapers in the United States are (e.g., *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Boston Globe*). An exception to this was *The Manchester Guardian*, which dropped the "Manchester" from its name in 1959 and relocated its main operations to London in 1964. The Guardian Media Group produced a Mancunian paper, *The Manchester Evening News*, until 2010 when along with its other local newspapers in the Greater Manchester area it was sold to Trinity Mirror.

As of July 2017, the Audit Bureau of Circulation reported a total of 982 local and regional newspapers being printed in the United Kingdom. However, according to a document published by the UK Government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport in 2018, there are a further 61 titles, bringing the total to 1,043.

Research carried out by the Mediatique in 2018 indicates that the local and regional press is characterized by a relatively high level of market concentration. In July 2017, the top 20 newspaper groups collectively published 76% (792) of all the local and regional titles in the United Kingdom and accounted for 97% of the total weekly circulation, with the top six groups alone accounting for 81% of the weekly circulation of local and regional newspapers in the United Kingdom. As of December 2019, the top six newspaper groups dominating the circulation of regional newspaper are respectively: *Trinity Mirror*, *London Evening Standard*, *News Quest*, *Associated Newspapers*, *Johnston Press*, and *Archant*.

On the 1,043 local and regional newspapers identified by the Mediatique, about 77% (737) are published weekly or even less frequently. A total of 605 (58%) local and regional newspapers charge a cover price, with 438 (42%) being free of charge.

In addition to publishing printed material, most local and regional publishers in the United

Kingdom have dedicated websites; however, in recent years, publishers have launched local digital-only news brands. As of January 2020, there are eight such websites operating in areas such as Oldham.

The regional newspapers have benefited from digitalization of their products. However, new opportunities arising from digital technologies have not compensated for the losses suffered in print revenues. Circulation declines have had two impacts—a drop in unit sales that cover price increases have not fully offset and a decline in advertising revenues reflecting lower readership.

Partisan Press

The British newspaper market dynamics are increasingly pushing paid-for papers in a more partisan direction. While circulation of newspapers has declined considerably, this has not diminished national newspapers' influence on British politics.

Generally, national newspapers are not formally tied to specific political parties. However, most papers display clear political alignments that are usually determined by their owners. The *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* have consistently supported the Conservative Party, whereas *The Daily Mirror* and *The Guardian* have normally supported the Labour Party. *The Sun*—one of the most popular newspapers in the United Kingdom—supported Labour in the early 1970s, switched to the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and switched back again to Labour in the late 1990s only to return to the Conservatives by the early 21st century.

These political alignments by the national newspapers are particularly evident during, and after, the referendum on Britain's European Union (EU) membership in 2016. The referendum on Britain's EU membership (Brexit) highlighted two very important issues: It had become the biggest political event in Britain in recent memory and that news media, particularly newspapers, responded proactively with their extensive coverage, editorials, and in-depth discussion of various issues related to benefits or disadvantages of Britain's membership. National newspapers'

involvement was hugely influential in providing the people with relevant information; however, various studies have shown that the newspaper coverage of the campaign was biased toward "Leave."

Moreover, it was found that those who voted for "Remain" were more likely than before to expect their favorite newspaper to reflect their political views.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, for example, showed that newspaper coverage of the referendum campaign was biased toward Brexit. After analyzing 2,378 articles, the Reuters Institute report reveals that of media pieces focused on the referendum, 41% were pro-Leave while 27% had a pro-Remain frame. This trend is further exacerbated when factoring in the reach of different outlets, with 48% of all articles showing a pro-Leave leaning and 22% pro-Remain line.

The British newspapers have long been seen as "experts" in "setting the agenda" for all other forms of media to follow. In the general election held on 12 December 2019, most national newspapers supported the Conservative Party and Boris Johnson's election mantra, "get Brexit done." The *Sunday Express*, for example, proclaimed "Vote Tory If You Really Want Brexit Done." Media researchers at Loughborough University examined the extent to which different newspapers ran positive or negative reports about different political parties in the first week of the 2019 general election campaign. They found that the Labour Party was overwhelmingly targeted with negative coverage by the national newspapers, while in certain papers, positive stories were almost exclusively reserved for Johnson's Conservative Party. The study also showed that the most positive coverage of the Conservative Party came from the highest circulation newspapers, with journalists at *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* relied upon to publish deferential and pro-government reports. There is debate as to what extent newspaper coverage influences public opinion. One study carried out at the London School of Economics found that a boycott of *The Sun* on Merseyside (Liverpool, England) in the wake of a local incident appears to have led to lower levels of Euroskepticism in the region.

Migration to Online Platforms

The British newspapers industry remains highly influential in the social, political, and economic life of the nation. The national newspapers remain rather effective at two levels. In the tabloid sector, *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* are vital forces in British social and political life. The popular tabloid newspapers have a reputation for exposing corruption and wrongdoings at all levels of society. This point was discussed in relation to *The News of the World*.

The British national newspapers can also compete at a global level. According to Omniture (an online marketing and web analytics firm based in Utah in the United States) MailOnline is one of the world's largest English-language newspaper websites with more than 24.9 million monthly unique visitors, each spending an average of 49 minutes on the site per month. Furthermore, according to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport survey, MailOnline has retained its position as one of the most visited newspaper websites in the United Kingdom.

In the broadsheet category, Britain is home to a cluster of globally reputable newspapers such as the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*. According to the *Financial Times* website, digital subscriptions now account for more than three quarters of the newspaper's circulation and 70% of its readers are outside the United Kingdom, illustrating the publication's global reach. Similarly, *The Economist* claims on its website that its current circulation is over 1.4 million, more than four fifths of it outside Britain. The American circulation accounts for over half of the total.

However, the national newspaper industry in Britain has been under sustained pressure for more than 20 years. The constant shift in readers' preferences and a greater migration to online platforms has had a detrimental impact on advertising revenue. Recent developments have transformed the traditional consumption of content via print products, forcing the industry to increasingly prepare for further migration of readers to online formats. Fundamentally, these changes have severely impaired news brands' traditional revenue streams which include circulation, print display advertising, and classifieds.

David Vahid Khabaz

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Broadsheet Newspapers; Free Daily Newspapers; Media Ownership; Murdoch, Rupert; Pulitzer Prize; Tabloid Newspapers

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BROADCAST, OR BROADCASTING

Within the very broad context of the development of American journalism, the beginnings of broadcast news have often been regarded as a by-product of technical innovation in the field of radio. The early experimentation in radio tended to concentrate on relaying entertainment content including singers and musicians with an effort to demonstrate the medium's commercial potential to attract sponsorship. By way of comparison, one often hears that the early newspaper press developed and then expanded in America because of the need to exchange and propagate important ideas, often related to party politics, economics, or some important social movements or agendas. This entry discusses the development of radio broadcasting and the beginnings of broadcast journalism, as well as broadcast journalists. The entry also examines television development and

the evening news. The entry closes with a discussion of the video era.

Radio broadcasting was part of the movement to advance technical development and innovation often taking place in isolation on a college campus or in someone's attic or basement, usually in a setting in which a lone inventor experimented and then made claim to advancing the medium's technical characteristics. For this reason, the preponderance of the attention regarding broadcasting's development has been given to the technical side of things with an emphasis on entertainment, while broadcast news advanced in more limited ways, mostly fits and starts, and usually related to a breaking news event. Once the medium advanced beyond the experimentation stage when radio sets were constructed at home, the development of individual radio stations including the first commercially licensed station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, others emerged, usually with commercial backing of big city business, often joining developing networks, with some of them leading a movement to advance the field of news by radio.

Among the many inventors in the field of broadcasting, worth noting are Guglielmo Marconi who demonstrated wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic Ocean, Lee DeForest who pioneered experimentation using an Audion tube in an experimental radiophone base in New York, and Nathan B. Stubblefield of Kentucky, who improved the status of wireless telegraphy and then broadcast to more than 1,000 people from his small, local community in Murray, Kentucky, in 1890. Stubblefield's demonstration of wireless telegraphy covered a number of miles and was reported widely because of a first-hand account of the exhibition appearing in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and later republished and retold in other print news outlets. Stubblefield received a patent for his invention in 1908, and within a decade, he was already predicting use of radio for news transmission. His prediction notably predated David Sarnoff's early "Radio Music Box" memo of 1915, the prescient occasion in which the future RCA President explained how radio would be used. Sarnoff further predicted how the medium was likely to assume a special place in America for both entertainment potential and in sharing news and information.

Radio Development

Radio grew very rapidly once the various inventions related to the establishment of radio broadcasting were made—most of them by the 1920s. And then it became clear—very quickly, that the tremendous growth of the medium due to commercial potential meant that many of the pioneer radio stations would be interfering with each other. The establishment of the Federal Radio Commission, later the Federal Communications Commission, addressed the many issues regarding ownership of the airwaves as a public trust. The U.S. government, under Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, also attempted to take some basic steps to address the on-air chaos. As radio developed as a major source of advertising revenue, newspapers which had initially been threatened by radio's potential to steal advertising from their established base began to invest instead in radio stations.

In some instances, the employees from newspapers worked jointly at an owned radio station. This movement towards cooperation included the first Pulitzer station St. Louis Post-Dispatch-owned KSD, as well as prominent Kansas City Star-owned WDAF. Also prominent in the Midwest, anointing itself as the “World's Greatest Newspaper,” the *Chicago Tribune* established a station with call letters emblematic of that lofty status, WGN. The station became well known for costly, daily coverage of the Scopes Monkey Trial addressing the issue of evolution from a courtroom in Tennessee in 1925. Another Chicago station focused almost exclusively on entertainment programming and had the sponsorship and heavy advertising by Sears in that same city. Established as WLS, the call letters for that station stood for “World's Largest Store.”

In some cases, variations in advertising policy which were strongly held and enforced by some of the major metropolitan newspapers addressed excessive commercialization and were adopted by their radio station peers. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for example, expunged excessive advertising and especially what it termed “middle commercials” from its radio programming, which addressed the interruption of war news or other reports about war fatalities with commercial announcements. This was done as a gesture of

respect for those fighting and dying in the war. The broadcast community debated whether such a policy was important, whether the issue was widely recognized, or if the policy even made sense given a lack of association with commercial products. Questions emerged about the relationship between on-air talent delivering product endorsements as they had done earlier with respect to the physical placement of newspaper ads within the context of news, by members of the print establishment. In some instances, stations were owned by major corporations with obvious vested interest, including American Telephone & Telegraph station, WEAf in New York, which owned needed telephone lines. From the beginning of the emergence of radio development, competitors questioned whether public policy issues could be fairly debated in a monopolistic environment with emerging broadcast attention.

Beginnings of Broadcast Journalism

The earliest broadcast journalists started in their profession with few professional requirements because the standards for broadcast programming which did develop grew alongside critical financial concerns. Some of the emerging, early radio voices tried their hand at the new medium and if discovering a calling, crossed over from the newspaper business. Many of the early broadcast network-affiliated radio stations, which also formed the basis for television broadcasting later on, began with close ties to corporate ownership and, in some cases, strong interests in other fields. This raised some critical questions about what the medium could and should be. With radio licenses held by commercial entities such as department and appliance stores, would the medium be used in those settings as a vehicle to promote commerce? And if the license owner was a major metropolitan newspaper, would the affiliated station focus more exclusively on news and information?

Once a number of these early questions were answered concerning how radio would develop and then financially sustain itself, in one of histories' great ironies, a good number of historic events demanded attention and thus prompted the sharing of information via radio. With the

coverage of a single major news story, for example, the historic sinking of the Titanic, one of radio's founding fathers, David Sarnoff, began to appreciate the importance radio was likely to play in the nation's future. Sarnoff used the knowledge and experience he gained from service as a young Marconi operator for the remainder of his career, as a corporate leader at RCA and NBC. And whenever international conflict appeared on the horizon, major political figures emerged to stress the importance of sharing information via radio news coverage as when later, Franklin D. Roosevelt used his "Fireside Chats" over the radio as a means of rallying the nation's confidence in helping him to restore a faltering economy from the Great Depression.

The Harding-Cox presidential election was covered by radio in 1920, and the 1924 election was included on the first national conventions reported over the radio. President Warren G. Harding addressed the nation about the topic of The World Court in 1923, and the Radio Act of 1927 addressed the emerging issue of political broadcasting. A large number of regional candidates used the medium very effectively to advance their early political prospects. Dr. John R. Brinkley, the controversial "Goat Gland Doctor" from Milford, Kansas, offered a bizarre medical cure over his Kansas station before running for governor of his state. Known as "The Kingfish," Huey Long used radio effectively to promote his "Share the Wealth" movement as both governor and then later as a powerful U.S. senator from Louisiana. A renowned radio preacher and commentator, Father Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan also used radio to critique national economic policies, initially to support then later denounce the recovery program of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Father Coughlin was heard first over Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) stations and then via a network he put together himself. He left CBS when the network started to question the appropriateness of someone with a religious affiliation arousing the public on economic and political matters over their airwaves.

Radio Journalists

Many of the informational innovations in radio took place with the emergence of William S. Paley's network, the CBS. It began as the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting Company in 1921 and later CBS. By the 1930s, that company employed Paul White as its first radio news director as well as several noteworthy on-air radio commentators such as Lowell Thomas and H.V. Kaltenborn. Both were recognized for their expertise in providing perspective about the news of the day. And as the international scene heated up, another CBS Newsmen, Edward R. Murrow, emerged as radio's leading voice, along with others he recruited to CBS News, who became known as the Murrow Boys.

Murrow operated from a base in Great Britain and covered the build-up to World War II over his regular *This Is London* program. He worked in conjunction with the *CBS World News Roundup* in which correspondents reported live from the scene of international and sometimes breaking news, another innovation available through improvements in technology. He provided information for anxious listeners on the brink of war and then stayed to fly with the Royal Air Force on bombing raids over Germany. Interest in Great Britain and a growing appetite for what would later be termed "reality" programming reached a fever peak for radio in 1936 when King Edward VIII abdicated his throne for American divorcee Wallis Simpson, with the biggest worldwide audience up to that time.

It is often speculated that the sense of uneasiness leading America into World War II, and the nation's limited experience in terms of standards for radio news reporting, leads to an unusually big response for a single CBS program. Orson Welles' 1938 Halloween dramatization of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, over CBS' *Mercury Theatre of the Air* scared many people, especially in New York and New Jersey, where an invasion of men from Mars was supposedly taking place. That radio program used a common programming format of the day: dance band music, as a background to begin to convey the invasion of space aliens. It employed an unusual level of authenticity in terms of using what appeared to be

witnesses of the events, the use of experts, and “live” reports from the field including the identification of places and people approximating actual locations.

Orson Welles was heard playing the role of a Princeton Professor, and in the follow-ups to that broadcast, a bona-fide Princeton Professor, Hadley Cantril, conducted a formal study of the program’s impact for CBS. Cantril’s resulting book, *The Invasion from Mars*, demonstrated how and why this program had the major impact it did. Using extensive interviews with radio listeners, among his many conclusions was the fact that the radio medium had yet to establish standards for announcing important news. In the aftermath of the program, Orson Welles repeatedly claimed that he had no idea the radio play would create such a stir and cause a public reaction. Others claimed the program was calculated to show what could be done by radio without thorough disclaimers and clarification beyond what had been done in this instance.

Television Development and the Evening News

Unlike the case of radio, television experimentation and technical success were attributed to just two individuals: Vladimir Zworykin and Philo Farnsworth. Zworykin’s research and experimentation while working for Westinghouse and Farnsworth’s independent work as an inventor established their respective roles in advancing television’s technology. Farnsworth and his wife also became known for their success in fighting legal battles with David Sarnoff because Farnsworth had been wise enough to file patents documenting his work in the field. During the decade of the 1950s, television began to emerge as a solid visual alternative to what radio had been doing with respect to news coverage. And this occurred with the support of some of the already established, leading radio networks and successful informational programs such as *Meet the Press*, which NBC introduced over television in 1947.

The national evening broadcast of CBS-TV’s *Douglas Edwards and the News* began the following year, 1948. And then NBC News established an evening newscast with John Cameron Swayze

and his program, *Camel Caravan* the year after. By the 1950s, NBC had introduced Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on a newscast alternating between the two anchormen from their respective locations in Washington, DC and New York City. By that time, Edward R. Murrow had moved his *Hear It Now* CBS Radio program over to *See It Now* and CBS-TV. In the early 1950s, Murrow and his partner, Fred W. Friendly, were credited for a series of First Amendment programs and related issues, some of which focused specifically on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and McCarthyism. Murrow’s March 9, 1954 program examined Senator McCarthy and his methods in attempting to expose Communists working in the U.S. government.

Many press critics praised the programs for standing up to McCarthy, but some others questioned the propriety of attacking an individual, especially a U.S. Senator, thereby setting a dangerous precedent. Live television coverage on what later became known as the *Army-McCarthy Hearings* doomed the Senator’s political fortunes. Edward R. Murrow gave a speech before the Radio-TV News Directors Association in which he questioned growing commercialism in TV. This hurt relations with others at CBS News, where he had figured so prominently.

Television played a major role in the presidential political contest of 1960 with one candidate, Senator John F. Kennedy, cooperating with a filmmaker to have a documentary account of his primary activity filmed in West Virginia and then along with opponent, Richard M. Nixon, participating in a series of so-called Great Debates which were televised live. Many sources credited Kennedy’s performance on TV as a major factor in aiding his victory as a viable candidate and also his later live press conferences over television, which helped him hone a popular image of being well informed and maintaining grace under pressure. Edward R. Murrow subsequently left CBS in favor of joining the Administration of John F. Kennedy.

Walter Cronkite emerged as the leading newsman for CBS and became well known nationally as the anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, having established a solid reputation as a wire service reporter and then network anchor and reporter. Cronkite’s coverage of the assassination and

funeral of U.S. President John F. Kennedy became a benchmark for his tenure as CBS News anchor, along with his coverage of the Space Race and Moon Mission. The Space Race was a story in which America was portrayed as competing with the former Soviet Union, a nation that had proved its commitment with Sputnik, the first satellite launched successfully from earth for advancement into space. The American effort was supported by NASA, and since Walter Cronkite had spent his early years near NASA in Houston, Texas, he had an understanding of the story and a natural interest in seeing that it was covered properly.

Cronkite had covered World War II as a wire service reporter and his later condemnation of America's involvement in the Vietnam War was widely discussed. Domestic television coverage of the Anti-War Protest Movement and Civil Rights Movement was enhanced by some related events, including rioting in some of America's big cities and large anti-war demonstrations in which some protesters and members of the press were attacked. The decade of the 1970s saw the news networks involved in a number of additional controversies, including especially network reporting from the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, later referred to as a police riot. A series of long-form TV documentaries, aired over the networks, addressed lingering social and political issues. Among them was the CBS Reports' documentary, *The Selling of the Pentagon*, in which Roger Mudd presented a strong case in February, 1971, that the American military was spending large sums of money in an effort to promote military intervention and then consistently misrepresenting information related to the Vietnam War.

CBS President Frank Stanton had to defend the program before a congressional committee investigating the matter and faced a contempt citation if he would not produce excerpts or outtakes from the program, which he refused to do. Stanton narrowly escaped criminal prosecution and a charge of Contempt of Congress by a vote of 226–181, demonstrating the level of unhappiness with network news performance.

CBS joined with other elements of the national press in 1971 when the classified "Pentagon Papers" were published by *The New York Times*, and again later joining with the *The Washington Post* in coverage of Watergate. They reported on a

break-in and theft at the Democratic National Headquarters and a follow-up series explaining what had taken place. One of the unusual aspects of the early Nixon Administration activity was an orchestrated anti-press campaign by Vice President Spiro Agnew, aimed at leaders of TV network news, including network anchors. He regarded them as a nonelected fraternity of privileged men. In a series of speeches, Agnew claimed that the network leaders all came from the same liberal background and questioned their use of instant analysis, making the charge that there was bias when the three major networks provided immediate rebuke of all public pronouncements by President Nixon.

The Modern Video Era

In terms of television news development, the introduction of remote, "electronic newsgathering" equipment permitting broadcasters to go live from the scene of an event, changed the nature of TV news reporting. With the introduction of mobile broadcast equipment in 1974, live transmission using microwave technology and mobile equipment permitted live coverage of events. With this innovation, news directors had to consider how coverage from the scene of breaking news might impact the outcome or the trajectory of a story. They had to also consider the legal and ethical implications of going live to a sometimes yet unresolved event.

That same year, ABC News named the first woman, Ann Compton, as Chief White House Correspondent. And Compton was still serving in that role when the nation was attacked decades later, on September 11, 2001. She was invited to accompany President George W. Bush on Air Force One to make an assessment and account for the record what was taking place. Another woman, who covered the White House for CBS, Lesley Stahl, joined the staff of the leading news program, a magazine-style program for TV, the perennial ratings winner, *60 Minutes*.

In spite of inroads by women in broadcast news, a number of embarrassing and costly legal cases emerged in the first few decades of the new millennium, when it was revealed that some male broadcast managers, affiliated with the major

television news networks, namely CBS President Leslie Moonves and FOX TV executive Roger Ailes, had made improper advances towards women at their companies. These allegations against the two network executives included women who had been victimized at leading network news organizations working both behind and in front of the camera. Additional charges were brought against Matt Lauer, then of NBC, Bill O'Reilly, formerly of FOX, and Charlie Rose who had appeared simultaneously on programs over CBS and the Public Broadcasting Service.

The charges against these broadcasters and others became part of what became known as the *Me Too, Movement* with similar claims being against major figures in the entertainment industry, including some leading Hollywood producers, directors, and actors. Equally challenging in this regard were questions about coverage of news events in which so-called citizen journalists using small iPhones for instant coverage and transmission, placed material online, and some claimed to have been subjected to harassment by police. And some video shared over the Internet sometimes seemed to support their allegations.

Michael D. Murray

See also Anchors, Television; CBS News; Documentaries; Fox News; NBC News; Podcasting; Public Broadcasting Service

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BROADSHEET NEWSPAPERS

The term *broadsheet* refers to the size of the paper used for a newspaper. The large sheets of newsprint characteristic of the broadsheet format have traditionally dominated the daily newspaper industry. In the early days of newspapers, the large size of the page made it easier for printers to print a smaller number of larger pages. Because of cost and other considerations, over time, broadsheet newspapers have shrunk in size, and many newspapers have shifted to the smaller tabloid format. The term *broadsheet* also carries particular connotations of journalistic quality and seriousness in contrast to tabloids, which have come to be associated with a more entertainment-oriented, sensationalistic, and colloquial style. While “broadsheet” and “tabloid” continue to connote these different journalistic styles, in practice this divide began to disappear by the 1990s as the content of both types of newspaper began to overlap as more publishers shifted from the broadsheet to the less expensive tabloid format.

Origins

While newspapers developed during the print revolution that was made possible by the spread of the printing press, they slowly expanded in size to accommodate the medley of content crammed into publications by printers, including shipping news, foreign dispatches, commodity prices, and

advertisements. Similar to modern newspapers, these early-seventeenth-century broadsheets organized their text into vertical columns.

The broadsheet form developed largely out of technical necessity. In the 1600s and 1700s, newspapers continued to be printed on wooden presses requiring pages to be pressed against the type one sheet at a time. Printing was a slow, labor-intensive process. This constrained circulation to small numbers and made the single-sheet newspaper a necessity. As editorial and advertising content increased and the need for more space forced newspapers to expand, it made technical and economic sense to increase the size of the page rather than expand the total number of pages. A single page only needed to be folded; not assembled. One large sheet of newsprint could be printed on both sides and folded to create four separate pages.

In the early 1800s, the rise of mechanical presses increased printing speeds and allowed for greater print runs and thus circulations. Implementation of steam-powered presses further quickened the pace with which newspapers could be produced. But this did not lead to a diminishment of page size. Rather, it remained sensible, from the printer's standpoint, to churn out larger pages rather than assemble many smaller sheets. On the extreme end, broadsheet pages grew to enormous sizes due to advertising policies that encouraged yearly contracts, but did not restrict the size of the display ads. As a result, in the 1830s, a page of the *New York Journal of Commerce* measured a width of 35 inches and a height of 58 inches. When opened, the two pages spanned 70 inches, occupying a little over 28 square feet of space. Each page carried news and advertisements across 11 columns. This format came to be known as the "blanket" sheet because of its cumbersome size.

Large sheets remained standard for urban newspapers. In 1867, the *Chicago Tribune* carried ten columns, two more than the eight or nine column pages common in that era. Within columns, spaces between rows of text—known as leading—decreased. With a minimum of graphics, the pages came across as seas of gray type. Because of the large page dimensions, the total number of pages in nineteenth-century papers remained either four or eight, depending on the size of the circulation

and the size of the city. This meant only one or two actual pages were needed (before folding). In the twentieth century, the increase in use of graphics and movement away from text-heavy pages led to smaller page sizes and fewer columns—usually five or six. The total number of pages increased and newspapers began to be divided into sections.

Broadsheets and Tabloids

Challenges to the dominance of the broadsheet format began in the United States when some of the penny press newspapers began to run smaller pages. These mid-nineteenth-century newspapers were the original tabloid-sized papers and, in key ways, foreordained the popular journalism of the tabloid newspapers of the twentieth century. Two early twentieth-century examples of tabloid newspapers are the *Daily Mirror* in London and the *Daily News* in New York. The quick success of both newspapers raised interest in the format.

The rise of the tabloid format led to an important differentiation extending beyond simply page size. Tabloids came to be identified with a brash style of emotionally charged journalism. Tabloid pages teemed with short, punchy articles written in a distinct voice with abundant photographs. While broadsheets offered a range of stories on the front page representing the range of stories on any given day, tabloids featured one key story on the front, usually accompanied by a large, attention-grabbing headline.

With the rise of tabloids and their particular brand of populist journalism, broadsheets by comparison came to be identified as more sober with the reputation of seriousness. This was particularly the case in Britain with its nationally circulated newspapers. Tabloids and broadsheets competed across Britain, appealing to different demographics. Broadsheet readers were viewed as more educated and sophisticated whereas tabloid readers, many of whom were working class, were seen as the opposite. This difference was less pronounced in the United States because of the dominance of local market-specific newspapers. Tabloid newspapers competed directly with broadsheets in only the largest markets. Further melding the two approaches, starting in 1981, the national newspaper *USA Today*, while a broadsheet in its

dimensions, featured the colorful graphics and short stories characteristic of tabloids.

For a vivid example of the broadsheet-tabloid mix, consider New York City, by far the most competitive American newspaper market, though a shadow of what existed as recently as the 1960s. The two daily broadsheets, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, are considered paragons of in-depth news. By contrast, the *New York Post* and *New York Daily News*, both tabloids, are seen as sensational and succinct. For example, when the city's newspapers carried front-page stories about President Gerald Ford's refusal to grant federal funds to help the city avoid bankruptcy, the *Times* ran the headline: FORD, CASTIGATING CITY, ASSERTS HE'D VETO FUND GUARANTEE; OFFERS BANKRUPTCY BILL. By contrast, the *Daily News* ran the now-classic headline: FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD. The complicated, policy-specific headline at the *Times* contrasted sharply with the emotional paraphrasing of the *Daily News*, whose headline became a famous example of the tabloid style.

By the start of the twenty-first century, the distinction between tabloids and broadsheets had become negligible. Rising paper costs, a shrinking audience, declining advertising revenues, and the general unwieldiness of the broadsheet format (especially for public transit commuters) resulted in many European newspapers shifting to a smaller, tabloid size. Even *The Times* of London, once a paragon of the content associated with the broadsheet, shifted to a tabloid format in 2004 after 216 years as a broadsheet. The switch resulted in an increase in circulation, matching the result when the broadsheet *Independent* made the same change. While a tabloid size during the week, however, *The Times* continues to publish its Sunday edition in broadsheet format.

In the United States, newspapers have been reluctant to shift to tabloid size, but broadsheet pages have shrunk in the face of rising newsprint costs and decreases in the number of advertisements. The page width of *The New York Times* dropped from 13.5 to 12 inches in 2006. The once-10-column-wide *Chicago Tribune* was reduced to an 11-inch-wide page. Page depths—the vertical measure—generally stood at 21 or 22 inches. Another direction has been a mix of

formats. *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* began running its Saturday edition as a tabloid in November 1996 before moving to a consistent, “compact” broadsheet style each day.

Conclusion

While the large pages of the broadsheet newspaper have traditionally defined what a quality newspaper looks like, the early twenty-first century marked a shift to smaller sizes, and sometimes a move away from broadsheets altogether. This reversal came about because of changes in production and cost. As content style and page size increasingly came to be unrelated, the journalistic distinction between the broadsheet and the tabloid has become less meaningful. Despite this, invoking “broadsheet journalism” continues to connote quality in-depth, serious news.

Matt Carlson

See also Design and Layout, Newspaper; *New York Times*, *The*; Tabloid Newspapers; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BUSINESS JOURNALISM

Business journalism refers to reporting and writing about businesses and the economy. In addition, it commonly includes other beats such as labor, the workplace, technology, personal finance, investment, and consumer reporting, as well as investigative reporting focusing on these topics. The field is also known as financial journalism, particularly in countries other than the United States. The common theme in this coverage is money—who spends it, who earns it, who makes it, and where it comes from.

As more consumers of journalism become aware of how the economy and the stock market affect their daily lives, they are increasingly turning to business journalism to explain the significance. This entry first discusses the role of business journalism in the United States, then looks at the historical roots of business journalism and its development alongside the growth of American business and the economy. Finally, it discusses the growth of business journalism since the 1980s and problems that have developed along with that growth, as well as initiatives to improve business journalism.

Role of Business Journalism in the United States

Business journalism in the United States has grown in importance over the past century due to significant changes in the economic makeup of American society. At the time of the great stock market crash of October 1929, less than 10% of U.S. households owned shares of any stock. By 2002, more than 50% of homes owned stock in at least one company, typically through mutual funds or retirement plans. Also feeding public interest in business news is the fact that fewer people in the 21st century remain with one company throughout their careers, which had been typical from the 1940s through the 1970s.

The amount of business journalism exploded since the 1970s, with daily newspapers creating standalone business sections; personal finance magazines such as *Money*, *Worth*, and *Smart Money* launching; and the number of business journalists working in the country tripling in

number to more than 12,000. That number declined to below 9,000 during the second decade of the 21st century as the overall number of journalists fell. There are now more business journalists working for online-only publications, however.

Business journalism is presented in various media forms, including the business section of most daily newspapers, weekly business newspapers found in every major metropolitan market, websites such as TheStreet and MarketWatch covering specific segments of business journalism, and two cable television networks, CNBC and Fox Business Network. There are also business-only newspapers, such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *Investor's Business Daily*, as well as magazines, such as Bloomberg BusinessWeek, Forbes, and Fortune, devoted to business journalism.

Business journalism, in its role as a watchdog on companies and regulators, can be credited for uncovering illegal and unethical practices that have caused investors to lose millions of dollars and workers to lose their jobs. A 2007 Harvard Business School study studied 263 cases of accounting fraud and determined that 29% were identified by the business press before the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission or the company itself announced an investigation. Further, in 36% of those early identifications, the reporter conducted original financial analysis to support the story.

Early History

Business journalism can be traced back to the earliest forms of communication. David Forsyth (1964) argues that the genesis of writing and the establishment of a numerical system in the Bronze Age (3300 BCE–1200 BCE) stemmed from economic activity. Even the Hammurabi Code, a set of laws created by the sixth Babylonian king in approximately 1760 BCE, established forerunners of today's interest rate and minimum wage laws.

During the 16th and early 17th centuries, wealthy families in Europe employed correspondents throughout the continent to provide them letters with business information useful to further their power. One of these families was the Fuggers, a German family of bankers and traders who needed to keep abreast of events that might affect

the interest rates they charged their clients. From 1568 to 1604, hundreds of letters were written by correspondents hired by the Fuggers, and the information in them was used to determine whether or not to loan money and at what rate. They also included prices for products and services in the city from which the letter originated. These Fugger newsletters began what has evolved today into the complex system of providing information about business and the economy, which in the early 21st century is available almost instantaneously through the Internet and other media forms.

Many newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries were created to allow businesses to notify members of the community about the products and services being offered for sale, and early newspapers carried such business information as the cargo of ships arriving in a city's harbor. These newspapers were commonly called *price currents* because they listed the current prices of various products offered for sale by local merchants, and they rarely, if ever, contained any editorial content. The papers were strictly informational and extremely numbers intensive. Among the products listed in most price currents were cotton, flour, furs, leather, oil, animal skins, tobacco, and wheat.

A Philadelphia price current from 1783 also listed sample wages for workers such as carpenters, sail makers, and blacksmiths, and later price currents included information about shipping traffic. Price currents were published in the cities of Baltimore and Boston in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* was one example: it listed prices for foreign and domestic goods on the front page, and most of the rest of the four-page broadsheet contained shipping information and small advertisements from merchants.

As American business and the economy began to flourish in the 19th century so did the relevant journalism. James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* was the first newspaper that regularly devoted a large amount of space to business and economic news. Started in 1835 on Wall Street, the *Herald* developed the best financial section of any of the mainstream newspapers, according to Forsyth. Bennett was a former economics teacher, and he often wrote what he called the *money page*, which was used to

explain why stock prices rose and fell. A member of his financial reporting staff, Thomas Prentice Kettell, began writing a financial column for the *Herald* in 1835 and is considered the first financial editor of any daily newspaper in the country. Kettell went on to found *United States Economist* in 1852.

Perhaps the most influential business journalism in the United States during the 19th century occurred in an industry newspaper, the *American Railroad Journal*. Edited by Henry Varnum Poor from 1849 to 1862, the publication extensively covered the booming railroad industry. Poor expanded business journalism from its tendency to simply regurgitate facts and figures of products for sale by requiring the railroads to provide financial statements to his publication. He then dissected these financials for his readers, reporting whether he thought the company was a good investment. This was the first time that business journalism explored the profits or losses of companies in any depth. Poor later collected his data into a book, and his company (today known as *Standard & Poor's*) tracks the finances of every major industry.

Important Developments

By 1840, the Industrial Revolution had resulted in larger companies with more complex structures and control of local communities, and as a result, journalists began to pay more attention to business. *The Wall Street Journal* was founded in 1889, providing investors with information about the stock market and business news in New York City. Acquired by Clarence Barron in 1902, it expanded with editions in Philadelphia and Boston and then started a weekly newspaper named after its founder in 1921. While muckrakers Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair were not considered business journalists, they wrote widely about business practices and their impact on government and society. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" set the future standard for how companies would be covered by journalists because she used public records such as lawsuits and depositions to make her argument that the company had undue control of the U.S. oil market.

The first three decades of the 20th century saw an important development in business journalism—the creation of magazines devoted solely to business and the economy. The now-defunct *Financial World* started in 1902 and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce began publishing *Nation's Business* in 1907. *Forbes* was started in 1917 by a syndicated business columnist for the New York American. McGraw-Hill began publishing *The Business Week* in 1929 and Time Inc. founded the monthly *Fortune* early in 1930.

Most publications focused on business journalism suffered circulation declines during the Depression, but none was hurt more than *The Wall Street Journal*. It was seen as a stock market booster, and 1932 congressional hearings uncovered that some investors had been paying the paper's journalists to write favorable stories about companies whose shares they held. The Journal remade itself in the late 1930s and 1940s into a more critical business newspaper and one that provided a business angle to nearly every news story. Its lead after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, stated that "War with Japan means industrial revolution in the United States."

As the postwar economy expanded exponentially in the 1950s and 1960s, business journalism grew as well. The New York Financial Writers' Association, which had been created in 1938, and the Society of American Business Editors and Writers, which started in 1964, took on increasingly important roles in promoting business journalism in the country. Both have developed professional standards and ethics codes that prohibit business journalists from participating in the stock market or from accepting gifts from companies they cover—two common practices in earlier years.

Business journalism on television began to gain traction in the late 1960s. Louis Rukeyser began covering business and economics stories for ABC News in 1968, and in 1971, he started hosting *Wall Street Week* on public television. Irving R. Levine began reporting regularly about business and the economy on NBC News that same year. Both became news fixtures in the 1970s, discussing the Arab oil embargo, inflation, price controls, and the changing stock market. The first business news program on U.S. television was *Nightly*

Business Report, which began airing in 1979 on public television stations around the country. It remains a fixture today, airing on more than 250 stations, but is now owned by CNBC.

Growth and Problems

The dramatic growth in the stock market throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s caused a dramatic expansion of business journalism—and led to many problems. Dozens of journalists began covering business and economics stories without a real understanding of the issues and the nuances of how to properly report and write about those topics. Business journalism in the 1990s was criticized—albeit after the fact—for being too boosterish to industries such as the Internet and telecommunications while turning CEOs of some companies into celebrities, praising them for their operation's results without examining the underlying warts, which included the fact that many of them were not making money for their shareholders.

After the tech bubble burst and the stock market began to drop in March 2000, companies such as Enron, WorldCom, Adelphia, and others were exposed as having duped investors, workers, and the business journalists covering their respective industries into believing fraudulent accounting practices that made the companies look stronger than they actually were. As tech companies began to fail because of their accounting practices, the accounting techniques of other companies began to be reviewed. Some business journalists were criticized for having failed to uncover the scams earlier.

Most of the bigger media outlets compete against each other with their business coverage. *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, go toe to toe on many business news stories, such as mergers and acquisitions and corporate scandals. In addition, wire services such as Reuters, Dow Jones Newswires, Bloomberg News, and the Associated Press compete to have the best coverage on almost every story every hour of the day. Like most mass communication forms, however, business journalism is undergoing dramatic change in the early 21st century. Virtually every daily metro newspaper has cut its standalone business section and business news now appears in

other sections of the paper. In addition, printed stock and mutual fund listings have been dropped from many newspapers and now appear on related websites, primarily as a way for newspapers to trim printing costs.

Business magazines are struggling to overcome a decline in print advertising that has led to fewer pages for stories. Some business titles, including Time Warner's *Business 2.0*, Dow Jones' *Smart Money* and Time Inc's *Money*, ceased publication because of the advertising decline. The decline in business magazine advertising has been attributed to the increase in Internet advertising by companies such as computer makers and auto makers.

However, business journalism on cable television and in specialized newspapers is growing. The Fox Business Network launched on October 15, 2007, to compete with CNBC, which had the cable business journalism market to itself after Time Warner's dedicated financial news channel, CNNfn, stopped airing in 2004. The Fox Business Network surpassed CNBC in total viewers in 2016, although CNBC argues that the Nielsen ratings don't reflect its true audience, which primarily view in offices and trading floors. *The Wall Street Journal*, acquired by News Corp. in 2007, continued to see circulation gains as of 2020, when it reported having approximately 3 million total subscribers, including 2.2 million digital-only subscribers. As of 2019, rival *The Financial Times* had 1 million total subscribers, with three fourths paying for a digital subscription. Weekly business newspapers owned by American City Business Journals and Crain's Communication continue to boast advertising and circulation gains as they focus their business news on small- and medium-sized companies that often go unnoticed by the larger business media. They too are now charging for online access to their content.

Several developments in business journalism may improve the quality of reporting. The expansion of the Internet has made it easier for business journalists to gain access to documents and public records that allow them to cover companies in more depth. Until the mid-1990s, documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission by the 12,000-plus public companies—those whose shares trade on one of the major stock markets—could only be obtained for a fee from a service based in Washington, DC The Securities and

Exchange Commission now provides all corporate documents online, as do many other federal and state regulators.

Another major initiative is the Donald W. Reynolds National Center for Business Journalism, launched in 2003. First based at the American Press Institute, it is now part of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University. Despite advances in the quality of business journalism, the training is sorely needed. A study in the spring/summer 2002 *Newspaper Research Journal* found that journalists believed that education about business was needed for them to be able to do their jobs more effectively. They also believed that such education should apply for all journalists, not just those covering business and the economy.

Multiple business news organizations were sold to new companies during the 2010s. Bloomberg News acquired *BusinessWeek* while TheStreet was sold to Maven. Time Inc. sold *Fortune* and *Money* to Meredith Corp., which in turn sold the titles in 2018 and 2019, respectively, after first shutting *Money's* print operation. The website Business Insider was sold to a German media company in 2015, and the website Quartz was sold to a Japanese company in 2018. *The Financial Times* was sold to Japanese publisher Nikkei in 2015. Business magazines have also cut the number of print issues while focusing more on their websites for growth. Indeed, most business news organizations are now looking online for readers and revenue. *Forbes*, for example, now receives more than 60% of its ad revenue from digital, and Bloomberg News joined *The Wall Street Journal* in adding a paywall in 2018 for its online content. The future of business journalism appears to be in how these operations can generate revenue on the Internet.

Chris Roush

See also Bloomberg; Business Magazines; Dow Jones; Reuters; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BUSINESS MAGAZINES

The addition of the magazine format to business journalism allowed for more in-depth coverage of the economy and Wall Street, companies in the business world, as well as business-related issues. Business magazines do this, first, by providing articles that are much longer than those in newspapers and online news sites. Second, business magazines introduced different story types to the world of business journalism, such as company profiles and strategy articles, allowing business magazine articles to go deeper than just discussing business practices and performance. By providing critical analysis and new angles not covered by traditional news sources, business magazines have become important in helping c-suite executives, business owners, partners, and managers, as well

as anyone else involved and/or interested in business, understand the business world, develop strategies, and make business decisions. This entry offers an overview of the development of business magazines and discusses some examples of successful magazines in the genre.

Development

Business magazines began playing an important role in covering business and the economy in the first half of the 20th century, a time when major dailies did not understand the importance of business and industry news coverage to readers. In the 1920s, readers wanted to know why the economy was booming. Then in the 1930s and 1940s, when the economy went through the Great Depression, business magazines analyzed what happened and offered readers strategies to become profitable again. General news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek*) covered Wall Street, business issues, and various industries during this time; however, none provided the depth of coverage offered by magazines solely devoted to business coverage. The three most influential business magazines, *Forbes* (started in 1917), *BusinessWeek* (started in 1929), and *Fortune* (started in 1930), each made important contributions to the world of business journalism and changed how journalists covered companies, investing, and the economy.

Forbes

In 1917, Bertie Charles Forbes started the first business-specific magazine devoted to doers and doings. As a result, Forbes wanted to call the magazine *Doers and Doings*, but his business partner Walter Drey convinced him to use his last name because it was so well known in the investment community. However, the cover of the first issue of *Forbes* magazine did include the words *devoted to doers and doings*. The first issue, which sold for 15 cents, also featured articles on New York banking laws, utilities, big bankers forecasting money rates, as well as a story about women in business written by a woman (which was surprising given there were few women in business and few women writing about anything, especially business), and an interview with John D.

Rockefeller with a tagline on the cover that read “How Forbes gets big men to talk.”

During the 1920s, *Forbes* remained the only major business magazine in the United States and became known for profiles like Rockefeller’s, more so than any other business publication. B. C. Forbes was very interested in the personalities within business, and he became most well-known for pioneering personal profiles of business leaders. In 1996, Timothy Forbes, Forbes’ grandson, attributed personality profiles becoming commonplace in business journalism to his grandfather’s efforts, saying he helped the genre move away from simply covering statistics to capturing the stories of the people behind the statistics. More specifically, he described his grandfather as the humanizer of business.

In addition to profiles, *Forbes* provided investment advice. However, this caused the magazine to lose subscribers after the stock market crash in 1929, when the magazine still ran articles encouraging investment despite the crash. The magazine stayed in business because of income from Forbes’ syndicated column titled “Fact and Comment,” which he started while working at the *Journal of Commerce* before running it in 100 newspapers and then in *Forbes*. However, *Forbes* went from being the only major business magazine to ranking third behind *BusinessWeek* and *Fortune*. *Forbes*’ circulation did rise after the Great Depression in the 1950s and 1960s under the direction of Malcolm Forbes, B. C. Forbes’ son who took over running the magazine after his death in 1954, but it still ranked behind *BusinessWeek* and *Fortune*. It was not until Malcolm Forbes and Editor James Michaels led the magazine to become more critical in their coverage that their circulation passed that of *Fortune* in 1976.

Also, regardless of its downturn in circulation during the Great Depression, *Forbes* represents an important part of business journalism’s history. Not only was it the first magazine solely devoted to business coverage, but B. C. Forbes was also one of the first well-known business journalists to both the business world and to readers, and the magazine’s focus on profiles and investing was a new practice in business journalism. As of 2021, the magazine continues that tradition, focusing on profiles of influential entrepreneurs in the business world, especially through lists such as 30 Under

30 (the top young entrepreneurs), The Forbes 400 (the 400 wealthiest Americans), Self-made Women (the most successful women entrepreneurs), World’s Billionaires, and The Forbes 400 philanthropy score (listing Forbes 400 members by their generosity). *Forbes* is also well-known for its investment newsletters.

Furthermore, when Steve Forbes, Malcolm Forbes’ son, took over as editor in chief after his death in 1990, he launched several spinoff magazines, such as *Global Business and Finance* (started in 1998), as well as international editions in Asia (started in 1998) and Europe (started in 2005). As of 2019, *Forbes* magazine had 40 local editions in 70 different countries. Even with the decline of traditional print media (*Forbes*’ print business lost \$100 million in revenue between 2008 and 2018), the U.S. edition has 6.4 million print readers, and the company fully replaced that revenue with its digital platforms. *Forbes* has tablet and mobile editions, as well as 26 websites around the world with an average of 111 million monthly visitors and 74 million monthly visitors in the United States.

BusinessWeek

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. started a new business magazine called *The Business Week* in September 1929. Unlike *Forbes*, *The Business Week*’s focus was the economy, hence why a thermometer ran on the cover of the magazine in the 1930s through 1961, gauging the temperature of the American economy. The thermometer graphic also illustrates another important part of *The Business Week*’s vision (counter to that of *Forbes*): interpreting what was going on in the business world, instead of profiling it. As a dig to *Forbes*, Malcolm Muir, the president of McGraw-Hill, who helped start *The Business Week*, said the magazine would never solely chronicle events without interpreting their significance. Furthermore, Muir added *The Business Week* would always have strong opinions and would never hesitate to express those opinions.

Instead, *The Business Week* drew inspiration from *Time* magazine’s format by creating distinct departments (e.g., Business Outlook, Washington Outlook, production, marketing, labor, finance, management, transportation, as well as government

and business abroad) that published regular features. The magazine's first Business Outlook section originally described stocks as unsafe earnings. However, its November 2, 1929, issue also said the Wall Street crash did not foreshadow a serious business depression, making it one of many business publications that failed at predicting the Great Depression. Started just 7 weeks prior to the stock market crash, *The Business Week* lost \$1.5 billion in revenue from 1929 to 1935.

However, unlike other business magazines struggling during the Great Depression, *The Business Week* had a few advantages. First of all, *The Business Week* was able to provide more timely business coverage by publishing a new issue every week, in comparison to *Forbes*, which came out every 2 weeks and *Fortune*, which in the beginning was published monthly. Second, its strategy of having a strong opinion as well as providing analysis led the editors to advocate that the U.S. government take aggressive steps to revive the economy. For example, in October 1930, the magazine complained that the Federal Reserve was standing by idly and a House consumption tax bill was fiscal suicide that would cause further deflation in March 1932. The magazine defines this as one its finest hours.

Besides analyzing the crumbling economy in the 1930s, the magazine reinvented its brand by dropping the "the," becoming just *Business Week* in 1934 and then later *BusinessWeek* (all one word). Also, it continued its coverage of various industries but with a special emphasis on management. There was a postwar explosion of new businesses and technologies, and in order to thrive during a difficult economy, many managers had to develop skills quickly for unfamiliar enterprises. *BusinessWeek* wanted company managers to learn business strategies and management tips, even if the articles were not about their industries. Furthermore, other types of coverage distinguished *BusinessWeek* from its competitors, including analyzing societal shifts that impacted business (e.g., women moving up the corporate ladder in the 1970s) as well as how business influenced society, such as urban issues and the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.

Starting in 1984 through the 1990s, *BusinessWeek* became more aggressive under the

leadership of Editor-in-Chief Steven Shepard, who believed the magazine needed editorial change, despite its deep reporting and profitability. One of his first acts was giving bylines to writers. Furthermore, under his two decades of leadership, the magazine added an international edition, won multiple National Magazine Awards, launched businessweek.com, and by 1999 reached a circulation of 1.2 million, making it the world's most widely read business magazine. Ten years later, it had 4.8 million readers in 140 countries.

However, during the dot-com boom's profit surge, more and more people were turning to the Internet for free news and information, causing a decline in subscriptions and advertising revenue. As a result, in 2009, McGraw-Hill put the magazine up for sale, and it was bought by Bloomberg LP and then redesigned and rebranded with a new name: *Bloomberg Businessweek* (with a lowercase "w"). Following the magazine's tradition, it still has a staff divided into various departments that match the print magazine's sections and is devoted to the same types of coverage but now has a multiplatform presence online, through a mobile and tablet app, as well as a TV show, radio show, and podcast. As of 2017, *Bloomberg Businessweek's* print magazine has a global circulation of 600,000 with more than 3 million monthly digital visitors.

Fortune

Henry Luce, the cofounder of *Time* magazine, started *Fortune* in 1930 after noticing *Time* refused to run of a lot of business stories, citing space constraints during the 1920s. He wanted to create what he called a *tycoon's magazine*, dedicated specifically to a small yet exclusive circulation of upper executives because he thought the current magazines, *Forbes* and *BusinessWeek*, did not pay enough attention to this group. Luce also wanted to produce a beautiful magazine using heavy paper with a vivid design, photos, graphics, and charts. Each issue weighed more than two pounds and cost \$1, which was both expensive for readers in a shrinking economy and more than three times the amount of other business magazines usually selling for less than a quarter. In line with his vision, Luce originally wanted to call the magazine *Power*, but his

first wife convinced him to name it *Fortune* because she thought the name would be subtler for readers.

In light of the October 1929 stock market crash, the board of *Time* tried to convince Luce not to start a new magazine, but he knew advertisers would pay good money to reach this audience because they had sufficient income to buy luxury products, and they controlled their companies' finances, making them perfect for corporate advertising. More than half of the 184-page first issue was devoted to advertising, another difference from other magazines at the time. In terms of writing, Luce did not want *Fortune* to offer advice on how to invest or run a business, nor did he want the magazine to take stances on business and economic issues. Instead, he wanted *Fortune* to contain articles that were more descriptive and entertaining as well as informative, so he recruited journalists who did not always know a lot about business to allow for a more literary style.

However, the Great Depression forced Luce to do the exact opposite of his vision in order to reflect the problems of the economy. In the 1930s, *Fortune* changed from being pro-business to more critical, challenging businesses that did not want to be covered and showing how issues such as starvation and homelessness were a direct result of business failures. Also, Luce changed the tone of the magazine and started inserting content in line with his political opinions starting in 1932, with a feature citing Hoover's failure to acknowledge the severity of the Great Depression alongside a favorable review of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. As a result of the editorial content changes, *Fortune's* circulation, advertising revenues, and profits started to rise. By 1935, the magazine had more than 100,000 subscribers. In 1937, despite recording close to \$500,000 in profits that year, *Fortune* did become critical of Roosevelt's plan to rebuild the economy when business conditions worsened.

Even as it became more pro-business in the 1930s and 1940s, covering political issues and their effect on businesses became a staple in *Fortune* magazine, and it was one of the first publications to recognize the relationship between government and business. *Fortune* is also recognized for evolving business journalism to include political and societal issues, unique businesses not usually covered by business news, as well as inventing the corporate profile. These articles,

which take an in-depth look at a single corporation, taught journalists how to write about companies and are used by every media outlet that covers businesses and their strategies.

Starting in 1955, *Fortune* became known for its list of the 500 largest companies ranked by revenue, called the *Fortune* 500. The magazine has other famed lists such as the *Fortune* 1,000, the Global 500, 100 Fastest Growing Companies, 100 Best Companies to Work For, World's Most Admired Companies, and The Unicorn List of billion-dollar tech companies, to name a few.

To keep up with its growing popularity, *Fortune*, which was a monthly magazine from 1930 to 1978, began publishing biweekly. The print magazine was the foundation of *Fortune* for its first 70 years, but in 2009, the number of issues per year was cut to 18 instead of 25 because of a 34.9% drop in ad page sale. *Fortune's* ad sales continued to drop another 25% in 2018. This drop led Meredith Corp., the owner of *Fortune*, to sell the magazine to Thai businessman Chatchaval Jiaravanon for \$150 million after acquiring Time Inc. earlier that year. Jiaravanon said he would increase investment in *Fortune's* geographic expansion, editorial talent, and of course, digital presence.

Fortune's online presence hosted by CNN.com started in 2004. Then in 2014, after Time Inc. became a company apart from Time Warner, *Fortune* launched its own website. As of 2019, *Fortune's* online audience is wide, totaling 8.9 million, and its total print circulation of 14 issues a year is around 850,000.

Other Successful Business Magazines

Forbes, *BusinessWeek*, and *Fortune* are not the only business magazines to find success and add value to the world of business journalism, especially in the area of personal finance. W. M. Kiplinger created the U.S.'s first personal finance magazine, called *Kiplinger Magazine*, with the subtitle "The Changing Times" in 1947. Two years later, it changed its name to *Changing Times* with the subtitle "The Kiplinger Magazine" until 1991, when it was given the name it is known for today: *Kiplinger's Personal Finance*. Similarly, Time Inc. started *Money* magazine in 1972 to teach readers about investing and managing money, because Luce originally wanted to keep

personal finance advice out of *Fortune*. Next, in 1992, the *Wall Street Journal's* parent company Dow Jones and media giant Hearst Corp. started *Smart Money*.

As with personal finance, a lot of other business magazines have created their own niches within the business magazine industry. For example, *Wired* (started in 1993) is a business magazine with a specific focus on technology. *Entrepreneur* (started in 1977) and *Inc.* (started in 1979) offer small business owners and startups advice on money and management. *Harvard Business Review* (started in 1994) provides a bridge between academia and the corporate world while also targeting those in management positions. *The Economist* (originally started as a newspaper in England in the 1840s before evolving into a weekly magazine) offers a global perspective on business news. *The Economist* is also known for being lengthier with a uniform tone because the writers are anonymous.

Lauren D. Furey

See also Bloomberg; Business Journalism; Dow Jones; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BuzzFeed

BuzzFeed is an independent American news and entertainment digital media company headquartered in New York City with other offices in the United States and around the world. With 92 million unique U.S. visitors across multiple platforms in December 2019 and a global audience of over 520 million, BuzzFeed's success lies in their ability to create entertaining and viral content geared toward millennials.

Founded in 2006 by Jonah Peretti and John S. Johnson III, BuzzFeed produces both original and community-driven viral content using a multiplatform approach, which differs from traditional media channels in the creation and distribution of content. BuzzFeed content is created daily and distributed across websites and social networking services such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Snapchat, TikTok, and Instagram. BuzzFeed remains known for its ability to deliver original content that generates “buzz” and encourages users to share content with others in their social circle.

BuzzFeed utilizes a traditional organizational structure where everything from content creation to advertising is kept in-house. BuzzFeed's popularity originated from providing entertainment journalism (e.g., viral videos, quizzes, and pop culture articles) for a young and digitally savvy target audience before expanding to offer

award-winning investigative journalism. BuzzFeed has expanded to include multiple brands such as Tasty (food-focused social networking), Nifty (money-saving hacks and do-it-yourself projects), Goodful (health and food), As/Is (lifestyle), and Bring Me! (travel). BuzzFeed's network includes BuzzFeed Originals, BuzzFeed Media Brands, BuzzFeed Studios, BuzzFeed Community, BuzzFeed News, and BuzzFeed Commerce. In 2021, BuzzFeed acquired HuffPost in a stock deal with Verizon Media. BuzzFeed has relied heavily on native advertising as a source of revenue. In 2015, BuzzFeed's estimated net worth was \$1.5 billion, and as of 2019, BuzzFeed had over 1,100 employees. This entry discusses BuzzFeed's origins and business model, its various brands and networks, and some of the notable feature stories, videos, and news articles it has published.

Origins

During a time when the digital media landscape was drastically changing, BuzzFeed provided users with copious amounts of viral and entertaining original content. BuzzFeed also strategically sought to understand the emotions and demands of its target audience in order to ensure that original content was shareable and viral, metrics of a successful post. BuzzFeed quickly became known for listicles, or articles presenting items as lists, including "15 Links to Animal Pornography" and "20 Celebrity Nipple Slips." Another staple of BuzzFeed content is online quizzes such as "Half the Population Can't Pass this High School Simulation Without Cheating—Can You?" To encourage audience members to share posts, BuzzFeed often focuses on topics that are part of their identity or lives such as their generation (e.g., "32 Extremely Specific Things Every Single Millennial Hasn't Thought About In YEARS"), favorite TV shows (e.g., "25 'Brooklyn Nine-Nine' Facts You Probably Didn't Know, But 100% Should"), and gender (e.g., "19 Reasons Why Women are So Much Stronger Than Men Could Ever Dare To Be"). BuzzFeed tracks which content pieces are going viral and which are being shared among its target audiences.

In order to provide more viral content, BuzzFeed strives to understand its target audience. This is accomplished by providing users an opportunity

to identify their emotional reactions when consuming BuzzFeed content by clicking on reaction badges (e.g., LOL, OMG, CUTE). This not only allows target audiences to identify their emotional reactions to content but also provides target audiences an opportunity to seek out emotionally specific content. In addition, quizzes such as "Deep Truth Personality Test: Your Emotional Responses to 8 Images will Reveal a Deep Truth About You" and "Your Reaction to these Weird Food Photos Will Reveal Your Emotional Age" allow BuzzFeed to strategically tap into the emotional reactions of consumers. By doing so, BuzzFeed is able to gauge what target audiences want to see while also building an emotional connection.

Business Model

Traditional media (i.e., print, radio, newspaper, and television) utilizes a one-to-many paradigm of one-way communication where a single source or publisher provides information to mass audiences. In contrast, BuzzFeed employs a many-to-many content distribution model where media content is generated and received from multiple sources such as websites, videos, and social media platforms. Traditional media companies also usually aim to drive traffic to their websites. In contrast, BuzzFeed aims to reach its target audience directly by posting original content on social media that is tailored to specific platforms such as Facebook and Instagram. Approximately 75% of BuzzFeed's traffic comes from social media platforms. Of the various social media platforms, Facebook delivers the majority of BuzzFeed's traffic.

BuzzFeed Community

BuzzFeed not only creates original viral content but also works as an open-publishing organization where consumer-generated content is also used. BuzzFeed Community gives users the opportunity to submit original content that may be featured on BuzzFeed. Consumers can apply to become a "BuzzFeeder" and create original content such as quizzes, listicles, or short articles using instructions from BuzzFeed so that the content matches the tone and look of BuzzFeed's original content. Once a BuzzFeeder publishes

their original content, BuzzFeed staff decide whether to promote the original content on BuzzFeed. BuzzFeed rewards community-generated content with digital badges such as trophies that can be displayed on a BuzzFeeder's profile page and content byline. In addition, the virality of a community-generated content piece is measured with "likes," "views," and "engagement," which can earn "Internet points" for a BuzzFeeder.

Native Advertising

BuzzFeed's business model does not charge users for access to its content through a paywall (e.g., monetary membership needed to access restricted media content), and until 2017, it eschewed traditional digital advertising channels such as banner advertisements or display advertisements. Instead, it generated revenue through native advertising, original content created by BuzzFeed for brands that matches the tone, look, and style of BuzzFeed content. BuzzFeed charges organizations a fee to have custom content created for their target audience and to be displayed on BuzzFeed. For example, Toyota's Prius partnered with BuzzFeed and created a listicle titled, "The 20 Coolest Hybrid Animals."

While BuzzFeed utilizes a multiplatform approach to the distribution of its content, native ads are only published to one platform. For example, Bud Light partnered with BuzzFeed in 2018 to promote a new fruity beer product titled "Bud Light Radler." BuzzFeed created a native advertising campaign that aimed at bridging the relationship between having brunch and drinking beer. Two sponsored BuzzFeed recipes, "Beer Bread French Toast" and "Radler's Chicken & Waffles," were created and featured on BuzzFeed's Tasty food-focused video channel. The native advertising campaign generated over 20 million impressions, 6,000 video views, 42,000 comments/reactions, and 14,000 shares.

While native advertising has successfully generated revenue for BuzzFeed, in 2017 Peretti announced that BuzzFeed would pivot from native advertising as the main source of revenue. Along with other forms of advertising, new revenue streams would include expanded efforts in creating and expanding BuzzFeed-owned brands (e.g., Tasty, Goodful, As/Is) while also expanding

licensing opportunities for various successful web series such as *Worth It* and *BuzzFeed Unsolved*.

BuzzFeed Divisions

BuzzFeed has several different divisions, including BuzzFeed Originals, BuzzFeed Media Brands, BuzzFeed Studios, and BuzzFeed News.

BuzzFeed Originals

BuzzFeed Originals concentrates on producing original social content such as short articles, listicles, entertainment quizzes, and viral videos that tap into popular culture. Characteristics of BuzzFeed Original content include it being easy to consume and widely shared through social networking sites. BuzzFeed often uses animated GIFs and pictures in their listicles. BuzzFeed entertainment quizzes are immensely popular because users complete the quiz, share their results, and encourage other members of their social circles to also complete the quizzes so that results can be compared.

BuzzFeed Media Brands

BuzzFeed Media Brands has launched several successful sub-brand products and partnerships. One of the most successful sub-brand products is BuzzFeed's Tasty, a food-focused brand that features short instructional food recipe videos primarily shown on social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. As of May 2020, BuzzFeed's Tasty had over 1.2 million Twitter followers, 103 million Facebook followers, 98 million Facebook page likes, 18.7 million YouTube subscribers, and 37.6 million followers on Instagram. Time-lapsed videos range from 60 to 90 seconds and its main target audiences are millennials and members of Gen Z. Tasty has several global spinoffs such as Proper Tasty (United Kingdom), Bien Tasty (Mexico), Tasty Japan, and Tasty Demais (Brazil).

Partnering with several corporations, Tasty has launched several branded kitchenware line products, cookbooks, and food products. For example, BuzzFeed's Tasty partnered with Penguin Random House and published five cookbooks titled *Tasty Pride*, *Tasty Every Day*, *Tasty*

Dessert, *Tasty Ultimate*, and *Tasty's Latest and Greatest*, which have together sold over 1 million copies. Partnering with Walmart, over 90 Tasty-branded kitchenware products are sold exclusively at Walmart. In 2019, a Tasty app was created that allowed users to concurrently search for BuzzFeed cooking recipes while also shopping for ingredients directly from Walmart.

Other sub-brands include BuzzFeed's Goodful, a wellness brand that focuses on healthy eating and wellness, has partnered with Macy's to launch over 100 Goodful cooking and wellness products. BuzzFeed's Nifty sub-brand focuses on money-saving hacks and do-it-yourself techniques and has partnered with American Express with an "Epic Everyday" campaign that targets older millennials. As/Is, a lifestyle brand, focuses on body positivity and individuality. As/Is features several original digital series such as *Close Up*, *Bogus Beauty*, *Feed Famous*, and *Ladylike*. Bring Me! focuses on travel content and has worked with major corporations such as Tourism Australia, Volkswagen, Hyundai, AMEX, and PepsiCo.

BuzzFeed Studios

BuzzFeed Studios, originally named *BuzzFeed Motion Pictures*, creates original content for subscription video on demand, broadcast, and digital platforms. In a partnership with Netflix, BuzzFeed Studios produced one season of an American documentary television series titled *Follow This* that explored various topics focused on Internet subcultures, sexuality, and politics. BuzzFeed Studios also produced an online comedy series titled *The Try Guys* (2015–2018), featuring a four-person team that has created some of BuzzFeed's most viral videos such as "The Try Guys Try Labor Pain Simulation" and "Guys Try on Ladies' Underwear for the First Time." *The Try Guys* viral videos have generated over a billion views. In 2019, stars of the show Keith Habersberger, Ned Fulmer, Zach Kornfeld, and Eugene Lee Yang separated from BuzzFeed and became their own independent company while retaining the branded name, *The Try Guys*.

Other notable original programming includes *BuzzFeed Unsolved: True Crime* and *BuzzFeed*

Unsolved: Supernatural, documentary-style web series created in 2016 that examine hauntings, unsolved crimes, mysteries, and, paranormal activity. The shows, hosted by Ryan Bergara and Shane Madej, air on BuzzFeed Unsolved Network, YouTube, Hulu, and Amazon Prime and are among the most watched BuzzFeed programs. *Worth It*, another successful web series, stars Steven Lim and Andrew Ilnyckyj, who sample and critique similar foods at three different price points ranging from affordable to extravagant such as an episode titled "\$2 Pizza vs. \$2,000 Pizza." The web series spawned additional spinoffs: *Worth It: Lifestyle* and *Worth It UK*.

BuzzFeed News

In December 2011, BuzzFeed launched Buzzfeed News, which concentrates on investigative journalism, news reporting, and is a member of the White House Press Corps. BuzzFeed hired former Politico journalist Ben Smith as editor in chief of BuzzFeed News the same year to expand BuzzFeed's news coverage. Distinct from the main BuzzFeed site, BuzzFeed News has its own website domain and a separate news app with customizable alerts. In contrast to other news sites that divide new stories into traditional topics (e.g., local, world, political, sports), BuzzFeed News site includes a trending news bar with popular stories decided upon by BuzzFeed News editors. BuzzFeed News reports on social issues, the government, and politics. It has won numerous awards including the National Magazine Award in 2016, the National Press Foundation Awards in 2014 and 2016, the Sidney Award in 2015, and the British Journalism Award in 2017. In 2017 and 2018, BuzzFeed News journalists were finalists for the Pulitzer Prize in international reporting. In 2018, Melissa Segura of BuzzFeed News won the George Polk Award in Local Reporting for her series, "Broken Justice in Chicago" that exposed a Chicago police detective of framing innocent men for murder and ultimately resulted in the exoneration of a dozen men. In 2021, Ryan Mac and Craig Silverman of BuzzFeed News won the George Polk Award in Business Reporting for a series of reports on how Facebook exposes the public to fraud, disinformation, and violence.

In May 2020, Smith resigned from BuzzFeed News and was hired as a media columnist for *The New York Times*. BuzzFeed News hired Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Mark Schoofs to become the new editor in chief. Schoofs developed BuzzFeed News's investigative reporting team when he was formerly employed at BuzzFeed in 2014. Schoofs continues to serve as a visiting professor at University of Southern California (USC) Annenberg School of Communication and Journalism, which he joined in 2018, and has built a collaboration between BuzzFeed News and USC Annenberg. When Schoofs was appointed editor in chief, BuzzFeed announced plans for him to teach one journalism course at USC in the fall and for Peretti to teach a course on "internet culture, networks, and digital media." BuzzFeed News also planned to offer USC students an opportunity to intern at BuzzFeed.

Linda Dam

See also Advertorials; Clickbait; Entertainment Journalism; Food Journalism; Instagram; Investigative Journalism; Social Media; Web Analytics

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BYLINE

Bylines are used to give credit to writers who pen articles for print or online publications. They can take multiple forms and come either at the beginning of an article or the end. Typically, a byline names the person who wrote the article and sometimes gives that person's position at the publication. The byline may appear separate from the story as in this example:

Debbie Reddin
Staff Reporter

This entry discusses the history of bylines, types of bylines, gendered uses of bylines, and ethical considerations of using bylines.

Credit for authorship might also appear as part of an editor's note that describes the story's content or offers some contextualization about why the story is important or how it was acquired. In that case, the credit is not considered a byline. Credit may also be given at the end of a story as a signature. In that case, it usually runs flush right (aligned to the right-hand margin) and might look something like this:

—Debbie Reddin

The signature is the oldest form of authorship credit used in American newspapers. This sort of credit line dates back to the colonial era when readers anticipated most content to be written by a newspaper editor. If the editor commissioned or received (usually through the mail) a letter from a correspondent, he would generally use the signature to signal to readers the piece was not his own. Most 18th- and 19th-century authors would write under pseudonyms (aka pen names).

Pen names were important in the Colonial and Revolutionary eras to protect dissidents from retaliation by English officials. Journalism has always been a dangerous occupation, and in earlier times, readers and subjects with grievances against newspaper writers did not sue them for libel. They challenged them to duels, made lethal visits to their offices, or ambushed them in the street. Anonymity was the reporter's friend, and a pen name was the key to that anonymity.

One of the best examples out of early American history is the Federalist Papers. The Federalist

Papers is a collection of 85 articles written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay under the shared pseudonym “Publius.” The three penned the letters to help get the Constitution ratified. The letters appeared in the *New York Independent Journal*, the *New York Packet*, and the *Daily Advertiser* between October 1787 and April 1788. They are not, however, the only, nor the first, to take to newspapers either before, during, or after the Revolution to argue political issues. A letter signed “Cato” that criticized New York Governor William Cosby was the precipitating factor in the arrest and trial of *New York Journal* Editor John Peter Zenger. The letter was penned by members of the anti-Cosby faction, James Alexander and Lewis Morris. Cosby had removed Morris as chief justice of the New York Supreme Court in order to replace him with a more compliant chief justice. Neither Morris nor Alexander would have wanted their names directly associated with the letter, even if most politically active New Yorkers would have known they were the likely authors of the piece.

Women writers, in particular, have chosen to write under either pen names or their initials. Women in the 17th and 18th centuries tended to use masculine pen names, thinking they would be taken more seriously than a female name. In the 19th century, some women, including all four known female war correspondents who wrote for Southern newspapers during the Civil War, used pen names: Joan, Virginia, Luna, and E.L.McE. Other women, such as Louisa McCord of South Carolina, a slavery apologist and frequent contributor to Southern magazines such as *DeBow's Review* or the *Southern Literary Review* wrote under her initials and was seemingly known as the *author*. She wrote publicly, however, only so long as her husband was alive.

Consistent use of bylines began during the Civil War when Union General Joseph Hooker became enraged over a story that included information about the manpower and location of his Army of the Potomac. The general complained to the U.S. War Department, and the result was General Order No. 48, which required all reporters to sign their correspondence at least with their initials, if not their full names. Northern newspapers complied for the duration of the war.

The Associated Press and most newspapers had no byline policies until the early 20th century. In part, the decision not to use bylines or to use them sparingly was made by publishers who believed the newspaper, not the individual reporter, was responsible for each story. In his work *The Pen and the Book* (1899), Sir Walter Besant, a British historian, argued that signed articles led writers to think of themselves first and their story second. Also, up until about the 1970s or 1980s, newspapers would employ reporters who would gather news and phone it in to a rewrite man, so many stories would have needed a double byline.

Adolph Ochs, publisher of the *The New York Times* from 1896 until his death in 1935, eschewed bylines until the 1920s when the paper's position on the issue began changing, as did that of many other publications. The first Associated Press byline appeared in 1925, and, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *byline* entered the English language in 1926 when Ernest Hemingway used it in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Arguments in favor of bylines have also focused on holding journalists responsible for their reporting. Unsigned pieces are more likely to allow a reporter to engage in irresponsible reporting, argued John Bertram Askew in a 1911 edition of a periodical that dealt with journalistic controversies, *Pros and Cons*. A 2012 article by Reuters writer Jack Shafer argues that bylines are a positive addition to news organs, for they tell readers the identity of authors and do, in fact, hold writers accountable for what they report. The article essentially paints bylines as one antidote for accusations of fake news. It also points out that bylines help good journalists advance faster in their careers, for their work is a known quantity.

However, the modern prevalence of bylines has presented new ethical issues for journalists: fake bylines and accusations of plagiarism when bylines are not fully inclusive of all who worked on a story. Such an issue arose in 2012 with a Chicago-based local-news company, Journatic.

Journatic provided local news to newspapers throughout America by outsourcing assignments to freelancers who worked remotely. Mostly, these remote reporters picked up publicly available information such as real estate transfers, marriage, and death records, and other information easily obtained from the web. Even some of the top

papers in the United States subscribed to Journatic, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Houston Chronicle*, *Newsday*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Many of Journatic's reporters worked overseas in places such as the Philippines, the former Soviet Union, or Africa. Instead of publishing under their own names, Journatic reporters took American-sounding pen names for their bylines. While this practice would have been commonplace 200 years earlier, today it is deemed an unethical practice. Journatic pledged to stop its use of fake bylines after being caught and losing subscribers such as the *Chicago Sun-Times* and GateHouse Media.

A few months after the Reuters article appeared, *The Guardian*, an English newspaper, became embroiled in a byline controversy when the news agency published a scoop about Cisco Systems ending its partnership with a Chinese telecommunications investigation. The Chinese company was accused of violating U.S. sanctions against Iran. A *Guardian* reporter, Charles Arthur, took the wire story, verified it, and did some of his own reporting. He bylined the story with his name and the phrase "and agencies." In the editing process, the "and agencies" phrase got deleted. The *Guardian* Twitter feed automatically pulled the story and publicized it in social media as being exclusively by Arthur.

The newspaper's reader's representative (ombudsman) investigated a complaint by an American journalist that *The Guardian* had failed

to credit Reuters. The representative concluded that internal policies and procedures needed to be reviewed but found Arthur had not intentionally taken sole credit for the work.

Despite the acknowledged value of bylines, some publications still choose not to use them. Perhaps the most famous is the *Economist*, a London newspaper that appears weekly in magazine form. The *Economist* defends its nonuse of bylines as tradition, citing the fact many of their articles are the product of collaborations between writers, and, taking the Ochsian view that what is written is more important than who writes it. The paper does allow its online writers to sign their articles with their initials, and an occasional special report in the print edition is bylined as well.

Debra van Tuyl

See also News Values; Sensationalism

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CABLE NEWS

The development of cable news networks in the United States began with the launch of the Cable News Network (CNN) on June 1, 1980. Although CNN and its later competitors took years to gain a strong foothold in the U.S. broadcast news market, by the 1990s, the cable news channels or networks had become significant and powerful media organizations as viewership declined or stagnated for the evening news reports of the broadcasting networks (NBC, CBS, and ABC).

Cable news channels focus on news coverage all day, every day. In addition to breaking news reports, these channels often broadcast shows devoted to commentary, especially regarding politics, as well as longer specials or documentaries, some of which blur the lines between entertainment or advocacy and journalism. The networks have attracted criticism for their real or perceived political biases and emphasis on sensation stories, their use of outrage and conflict among commentators and invited panelists, and the ubiquitous, if not always distracting, crawls or news alerts across the lower portion of the television screen.

Although the U.S. market includes several smaller niche players and specialized channels (e.g., weather and sports), cable news is dominated by three large media organizations and their affiliates: CNN, the Fox News Channel (FNC), and MSNBC. After discussing each of these in turn, the entry continues with a discussion of the regional or niche cable news channels and other

alternatives to the three dominant U.S. cable news organizations, concluding with a summary of the criticisms commonly leveled at the cable news networks.

CNN, Breaking News, and the Rise of a New Medium in U.S. Journalism

In the early years following its founding by entrepreneur Ted Turner, CNN struggled to find and maintain an audience and journalistic credibility. The new network had anchors, but at least during the early years, its focus consisted of the news and the reports of correspondents and not the personalities of the anchors. CNN quickly established bureaus around the United States and the world. In 1982, Turner and his Turner Broadcasting System started an affiliate, Headline News (renamed HLN in 2008), which catered to viewers wanting quick news updates every 30 minutes. CNN International, with its emphasis on international reports, came along in 1985. By 1989, CNN was available in 65 countries, but the new network hardly disturbed the dominance of the major broadcast networks or newspapers for the first 10 years of its existence.

The start of the first Gulf War, also known as *Operation Desert Storm*, on January 16, 1991, changed the fortunes of CNN and the status of cable news. As the U.S. and coalition missile launches began, CNN alone had correspondents in and reporting from Baghdad. The live and riveting reports by such CNN reporters as Peter Arnett, Bernard Shaw, and John Holliman lacked

live videography during the initial hours of the military operations, but nonetheless dramatically described the events much as famous CBS journalist Edward R. Murrow had described on radio the Nazi bombing of London early in the Second World War.

Even without the live images, countless other television stations and networks in the United States and internationally carried the CNN reports. This gave an estimated minimum of one billion viewers around the world an introduction to CNN and helped make CNN a respected news organization with which the broadcast networks had to compete. Combining this new credibility and image with the growth of prime-time talk shows such as *Larry King Live* and *The Capitol Gang*, CNN in the 1990s gained international prominence and strong ratings.

A new term, the *CNN effect*, captured this increasing prominence built on its path-breaking coverage of the first Gulf War and the other crises of the 1990s. Coined by Pentagon officials and others in reference to the impact of real-time, 24-hour news coverage on global events and on public policy, the CNN effect also signaled the importance of cable news in the United States. Competition from Fox, MSNBC, and others soon developed and CNN experimented with other affiliated offerings and new technologies. CNN in 2007, for example, was the first cable news network to convert to high-definition broadcasting.

Although the network would later see its ratings slip, its reputation for strong coverage of breaking events and crises remained relatively strong, though not necessarily in the lead, in the early 2000s. CNN was the first cable network to cover the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The network's coverage of other major crises from the tsunami in Japan and NATO airstrikes in Libya in 2011 to its coverage of the U.S. presidential elections of recent years periodically boosted its ratings, but since 2002, the FNC, not CNN, has held the top spot in ratings among U.S. cable news networks.

In 2019, CNN occupied third place in terms of the ratings for the cable news networks, behind the FNC and MSNBC, with an average of 972,000 viewers. The network is currently owned by CNN Worldwide, which is part of AT&T's WarnerMedia. While at times critics have suggested CNN

sensationalizes its coverage of crises, critics coincidentally have also derided CNN for its perceived attempts to be the politically neutral, balanced network—a criticism rarely, if ever, leveled at its chief competitors, the FNC and MSNBC.

The Fox News Channel and the Fox Effect

News Corporation (founded by Australian-born, now U.S. naturalized citizen and media titan Rupert Murdoch) launched the FNC in 1996 to appeal to a right-of-center, conservative audience. FNC has grown into the cable network with the highest ratings, previously marketing itself as the network for “Fair and Balanced” news reports and using such other now famous slogans as “We Report. You Decide” and “Most Watched. Most Trusted.” FNC, under the guidance of Murdoch, Roger Ailes, and Bill Shine, used its right-leaning programming to build a ratings juggernaut with its prime-time lineup of commentators that once included the likes of Bill O'Reilly's *The O'Reilly Factor* and now includes shows hosted by Tucker Carlson and Sean Hannity. Fox News is the top-rated U.S. cable news network, averaging a reported 2.5 million viewers in 2019.

FNC climbed to the top of the ratings heap by innovating in terms of not only content but business strategies as well. To pick up space with more cable systems, FNC reversed the standard practice of requiring that cable systems pay stations carriage fees for using a channel's programming, and instead Fox paid systems a per-subscriber fee to carry FNC. Fox also enlisted the assistance of the now former mayor of New York City, Rudy Giuliani, to convince Time Warner Cable to carry FNC in the city.

Just as CNN launched its various affiliated channels, News Corporation launched some of its own, including a financial news network called *Fox Business Network* (FBN), touted by Murdoch and others at Fox as an alternative to the channels that were not perceived as business friendly. FNC converted high-definition broadcasting in 2008 and currently provides service to 86 countries and territories.

In addition to its right-leaning, Republican Party-supporting programs, FNC has from its start invested heavily in its colorful and dramatic graphics or visual presentations as a means of

attracting viewers and holding their attention. FNC launched the now common “Fox News Alert” to interrupt its regular programming when a breaking news story occurred and whenever the network wanted to emphasize an issue. The network also used on-screen text and bullet points to summarize and bring home its messages to the viewers. As the September 11, 2001 attacks unfolded, FNC innovated again by using a news ticker on the bottom of the screen to update viewers with new information on a continuous basis. FNC continues to use the ticker, whether it relates to what the on-screen reporters or commentators may be discussing or to other events.

As successful as FNC has been at building viewership and a brand based on offering an alternative to what it sees as a liberal bias among other media, FNC has had its missteps and critics. In 2003, the network unsuccessfully sued comedian Al Franken (before he became a senator) over the title of his book *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them: A Fair and Balanced Look at the Right*. Fox claimed Franken had infringed its trademark by using “Fair and Balanced” on the cover of the book. The cover also used an unflattering picture of O’Reilly, who complained vociferously about it, and included in its text serious criticism of FNC. Three days after a federal judge denied the Fox request for an injunction and seriously questioned the entire basis of the suit, Fox dropped it. By that time, the publicity helped Franken’s book rise to the top of various best sellers’ lists.

In 2004, Robert Greenwald released a documentary film titled *Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch’s War on Journalism*, a thoroughly documented critique using footage recorded of FNC news reports and commentary as well as leaked internal memoranda and interviews with former Fox employees to make that case that FNC blurred the line between journalism and political advocacy to support the Republican Party and conservative causes.

In July 2016, Ailes resigned following a series of news reports about sexual harassment and misconduct allegations from FNC anchor Gretchen Carlson and several other women, including Megyn Kelly. Ailes received \$40 million from 21st Century Fox (which was at the time the parent company of FNC) as part of his separation. O’Reilly, who had been with FNC since 1996 and

had for many years hosted his very popular evening talk show, became the subject of media reports in *The New York Times* and then other news organizations about his multimillion-dollar settlements with various women who had accused him of sexual harassment. Fox terminated O’Reilly in April 2017.

Without question, the hallmark and central business strategy for FNC has been its right-leaning news coverage and commentary. Executives with FNC from Murdoch through Ailes and many others have made no secret of this approach. Most recently and in the years following the departure of Ailes, many critics have further assailed the network for eroding any line between news reporting and commentary and political advocacy.

For example, FNC prime-time host Sean Hannity has had an acknowledged and even celebrated close relationship with President Donald Trump, one that began during the 2016 campaign and subsequently grew stronger. As of mid-2020, they reportedly continued to speak regularly, if not daily. Hannity has appeared at campaign events, repeated Trump’s attacks on the media and others, and unabashedly defended Trump in all matters on air. In April 2018, immediately after federal agents raided the office of Michael Cohen, President Trump’s now convicted and then personal lawyer, Hannity, strongly attacked the actions by special Counsel Robert Mueller without disclosing that he had also been advised by Cohen. This relationship came to light days later and only after questions by the judge in a court hearing over the raid. FNC did not sanction Hannity for what appeared to be an obvious breach of journalistic ethics. Instead, FNC expressed its strong support for the host.

FNC is unquestionably a powerful influence in U.S. politics and media. At least one scholar has advocated the creation of a Fox studies program to document its influence over policy, the media, and government. The very term, the *Fox effect*, has slipped into the lexicon to signify that influence. Dating back to a 2006 working paper titled “The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting,” subsequently published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, this effect signified the impact of Fox News on elections, voter share, and voter turnout in presidential elections. A later 2012 book, *The Fox Effect: How Roger Ailes Turned a Network into a Propaganda Machine*, by David

Brock and Ari Rabin-Havt, further documented the growing influence of the network and its partisan orientation.

MSNBC and a Third Way in U.S. Cable News

MSNBC and its companion website (msnbc.com) began on July 15, 1996, as a partnership between Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), which was then owned by General Electric. MSNBC and the website had separate business and news operations. The Microsoft headquarters in Redmond, Washington, housed the website. The NBC headquarters in New York City housed MSNBC. Microsoft pulled out of the MSNBC channel in 2005 and msnbc.com in 2012. NBC used NBCNews.com as its news website and msnbc.com for the online version of MSNBC. NBCUniversal, now part of Comcast, owns and operates MSNBC.

In 2019, MSNBC ranked second to FNC among the U.S. cable news networks with an average of 1.8 million viewers. Many consider MSNBC to be a somewhat liberal-leaning alternative to FNC, though this network did not start that way. In the early years, MSNBC tended toward stories that were longer and more involved than those typically found on the other cable news networks. MSNBC drew on its ties to NBC News to report breaking news and air stories by affiliated news organizations. The network also quickly focused more and more on political news.

During its early years, MSNBC included a variety of serious journalists such as John Seigenthaler and liberal commentators and contributors, but also people decidedly to the right of center and now more likely to be found on FNC or a similar outlet (e.g., Laura Ingraham, John Gibson, Ann Coulter, and Tucker Carlson).

In late 2005, MSNBC began changing its apparent strategy as NBC acquired greater control over the network and changes in management occurred. The network at that time started overtly appealing to more liberal and progressive viewers with such hosts as Keith Olbermann, who became quickly known for his sarcastic, biting commentary on politics and FNC and its conservative media personalities, especially O'Reilly. Olbermann was soon joined in the MSNBC on-air

prime-time schedule by Chris Matthews, Rachel Maddow, and other liberal commentators and hosts.

Following the changes initiated in 2005 and revisions to its lineup of shows, the network had some ratings successes and some challenges as it vied with CNN for second place behind FNC. In its 2013 "State of the News Media" report, the Pew Research Center concluded that MSNBC was the most opinionated news network. The study identified 85% of MSNBC's programming as commentary or opinion and only 15% being factual reporting, on which the network spent much less than its two competitors.

Not long after this report, MSNBC shifted its strategy. To reinvigorate its ratings and market identity, the network in mid-2015 moved away from positioning itself as an opinion-oriented, more liberal alternative to FNC and toward being a network that emphasized solid and in-depth news reporting. Although the network kept its early morning and prime-time opinion-oriented programming, it canceled daytime talk and opinion shows and replaced them with news marketed as NBC News shows. MSNBC gained ground in the ratings contest and in May 2017 achieved a first-place ranking for the first time among the U.S. cable news networks, though that title soon returned to FNC, with MSNBC occupying a strong second place.

Niche Cable News Channels and Other Alternatives to the Big Three in the United States

Although FNC, CNN, and MSNBC dominate the U.S. market for cable news, other media entities, smaller and regional or local, also exist. The availability of these cable channels varies widely by region and depending on the cable or satellite service used by the viewer, though as with the other networks just about all of them also operate online and through streaming services as well. Many cater to specific interests, and a few are international.

One of the innovative channels, NewsyTV, began in 2008 for the purpose of producing video-based stories that were compatible with mobile devices and the web, some of which Newsy sold to other media outlets. E.W. Scripps acquired the

fledgling network in 2014, realigning some of its programming and helping to turn it into a national network aimed at younger adult viewers through various cable, online, and streaming services and devices.

Apart from the emphasis on national news, several regional or local 24-hour news networks operate in New York City, New England, the Pacific Northwest, Texas, Florida, and other U.S. metropolitan areas. None of these local or regional channels has built a significant viewership.

Other niche players have loyal and dedicated viewers based on their appeal to specific interests, from sports to the weather or finance. In the world of financial news, CNBC is the dominant player. Originally launched as the Consumer News and Business Channel (hence, CNBC) in 1989 by NBC and Cablevision, the network acquired in 1991 its then chief competitor, the Financial News Network, and solidified its grip on this segment of the market with its combination of daytime, continuous news about business and the markets, and evening business analysis, documentaries, and talk shows. In 2019, NBCUniversal had sole ownership of the channel, which acquired strong competition in 1994 with the inauguration of Bloomberg Television and its many international channels, and in 2007 with the new FBN.

News about the weather and sports also provides the basis for several cable channels in the United States. The dominant entities in terms of weather include the Weather Channel and AccuWeather, with their combination of national and local or regional reports and longer climate-based stories or documentaries. In terms of sports news, in addition to the networks that carry sporting events, there is ESPNNews, owned by ESPN and the Walt Disney Company, and others focused on news about national sport, college athletics, and related issues.

Some smaller networks openly market themselves on the basis of their avowed ideological or political orientation. Glenn Beck and other conservatives, for example, launched the right-wing website called *TheBlaze* in 2010 and it eventually developed into BlazeTV.

Joining BlazeTV in the decidedly right-of-center cable space are two other conservative channels, Newsmax TV and the One America Network. Newsmax Media, which operates conservative-oriented websites and print media, launched

Newsmax TV in 2014. This niche channel uses a rolling news format, conservative talk shows, and the occasional documentary. The family-owned Herring Networks, Inc., started the One America News Network in 2013 to cater to a right-wing audience with political news and unabashedly pro-Trump stories and to compete with FNC. Various media watchers have criticized One America News Network for airing false stories and conspiracies as news.

Several international or foreign news entities also operate through U.S. cable or satellite broadcast systems or through streaming services. Although these are not major players in the U.S. cable news market, they do serve niche audiences. These include, for example, RT America, launched in the United States in 2010. Part of the Russian Federation's Russia Today news organ, RT America has been registered as a foreign agent in the United States since 2017. There are also several cable news offerings focusing on news from China and elsewhere in Asia. Lastly, there is BBC World News, which is not focused specifically on the United States but does have a bureau in Washington, DC. As the international arm of the British Broadcasting Service, this network is estimated to reach over 120 million viewers across the globe and to have some of the highest viewer trust ratings of any network in the United States.

C-SPAN and the Unfiltered or Minimally Filtered Alternative Among the Cable News Channels

The Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, otherwise known as C-SPAN, offers the cable viewer a means of viewing congressional hearings, government agency hearings, some international coverage, and many other events directly and with no interpretation or filtering through news anchors or other on-air personalities. C-SPAN covers many of these hearings and events from start to finish. In 2019, an estimated 100 million-plus U.S. households had access to C-SPAN programming, and that number does not include the access provided through the network's affiliated radio, websites, and streaming services.

C-SPAN came to fruition in 1979 with the founding of the nonprofit, independent, and private National Cable Satellite Corporation. Although

the cable industry started the new network and retains seats on its board of directors, C-SPAN operates independently of both the cable industry and U.S. government. C-SPAN, which has three channels (C-SPAN 1, 2, and 3), carries no advertising, receives no federal funding, and does not solicit viewer contributions. C-SPAN is funded through a very low subscriber-based charge or fee paid by the cable companies and direct satellite broadcasters. Consistent with its emphasis on public affairs programming, the network also carries occasional shows about history as well as nonfiction book reviews. The network is headquartered in Washington, DC.

Although liberal and media watchdog organizations have occasionally criticized the network for a conservative bias in its selection of guests for panel discussions and for underrepresenting people of color, the network has also been credited with enhancing the state of the public's understanding of national affairs, for its educational value, and for its generally balanced, neutral coverage of government and public affairs.

Structural and Journalistic Concerns With 24-Hour Cable News Networks

Among the most common criticisms leveled at the cable news networks are the inevitable difficulties and programming imperatives associated with broadcasting 24 hours a day, every day. The cable news networks must constantly search for stories and report conflicts to keep viewers watching. One concern is the impact this relentless drumbeat of on-air coverage has on policymakers, politicians, and the public. Another concern reflects the apparent movement by some networks, shows, and hosts to promote conflict among guests and in society as a means of building ratings. Several networks have, by design or otherwise, moved toward the coverage of political conflict as a form of branding and entertainment with little regard for actual news reporting or without regard for setting clear boundaries between opinion or commentary and factual reporting of the news. As the line between advocacy and reporting grounded in fact and the principles of journalism continues to fade, critics fear the public's trust will fade as well.

Samuel A. Terilli, Jr.

See also ABC News; Bloomberg; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; CBS News; CNN; Comcast; First Amendment; Fox News; Media Ownership; MSNBC; NBC News; News Audiences, U.S.; News Corporation; Streaming Media; Television News, History of; ViacomCBS

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CABLES, UNDERSEA

The first successful transatlantic telegraph cable (1866) transformed the global reporting of news, greatly speeding up the pace of transmission between Europe and North America. News that had taken weeks to travel by ship could now be sent in minutes or hours, making (as many noted both at the time and since) the world seem smaller. Development of the first transatlantic telephone cable (1956) added a new, albeit briefly very expensive, means of reporting. Today's fiber-optic cables span the Northern Hemisphere, putting most major cities within seconds of each other for transmission of audio, visual, and data news communication.

The idea of expanding beyond land telegraphy by laying a telegraph cable under water was delayed for years by two technical factors. The first was the search for an efficient means of insulating the cable from seawater, and the second

involved determining the correct amount of power to transmit a message over several thousand miles. A successful telegraph cable was laid under the English Channel in the early 1850s, greatly speeding news communication between London and Paris, but the far greater Atlantic distances delayed attempts there until late in the decade. An 1858 expedition did complete a cable, but it operated for only about a month before fading into silence, providing a fleeting and tantalizing example of what could be accomplished with such a connection. Though never determined for sure, the cable probably failed due to the excessive power used, which probably weakened the cable's insulation. The American Civil War (1861–1865) delayed renewed efforts until 1865, when another attempt failed, the cable breaking shortly before completion of the voyage. Finally, in 1866, a cable was successfully deployed, and soon many others followed across the Atlantic and other seas, including the Indian Ocean by 1870 and all the way to Hong Kong a few years later. British and American trans-Pacific cables entered service only in 1903, the long delay after the Atlantic cables owing to the great distances involved and relative lack of intermediate landing points. Political factors also played a part—the British wanted their empire communication routes based in and relying only on colonial posts where London could maintain control.

Each of the transoceanic telegraph cables was developed and operated by major telegraph companies, usually aided by a substantial government subsidy. That subsidy came with the requirement that government and military communications always took priority. Since there was no effective competition (surface ship transport could vary from 1 week to many, depending on distance), cable charges were at first very high (\$10 per word—well over 15 times that in early 21st-century values). Only with the development of multiple competing cables and slowly improving technology did costs begin to come down. By the late 1860s, the Associated Press (AP) was moving up to 35,000 words a day by cable. The inception of wireless telegraphy in the early 20th century, however, offered the first real competition to undersea cables. Even so, the AP was still spending upwards of half a million dollars a year on cable charges during World War I. The major powers

fighting in that war also censored all messages, news included, that moved by cable.

The high cost of using cables contributed to development of a world news cartel in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Members of the cartel could share the high cost of cable transmission. The world's large news agencies—Reuters, Havas (France), Wolff (Germany), and the AP—largely carved up global regions of news dominance, and their cartel lasted into the 1930s. Shortwave radio offered a further degree of cable competition in the 1930s, though cables offered all-weather service that, owing to atmospheric interference,—radio transmission could not then match.

American Telephone & Telegraph's Bell Telephone Laboratories provided most of the research that underlay the first telephone cable (Trans-Atlantic or TAT-1) in 1956. Again, initial costs to use the facility were quite high, dropping only as more cables were laid, and especially after fiber-optic cables appeared in the 1980s, dramatically increasing the number of available circuits. Maps of the routes used by the world's hundreds of modern submarine cables, however, reveal an important limitation in news reporting: there are few cables serving Africa or South America, for example. Most Southern Hemisphere nations (Australia and New Zealand are exceptions) must communicate with the rest of the world by linking to the major Northern Hemisphere cable routes.

With the development of communication satellites in the 1960s and 1970s, undersea cables declined as essential modes of news transmission. Satellites provided greater capacity and could be designed and launched more rapidly than a cable could be constructed. With the arrival of fiber-optic cable in the 1980s, however, the tables slowly turned again, as the new cables now offered greater capacity and lower cost, as well as the option of repair. Increasingly, both modes—satellite and cable—are used to back up the other. News can now be transmitted worldwide in seconds, at a fraction of former costs.

Submarine telegraph cables were the first means of effective and nearly instantaneous global communications, first between Europe and North America, and slowly thereafter including the Middle East and eventually Asia. South America and Africa, however, have always been poorly served by

cables, forcing those regions to link with major cable lines in the Northern Hemisphere. The costs to use oceanic cables forced a spare reporting and writing style to place the most information into the fewest possible words. A cartel of the world's major news agencies controlled oceanic telegraph cable journalism for the first six decades of its use. Only with rising competition from wireless, then short-wave radio, and finally communication satellites, did cable rates drop. Fiber-optic cables have dominated the field since the early 1980s, providing huge capacity, and further lowering costs.

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See also Associated Press; Havas; Reuters; Shortwave Radio; Telegraph; United Press International

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CARTOONISTS, POLITICAL

Political cartoonists have been a vital part of the United States' dialogue since the colonial period. Combining artistic skill, rhetorical exaggeration, and biting humor, cartoonists have a long tradition of questioning authority, drawing attention to corruption, and highlighting society's ills. In return, political cartoonists occasionally have been offered bribes, threatened with jail time, or

faced other forms of attempted coercion by those in power. Political cartoonists were particularly influential in the years following the American Civil War, thanks in large part to the brilliance of Thomas Nast, and their prominence continued through the first two decades of the 20th century. The profession experienced another creative surge in the 1960s and 1970s, reflecting a more adversarial mood in the country. In the 2000s, as financially struggling daily newspapers jettisoned dozens of full-time artists and became increasingly timid in courting controversy, political cartoonists often turned to the Internet and social media to distribute their work, pursue new creative possibilities for the art form, and stir outrage.

Elements of the Political Cartoon

A successful political cartoon, argues historian Edward Lordan, requires five elements: a receptive audience, a medium of distribution, an artist with a creative sense of humor, a powerful subject worthy of scorn, and a negative public perception of that subject. Historian Charles Press suggests that the artistic quality of the cartoon matters much less than the genuine feeling of indignation and outrage and adds that cartoons that stand the test of time deal with subjects that have lasting importance.

In terms of subject matter, cartoonists draw from four major sources, as identified by researchers Martin Medhurst and Michael DeSousa:

- political commonplaces, major recurring subthemes such as national defense and electoral machinery such as campaigning;
- literary or cultural allusions, references that draw from mythology, literature, or folklore;
- personal character traits, including morals, truthfulness, and ability to lead; and
- situational themes or transient episodes that occur during a campaign and are salient to the audience for a limited period of time, such as when a candidate makes a gaffe during a public speech.

How Political Cartoons Affect the Audience

Communication scholars gave increasing attention to political cartooning during the years

preceding World War II and continuing after the conflict, suspicious of imagery's role in propaganda. Many of these early studies asserted the power of the cartoon with little if any empirical evidence to support the finding. Later studies revealed the power of the political cartoon was not uniform across populations or media, suggesting that the intensity of preexisting audience attitudes about the subject was very important in caricature's effectiveness and that people with preexisting prejudices tended to misinterpret cartoons.

A burst of empirical scholarship beginning in the 1960s cast even more doubt on political cartoons' ability to convey a fixed meaning. A 1968 study in *Journalism Quarterly* found that no more than 22% of readers extracted the same meaning from the cartoon as the artist intended. Another study of cartoons before and after the Watergate scandal in the 1970s concluded that negative reactions to a caricature were related to topical themes of the cartoon and general popularity of the politician at the time. In summary, communication scholarship indicates that our understanding of how cartooning works is limited, and audience interpretations of political cartoons are dependent on a number of social, cultural, and idiosyncratic factors. Cartoons are much less likely to change minds than to reinforce preheld conceptions of those agreeing with the graphic message.

Early Development

The first popular political cartoon in the colonies is credited to Benjamin Franklin, who published "Join or Die" in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Often misinterpreted today as a call to rise up against British tyranny, it actually was published in 1754 to urge colonists to back England in the French and Indian War. "Join or Die" played off the superstition that if a dismembered snake was put back together before sundown, the snake would live again (see Figure 1). The image was appropriated by other publications for various purposes over the next 20-plus years, contributing to modern-day confusion over its original meaning.

While not yet a staple in newspapers because of technological limitations, the political cartoon made its impact on colonists through single broadsheets, such as Paul Revere's depiction of the

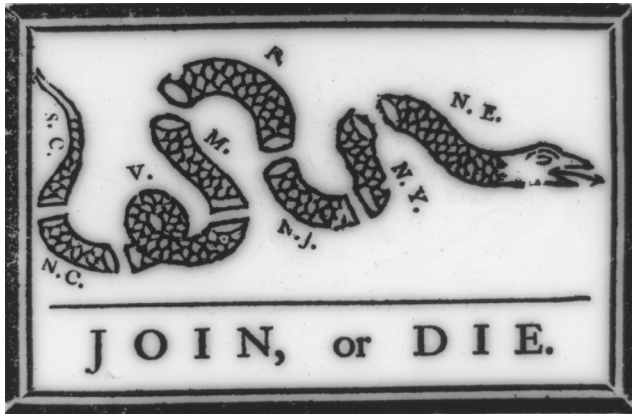


Figure 1 Join or Die

Note: Benjamin Franklin's warning to the British colonies in America, "Join or Die," exhorting them to unite against the French and the Natives, shows a segmented snake.

Source: Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-9701, newspaper & current periodical RR. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a12149>

Boston Massacre in 1770. As political rhetoric, the drawing took liberties with numerous facts of the case—Revere omitted the clubs that some colonists carried, and he portrayed the slain multiracial Crispus Attucks as a white man. While political cartoons were relatively few in number during the revolution, their impact helped galvanize support against the British.

Cartooning in the New Nation

The political cartoon continued to be a weapon in the early years of the new American nation, the barbs now turned away from England and toward rival political parties who fueled their rancor through a partisan press and savage artistic attacks. Pro-Federalist cartoonists were particularly vicious following the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, in some cases making direct references to reports that Jefferson had fathered a child with one of his slaves. In the 1830s, cartoonists attacked Andrew Jackson's populism, his attempts to acquire more power for the presidency, and his earthy manner.

The 1830s also brought an increase in the amount of political art available to the public. A more vigorous newspaper business, fueled by cheaper newsprint, faster presses, and a new emphasis on advertising, slowly opened more opportunities for cartoonists. In addition, prints

by Currier and Ives became focal points of many home decors. These sold-by-the-individual-copy posters included still-life portraits, holiday scenes, and, in the political realm, presidential candidates, the company making sure to skewer each candidate in order to maximize sales. The prints remained popular throughout the 19th century.

The election of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War marked a substantial surge in political cartooning. Lincoln's height and unique features were easy targets for his political opponents, such as cartoonist Adalbert Volck who famously portrayed Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation with the devil's ink while stomping on the U.S. Constitution. Lincoln and the Union cause were much more favorably presented by *Harper's Weekly* and its emerging star cartoonist, Thomas Nast, whom Lincoln reportedly called "our best recruiting sergeant." Nast not only produced patriotic cartoons to stir Union support but also attacked those who suggested anything other than unconditional surrender of the Confederacy, as in his "Compromise With the South," which pictured a confederate soldier shaking hands with a Union amputee while standing on the grave of another Union soldier.

Father of the American Political Cartoon

While Nast gained national notice during the Civil War, it was his work after the conflict that led many observers to call him the father of the American political cartoon. Nast is credited with creating many icons that have become part of the language of political life in the United States. For example, while the donkey had been loosely associated with the Democratic Party since Andrew Jackson ran for president in 1828, it was a Nast cartoon in 1874 that made the reference stick, while also placing the elephant as a symbol of the Republicans. In the "Third Term Panic," Nast responded to Democrats, most notably *New York Herald* editor James Gordon Bennett Jr., who decried a possible third presidential term by Ulysses S. Grant as "Ceasarism," or an attempt to give the president powers more resembling that of an emperor. Nast portrayed the *Herald* as "The Ass in the Lion's Skin" from Aesop's fables, a braying donkey to be mocked, not a menacing threat to be feared. An elephant labeled "The Republican Vote" stomped dangerously close to a

chasm in the chaos. By the 1880s, Democrats and Republicans had both incorporated the donkey and elephant into their respective campaigns, although the Democrats have never adopted the donkey as their official symbol.

It was Nast's work attacking the "Tweed Ring" that brought the cartoonist the most acclaim. William "Boss" Tweed became the leader of New York City's Tammany Hall political machine in the late 1860s and proceeded to bilk the city out of as much as \$20 million through fraudulent contracts, expense claims, and tax loopholes. Nast's caricatures of Boss Tweed emphasized his large nose, scraggly beard, and bloated body and made the ring's leader seem even more sinister than the charges against him suggested (see Figure 2). The series reached a wide

audience—*Harper's Weekly* claimed that readership tripled during the series—and Tweed himself reportedly said that the written attacks on him in newspapers were nothing compared to the impact of "those damn pictures." Nast took on Tammany despite intimidation tactics from Tweed associates and an alleged \$500,000 offer to stop the caricatures and leave the country. The legend surrounding Nast and the Tweed campaign grew to immense proportions by 1875, when Tweed escaped from jail and fled the continent. Legend has it that Tweed was arrested by Spanish customs officials, who recognized him from Nast's cartoons.

Emergence of the Comic Weekly

In the late 1800s, a new genre of magazine—the comic weekly—became home to a new style of political cartooning. Most notable of these publications was *Puck*, founded by Joseph Keppler, an immigrant from Vienna. In 1876, Keppler teamed with printer A. Schwarzmann to found a German-language *Puck*, then the following year the pair began publishing an English-language version of the magazine. After a difficult start, the English-language *Puck* reported a circulation of 80,000 within 5 years. *The Judge* and *Life* would later join *Puck* in this new style of cartooning.

Among the important innovations of *Puck* was color printing for periodicals. The style of Nast and those like him was in many ways dictated by wood engraving, the predominant technology of the day for producing cartoons for publication. The cartoonist carved his work into a wood block in order for it to be used on a press. Nast adapted this practice for artistic effect, his cross-hatching technique adding a striking appearance, but the process was laborious and time-consuming. The difficult technique of wood engraving made black-and-white simplicity a necessity.

Puck changed both the process and content of cartooning with its perfection of the color lithography process. Previously, lithographs had been rarely used in U.S. periodicals because of their expense and labor-intensive nature. Keppler began experimenting with color, first by adding a single tint over the black-and-white drawing on a second run through the press. By 1880, Keppler had adopted limestone to produce his lithographs



Figure 2 Thomas Nast and Boss Tweed

Note: Boss Tweed, portraying a policeman, wears the uniform of a convict in this Thomas Nast cartoon on the cover of *Harper's Weekly* in 1876.

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-117137, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c17137>

and was publishing vivid, full-color political cartoons on the cover, center spread, and back page. The process had become so famous and successful that *Puck* became an attraction at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, IL, with thousands lining up to see the process and the innovator in person.

Puck's influence went well beyond printing technology, as the election cycle of 1884 demonstrated. Keppler and fellow cartoonist Bernhard Gillam published a series of 22 cartoons portraying Republican candidate James G. Blaine as a *Tattooed Man*, his body covered with tattoos of the various scandals with which he had been associated. The success of the series is indicated, in part, by the fact that numerous other publications began referring to Blaine as *Tattooed* in headlines and text during the campaign. Blaine reportedly considered suing *Puck* for libel but refrained in order to avoid more attention being brought to his alleged misdeeds.

A Golden Age of Newspaper Cartooning

The 1884 campaign also marked the beginning of a more robust period for political cartooning in daily newspapers. Most notable was a front-page cartoon in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* by Walt McDougall just before the election. McDougall's cartoon showed wealthy guests at a Blaine campaign dinner dining on "Lobby Pudding" and "Monopoly Soup" while a poor family begged for crumbs. The public reaction was crystallized as the *World* printed thousands of extras to satisfy the demand, and Democrats made large posters of the cartoon and put them on walls across New York City. Blaine lost the election to Grover Cleveland in one of the closest votes in U.S. history, and the power of the political cartoon was an often-cited reason for the final result.

The newspaper war between Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* provided another spark for the rise of political cartooning in the 1890s and early 20th century. Upon buying the *Journal* in 1895, Hearst raided much of Pulitzer's best talent, including Richard Outcault and his popular "Yellow Kid" comic strip character. In the realm of political opinion, Hearst brought along Homer Davenport from his *The San Francisco Examiner* to attack

Republicans and their wealthy supporters. Davenport's most-noted subject for attack was Ohio senator Mark Hanna, who reportedly cried while showing one of Davenport's cartoons to a Senate colleague. Davenport later drew cartoons in support of Theodore Roosevelt for the *New York Evening Mail*.

A colleague of Davenport's at the *Journal*, former *Puck* cartoonist Frederick Burr Opper, also attacked the power of industrialists, skewering not only Hanna but also President William McKinley and "Papa," a character he created to represent the corporate trusts. Hearst papers throughout the country carried Opper's single-panel political cartoons, as well as his *Happy Hooligan* comic strip, making the artist a household name. By the 1930s, a straw poll of fellow cartoonists had deemed Opper the funniest man in newspaper history.

Newspapers throughout the country recognized the success of the Hearst cartoonists and responded by hiring more artists for their staffs, driving up demand and salaries for those in the comic arts. By one estimate, 2,000 editorial cartoonists had full-time positions at the beginning of the 20th century. This golden age of political cartooning did not go unnoticed by politicians, who grew weary of being caricatured. Some went as far as trying to outlaw cartooning, with five state legislatures considering measures between 1897 and 1915, and two states passing ill-fated laws. A California anti-cartoon law in 1899 banned cartoons that reflected on a person's character and required consent of the person being caricatured. The law was never enforced. Campaign cartoons against Pennsylvania gubernatorial candidate Samuel Pennypacker and his associates led to a state law against cartoon "libel" being passed after Pennypacker took office in 1903. Newspapers across the country roundly criticized the law, and it was repealed after Pennypacker left office in 1907.

Dissent During World War I

Cartooning drew the ire of government officials during World War I also, this time at the federal level. Most notably affected was the socialist magazine *The Masses*, edited by Max Eastman and featuring the work of cartoonists Art Young, Boardman Robinson, and Robert Minor. *The*

Masses, objecting to war no matter what the cause, produced images such as Minor's "At Last a Perfect Soldier!" depicting a military medical examiner's excitement over seeing a huge, muscular recruit with no head. Using the recently passed Espionage Act, the postmaster general declared the July 1917 issue unfit for mail delivery; *The Masses* challenged the Espionage Act in court but lost, ending the magazine's run. A number of individuals on the editorial staff were later tried individually under the Espionage Act, but the cases concluded with hung juries.

Dissent such as that displayed by *The Masses* was the exception rather than the norm during World War I, as the vast majority of cartoonists produced patriotic, pro-war work, whether in the spirit engendered by the government's Committee for Public Information propaganda arm, or coerced through the intimidation of the Espionage Act.

The prominence of political cartoonists began to shrink in the 1920s and 1930s. Daily newspapers embraced objectivity as an ideal and were less likely to follow party ideology, resulting in cartoons most often being relegated to an editorial page deep within the edition. The increasing influence of newspaper chains, continuing to swallow up newspapers across the country, put less importance on local issues, and corporate owners were more apt to send syndicated cartoons to its member papers than to hire local artists.

A few cartoonists stood out in the period between the two World Wars. Bucking a national trend, the cartoons of "Ding" Darling remained on the front page of the *Des Moines Register* for 50 years and also reached millions of other readers through syndication. The two-time Pulitzer Prize winner was a strong supporter of Woodrow Wilson's call against isolationism after World War I, but Darling's work later became less partisan, its humor gentle and prodding rather than harsh and cutting. John McCutcheon of the *Chicago Tribune* took a similar tone and generally promoted pro-business, anti-Franklin Roosevelt ideals. A progressive mood remained in a few quarters, including Edmund Duffy's attacks on the Ku Klux Klan in H. L. Mencken's *The Baltimore Sun*, and Rollin Kirby's skewering of Prohibition through his character "Mr. Dry" in the *New York World*.

Cartooning in World War II

World War II cartooning, and press coverage in general, featured even less dissent than that during World War I, due in part to the galvanizing influence of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. A notable exception was the Black press, which posed uncomfortable questions about why African Americans were being asked to fight abroad when they did not have equal rights at home. In particular, the work of Oliver Harrington at the *Pittsburgh Courier* and republished in other Black newspapers drew attention to racism in the military. The criticism did not go unnoticed by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, who repeatedly tried to shut down papers such as the *Courier* during the war, and who later would accumulate an extensive investigative file on Harrington.

The most popular cartoonist during World War II was an enlisted soldier. Bill Mauldin began drawing cartoons for the *45th Division News*, then moved to the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* in 1943. Mauldin's dirty, tattered, war-weary infantrymen "Willie and Joe" depicted the conditions under which foot soldiers performed, and at the same time used sarcasm to needle those in the officer class. The former delighted the enlisted men and the public, while the latter raised the ire of military leaders, including Gen. George Patton, who threatened to ban *Stars and Stripes* from his Third Army unless "Willie and Joe" disappeared from its pages. Gen. Dwight Eisenhower rebuffed Patton, saying that Mauldin's work was a useful outlet for soldier frustrations. Thanks in part to a favorable article by famous war correspondent Ernie Pyle, "Willie and Joe" became available to newspapers across the country through United Feature Syndicate, and in 1945, Mauldin, at age 23, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Cartooning.

As a civilian, Mauldin would later win another Pulitzer Prize with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and he drew a memorable cartoon for the *Chicago Sun-Times* following the assassination of John F. Kennedy, depicting a crying statue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial.

Responding to the Red Scare

The onset of the Cold War in the 1950s produced a chilling effect on many forms of communication,

as fears of Communism turned into paranoia over suspected subversives, not only in government but also in media. Sometimes with little proof, and rarely with a chance to face their accusers, numerous television and film actors, writers, and producers with alleged ties to left-leaning organizations were effectively banned from working through *blacklisting*. Congressional proceedings, such as those by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) led by Richard Nixon, sought to expose those who they deemed as being loyal to the Communist cause. At least one political cartoonist, Oliver Harrington, was investigated by HUAC. Harrington left the country for Europe, never to return. In this climate of fear, cartoonists generally avoided questioning whether constitutional rights were being circumvented in the name of security.

A few cartoonists were bold enough to criticize the tactics of those in the anti-Communist movement. Walt Kelly's *Pogo* strip skewered FBI Director Hoover and produced a character, Simple J. Malarky, as a parody of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, who was using his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations as a bully pulpit against alleged Communists. The most notable cartoonist to take on McCarthy was Herbert Block, better known as Herblock to readers of *The Washington Post*. It was Herblock who coined the term *McCarthyism*, using the junior senator from Wisconsin as a broader symbol for the Red Scare that had enveloped the country. In perhaps the most memorable Herblock cartoon from the period, he drew a man labeled "Hysteria" carrying a bucket of water up a ladder and yelling "Fire!" as he made his way to the flame at the top of the Statue of Liberty.

Herblock also took aim at Nixon in the 1950s, depicting the then-vice president crawling out of a sewer to campaign for fellow Republicans. For the next 20 years, Nixon became a recurring target for the cartoonist, who would win three Pulitzer Prizes in a career that spanned seven decades.

A Surge in the 1960s and 1970s

The social turmoil of the 1960s and the Watergate scandal of the 1970s marked a period of resurgence in the vitality of the profession, as cartoonists, and journalism overall, took a more adversarial stance.

Perhaps the most influential cartoonist of the period was a native Australian, Pat Oliphant, whose work always contained biting satire and often included a tiny penguin, Punk, who occupied the bottom corner and punctuated Oliphant's point with a sardonic comment. By the 1990s, Oliphant was the most-widely syndicated political cartoonist in the world, and *The New York Times* called him *the most influential editorial cartoonist now working*.

Paul Conrad spent three decades at the *Los Angeles Times*, winning three Pulitzer Prizes while taking aim at Presidents Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon. Conrad ended up on Nixon's infamous "enemies list," a document prepared by the Nixon White House identifying perceived political opponents, and Conrad suspected that a series of tax audits were related to his attacks on the president.

Jeff MacNelly's conservative-leaning work at *The Richmond News Leader*, *Chicago Tribune*, and through syndication gained him national acclaim and three Pulitzer Prizes. MacNelly also created the popular comic strip *Shoe*, inspired by a journalism professor who mentored the cartoonist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

While technically a comic strip, Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury* won the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Cartooning in 1975, underscoring Trudeau's influence in American political life. Although new *Doonesbury* strips became Sunday-only features in 2014, the series remained strong in the 21st century, being syndicated to more than 1,000 newspapers worldwide.

A Waning Influence

In the early 2000s, a handful of political cartoonists maintained the artistic competence and strident criticism established by their historical predecessors. Female cartoonists Signe Wilkinson and Ann Telnaes produced acclaimed work in what traditionally had been a male-dominated profession. Wilkinson's irreverent, left-leaning work was honored with a Pulitzer Prize in 1992, making her the first female to win the award for Editorial Cartooning. Telnaes's satirical commentary during the disputed Bush-Gore presidential election was recognized with the 2001 Pulitzer Prize. Other notable cartoonists of the period

included Mike Luckovich of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, David Horsey of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Clay Bennett of *The Christian Science Monitor*, Joel Pett of the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, and Doug Marlette, who worked for several papers, including *The Charlotte Observer*.

On the whole, however, the profession was in deep decline in the new century. In a post-9/11 world, many newspaper editors and publishers were increasingly reluctant to publish cartoons that might be perceived as unpatriotic or critical of the war on terror. In the 2010s, as Americans increasingly disagreed over what constituted “offensive speech” and the electorate became ever more polarized, editors demanded cartoons “which do not express a strong opinion that some readers might disagree with,” in the opinion of cartoonist Daryl Cagle. As one example, Pulitzer Prize-nominated cartoonist Rob Rogers was let go from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* in 2018 after a critical Donald Trump drawing that angered the paper’s conservative publisher. The following year, the international edition of *The New York Times* stopped publishing political cartoons altogether (and let go its two in-house cartoonists) after printing a syndicated caricature of Benjamin Netanyahu that was widely condemned for being anti-Semitic.

After the Great Recession, many newspapers suffered catastrophic staffing cuts, with cartoonists becoming increasingly expendable. In 2007, there were 84 full-time editorial cartoonists employed by U.S. newspapers; by 2019, they numbered 30. Perhaps reflective of the times, Mark Fiore’s self-syndicated work on SFGate.com garnered the Pulitzer Prize in 2010, the first time a cartoonist was honored without being a full-time staffer on a publication or part of a large national syndicate. Two years later, Matt Wuerker won the Pulitzer Prize while working for the primarily digital publication *Politico*.

Some cartoonists embraced these 21st-century challenges and produced innovative work that pushed conventional notions of the form. Michael Sloan, working in tandem with writer Jake Halpern, won the 2018 Pulitzer Prize for chronicling the true story of a refugee family in graphic narrative format in a series that was published by *The New York Times*. The following year, freelancer Darrin Bell’s work chronicling disenfranchised

populations and the Trump presidency won the Pulitzer Prize, the first time an African American received the honor.

Harlen Makemson

See also Comics; Editorials; Satirists, Political

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CBS News

The beginnings of CBS date back to 1927, after the Columbia Phonograph Company and United Independent Broadcasters launched Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System (CPBS). The *Phonograph* was soon dropped, resulting in the name Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The next year, young William Paley, who was the 27-year-old son of an owner of a Philadelphia cigar company, bought a controlling interest in CBS. One of his first signature accomplishments

running CBS was covering the presidential election in 1928 between Herbert Hoover and Alfred Smith. CBS announcer Ted Husing reported returns from the election, a first for the emerging radio industry. Paley helped develop the concept of option time, where the network would pay their affiliate radio stations \$50 per hour for an option on a portion of their airtime. CBS would provide the programs for the affiliates and then sold ad space or sponsorships. While NBC was charging their affiliates to carry its programming, more than 90 affiliates jumped ship over to CBS by 1933 with this new idea. CBS had 114 affiliates throughout the United States within 10 years. The Federal Communications Commission later outlawed the practice of option time in 1941. CBS created its news division in 1934 and hired Edward R. Murrow in 1935 to become its director of talks. After moving to London to become head of the CBS operations in Europe, he was thrust into news coverage after Germany invaded Austria in 1938. He flew to Vienna and covered the event. Soon after, he developed the European News Roundup, which was a network of foreign correspondents to help provide coverage of the war efforts overseas. Anchored by Robert Trout, it became popular and became a daily show. Murrow's fame rose while covering the war during World War II. His reports were from the rooftops rather than shelters so listeners could hear what was going on while he gave the reports. He became the first to incorporate natural sounds of the war into his broadcasts. This entry examines the development of television and several CBS programs including *CBS Evening News*, *Face the Nation*, *60 Minutes*, *48 Hours*, *CBS This Morning*, and *CBS Sunday Morning*. The entry also discusses CBS's streaming news network, CBSN. The entry closes with an overview of the corporate history of CBS.

Development of TV

Gilbert Seldes wrote an article in *The Atlantic* that claimed networks should experiment with television before advertisers would heavily get involved. Most Americans did not own TV sets and received their news either by radio or newspapers. CBS hired Seldes to assemble a crew and first got involved in broadcasting television news in 1941.

WCBW, which was an experimental television station in New York City (later named WCBS), broadcast a 15-min program called *Richard Hubbell and the News* from a studio built above Grand Central Station. That same year, the station provided the first television news instant special after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. After World War II, Murrow hosted *See it Now*, which was a documentary news series on CBS. One of the most notable periods from the program includes Murrow's reports about Senator Joseph McCarthy, who publicly persecuted people who had leftist political agendas and deemed them communists. As a result, some people were unable to find work and were blacklisted. While many reporters shied away from taking on McCarthy, Murrow took him on directly with his reporting.

CBS Evening News

The nightly network newscast was originally developed in 1948 and was called *The CBS TV News*. The newscast lasted 15 min each night during the week and was anchored by radio veteran Douglas Edwards. Within a couple of years, the name changed to *Douglas Edwards with the News*. Edwards stayed in that role until 1962 and was replaced by Walter Cronkite. The show was then renamed *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*.

The nightly newscast increased from 15 min to 30 min on September 2, 1963. The dedication to news got the attention of President John F. Kennedy, who gave an exclusive interview to Cronkite for its first expanded newscast. The expansion came just before President Kennedy was assassinated just a couple of months later. Over the next decade, newscasts included some of the biggest stories in U.S. history, including the civil rights movement, the war in Vietnam, and the first steps on the moon. Cronkite, who was called the most trusted man in America according to a 1972 poll, anchored the program until his resignation in 1981.

Dan Rather took over for Cronkite in 1981, starting a 24-year run as the network's lead anchor. Rather started with CBS as a correspondent in 1962 and covered crucial stories including the Kennedy assassination, the war in Vietnam, and the Watergate scandal. He had also served as

an anchor for the weekend newscasts and as a correspondent for *60 Minutes*. Rather left his role as anchor in 2005 after controversy over reports of President George W. Bush's record with the Texas Air National Guard. He stayed on as a correspondent and then left CBS in 2006 to become an anchor and managing editor of *Dan Rather Reports* on HDNet.

Immediately after Rather left the *CBS Evening News*, Bob Schieffer temporarily took over the anchor chair until Katie Couric took over on a permanent basis in 2006. She became the first solo female anchor of a nightly network newscast. Couric came to CBS after a lengthy run as morning anchor for *The Today Show* on NBC, becoming one of the most popular and highest-paid news personalities. The show struggled in the ratings and she left CBS in 2011. Scott Pelley took over for Couric in 2011, helping regain some of the viewers that had been lost. Pelley started with CBS as a reporter in 1989 and covered the Persian Gulf Crisis soon after. He had also worked as CBS' Chief White House Correspondent and extensively covered the 9/11 attacks. However, ratings began to suffer again and Pelley was fired in 2017. Pelley later claimed that he had been fired because he had complained to top executives about a hostile work environment. He became host of *60 Minutes* after losing the anchor chair. Pelley was replaced on an interim basis by Anthony Mason in June 2017 before the naming of Jeff Glor as the permanent replacement later that year. Glor joined the network in 2007 as a correspondent. He also served as a weekend anchor of the *CBS Evening News* and an anchor on *The Early Show*. Glor's role was short-lived after he was replaced by Norah O'Donnell in July 2019. The show moved its broadcast from New York City to Washington, DC, in December 2019.

Face the Nation

Face the Nation is the longest-running news program on CBS and one of the longest-running television programs in television history. It launched on November 7, 1954, with Bill Shadel as the host. Originally a 30-min program, the network expanded the show to an hour in April 2012. Rival programs such as *Meet the Press* on NBC and *This Week* on ABC lasted an hour, and CBS

wanted to capitalize on a growing viewership prior to the expansion. Bob Schieffer was the longest-running host of the show for 24 years between 1991 and 2015. Schieffer spent 46 years working for CBS before his retirement. He interviewed every president since Richard Nixon, and most recently before his retirement had interviewed President Obama three times on *Face the Nation*. Schieffer also moderated three different debates for the Presidential Commission of Debates in 2004, 2008, and 2012. Other moderators included Stuart Novins, Howard Smith, Paul Niven, Martin Agronsky, George Herman, Lesley Stahl, and John Dickerson. Most recently, Margaret Brennan took over the program in 2018. She had been with CBS since 2012 as a correspondent and had also filled in on *CBS This Morning* and the *CBS Evening News*. Brennan had also filled in as a substitute moderator for the show after Dickerson left the show. *Face the Nation* ended the 2019–2020 television season as the most-watched Sunday morning public affairs show, having grown its audience by 6% from the previous year.

60 Minutes

60 Minutes was created by Don Howard and debuted on September 24, 1968. It is considered the first of the TV newsmagazines, which offer in-depth reporting on a range of subjects. Howard wanted to create a sort of *Life* magazine for television that had a similar mix of serious and light stories. The first anchors were Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace. Reasoner was a veteran broadcaster for CBS, while Wallace offered the program more of a hard edge with tough questions. Throughout the years, the ensemble of reporters provided the network award-winning storytelling that achieved numerous accolades. CBS considers it the most successful broadcast in television history. The program has won more Emmy Awards than any other prime-time broadcast.

48 Hours

Howard Stringer, who was a former president of CBS News, created *48 Hours* in 1987. The documentary/investigative series uses an in-depth approach to cover news. It originally focused on events occurring within a 48-hour time span.

However, that approach was eventually phased out. The program's efforts have resulted in three Peabody Awards, 21 Emmys, six RTNDA Edward R. Murrow Awards, and two Alfred I. duPont-Columbia Awards for its reporting. Rather hosted the program for the first 14 years. Since then, the show featured numerous other hosts including Lesley Stahl, Peter Van Sant, and Erin Moriarty.

CBS This Morning

CBS has not had as much success with morning shows as NBC and ABC have had. *CBS This Morning* debuted in 1987 but had difficulties keeping up with *Good Morning America* and *The Today Show*. On November 1, 1999, the show was replaced by *The Early Show* with anchors Bryant Gumbel and Jane Clayson. Gumbel was an intriguing choice, who had vowed never to return to mornings after spending 15 years on *The Today Show*. The program went back to its original name of *CBS This Morning* in 2012 with hosts Charlie Rose, Gayle King, and Erica Hill. Since then, it has struggled to keep up, remaining in third place as of 2020.

CBS Sunday Morning

The network launched *CBS Sunday Morning* on January 28, 1979, with Charles Kuralt as its lead anchor. Kuralt was a veteran journalist, reporting "On the Road" segments for the *CBS Evening News* between 1967 and 1980. The stories showcased a lighter storytelling ability that found stories off the beaten path that would otherwise have gone unreported. Kuralt held the position until 1994, when Charles Osgood took over as the anchor. Osgood held the role until stepping down in 2016 and was replaced by Jane Pauley. In 2019, the show celebrated its 16th consecutive season as the most-watched Sunday morning news program.

CBSN

CBS Corp. CEO Leslie Moonves confirmed a months-long rumor in May 2014 that CBS was looking at starting a 24-hour streaming news network. He mentioned to Bloomberg the prospects of a 24-hour digital channel that could be streamed around the world. As a result, CBSN started on

November 6, 2014. The plan was to air live, anchored coverage between 9 a.m. and midnight (ET) during the week. It later shifted to the hours between 5 a.m. and 10 p.m. (ET). During breaking news situations, the channel could either take the CBS News coverage or offer their own. As of 2021, the channel rebroadcasts programming such as *CBS This Morning* and *Face The Nation*. It also offers original programming, such as *Red & Blue*, which is a current affairs show that airs daily. It also airs original stories called CBSN Originals. The channel allowed viewers to skip around through coverage as well, creating an on-demand feature in case people wanted to see segments or coverage that had already aired. The network is available on the CBS website, CBS mobile apps, Roku, Amazon Fire TV, and Hulu. Access to the channel is free, which differentiates it from channels of cable news counterparts where viewers need to subscribe to a service in order to view their live channel. CBSN experienced significant growth in its first few years. It had a 38% year-over-year increase in streams in the second quarter of 2017. In August 2018, the network unveiled CBSN Local to target local audiences. It started with New York at the end of 2018 and later expanded to Los Angeles, Boston, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Denver, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Dallas-Ft. Worth in 2019 and 2020. Modeled after CBSN, programming included livestreams of regular local newscasts and other original programming for each market.

Corporate History

The corporate name for CBS was Columbia Broadcasting System until 1974, when it was renamed CBS Inc. The company successfully staved off a hostile takeover attempt by CNN and WTBS owner Ted Turner in 1985. CBS Inc. spent approximately \$1 billion to buy back some of its own stock to substantially drive up the cost of purchasing the company. The company also sold much of its book, magazine, and record business during that same period in order to focus solely on radio and television broadcasting. After a consistent downward trend in overall network ratings, CBS Inc. was sold to Westinghouse Electric Corporation in 1995. The \$5.4 billion merger, which included 15 television stations and 39 radio stations, reached approximately 35% of all

households in the United States. Westinghouse Electric Corp. was based in Pittsburgh but moved its corporate headquarters to New York City 2 years after the merger. It also changed its name to CBS Corp., dropping the Westinghouse name in order to focus on its media empire. The company further invested \$9 billion to acquire television and radio stations while selling off its industrial assets. CBS Corp. merged with Viacom in April 2000, making it the largest media merger at the time at \$44 billion. It was the second-largest media company at the time behind Time Warner. The partnership allowed the prestigious CBS network to form a synergistic relationship with Viacom's extensive cable empire, which included MTV, VH1, and Nickelodeon. The company split in 2006, with CBS Corporation and Viacom going their separate ways. However, talks of reuniting came back up again in 2016. CBS Corp. Chairman Leslie Moonves was against a merger. After Moonves left the company due to sexual misconduct allegations, merger talks picked back up again, and the deal was completed on December 4, 2019. The new company was named ViacomCBS with a total market capitalization of \$26 billion.

Chris A. Bacon

See also Anchors, Television; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Journalism and Globalization; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; Paley, William S.; Television News, History of; ViacomCBS

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CELEBRITY AND FAN MEDIA

Celebrity and fan media feature stories about the personal lives of show business and sports celebrities, often including fashion coverage and especially seeking scandal. They are for-profit magazines or online venues intended for the amusement of fans of the popular culture subject matter that they cover. They are sometimes known as gossip magazines or websites. The people who write for these publications often have backgrounds and experience in mainstream journalism.

These magazines differ from industry trade magazines, such as *Entertainment Weekly*, fashion magazines that may feature celebrities on their covers such as *Vogue*, *Elle*, or *Glamour*, and the broader home design and lifestyle magazines such as *In Style*, *Vanity Fair*, or *Town & Country* that often feature celebrity homes and interviews, as well as other types of sports, travel, and leisure

publications. They can also be distinguished from literary magazines by the target audience of their content and from amateur fanzines by their professional, for-profit nature. The magazines and related media in this genre help to perpetuate a fan subculture that is maintained through familiarity and shared recognition of the details of the celebrities' lives that are reported. Most celebrity magazines have website counterparts.

Within journalism, celebrity and fan media are often considered less legitimate and prestigious than news and public affairs publications because they are produced for leisure enjoyment and consumption and employ different standards and tactics for information gathering, but they remain a profitable business. They may also serve to boost, maintain, or undermine the star status of the celebrities they cover. This entry discusses the nature of celebrity, celebrity magazines, the business of obtaining celebrity photos, and legal issues around celebrity and fan media.

Celebrity and Fame

Sociologist Leo Lowenthal argued that between 1901 and 1941, biographies in popular magazines underwent a striking change. Whereas earlier biographies of American society's heroes featured "idols of production"—they stemmed from the productive life of business, industry, and natural science—newer magazine heroes being featured were "idols of consumption"—they were directly or indirectly related to the sphere of leisure time and the worlds of entertainment and sports. What Lowenthal was describing was the shift in popular interest to the modern-day celebrity.

Other scholars believe that the development of visual technology was significant in fostering celebrity. As photography lent new importance to the representation of the individual and was increasingly employed in print media, the "dissemination of the face," writes researcher Joshua Gamson, displaced the dissemination of ideas, laying the ground for the "publicizing of people."

Fame is rarely achieved without assistance from partner industries and journalists often play a significant role. The companies and brands for which celebrities work, and not just the celebrities themselves, are responsible for creating and perpetuating the celebrity frenzy. A multifaceted process

undertaken by the celebrity industry contributes to fame. As researcher Barbie Zelizer has observed, stardom today is largely the result of advances in mass media technology and emerges from publicity activities coupled with repeated and routinized mass media appearances. These technologies and activities have made possible the extension of celebrity status to different kinds of public actors such as heiresses and socialites. The broadening of the term "celebrity" is perpetuated by an elaborate industry for public discourse exemplified not only by magazines but by television shows such as *Entertainment Tonight*, *Access Hollywood*, *Showbiz Tonight*, the E! television channel, reality television programs, and websites such as TMZ, POPSUGAR, and PerezHilton, which regularly engage in commentary and criticism about these figures' professional and nonprofessional activities.

The success of any given celebrity depends on the celebrity and media industries and on audience response. This last factor is vital to creating stars. People's social networks aid the dissemination of celebrity gossip and news. Industry production and distribution networks also circulate newsworthy items in hopes of increasing a celebrity's profile. From the beginning fame has required publicity, but celebrities are usually complicit in building up their own fame. As researcher Leo Braudy (1997, p. 5) wrote "societies always generate a number of people willing and eager to live at least part of their lives in the public eye."

Celebrities sacrifice personal privacy as part of the price they pay for their success and fame. While celebrities themselves may not always take action to publicize their personal activities, they rarely shy away from coverage. If personal activity captured on film makes the celebrity look good and more likable to audiences, then the information that has become public is usually deemed acceptable. But even negative notoriety contributes to fame.

The positive notoriety celebrities garner enables them to make endorsement deals for products and events, while negative notoriety can impede celebrities' ability to make these deals and even cause endorsement deals to be withdrawn. These lucrative arrangements make it easier to understand why celebrities are often willing to tolerate the inconvenience of photographers' constant

presence in their lives. In this way, celebrity can be seen as a cultural commodity whose economic value is based on potential exchange of fame for sales.

Popular Celebrity Magazines

American celebrity gossip magazines include *Us Weekly*, founded in 1977 by The New York Times Company, and acquired by Wenner Media in 1986. Since 2017, it has been owned by American Media, LLC, which also owns other celebrity magazines including *Life & Style*, *InTouch*, and *OK!*. As of 2019, the *Us Weekly* website averaged 27 million unique visitors monthly. As of 2017, its print magazine had a paid circulation of more than 1.95 million copies weekly. The magazine features a different style from its original format when it was a monthly industry news and review magazine. It switched format in 2000 to a celebrity news focus.

InTouch was launched in 2002 by Bauer Publishing. Its sister publication, *Life & Style*, launched in 2004. *OK!* and *Hello!* are both British celebrity magazines that became popular in the United States. *OK!* was originally launched as a monthly in 1993 by Northern and Shell and went weekly in 1996. In 2005, a U.S. version was launched. *Hello!* was launched in 1988 by Spanish publisher Eduardo Sánchez Junco. *Star* magazine, formerly published by American Media, Inc., was transformed from tabloid to glossy magazine in 2004, but folded in October 2018.

The content found in these magazines looks remarkably similar. Oftentimes, a week's issues of competing magazines will contain the same or very similar photographs and feature stories, almost as if these rival magazines' pages were interchangeable. The subjects of these celebrity magazines' stories and photographs are ordinarily stars' budding romances, breakups, wardrobe choices, scuttles with rivals, outings with their children, multimillion-dollar home purchases and sales, vacations, sightings on-location at movie shoots, arrests, and other heart-warming, tragic, and embarrassing moments. Articles in these magazines are usually no longer than two pages, and sometimes as short as a few paragraphs. The focus is as much on the photographs as it is on the text. Examples of these magazine features are *Us Weekly*'s "Just Like Us!"

which provides photographs of celebrities captured doing everyday things that the average person might do (such as riding bikes or getting coffee at Starbucks), "Who Wore It Best?" a side-by-side comparison of celebrities photographed in the same outfit, and "Red Carpet Style," another comparison of celebrity fashions worn at premiere events.

People magazine, a Time Inc. publication, started in 1974 as a spin-off from the "People" page in *Time* magazine and began as a human interest magazine, but by the 1990s, it was largely focused on celebrity content. By 2018, it had a total average circulation of over 3.4 million. *People* contains features such as "Star Tracks," brief updates on where celebrities have been seen out and about or en route to an event; "Style Watch," a feature similar to "Who Wore It Best?" and "Red Carpet Style"; and "Passages," a section containing brief updates on marriages, divorces, births, deaths, and legal matters of celebrities.

In addition to subscriptions that offer bundled issues of the magazine for substantially less, these half dozen titles are sold at newsstands for between \$5.99 and \$7.99 per single issue.

As of 2000, celebrity gossip was one of the fastest growing sectors of the magazine world, and celebrity magazine titles continued to set the sales standard for the industry through 2007. But by 2008, celebrity gossip magazines suffered downturns. Single-copy newsstand sales were declining although website traffic has increased.

Today's fan media, including magazines, bear some resemblance to the movie and radio fan magazines of the 1930s and 1940s. The rise of the fan magazine phenomenon coincided with the rise of the Hollywood star system, but fan magazines were most widely distributed in the heyday of the studio system, that is, from 1920 to 1950. The first issue of the first magazine, *The Motion Picture Story Magazine*, came out in February 1911, and the most popular fan magazine, *Photoplay*, claimed in 1922 that it had about 2 million readers. These publications functioned often as the voice of the studios' public relations people, though they were not published by the studios' PR departments.

Like the celebrity magazines of today, an important part of the content of fan magazines of the 1930s through the 1950s were articles about

the lives of the stars outside the studios and various gossip columns containing rumors and details about their private lives. Second, and almost as important, the magazines included extensively illustrated fashion articles, connecting films and film stars with female readers. Either the female stars posed in the dresses they had worn or were about to wear in their newest film, or they posed in their “private” wardrobe, thus illustrating the latest fashions. In addition to the glamorous photographs, the readers could obtain information on how to make the clothes themselves or where to buy patterns to sew dresses that looked like the ones worn by the stars—on and off screen.

Like today’s celebrity magazines, fan magazines of the 1930s through the 1950s functioned as mediators between Hollywood and the cinema audience. They built up interest in advance for new films to be released and they helped maintain film fandom.

Paparazzi and Celebrity Photos

Celebrity and fan magazines fill their pages with photographs of celebrity subjects. The popular interest in celebrities that these magazines cater to and perpetuate has given rise to paparazzi. Paparazzi are photographers who chase celebrities, public figures, and their families for the opportunity to photograph them in candid moments. The term *paparazzi* was coined in 1961, from the Italian word *paparazzo*, which was the surname of the freelance photographer in Federico Fellini’s 1959 film *La Dolce Vita*. As cultures’ interest in celebrity photos grows, so do the prices magazines will pay paparazzi for the photos, and the risks paparazzi will take to obtain them.

In 2000, paparazzi infamously flew over the backyard wedding of Jennifer Aniston and Brad Pitt in helicopters in attempts to snap aerial photos of the nuptials, while wedding guests had been asked to sign “no photographs” contracts. Since the early 2000s, however, when an exclusive photo of a celebrity could earn a photographer \$5,000 or more, the industry has reportedly been on the decline, in part because of the ability of stars to share their own photos on social media.

Sometimes, celebrities go to great lengths to evade the paparazzi. On occasion, to preempt the paparazzi frenzy that is expected upon a

celebrity’s major life event, such as a wedding or birth of a child, celebrities will enter into agreements with celebrity magazines to provide them exclusive photographs of their private life events at enormous prices. Many ethical, legal, and privacy issues arise out of this business.

Legal Issues

When violations of exclusive photo or story deals between celebrities and fan magazines occur, or when celebrities believe a fan magazine is guilty of libel, lawsuits often result. Since celebrities are public figures, and magazines are usually able to provide a source for the claims made in their stories, allegations of libel are difficult to prove. In order for a celebrity’s claim against a magazine to be successful, it must be proved that the publication acted with actual malice, that is, with knowledge that what it was publishing was false or with reckless disregard as to whether it was false or not.

Legally, in order to take a photo of a celebrity without his or her consent, paparazzi must get the celebrity out in public, away from a private residence or business. If the star is in a private area, the photo must be taken discreetly from a distance and with the photographer standing on public land. In more extreme cases, some paparazzi have taken photographs from rooftops or treetops using special camera lenses. They have shot private events from helicopters or boats.

In some cases, if the event is in a private building, paparazzi have staged fire alarms or bomb threats to cause the evacuation of the building, forcing their subjects onto the streets. In 2008, members of the paparazzi reported a fake fire at actress Maggie Gyllenhaal’s apartment block—just so the new mom would come out into the street with her baby. These tactics are not legal, but legal expenses have become part of operating costs for paparazzi and media organizations that buy their images, and have contributed significantly to the high price tag on such photographs.

Anti-paparazzi legislation has been enacted in several countries. France has very strict anti-paparazzi legislation. In the United States, California passed anti-paparazzi legislation after the 1997 death of Princess Diana in a car crash in Paris, which many critics blamed on the extreme

tactics used by French paparazzi. That event caused many governments to reexamine their paparazzi laws. The controversy surrounding anti-paparazzi legislation revolves around the question of where to draw the line between legitimate newsgathering and invasions of privacy.

Celebrities have used traditional legal protections in response to claims of abuse by the media. For example, in 1999, two photographers were convicted and received fines and jail time for following and blocking a car driven by Arnold Schwarzenegger in which his then-wife and at least one of his children were passengers. A freelance journalist who taped a phone call from Nicole Kidman to her then-husband, actor Tom Cruise, and then sold it to a tabloid newspaper pleaded guilty to a federal wiretapping charge and was sentenced to 6 months in a halfway house, fined, and ordered to do community service.

After the death of Princess Diana in 1997, and lobbying by a coalition of celebrities, the Screen Actors Guild, and victims' rights groups, four separate anti-paparazzi bills were introduced into Congress in 1998. Although the federal bills died in Congress, the nation's first anti-paparazzi law went into effect in California on January 1, 1999, creating tort liability for "physical" and "constructive" invasions of privacy through photographing, videotaping, or recording a person engaging in a "personal or familial activity." Under the statute, a person may sue for "physical invasion of privacy" when three elements are met: first, a person has knowingly entered the property of another without permission; second, the entry was made with the "intent to capture any type of visual image, sound recording, or other physical impression" of another person engaging in a "personal or familial activity"; and third, the invasion was made "in a manner that is offensive to a reasonable person." Communications law attorney Randall Boese warned the legislation may not withstand constitutional scrutiny over time and could lead to a chilling effect in photojournalism.

In 2016, Gawker Media declared bankruptcy, had its properties auctioned off, and its flagship Gawker celebrity gossip website closed down, after losing an invasion of privacy lawsuit brought by celebrity wrestler Hulk Hogan. Hogan's lawsuit was funded by billionaire tech investor Peter

Thiel, who backed several legal cases against Gawker, which had published a 2007 post outing him as gay. The suit was filed after Gawker published a video of Hogan having sex—without the permission of either Hogan or his partner. A Florida jury awarded Hogan \$140 million in damages. The judgment against Gawker was also intended to send a message to other celebrity gossip publications.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Entertainment Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Libel; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television; Women's Magazines

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CENSORSHIP

Censorship as defined in the United States refers to the government's prior restriction, limitation, or filtering of information or ideas in speech and various forms of mass media, such as newspapers and broadcasting and other electronic media, including the Internet. The framers of the U.S. Constitution reacted to British sedition, criminal libel, and blasphemy law. The common law interpretation that there shall be no prior restraints, however, left centuries of American interpretation.

Historically, censorship has been a valuable tool for repressive forms of totalitarian government that do not value or allow freedom of speech, expression, or religion, let alone free news media. Under such conditions, draconian censorship often follows a desire to control the public. For example, a government official or agency may have responsibility for reviewing and altering media content prior to publication. In the common law English tradition of making law through judicial decisions, as well as the United States constitutional First Amendment framework, freedom of expression typically begins with the idea that there shall be no prior restraint on speech or press, but transgressions—such as defamation of character—may be subject to subsequent punishment. English jurist William Blackstone summarized the law in his *Commentaries on the Law of England* (1769), which received wide attention in colonial America.

Basic Concepts

Censorship is traditionally of two types. *Prior restraint*—the prevention of an idea being expressed—is the most typical, but *postpublication punishment* can have the same essential “chilling” effect on the free expression of ideas. Because of the wording of the First Amendment (1791) to the U.S. Constitution (“Congress shall make no law . . .”), in the American legal system, censorship nearly always means *government*, not private, actions taken to limit expression.

The classic faith in a marketplace of ideas began with English poet and essayist John Milton's view in *Areopagitica* (1644), which favored a test of competing ideas: “Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?” In essence, Milton's theory is that an open marketplace of ideas, including false ones, favors a steady movement toward correction over time.

In this vein, Blackstone's *Commentaries* summarized common law precedent through cases of an opposition to prior restraints, which are considered government actions that hinder communication by stopping it before publication: “Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public . . . but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences for his own temerity.” The founding of the United States brought over time a series of legislative tendencies, particularly in time of war, toward enacting restrictions on free expression, mostly subsequent punishments rather than prior restraints, and this was supported by decisions of various courts. Restriction of free expression also has been rationalized on the basis of morality under the guise of protection of communities from obscenity, which has no legal protection.

Political Fears

Freedom of expression and press may contract during times of national and political stress. In the summer of 1798, Alexander Hamilton fueled division by calling Thomas Jefferson's supporters “more Frenchman than Americans,” charging them

with a desire to “immolate the independence” of the new nation “at the shrine of France.” President John Adams prepared for an attack by France and convinced a Federalist congressional majority to pass four laws including the Naturalization Act that extended residence from 5 to 14 years to become a citizen; the Alien Enemies Act targeting alien deportation; and the Sedition Act that attempted to censor political opponents. The Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) passed by the Federalists aimed to restrict publication of opposing political speech, but its pernicious reach restricted protesters, lawmakers, immigrants and also led to deportation of critics. Anyone charged with writing, printing, or speaking “any false, scandalous, and malicious writing” could be fined or imprisoned, such as some of about 26 Republican newspaper editors nabbed under the law. For example, Matthew Lyon, an elected representative from Vermont, was a critic of President John Adams and his “unbounded thirst, “ridiculous pomp,” as well as “foolish adulation.” He was indicted for publishing letters during his campaign with an “intent and design” of defaming Adams and his administration. Lyon was reelected while serving 4 months in prison, along with a \$1,000 fine. Jeffersonians and the Democratic-Republican party had the political support of Irish immigrants and favored states’ rights. Journalist James Callender also was sentenced to 9 months and wrote letters from jail during Jefferson’s 1800 presidential campaign. All of these acts were repealed or expired by 1802 except for the Alien Enemies Act that remained and was amended in 1918 to add women to its language.

Modern First Amendment cases may be guided by any number of legal tests. A common law approach adopted by early 20th-century courts was to allow subsequent punishment of any speech that had a bad tendency. *Patterson v. Colorado* (1907), for example, upheld criminal libel laws that limited press attacks on government that might incite public disturbances. A few years later, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Schenck v. United States* (1919) offered what amounted to a “clear and present danger” test—one that suggested restricting only that speech that presented a serious and immediate danger to public safety. The Court also has attempted a “balancing” approach to, for example, weigh the rights of adults to access media against the need to protect children.

For those wishing to truly protect First Amendment rights, a strict scrutiny approach—one in which the burden falls to the government to show a compelling reason for the regulation—works best. Under such a test, “narrowly tailored” restrictions may be upheld, as in *Board of Trustees of State of N.Y. v. Fox* (1989).

The scrutiny approach was perhaps most helpfully defined in what has been labeled intermediate scrutiny in the *O’Brien* (1967) case. Scrutiny would require a court to ask four pivotal questions about any attempt to limit media news coverage:

1. Is the government regulation within its constitutional power?
2. Does the regulation further an important or substantial government interest?
3. Is the interest unrelated to the suppression of free expression?
4. Is the incidental restriction of free expression no greater than is essential to the furtherance of the stated government interest?

Use of this four-part test means that it is very difficult for the government to justify restricting speech. Therefore, a court could only uphold those government restrictions that are not targeted at stopping speech. For example, it would be legal to speak out against a war but not violate laws aimed at preventing obstruction of it. Further, any law under this analysis would need to be limited to its goals and no broader than needed to further them. The Federal Trade Commission has used commercial speech law to regulate speech advertising illegal products or services, as well as deceptive messages that attempt to manipulate audience members.

Censoring the Movies

For much of the 20th century, for example, numerous states and communities employed censors to review movies before allowing them to be shown in a theater. In *Times Film Corp. v. Chicago* (1961), the U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn a municipal code that required submission of all motion pictures for review before public showing. The Chicago board during the late 1950s would not issue a permit for the film *Don Juan*

without prior examination by censors. While motion pictures have long been included “within the free speech and free press guaranty of the First and Fourteenth Amendments,” as stated in *Joseph Burstyn, Inc., v. Wilson* in 1952, the *Times Film Corp.* court ruled that “[i]t is not for this Court to limit the State in its selection of the remedy it deems most effective to cope with such a problem, absent, of course, a showing of unreasonable strictures on individual liberty resulting from its application in particular circumstances.” The split decision left Chief Justice Earl Warren writing for four dissenters: “To me, this case clearly presents the question of our approval of unlimited censorship of motion pictures before exhibition through a system of administrative licensing.” In *Freedman v. Maryland* (1965), the Court struck down state law requiring unconstitutional submission of films to a government review board before showing them. The film board era in many states ended soon after and was replaced in 1968 by a voluntary Motion Picture Association of America rating system. From this point forward, prosecutors used criminal obscenity laws to charge people selling or showing obscene media content.

Despite the First Amendment’s stricture that “Congress shall make no law,” the Supreme Court has never found freedom of speech to be absolute. The classic expression about prior restraint came in *Near v. Minnesota* (1931), when the Court upheld the common law conclusion of Blackstone that generally there shall be no prior restraints on publication. However, the Court recognized what it termed “exceptional cases”: the need to protect fighting forces when a nation is at war, “the primary requirements of decency” to restrict obscene publications, and “security of the community life” from “acts of violence” all allow for government intervention. Likewise, in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942), a statute was upheld that read, “No person shall address any offensive, derisive or annoying word to any other person who is lawfully in any street or other public place, nor call him by any offensive or derisive name, nor make any noise or exclamation in his presence and hearing with intent to deride, offend or annoy him, or to prevent him from pursuing his lawful business or occupation.” The court concluded that “[t]here are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment

of which have never been thought to raise any Constitutional problem: These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or ‘fighting’ words—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace.” Thus, near the Rochester City Hall, the case determined that it was unlawful to say the following offending words in the face of another: “You are a God damned racketeer” and “a damned Fascist and the whole government of Rochester are Fascists or agents of Fascists.”

Journalism, Access, and Censorship

Censorship frequently is a problem for journalists attempting to aggressively report news. The watchdog model of press coverage may place reporters in an adversarial stance with their sources in government. State public record laws and the federal Freedom of Information Act provide journalists (and others) with mechanisms for seeking and obtaining the records vital to much investigative journalism. Typically, such laws establish a time frame and reasonable costs for copying documents. However, material that is classified for national security reasons, personnel records, and other internal agency working documents are among the several exceptions to public records laws.

News reporters also need access to public meetings in order to be the eyes and ears of the general public. Open meetings laws, sometimes called *sunshine laws*, seek to keep public officials from conducting their business in secret. State public meetings laws generally require elected public officials conducting official business to vote and take other action in open meetings available to the public and press.

Reporters sometimes grant people who serve as sources of information a promise of confidentiality because public employees may lose their jobs for leaking information to the press. “Whistle-blower” laws may protect those who disclose illegal, immoral, or inefficient government practices. At the same time, reporters in some states are protected by shield laws that grant at least a qualified right to protect news sources from court subpoena. At the federal level, bills in 2007–2008 failed to receive approval that would protect

reporters refusing to disclose a confidential source. Courts have concluded that reporter privilege, or a right to protect sources, is qualified and not absolute. In *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1972), the Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment does not protect journalists from appearing before a grand jury to provide secret testimony. Some news reporters have gone to jail when refusing to break a promise of confidentiality to an anonymous source when asked to do so by a judge or grand jury. Judith Miller, as a reporter for *The New York Times*, spent more than 80 days in jail in 2005 for refusing to disclose a source. Law enforcement, too, may seek to compel journalists to provide information during the course of a criminal investigation. In 2006–2007, for example, blogger Joshua Wolf spent a record 226 days jailed for refusing to give a federal grand jury in California videotapes he had recorded during a demonstration in 2005 in San Francisco.

Another area of concern is the courtroom. The right of a free press (the First Amendment) must be balanced against the right of a defendant to have a “speedy and public” trial (Sixth Amendment). Judges have sought to close courtrooms or issue gag orders to silence the press during the pretrial phase of a sensational case. However, the Supreme Court spoke plainly in the *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart* (1976) case: “A prior restraint . . . has an immediate and irreversible sanction. If it can be said that a threat of criminal or civil sanctions after publication ‘chills’ speech, prior restraint ‘freezes’ it at least for the time.”

While most state and local courtrooms in the United States are now open to both broadcast and print journalists, broadcasters are barred from using audio and video equipment in federal court. Laws vary from state to state, and they frequently allow a trial court judge to decide whether or not broadcasting will be disruptive to the fair administration of justice.

Broadcasting and Scarcity

In broadcasting, stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission to serve in what the Communications Act of 1934 calls “the public interest, convenience or necessity.” To the extent that common law cases eventually shunned the notion of licensing (e.g., printers in England),

broadcast regulation was a departure from the principle that licensing can be viewed as a mechanism of censorship and a vehicle for enforcing prior restraints. Section 326 prohibits censorship of broadcasters, but the licensing process may be seen as a restriction.

In *NBC v. United States* (1943), the Supreme Court treated broadcasting as a medium that uses the scarce spectrum resource as having a fiduciary responsibility to serve the public interest:

The licensee has the duty of determining what programs shall be broadcast over his station’s facilities, and cannot lawfully delegate this duty or transfer the control of his station directly to the network or indirectly to an advertising agency. He cannot lawfully bind himself to accept programs in every case . . . The licensee is obliged to reserve to himself the final decision as to what programs will best serve the public interest. We conclude that a licensee is not fulfilling his obligations to operate in the public interest, and is not operating in accordance with the express requirements of the Communications Act, if he agrees to accept programs on any basis other than his own reasonable decision that the programs are satisfactory.

The scarcity rationale persisted. In *Red Lion v. FCC* (1969), the Supreme Court built upon *NBC* and effectively limited broadcast speech to those with a license to serve public interest:

Because of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the Government is permitted to put restraints on licensees in favor of others whose views should be expressed on this unique medium. But the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount.

Despite the fact that broadcasting became a primary vehicle for otherwise-protected political speech, (1) those broadcasting without a license could be prosecuted as “pirates” and (2) licensees were obligated to follow FCC rules and regulations.

Broadcasters argued in the 1960s that they had been relegated to second-class status with respect

to First Amendment protections. The Radio-Television News Directors Association consistently argued that the chilling effect of, for example, requiring program balance through the Fairness Doctrine was in effective prior restraint. The doctrine required broadcasters to (1) air coverage of controversial issues of public importance and (2) offer significant contrasting viewpoints of these issues. Eventually, the courts concluded that the doctrine had been developed by the FCC in 1949, and even though Congress (though not the president) supported retaining it, the FCC had the legal authority to discontinue it in 1987. Congress twice attempted to reinstate it, but both times President Ronald Reagan and then President George H. W. Bush refused to sign legislation. The change opened radio airwaves to strident political (largely right-wing) advocates, such as Rush Limbaugh. Balance was replaced by advocacy, as the radio marketplace sold swaths of time for those willing to pay to present their views. Despite this, broadcasting remained a licensed medium.

Obscenity and Indecency

While journalism only rarely approaches questions of obscene or indecent content, it does happen. In the *Miller v. California* (1973) case, the Court's decision offered a three-part test to identify obscenity (which is unprotected by the First Amendment) from indecency (which is): (1) whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find the work, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interests; (2) whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by applicable state law; and (3) whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. A positive finding on all three points defines the obscene. It falls to juries to decide whether the material appeals to "prurient interests" based upon community standards. Patent offensiveness is a question of specific state law. *Miller* affords protection to sexually oriented material if it has some degree of serious value. Print media have been granted greater freedom to publish sexual content, as they are easiest to keep from children through local zoning regulation.

Within obscenity law, child pornography is a special class. *New York v. Ferber* (1982) provided

a compelling government interest in protecting minors from any form of exploitation. Nevertheless, *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition* (2002) rejected the Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996 as an unconstitutional burden on free speech.

One of the clearest divisions between speech limited on broadcast channels and that allowed on subscription services (such as cable or DBS channels) and the Internet is indecent material, which the FCC and Congress have agreed to restrict to a "safe harbor" defined as the hours of 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. on radio and television stations.

In *FCC v. Pacifica Foundation* (1978), the Supreme Court upheld the FCC's enforcement of 18 U.S.C. §1464, which prohibits indecency over the air. When a New York City radio station aired comedian George Carlin's monologue that included "seven words one could not say on television," the FCC took note of the violation of its rules. The Carlin monologue, which was reproduced in the appendix of the case, expressed the forbidden words multiple times.

On appeal, the Supreme Court agreed with the FCC that censoring indecency from the air did not run afoul of First Amendment guarantees, as such speech was allowed during late night hours when a child was less likely to be listening. Nevertheless, Justice William Brennan, one of four dissenters in the case and a First Amendment purist, found such FCC regulation to have crossed the line into unconstitutional government censorship of speech.

Justice Brennan accurately predicted the battle lines drawn over the next three decades, as the FCC later challenged some broadcast "shock jock" programming, such as that of Howard Stern and "Bubba the Love Sponge," both of whom would be eventually removed from broadcasting and shifted to subscription satellite radio, which is far less regulated. Eventually, the FCC extended its regulatory sweep to punish "fleeting expletives"—profanity blurted during a live broadcast (though a federal appeals court forced a review by the Supreme Court). Much of the FCC attention to such programs, in the view of many analysts, appeared to be driven by socially conservative activist mass letter and email campaigns that put pressure on the agency to "clean up" the airwaves.

The FCC has long restricted indecent speech to late evening hours "safe harbor" when children are less likely to be present in the audience.

Broadcast indecency, which blurs the definition between indecent and obscene, is defined (as upheld in the *Pacifica* case) as sexual or excretory activities or organs in material that panders or titillates without broader social or political value. Whether something is indecent or obscene is determined by context, however, thus making each situation unique.

The FCC applies a national contemporary community standard for the broadcast medium. Generally, cable and satellite services have been held by the courts to be largely free from indecency regulation and thus have more program freedom than their broadcast brethren because people must choose to subscribe to and pay for the service.

As it had before (with film and then video tape), technology intervened. The Internet offered a global distribution network for media content determined to be obscene under the law to become the first profitable online industry—pornography. In the absence of international obscenity laws, national laws are designed to curb or prohibit the production, distribution, and sale of sexual materials. Current enforcement typically includes attempts to identify sexual predators in the online environment and prosecute them. For example, the U.S. Justice Department in 2006 sought but failed to obtain a judicial order against the search engine Google to turn over records on millions of users' searches as part of a government effort to uphold online obscenity law.

Political Speech

Political speech is at the core meaning of the First Amendment. The theory is that a society needs a free exchange of ideas and an unfettered press in order to make good political decisions elect the best representatives and allow democracy to function. Therefore, political speech has the highest level of protection under American law. In recent years, courts have granted broadening commercial speech (advertising) rights, but these are far less sweeping than judicial deference given to any speech found to have political value. In this context, courts apply a strict scrutiny test to governmental restriction targeted at speech. The burden in these cases falls to government to provide justification for limiting free expression. Even where there is a compelling government interest, such attacks on free speech must

be supported as necessary, and they must be narrowly tailored to advance the interest. Even here, government may not exercise unconstitutional actions. However, restrictions that are found to be content neutral (i.e., not targeted at specific political messages) may find sympathy from the courts.

Repeatedly, American courts have protected political speech as central to democratic freedom and self-government. Legal theorist Thomas Emerson (1970) offered the strongest theoretical arguments for defending a robust set of First Amendment rights: free speech allows for discovery of truth needed for democratic decisions by serving as a check on excessive government power; free speech increases political stability by offering a safety valve to relieve pressure that builds in a society; and it promotes slower and less traumatic social change. Emerson's summary concludes that free speech allows for the fulfillment of individual enrichment, encouragement of the human spirit, and a greater understanding of humanity. In practice, government today is less engaged in playing the role of censor than are global media corporations, which do so through self-censorship within the context of program decision making.

The American Library Association (ALA) links censorship to the degree of intellectual freedom in a society. The American Library Association views censorship of all forms of "expressive materials," such as books, videos, or other art, as taking place when these are "removed or kept from public access." Censorship typically begins with an individual, group, or organization raising public concerns about specific media content. These complaints tend to be made to government officials. Often, the objectionable content has a literary or artistic nature. The National Coalition Against Censorship (NCAC) aligns dozens of groups seeking to "educate our own members and the public at large about the dangers of censorship and how to oppose them."

Libel as Censorship

In *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964), the court made a landmark decision protecting the media's right to criticize the performance of public officials by requiring any such person to prove "actual malice" on the part of media in the

publication of a negative report about that official. Failing this high bar, negative media comment stands and is protected. In the case, the context of a 1960 advertisement protesting the treatment of civil rights activists was found not to libel an Alabama public safety official who had brought a suit for libel:

Thus, we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials.

The *Sullivan* court went so far as to quote James Madison from *Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution* 4 (1876): "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press."

In the Internet age, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and the *Reno v. ACLU* (1997) case have been used to protect Internet service providers as well as websites by treating them as publishers. In *Zeran v. America Online* (1997), a federal court limited liability in a libel case. In *Blumenthal v. Drudge* (1998), America Online was protected against a separate libel suit brought by a former aide of President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) against the online gossip website, the Drudge Report.

Global Internet communication made it more difficult for governments to use censorship, but surveillance and data privacy grew in importance after the Cambridge Analytica and other prominent data breaches. The European Union, as well as California and other large states, have begun to protect data privacy as a human right. In addition, use of biometric data, such as facial identification by Facebook, has been restricted. U.S. law since the late 1990s has emphasized adult freedom of expression, as well as openness to act as publishers. Voices grew in number and strength through the inherent power of social media influence across social networks. Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram (owned by Facebook), and Twitter exercise power through end-user terms of service contract law. Corporations have power to warn users, filter content, and shut accounts. In

this sense, governments may indirectly exercise censorship by threatening and/or persuading social media sites to respond to user behavior for a variety of reasons—cyber bullying, indecent speech, threats, and other rationale. In some cases, threats may rise to the level of criminal charges, but the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the state of mind of a user must be considered at trial. The Court also has emphasized that the Internet is our "modern public square," and First Amendment freedom of core political speech must be protected.

Censorship of media messages has been a constant ever since the freedom to publish and speak began broadening several hundred years ago with case law in England through common law evolution and was carried to the colonies and ultimately enshrined in the First Amendment. The Internet is perhaps the most revolutionary development since the invention of the printing press to empower people, especially those outside elite centers of political and economic power, to use free speech and press as a challenge to the status quo. Thus, government censorship activities may be predicted to extend beyond the press to average citizens disseminating media content.

Jeremy Harris Lipschultz

See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; Indecency and Obscenity; Libel; Privacy; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

This entry discusses the danger of being a journalist in Central America, challenges of media convergence in the Caribbean, media ownership concentration in Central America, as well as investigative and collaborative initiatives in the region. Issues faced by Central American countries include corruption, migration and poverty, impunity, gangs, and drug trafficking. The Caribbean territories share some of these issues with Central American countries, in different intensities. Some evolved free of civil wars and dictatorships, but many experienced large and conflictive independence

processes from colonial countries. Like their continental neighbors, these territories face social inequality and the impact of increasingly frequent natural disasters, which complexifies the role of a crescent media sector.

This context directly affects news media initiatives, which makes the exercise of journalism in the region challenging in many ways. Despite the challenges, many initiatives flourish, strengthening collaborative, investigative, and independent practices.

Central America is the region that lies between South America and Mexico and covers the isthmus that separates the Pacific Ocean, to the west, from the Caribbean Sea, to the east. It comprises seven countries: Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Belize. The Caribbean region comprises a group of more than 700 islands, islets, reefs, and cays laying from the Gulf of Mexico and the peninsula of Florida (United States) to the north coast of Venezuela. They are organized into 30 territories including sovereign states, overseas departments, and dependencies. Some classifications include part of the islands in Central America; others include some of the continental countries, including from South America, in the Caribbean. This entry presents a distinction between continental and insular territories as the main division.

Central America: A Dangerous Place to Be a Journalist

Costa Rica ranked the highest of all Latin American countries in the Reporters Without Borders (RSF) Freedom Index of 2019. However, many countries in the region have lost their positions since then, leading RSF to classify Central America as one of the most dangerous places to be a journalist in the world. The working conditions for journalists and the situation of press freedom are complicated because of government censorship, violent conflicts, insufficient infrastructure, and the action of non-state actors, including cyber activists. Civil conflicts in the 20th century left some 200,000 dead in Guatemala, more than 75,000 in El Salvador and 50,000 in Nicaragua. After a decade of pacification in the 1990s, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) requalified Central America as the

most violent war-free zone in the world, as it surpassed the number of annual deaths recorded during civil wars. The situation is worse in the countryside, where the complete absence of state protection goes hand in hand with controls imposed by criminal groups. The growing organized crime, including some groups associated with state agents, has become a direct threat to the exercise of civil liberties, including the freedom of expression.

In Honduras, 67 journalists have been killed since 2003, and more than 90% of the cases remain unsolved. The polarization around the deposition of President Manuel Zelaya, in 2009, led to an increase in violence against media workers. In Nicaragua, security forces raided and seized offices of media critical of President Daniel Ortega's regime. Incessant stigmatization, harassment campaigns, death threats, and arbitrary arrest led the country to fall 24 places on the RSF Index in 2019. Some journalists believe that the risks posed by criminal groups make the situation even harder than during the time of civil wars. The different illegal actors involved and their penetration into the structures of the state and society make it difficult to identify potential aggressors and endangered territories. In a poll conducted by María Isabel Sánchez Reyes in 2015, more than half of the 33 journalists interviewed said they felt as threatened by state security forces as by drug traffickers and gang members. Apart from awareness campaigns and public complaints made by civic organizations and unions, neither are there protective mechanisms in place nor journalists trained to work and protect themselves in this kind of violent context.

Additionally, journalists covering political issues in Central America suffer constant retaliation and limitations to their work. A strategy frequently applied by governments in Central America is to use public advertising budgets to reward news media organizations reporting favorably while reducing or suppressing any advertising on opposing media platforms. Access to public information is another currency managed under the same logic. Some journalists also get involved in corrupt schemes with politicians or members of organized crime, due to bad structural conditions and low salaries in the region. These cases are frequently used by politicians to associate crimes against journalism with corruption without proper

investigation. In these countries, harassment and intimidation by politicians, together with armed attacks, corruption and organized crime, can result in self-censorship and exile. One report from the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) from 2014 highlights the consequences of this situation with respect to the access to quality information in countries facing huge societal problems.

The Caribbean region hosts one country in the list of the most censored countries according to CPJ; it is Cuba. Despite moving up three positions in the ranking of press freedom in the 2019 Reporters Without Borders Index, print and broadcast media are still highly controlled by the Cuban one-party regime as of 2021. Improvements stemming from expanded access to digital platforms in the last decade have allowed for some freedom of expression, but Internet connection is still very expensive and the state-owned service provider, ETECSA, can block content, and restrict access to critical initiatives. For instance, several journalists were detained for reporting on the aftermath of hurricanes in 2016 and 2017. In April 2019, Roberto Jesús Quiñones, from the news website CubaNet, was detained and beaten while covering a trial in Guantánamo Municipal Tribunal.

Caribbean: The Challenges of Media Convergence

Since the turn of the 21st century, the countries in the English-speaking Caribbean have increased their number of media outlets as well as their advertising revenues and circulation numbers. This evolution started with deregulation and liberalization policies in the 1980s, which led to privatization of many state-owned broadcasting organizations and to the development of diverse and competitive media markets in these countries. The improvements in the audiovisual sector contributed to a boost in the print sector and coincided with technological evolutions that allowed the emergence of many digital news platforms. Even the economic crisis of 2008, which strongly affected revenues from advertising, was largely compensated by increasing numbers in circulation.

However, the positive results in advertising and circulation raise some concerns. Journalists in the

region indicate that the constitution of a competitive market brought practices that prioritize profits over quality journalism. A poll with 33 journalists from five English-speaking Caribbean countries, conducted from 2005 to 2012 by Juliette Storr, revealed concerns about a preference for sensational approaches and the homogenization of sources and contents, as well as layoffs, high turnover, and replacement of senior reporters by inexperienced ones. They believe deregulation and liberalization turn journalism into a business rather than a public service.

Newspapers were still strong in the Caribbean in the two first decades of the 21st century. Oral tradition and the age of the population are two important factors that keep print media relevant in these territories. Information circulates between literate and illiterate people primarily through interpersonal networks and traditional news outlets. Unequal access to the Internet may also contribute to a preference for printed newspapers. According to Statista, as of January 2020, the Dutch territory of Aruba had the highest Internet penetration rate (97%), and the sovereign state with the highest percentage of citizens online in the region was the Bahamas (85%). On the opposite position, only a third of the population had access to the Internet in Haiti. Cuba (63% penetration) and the Dominican Republic (75% penetration) are the Caribbean countries with the largest numbers of active social media users.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a lot of effort toward media convergence, considering a crescent demand for digital integration coming from young audiences as well as from an already present competition between newspapers, audiovisual outlets, and digital platforms. An opportunity arose to reduce operational costs and diversifying formats. A challenge also arose in terms of training journalists and preserving working conditions and editorial quality in an emergent integration of news companies into business models. It is a matter of debate, how many of the changes are made by journalists and editors, and how many come as an imposition of a globalized industry.

Many media companies in the region enlarged their international operations, counting on the digital evolution to reach the Caribbean diaspora spread all over the world. For instance, the Gleaner Company Limited is the largest media

conglomerate in Jamaica and operates media services also in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, including newspapers, both online and print operations, radio stations, and book and magazine publications.

Journalists in the region also face important barriers to access information. Despite the existence of some laws demanding transparency and accountability, secrecy practices prevail in public institutions and private organizations. As a result, the Caribbean region has one of the highest numbers of lawsuits against journalists and media organizations. Defamation, national security and defense, and secrecy legislation are resources frequently employed by governments to discourage investigative journalism and critical editorial approaches related to public issues and decisions. The Organization of East Caribbean States, whose associate members are Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Guadeloupe, and Martinique, has fallen 15 places to the 50th position in the RSF Index 2019, mainly because of editorial censorship. The evaluation took into consideration the poor conditions for the exercise of journalism as well as high levels of interference from political actors over news media outlets. In some countries, authorities monitor even social networks, leading to self-censorship.

Two Faces of Media Ownership Concentration

Some experts believe the structure of the media sector contributes to the vulnerability of journalists in Central America. A special report on threats to press freedom published in 2015 by the International Federation of Journalists Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean indicates that the high media concentration seriously affects the free exercise of the profession, subjecting the latter to economic and political agendas. The issue is so striking that some journalists say that if armed conflicts threaten their lives, the emergence of media corporations threatens their ability to do good journalism, because of the network of interests among political, economic, and media powers.

In 2009, the Trust of the Americas and the Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPyS) [Press and

Society Institute] published a report about the concentration of media ownership in Central America. Analyzing data from 2004, this report indicated that the media sector in each country was rather small and very concentrated in the capitals. Radio was still the platform with the largest penetration, although it attracted fewer investments. Television was the platform that concentrated more than 50% of all advertising in most of the countries in the region; it was also the one where ownership was more concentrated. Public and state media outlets are scarce and underdeveloped. More recent reports from individual countries suggest that the situation has seen little change afterward.

The IPyS report depicts a historical evolution of the information and communication sector. For many decades, it was concentrated in the hands of the state, which considered news media outlets strategic for the maintenance of authoritarian regimes. Since the 1990s, with the development of democracies in Central America and under the influence of austerity programs, most of the countries of the region adhered to privatization processes, in which the information and communication sector went to private hands, predominantly foreign hands in the telecommunications sector. The report talks about moving from state monopolies to private oligopolies.

One example is the case of the Mexican investor Angel Gonzalez, who became a major force in Central American broadcasting. In addition to owning television channels and radio stations in many countries in the region and beyond, Gonzalez uses his economic and media power to influence editorial lines. Journalists speaking against his initiatives or his friends in the political sphere are frequently dismissed. Aligning himself with powerful political actors, he has ended up controlling the broadcasting system and leaving little room for journalists who wish to develop controversial topics.

Additionally, according to the *Informe Medios Comunitarios y Libertad De Expresión 2017* (Report on Community Media and Freedom of Expression 2017), organized by *Observatorio Latinoamericano de Regulación Medios y Convergencia* (*Observacom*, Latin-American observatory of media regulation and convergence), Central America is the region with the least legal

recognition of community media in Latin America. The situation is aggravated by the use of auction mechanisms for the allocation of concessions in many of its countries and by the criminal prosecution of radio stations operating without authorization, with arrests of radio broadcasters and equipment seizures.

In the Caribbean territories, the 2000s saw a wave of merging operations that raised concerns. The constitution of conglomerates allowed economic scale and competitiveness in the globalized market, but the lack of anti-trust and cross-ownership laws allows multinational companies to operate without restrictions, affecting fair competition and editorial independence in the rather small-scale market of the several territories. The largest media conglomerate in the English-speaking Caribbean is One Caribbean Media. In 2012, it owned newspapers, television and radio stations, and publishing companies in seven Caribbean countries—Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Some of the countries display high levels of media ownership concentration individually. In the Bahamas, the Tribune Group Incorporated is the largest media conglomerate. In 2012, it owned five radio stations, an online media news service, and two newspapers. The second largest media conglomerate is the Nassau Guardian Group Ltd., which in 2012 also owned two newspapers, two radio stations, and a television station. Additionally, some media conglomerates include operations in other business sectors, deepening the collusion between economic and media powers. In the Dominican Republic, the historic *Grupo Listín de Comunicaciones* (*Listín* Communication Group) was bought in 2000 by Grupo Intercontinental (Intercontinental Group), a major financial services conglomerate that owned the country's second biggest commercial bank, expanding activities in all media domains.

Investigative and Collaborative Initiatives

The beginning of the 21st century saw the emergence and consolidation of several digital native outlets dedicated to investigative journalism in Central America. They have been innovating formats, business models, and editorial covering

choices, while building a reputation as qualified journalism and shaking established powers in the region.

One of the pioneers is the Salvadoran digital newspaper *El Faro* (The Lighthouse). Created in 1998, it is among the few media outlets in the region that conduct investigative journalism on organized crime activities, corruption issues, daily life violence, and migration in Central America—not without risks. Its reporters are used to all kind of threats. In 2015, after covering a massacre in a countryside village in El Salvador, the journalists reporting the story fled the country with their families, as they received menaces publicly, even in comments on *El Faro*'s Facebook page.

Part of the compensation comes with the repercussions of this kind of piece in the international press, which contributes to the debate around issues both internally and globally. The risk of developing investigative journalism in such a context is partially compensated by international repercussions of pieces related to the issues mentioned. There is interest coming from international outlets that reproduce what is produced in local outlets such as *El Faro*. This international repercussion has an internal benefit. After being depicted outside the country, the topic might get more attention inside the country; journalists reaching international outlets tend to be more respected, and this facilitates their work within the country. The global benefit is to raise debate about transnational topics such as migration and drug trafficking, including a local perspective (local from Central American countries). International press coverage legitimates the national coverage, makes people talk about it, and places the journalist in a better position of requiring information and talking about the topic.

In 2016, a collaboration between *El Faro* and New York Times journalists about gangs in El Salvador led to a frontpage article in the U.S.-based newspaper. Another collaborative editorial project with Univision, in 2017, approached the drama of Central American migrants and refugees. Additionally, international networks of journalism contribute to building legitimacy for the work of journalists. The more the stories get diffused abroad, the more difficult it becomes to accuse the journalists locally of corruption or biased covering.

El Faro combines investigative journalism and development of creative narratives to reach diverse audiences. This approach includes audio-visual storytelling and exploratory quests involving people—including both marginalized and powerful groups—whose stories are being reported. This model inspired many other initiatives all over Latin America. Founded in 2011, *Plaza Pública* (Public Square) inaugurated a new tradition of investigative digital journalism committed to human rights and public interest in Guatemala. Inspired by the notion of the public sphere, from Habermas, the platform focuses on themes that matter to civil society and have been largely neglected by mainstream commercial media. Another Guatemalan initiative is called *Nómada* and emerged in August 2014, anchored in journalistic principles of independence and transparency. This outlet focuses on politics, corruption, urban and rural Guatemalan social issues, identity issues, feminism and sexuality, covering topics, and employing formats that are not frequent in traditional media in the country and the region in general. *Nómada* counts partially on international funders of investigative journalism from around the world. Additionally, events, content services and crowdfunding campaigns, among other activities, provide the outlet with financial independence from traditional advertising models. As with *El Faro*, crowdfunding campaigns for *Nómada*, and other events seek to create a community around the initiatives and build citizen engagement with quality journalism in society.

The evolution of this kind of initiatives is, however, limited by a lack of access to the Internet in most Central American countries. According to Statista, in January 2020, five out of the 10 of the lowest penetration rates in Latin America were registered in Central America. Honduras was at the end of the list with 42%, just after Haiti. *El Faro* has hosted a radio program and podcasts in order to reach the countryside since 2013.

In the Caribbean, increasing access to digital platforms prompted investigative journalism, with important contributions coming from blogs and citizen initiatives that cover issues underrepresented in traditional media. In a country such as Cuba, technological developments open platforms for the expression of independent perspectives. The Global Investigative Journalism Network

highlights the innovative practices of Cuban blogs. Although illegal under the national Constitution, they develop applications to make content available online and offline and to run crowdfunding campaigns that defy the instability of the Internet connection inside Cuba, the internal persecution, and the U.S. blockade against the island. In 2017, *El Estornudo* received the Gabriel García Márquez Journalism Award, and the *Postdata* team was a finalist in the Data Journalism Awards.

In general, these initiatives confront a long tradition of high consumption as well as of imported programming content in mainstream media, consolidated by long-term colonization processes (some still in place), and by the small scale of local productions that increases the attraction of cheaper content ready for broadcasting. The JET FM radio station, operated by Jeffrey Town Farmers' Association, in Jamaica, is one example of a community-based experience that connects content production with local development and social empowerment processes. In a Jamaican urban context, Roots FM radio station plays a similar role, supporting grassroots communities with information regarding educational, work, and human rights issues. Another example is *Toco* FM radio station, the first community radio in Trinidad, launched in 1997. Together with *Tambrin* radio station, in Tobago, it is considered one of the longstanding successful and sustainable cases of associating news and music with local development issues. This kind of experience, flourishing in rural and urban communities in almost all Caribbean territories, goes beyond definitions of journalism practices and inserts them into larger perspectives of social change in the region.

Ana Cristina Suzina

See also Collaborative Journalism; Community Radio; Convergence; Investigative Journalism; Media Conglomerates; Media Monopoly; Press Freedom; Violence Against Journalists

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CHECKBOOK JOURNALISM

Checkbook journalism is the label applied when journalists or their news organizations pay for information. Print and television tabloids freely admit they regularly offer cash in exchange for exclusive interviews or for news tips. However, most mainstream news organizations, along with the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), condemn paying for interviews, arguing that it undermines journalistic credibility and independence. At the same time, these organizations sometimes pay for the right to use video or photos. They provide substantial consulting fees to former government officials, politicians, lawyers, or others who might provide expertise or commentary. They sometimes pay sources' travel expenses or take sources to lunch or buy them coffee. These practices may be more widely accepted than direct cash payments for interviews, but some critics argue that they, too, have the potential to compromise credibility. And, while probably in the minority, some professional journalists and media scholars suggest that there are times when it may be only fair to compensate private individuals for the value of their information. This entry looks at the history of checkbook journalism in the United States and ethical concerns that have been raised about the practice.

The History of Checkbook Journalism

The outcry over checkbook journalism intensified in the 1980s as 24-hour cable news channels and syndicated television tabloids began to compete with more established news organizations for public attention. Moreover, as video cameras became ever cheaper and more portable, television stations and networks sometimes paid for video taken by individuals who were neither newsroom employees nor traditional freelancers. However, checkbook journalism did not begin with the invention of the camcorder nor has it been exclusively used by tabloids. Mainstream news organizations also have pulled out the checkbook from time to time—whether it was *The New York Times* paying for an exclusive interview with a crew member who survived the Titanic sinking in 1912 or *Life Magazine* paying for interviews with astronauts and their families in the 1960s.

Some of the best-known instances of checkbook journalism occurred in the 1970s in the aftermath of the Watergate investigation that led to the first and only resignation of an American president. Richard Nixon left office in 1974, rather than face impeachment, and was quickly pardoned by his successor, Gerald Ford. British talk show host David Frost, sensing the hunger for answers in the absence of a trial either in the Senate or in the criminal courts, paid the former president \$600,000 in exchange for a series of recorded interviews. The interviews, edited into 49-minute episodes, aired in prime time in the spring of 1977. They would be remembered as the most-watched news interviews in U.S. television history.

None of the three major networks that dominated American television at the time would carry the paid-for Frost-Nixon interviews. So the entrepreneurial Frost sold the interviews station by station in markets across the United States in a barter-syndication deal in which he split advertising minutes with local broadcasters and personally pedaled national spots. There was early skepticism about whether a non-journalist like Frost would or could ask tough questions, even though Nixon's contract obligated him to discuss Watergate. However, combining his team's research with his own considerable on-camera skills as an interviewer, Frost used the power of

the television close-up to give American audiences the closest thing they would ever hear to an apology from the former president—along with such jaw-dropping moments as Nixon's claim that when the president does something, it is not illegal.

Not every attempt to buy Watergate stories was so successful. Before the Frost-Nixon interviews, CBS News had earned intense criticism when it paid H. R. Haldeman, Nixon's former White House chief of staff, \$100,000 for what turned out to be little in the way of useful disclosures from the former advertising executive who had gone to prison for his part in the Watergate cover-up. CBS justified its payments by characterizing the interview as Haldeman's televised "memoirs," a genre for which book publishers traditionally had paid former government officials.

With cameras back in many courtrooms by the 1980s, some of the most controversial instances of checkbook journalism arose from competition in coverage of sensational criminal trials. Among these was the case of O. J. Simpson, former football great turned movie and television celebrity charged with murder in 1994 after the gruesome stabbing of his former wife and her friend. In the early days of the investigation, a tabloid paid the owner of a Los Angeles knife store and one of his employees for an exclusive interview revealing that, prior to the stabbings, they had sold a stiletto to Simpson and sharpened it for him. They said Simpson had paid cash and they had kept no receipt. No murder weapon had been found, so theirs was potentially important testimony, compromised by the deal they had struck with the press.

It has not been only the tabloid press paying substantial sums for sensational crime stories. In 2010, a lawyer representing Casey Anthony, accused of murdering her toddler daughter, revealed that in 2008 ABC News had paid \$200,000 for exclusive rights to Anthony family photos and home videos. ABC denied that the payment had entitled it to exclusive interviews with Anthony, but the SPJ Ethics Committee was skeptical—condemning what it called a growing trend of checkbook journalism by major television networks. ABC had only compounded the problem by failing to disclose the payment for more than 2 years.

Ethical Considerations

Invoking the principle that journalists should “Act Independently,” the SPJ Code of Ethics explicitly rejects checkbook journalism: “Be wary of sources offering information for favors or money; do not pay for access to news” (SPJ, 2014). Whenever journalists pay sources, it undermines the credibility of both the source and the journalist.

There may be instances in which even private individuals have a civic duty to come forward with important information in the public interest. In such cases, doing the right thing should be motivation enough to talk with the press. The private citizen who in 1992 happened to videotape the police beating of Rodney King that led to a national public outcry and criminal charges against multiple Los Angeles police officers sold a local television station the rights to air his video. He later sued for copyright infringement when news organizations around the country rebroadcast the video without his permission. The courts denied the videographer’s copyright claims on the grounds of the overwhelming public importance of the tape. As a legal matter, the right to know took priority over the videographer’s intellectual property rights. And as an ethical matter, some would argue, even a private individual with such important information ought to put the public interest above his own.

Paying for News in the Information Age

However, the SPJ Code of Ethics also exhorts journalists to “Minimize Harm,” reminding them that “private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than public figures and others who seek power, influence or attention” (SPJ, 2014). Federal statutes and the laws of all 50 states give the press and the public the right to access at least some government meetings and documents. However, there is no legal right to access or publish information about the purely private affairs even of elected public officials—and surely not to pry into the personal lives of private individuals.

While journalists provide an essential public service, they are paid by news organizations that, for the most part, operate for profit. There are

times when it may be only fair for news organizations to compensate private individuals for the value of the information they provide. The emergence of social media, whose business models are based on collecting personal data about end users and selling ads based on that data, has raised new questions about who deserves to control and profit from personal information.

In the Information Age, the debate over checkbook journalism may no longer be a simple binary choice of whether or not to pay for news. More complex questions arise. There are certainly instances (as in coverage of criminal trials) in which checkbook journalism has the potential to erode public faith and disrupt due process. However, not every individual with an interesting story to tell is a potential witness in a criminal trial. The debate then shifts to questions of transparency and accountability, of how to decide when it is appropriate to exchange value for value and, even more important, how to disclose and explain a decision to pay for information in a way that allows the public to make informed judgments about credibility, independence, and motivation.

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See also Ethics; Free Press and Fair Trial; Privacy

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CHINA

As one of the world's oldest civilizations, China has a rich history of media communication. Government news sheets, known as *tipao*, were disseminated among Han Dynasty court officials in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE and later printed during the Tang Dynasty in the 8th and 9th centuries. As of 2021, journalism in China continues to evolve and adapt, creating a vibrant arc that has captured the attention of media scholars and pundits. This entry discusses the three periods into which Chinese journalism is generally divided—The Party Press (1949–1978), Commercialization and Conglomeration of the Party Press (1978–2003), and Media Convergence and Global Media Expansion of the Party Press (2003 to present). China's journalism offers insights and rationale for its placement in the media landscape.

The Party Press (1949–1978)

The Party press traces its roots to radical journals of the early 20th century. In the years after the fall of China's last ruling dynasty (Qing), the country experienced increasing turmoil, and future leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were involved in publishing journals to rally mass opposition to Western and Japanese imperialists and Chinese warlords. Mao Zedong stressed the journalists' role in learning from the masses and highlighted the role it should play to articulate a unified voice of support to resist foreign aggression and promote China's modernization. This was to be achieved through a symbiotic “mass line” model of political communication, where the Party collected the concerns and aspirations of the masses that could be translated into systematic action. In this way, the mass line's continuous circular process not only produced collective knowledge but also raised the masses' consciousness. Thus, when implemented rigorously, the mass line acted as an effective mechanism to encourage popular participation and to provide indispensable fodder to formulate vital policies in which the Party press would propagate. This explains why, until this day, the mainstay of Party news focuses on trends and highlights achievements. As the Party mouthpiece, the Party press is not beholden

to breaking news events but tends toward conclusive and comprehensive analysis, attributed to its mass line communication process.

Despite the criticisms that Party journalism does not allow the masses to engage in policy formulation and that it has no concept of the people's right to know the deliberation process, the press achieved by Mao's mass line principle was successful in organizing both party organs and nonparty journals to target underserved groups such as peasants, youth, women, and workers. This multisectoral, multitiered press system corresponds to the Party-state territorial-administrative divisions of central, provincial, and municipal press as well as newspapers run by women's federations, youth leagues, trade unions, farmers, and other social groups, and it holds tremendous potential in enabling diverse voices to be heard. Even so, critics point out that disastrous incidents such as the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) laid bare defects of a monopoly Party press where state ownership and inadequate institutional mechanisms to ensure public accountability led to detrimental consequences. For this reason, advocates of the normative liberal perspective argue as the “fourth estate,” the press must serve its watchdog role to hold power accountable and consequently, press freedom is mainly defined as freedom from State ownership and control.

However, the Socialist press perspective argues otherwise. From the socialist perspective, state ownership and oversight of the press not only does not undermine, but in fact serves to ensure that press freedom is extended to all the people—as exemplified by its diversity of publications aimed to give voice to the underserved communities, and not just the capitalists who own the press.

Nevertheless, media scholars point out that in the post-Mao era, it was the articulation of the core concept of the “Party principle” and not Mao's “mass line” that was used to justify the Party's domination of the press. Critics argue that unlike Mao's “mass line,” which institutionalized channels to enable bottom-up feedback, the Party principle's top-down measures emphasize the Party's guiding ideology, regulation, and control, leaving little room for bottom-up feedback. Party policymaking remains opaque and centralized; important policies are reported as final decisions, leaving little room for debates.

Commercialization and Conglomeration of the Party Press (1978–2003)

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms opened the door to foreign technology and investment, revamping existing institutions, including news media. Even though this top-down state-initiated media marketization process remained heavily regulated, the power of capital nevertheless increased, creating frictions between the Party-state and the increasingly commercialized Party press.

This tension was exemplified by the reintroduction of media advertising, which quickly became the most important source of income for the newly commercial Party press. The drive to ensure economic independence gave news organizations increased operational autonomy, particularly for the newly launched commercial subsidiaries of provincial-level Party organs. This also meant that the power to influence editorial decisions had, to some extent, been transferred from the central to the local and from the Party-state to advertisers and readers.

As news media became responsible for their own economic survival, they were compelled to diversify content to include cultural news, sports, entertainment, and watchdog reporting to meet reader demands. For example, while Guangdong provincial-level Party organs flagship paper *Southern Daily* maintained their usual fare of government announcements and propaganda, their newly established commercial subsidiaries such as *Southern Weekly* and *Southern Metropolis Daily* focused on social news, current affairs, and entertainment, covering human interest stories from the plights of migrant workers to problems of an aging population and homeowner rights. The early reform years of the 1980s in particular brought commercialization and loosening of restrictions. There were calls for reforms throughout society, including more democracy, press law protections, and even news media freedom. Many Chinese media workers, including those from *People's Daily*, marched publicly in the streets to support reform during the 1989 pro-democracy movement. That movement ended abruptly on June 4 when troops moved in to stop protests in Beijing's most famous public space,

Tiananmen Square. The Tiananmen crackdown reverberated across society, stalling political and economic reform as well as reforms within the news media. Since then, the Party has emphasized that submission by journalists to Party leadership and propaganda discipline must always be the basis when speaking on behalf of the people.

The 1990s became known for the emergence of large media groups as the government began curbing proliferation of media organizations through consolidation and conglomeration. Decentralization and unfettered commercialization in the 1980s had led to a highly fragmented press system that was overextended and lacked economy of scale. Government bureaucracies and non-Party organizations' papers were chipping away the circulation and advertising revenues of Central and Party organ press. The imminent 2001 World Trade Organization accession also called for an overhaul of the domestic media to ensure it would have the financial capability to compete with global media conglomerates. CCP's strategy was to harness the commercial forces to turn Party newspapers into profitable ventures. As such, although press groups are financially independent, they are not independent businesses registered with the government's industry and trade bureau and thus remain under the oversight of the Party's propaganda department.

The commercialization and conglomeration of the Chinese press substantially reshaped power distribution and political relations from the Central government to the local government. As of 2021, regional governments have greater say to defend and expand their local interests as they are responsible for their own news production costs, establishing their own distribution network, and selling their publications on a competitive news market. Meanwhile, China's modernization trajectory was creating ever growing economic and social inequality. Nationwide privatization of state-owned enterprises created a growing unemployed working class and a disintegrated social welfare system. Migrant workers in the millions were coming into the cities to find work. These conditions and the growing endemic local corruption gave rise to China's watchdog, or investigative journalism.

Known in China as *yulun jiandu*, or *supervision by public opinion*, this type of journalism reflects the views of the general Chinese population as a means of monitoring the effectiveness of

Communist Party policies. These watchdog stories reflected social instability that resulted from accelerated market reforms. These included large-scale worker layoffs in money-losing state enterprises, dislocation of farmers, and unfettered taxation abuses by local governments. China's economic reform policies had created tremendous growth—making the nation among the world's fastest growing economies—but they also created tremendous opportunities for corrupt politicians and businesses.

Central Party leaders came to see China's press as an effective, comparatively inexpensive tool to reduce local official corruption by utilizing public opinion to monitor local official power and reflect public debate on China's problems. By doing so, watchdog stories expose government corruption and social ills, vet popular grievances, and create a closer identity between the people and the party. This watchdog function, however, was to be exercised under *yulun daoxiang* or "guidance of public opinion," which meant providing an official framework for controversial topics to "guide" public opinion to fall within the party line. In reality, however, Chinese journalists, particularly those from the commercial press, frequently found ways to challenge, test, and contravene the party's restrictions. One such example was through *yidi jiandu*, or "cross-regional media supervision," where the local press aimed their critical reports at officials in other provinces that did not have direct administrative authority over them.

Due to the development of more complex and demanding news coverage, media outlets began to attract and retain better qualified employees, who now were often expected to have college degrees. Many graduated from one of a growing number of journalism programs at Chinese universities and an increasing number were going overseas to study. The Party press also had more flexibility in who they hired and how, for their commercial subsidiary editions, including whether workers had to be party members. The media began to hire contract reporters "outside the system" or *tizhi-wai*, who had the advantage of not requiring bureaucratic party authorization—with its paper trail of employment history.

The increasingly vibrant commercialized Chinese press became a battleground for ongoing ideological debates about China's modernization

trajectory. The Liberal perspective, generally held by journalists working in the commercialized press, favored China's continuing integration into global capitalism. In contrast, the New Left is highly skeptical of capitalist globalization and the capitalist nature of Western liberal democracy. Concerned with the country's mushrooming social-inequality issues, the New Left sees revitalizing CCP's socialist legacy as a way to hold the Party accountable to its initial promise to build economic equality and advance social justice. These discussions would explode into the forefront of public debates with the rising popularity of the Internet.

Media Convergence and Global Expansion of the Party Press (2003 to present)

After the first 25 years of economic reform, as of 2021, China is addressing various problems and opportunities created by the introduction of market economy to the Party press system. Simultaneously, the rise of the Internet is one of the most important developments during this era and has tremendous social, economic, and political impact on the Party press. China's calibrated and controlled press reform is similarly applied to the development of its Internet. It has invested substantially in its Internet infrastructure and the country's online population has boomed. The number of Internet users in China had reached 854 million netizens by June 2019 according to China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC) Statistical Report on Internet Development in China. This makes China netizens the world's biggest Internet market, although it represents just 61.2% of the country's population. The number of mobile Internet users is said to have reached 847 million, spurred on by the exponential growth of e-news and a myriad of e-products and services now available via smartphones.

Although Chinese citizens have embraced the Internet since the 1990s, the meteoritic growth and increasing popularity of the Internet, including its various social media platforms such as bulletin board system, blogs, Weibo (microblog), and WeChat since the 2000s meant ordinary people increasingly joined journalists in posting articles, videos, photographs, and other materials online.

The Internet has enabled Chinese consumers to become content producers and to directly participate in public discourse and opinion formation through various online tools. These participatory platforms accommodate the demands of an increasingly stratified and diversified Chinese society. Some media scholars theorize this as a sign of development of civil society in China as the Internet becomes a testing ground for public opinion formation and contestation.

One of the earliest well-known examples of the synergy between the Party press and the Internet to set the agenda for public discourse was the news story of the beating death of migrant worker Sun Zhigang as a result of physical abuse he suffered while in a custody and repatriation center in the southern city of Guangzhou. Sun was a young college graduate who had recently moved to the city to find work but was detained by police when he could not produce his temporary living permit and his ID card. While the story had originated in the print media, the Internet played a crucial role in prompting further public discussions, constitutionality debates among legal scholars, and dissemination of the story online nationwide. As a result, the punitive detention centers were abolished and replaced by service-focused centers to provide assistance to vagrants and beggars with no means of support in cities. The Sun Zhigang case highlighted how the Internet allowed real-time interaction between the commercial Party press, legal experts, and netizens, reaching a wider audience to jointly claim the agenda-setting power. At times, stories generated from Internet postings reemerge on major web portals where they generate more discussions, commentary, and dissemination. Other times, leads are picked up by the local press and further reporting of the story on their online platform reaches a broader national audience through the Internet.

China's Internet has transformed traditional journalistic practices in unprecedented ways, bringing about innovative journalistic practices. Many mainstream investigative journalists have used social media such as microblogging platform Weibo to share their field notes or full versions of their investigative reports that are watered down by their news organization. Their Weibo followers have become invested in their reporting process and experience the challenges journalists face,

which has helped improve their commercial competitiveness and expand the boundaries of reporting. New media technology also enabled netizens to become "citizen journalists," meaning ordinary people can engage in on-the-ground reporting with their mobile phones, particularly during crisis or suddenly breaking news events such as the 2008 Sichuan earthquake and 2011 Wenzhou train collision in the outskirts of Zhejiang Province. The term *online surrounding gaze*, or *wan-gluo weiguan*, is used to describe the potential dimension of public participation and the concentration of public opinion arising from the voluntary engagement of netizens. This online netizen participation and engagement generate synergy between the netizens and the Chinese press. A 2016 study on corruption cases exposed on Sina Weibo shows that ordinary netizens are often the main initiators of corruption exposes online; however, news organizations and online media outlets continue to play the essential role of agenda setting and disseminating the news about these corruption cases. In this way, news media organizations and news workers in particular, continue to play an indispensable role as the voice of the people.

As the general public increasingly turns to the Internet for their news, a serious disjoint between the Party-state agenda and the public agenda has emerged as the official Party organs are becoming increasingly irrelevant to the general public. During a 2007 politburo meeting, President Hu Jintao stated it is not enough for the Party to just *manage* the Internet, but the Party must also seek to actively *use* it. His first major media-related speech delivered at the *People's Daily* and *People's Daily Online* emphasized the need to better utilize the Internet media and commercial subsidiaries of the Party press as resources to reach the public. This strategy is commonly referred to as *grabbing the megaphone*, or *qiang laba* by Chinese journalists, which means the Party press must set the agenda for major breaking stories. This direct response reflects a change in the nature of agenda setting to aggressively covering breaking news in order to stay ahead of the freewheeling commercial press and the Internet to properly channel public opinion, as opposed to setting the agenda merely by control mechanisms such as censorship or news blackouts. A 2005 study on the official Party publication *News Line* urged the online

Party press to analyze the patterns of Internet dissemination, find viable means to guide online commentary, and promote correct online opinion to ensure the Party press maintains the high ground in manufacturing public opinion.

At the same time, the Party-state continues to develop highly sophisticated monitoring and control mechanisms to censor topics that are considered disruptive to social order. It does this by using the latest technology, additional and existing laws and regulations, and new variations of traditional control tactics. The Ministry of Public Security's "Golden Shield Project," sometimes known as the *Great Firewall*, is an extensive communications network and computer information system that operates to block objectionable Internet sites and web feeds and filter unwanted content. The Party-state also enlists nongovernment entities and individuals, such as ISPs and content providers, to help it prevent users from posting items that lead to collective action and accessing sensitive content. In recent years, China has stepped up enforcement of online real name registration, criminalizing Internet rumormongering, and banning cross-regional reporting to rein in journalists and Internet writers.

In this way, communication technologies have brought both challenges and opportunities for the Party press. Media convergence sought to leverage the media industry's commercial and technological advances to ensure state-owned or state-controlled media remain commercially viable and competitive. Traditional party media expanded their communication channels by adopting publishing and broadcasting that fit mobile platforms. As early as 1997, the Central Party press *People's Daily* established the *People's Daily Online*, and later mobile versions in 2007 to target smartphone users, followed by *People's Video* in 2011. *People's Daily* launched its mobile app in 2014 enabling feedback and comments from readers. *China Central Television* (CCTV) launched China's first national Internet TV in 2009 offering video-on-demand services and an online community network. Various press groups located in the wealthy east coast metropolis such as the *Nanfang* Media Group, *Hangzhou Daily Press* Group, and *Shenzhen Press* Group were all restructured to become "all-media information providers." President Xi Jinping promoted media convergence as a

national media strategy to occupy the public opinion battlefield and to deepen press reform and transformation. As such, only the Party-controlled press groups can provide news content across the different range of media platforms. Nonstate Internet companies, which are dominated by private capital, such as Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, and Sina, are not licensed to carry original news reporting on current affairs, although this does not stop some of them from doing their own reporting on entertainment or nonsensitive social news.

China's domestic media convergence development parallels Chinese media's global expansion. The "going global" policy was a top agenda item since the 2008 Olympics as the state media expanded worldwide to promote China's soft power and boost its global influence. The embarrassing images revealed in Western media's coverage of protests and conflicts encountered during the Beijing Olympic torch relay prompted an ideological shift among senior Chinese officials, who became painfully aware that China's voice and cultural influence were far from having a global presence the way its economy has. The barrage of negative foreign press reporting reinforced the notion that unfair anti-China bias in Western media persisted. In response, President Xi emphasized the need for Chinese media to take China's voice into the world and present Chinese perspectives on both Chinese and world affairs to a global audience.

In a letter sent to CCTV rebranded as *China Global Television Network* (CGTN) in its 2016 relaunch, Xi urged the Party press to portray a three-dimensional and colorful China to the world, and to showcase China as a responsible international player and a builder of world peace. As of 2018, CGTN broadcasts in more than 100 countries—reaching 30 million homes in the United States alone. It is a multi-language, multi-platform media group consisting of six television channels, including a 24-hour English-language news channel, a video content provider, and a digital media division, with broadcasting centers located in Beijing, Washington, Nairobi, and London as well as other overseas-affiliated institutions. *Xinhua News Agency* now has more than 170 bureaus and delivers its news across the world in at least eight languages, all seeking to present an international vision

with a China perspective. The Chinese government sees the internationalization of Chinese media as crucial to its ability to tell the Chinese story well, to winning hearts and minds abroad, and to serving as a counterweight to unflattering Western media narratives of China and its global ambitions. Though its effectiveness remains to be seen, “going global” is nevertheless at the forefront of an ambitious multilingual overseas expansion as of 2021, and a closer inspection would suggest that China’s Party press continues to seek to broaden the terms of debate in international communication.

China’s press system is embedded within the Party-state, and the CCP continues to pursue a socialist orientation in its press reforms and restructuring process. Over the past 40 years, journalism in China has been guided by a two-pronged rationale of Party principle and market logic. The CCP has nurtured its Party press into market-oriented media conglomerates by selectively liberalizing certain sectors for private and foreign capital. Commercialization of the news media has played a significant role in diversifying the press landscape in China, but regardless of four decades of controlled reform resulting in decentralization, diversification, and increased editorial autonomy within the newsroom, the Chinese press continues to exercise oversight in the name of the people. As such, positive reporting, adherence to the Party line, and an emphasis on social responsibility are the mainstay of today’s Chinese state model of journalistic professionalism. China’s media convergence strategy seeks to maintain the Party press’ commanding heights in public opinion formation, and it sees its “going global” policy as an essential part of China’s drive to reshape world communications and reach a point where China can tell the story of its developmental path toward socialist rejuvenation story in its own terms.

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See also Asia, Central; Asia, East and Southeast; Asia, South; Chinese Television; Comparative Models of Journalism; Xinhua News Agency

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CHINESE TELEVISION

Holding the largest audience in the world, Chinese television has a significant impact on the Chinese society. Chinese television was built in the 1930s on the broadcasting system from the Chinese civil war and was established in 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded. Media do not stand alone from politics, economics, culture, and society in China. This applies to Chinese television. Chinese television has been evolving with the political, economic, and social revolutions in China since the reform and opening policy launched by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. This entry discusses the development of Chinese television from political, economic, and cultural perspectives and its impact on Chinese society in general.

The Founding of Chinese Television

Established in 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded, the Central People's Broadcasting Station (CPBS) was developed from Yanan Xinhua Radio, a radio station that had been managed by the Chinese Communist Party since 1940. CPBS was the foundation of Beijing Television, the state network, which was started on May 1, 1958. The national network changed its name to China Central Television (CCTV) in 1978.

In China, the Department of Propaganda of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council Information Office, and the State Administration of Press, Publications, Radio, Film, and Television (SAPPRFT) were once in charge of the television system. However, since 2018, the newly established National Radio and Television Administration (NRTA) replaced SAPPRFT to closely oversee the Chinese television industry.

As the opening policy prioritized China's economic growth over ideology, the national network (CCTV) shifted its role from the primary

mouthpiece of the party to service and consumer-oriented information provider. These roles are reflected in the changes of ownership structures, business models, and program formats in the national television industry.

One Ownership, Dual Operation Patterns

As a centralized system, Chinese television consists of television stations at the national, provincial, and municipal levels, as well as some closed-circuit community systems. With the marketization of the Chinese television industry, it has evolved into a system with One Ownership—Two Operation Patterns in which politics and market coexist or cooperate. In some cases, commercial interests were found to actively align their own interests to those of the government for the purpose of official profiteering, and commercialization actually worked to enhance propaganda.

The state-owned media capitals achieved rapid growth and dominance through the process of market-oriented reform. For example, in addition to serving as a political apparatus of the Party State, CCTV conducts a massive range of commercial businesses and activities. The CCTV-owned commercial entity, China International Television Corporation, has a complete range of subsidiaries and regular businesses, including notably a theme park in Jiangsu Province known as *Wuxi Movie TV Production Base*. China Global Television Network (formerly CCTV International), launched in 2016, is available in five languages in more than 170 countries in the world. CGTV seeks to bring a Chinese perspective to global news and enhance the global image of China in the world.

Advertising-Supported Business Model

Since the launch of the opening-up policy in 1978, Chinese television relies less and less on governmental funding and more on revenues from advertising while fulfilling its dual political and economic roles.

Since 1979, when advertising came back to life in China, it has experienced rapid and continued growth. Its annual business volume rose at an average rate of more than 40% between 1981 and 1995. Its business volume further increased to

27.3 billion yuan (around \$3.3 billion) in 1997. At the same time, competitions in the media industry have been increasing. To increase its competitiveness, a self-funding structure was introduced into the Chinese television system in 1995. Internal changes in China's television industry have shaped this system's structure into the new millennium. However, after two decades of rapid growth, the advertising revenue started to decline. The annual television advertising revenue in China has decreased from 111.93 billion yuan (around \$18.5 billion) in 2013 to 91.29 billion yuan (around \$12.9 billion) in 2019.

The advertising-supported business model transformed Chinese television from a propaganda tool to a consumer goods display window. Consumer-centered or service-oriented programs became popular. More innovative television programs adapted from Western formats getting close to people's lives—focusing on new consumption trends and lifestyles—were created.

New Formats of Television Programs

The new dynamics of television reform are reflected in policies of decentralization and changing regulation, prompting greater autonomy for television stations. The popularity of television news magazines, talk shows, and documentary television programs in the 1990s reflected the increased autonomy of Chinese television.

CCTV launched news magazines such as *Oriental Horizon*, talk show programs such as *Tell It Like It Is*, and documentary programs such as *Focus Interviews* and *News Probe*. These particular programs were highlights of the transition. The news magazine format differs from traditional news programs in their length and flexibility and their use of a more personalized style, combined with changes of pace and a wider range of faces and voices presented. The television talk show is a creation of 20th-century broadcasting. The hybrid forms of the talk show format originally emerged out of two central traditions: news and entertainment. Over time, the hybrid forms developed with mixed news, public affairs, and entertainment.

News documentaries embrace a live coverage style and in-depth investigations. For example, the goal of *Focus Interviews* and *News Probe*, in particular, was to establish a public sphere on Chinese

television by exposing social scandals, disclosing truths behind certain news events, and promoting social equality and justice. Journalists assume a multiplicity of roles in these programs: an advocate of state objectives, a voice of victims of power abuse and consumer fraud, and a social commentator, condemning what they consider unhealthy social trends and upholding social morality.

In addition to news and public affairs, television provides a wide variety of entertainment and diversion. However, entertainment programming in China used to consist primarily of feature films because of the lack of independent economic interests under the planned economy. The notion that television programs could be made primarily to entertain the masses did not develop until the late 1980s. With market reform, advertising was introduced, and Chinese television transformed from a state-subsidized propaganda operation to an entertainment-oriented mass medium with both propaganda and commercial objectives. Capitalized television companies were able to contribute to financing the content production of the broadcaster as well as to its other core activities. Marketized and partially privatized independent and quasi-independent producers flourished in the late 1990s and produce an increasing share of entertainment programming. CCTV's launch of a regular magazine program, *Life (Shenghuo)*, focusing on new consumption trends and lifestyle in China in 1996, epitomized this change. The Chinese are simply bombarded with entertainment on TV—game shows, competition shows, and celebrity shows. From 2002 to 2013, the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television, the former regulatory body of SAPPRFT, issued a series of regulatory rules in a Clean Up the Screen campaign.

Digitalization

As noted, as of 2021, Chinese television has the largest audience in the world. It is worth adding that 96% of the potential Chinese audience, equivalent to 566 million people, watched the Spring Festival Eve Variety Show (CCTV) in 1986. However, the audience is transferring from traditional television to online videos due to the growth and widening availability of the Internet. The Chinese Internet has ranked first in the world in terms

of users since 2008, and it has seen rapid and intense expansion. According to the China Internet Network Information Center, an administrative agency responsible for Internet affairs under the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, as of June 30, 2019, 854 million people in China were Internet users, and 99.1% of them, 847 million, accessed the Internet via a mobile network.

Chinese audiences' consumption behavior is also evolving. Based on the 2019 Global Digital suite of reports from We Are Social and Hootsuite, China has 1.007 billion users of social media and mobile social media. On average, Chinese users spend nearly 6 hours accessing the Internet daily and approximately 2 hours each day on social media. Additionally, short video content is a popular and effective trend used in digital marketing strategies.

The evolution of the Chinese television industry has accelerated due to the rapid expansion of digitalization. Internet, television, and telecom are continuing their amalgamation. New players such as Youku, Tudou, Sohu, Baidu, iQiyi, LeTV, BestTV, PPS, and PPTV are emerging in the Chinese television market. Chinese television broadcasts online and appeals to audience's migration to smartphones, tablets, and web-based applications. To face the challenge of this shift, CCTV launched the China Network Television (CNTV), a Chinese national web-based TV broadcaster, on December 28, 2009. CNTV is affiliated with CCTV and administered by the NRTA. According to the China Media Group, a total of 1.23 billion viewers from China and overseas watched the 2020 Spring Festival gala show, which was broadcast live on television and also screened live online using various digital platforms. With the rise of alternative media channels, audiences' changing viewing behaviors and preferences, and content and privacy protection on the Internet, Chinese television faces new challenges from social media, digitalization, and the globalization of its international counterparts, as well as its peculiar dual tasks for political and economic interests within China.

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See also Asia, East and Southeast; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; China; Comparative Models of Journalism; International Journalism

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CIRCULATION

Within the context of journalism, the term *circulation* has traditionally referred to the number of printed newspaper copies issued by a specific news publisher. As such, it was an important measure both for the sale of advertising and for social impact. In addition to a material process of dissemination, such as the paperboys' rounds and the single-issue sales at the news agent, the term thus arguably also carried undertones related to content becoming socially significant through circulation. Linked to that, another and related measure

was also important, namely that of readership. Circulation numbers were for the most part of the 20th century the main so-called currency connecting news publishers and advertisers. In relation to this, the formation of the Audit Bureau of Circulation in the United States and Canada in 1914 was pivotal—as publishers prior to that were more *lenient* or *sloppy* with their circulation numbers. Around this time, the United States also made its full transition into a consumer society, which—along with other developments—boosted not only the number of newspaper titles but also their circulation, which made the market much more competitive. The *Daily News* (New York), for instance, started in 1919 and had after its first year a circulation of more than 100,000 and, by 1925, more than 1 million. It reached its peak in 1947 with 2.4 million daily copies; in 2018, its circulation of print copies had fallen to approximately 200,000, whereas its digital products reached 23 million people. While the total number of circulated newspapers in the United States peaked in the 1980s, the example of the *Daily News* illustrates both the overall decline in circulation and the overall shift in how print news reaches its audiences.

Thus, while the circulation of news in a digital news landscape still refers to the material dissemination and the social significance of content, this has become part of much more complicated processes in terms of movement, measurement, control, and meaning, and this has important implications for both the economic and social aspects of news circulation. This entry consequently highlights some of the most important and interrelated technological, economic, and social aspects of the overall changes in how news is circulated digitally.

The Technological: Unbundling and Connectivity

In the predigital news landscape, news institutions were defined by their materiality of production and distribution. A newspaper was a newspaper because the news was distributed on paper, and a radio news broadcast was precisely that because it was produced for and distributed over the airwaves to a specific material device called a *radio*. The circulation of printed journalism was thus largely bound by the material container of distribution, the newspaper, or the magazine. People

either got the whole thing or nothing—unless, of course, a neighbor came with a newspaper clipping and/or told someone about an article she had read in the newspaper or if one happened to find parts of a newspaper under other circumstances, such as in a café. Given this mode of distribution, maps of newspaper circulation were often closely related to the material infrastructures of roads and other means of transportation. This often meant that the density of circulation fell the farther one moved from a center, often the politically and/or economically important part of a given metropolitan area.

The internet disrupted that in a number of ways. As of 2021, news is also made available through a range of different digital devices connected via an infrastructure through which physical distances and location can be constituted in different ways—such as the global audience of *The New York Times*, the hyper-local news sites that cater to specific neighborhoods or spread-out audiences of specialized business news (e.g., that related to shipping). Still, however, the circulation of news constituting such audiences relies on a material infrastructure of cables, buildings, masts, servers, and consumer devices. Another important development also related to materiality is the process of unbundling, through which entities of content formerly held together by the physical container of distribution, the newspaper, can circulate independently. News articles, columns, letters to the editor, (classified) advertisements, and other types of content also circulate through new and complex trajectories in the digital landscape and such trajectories, more often than not, traverse various social media platforms. As newspapers used to be able to control at least the immediate context in which news circulated, the unbundling process has had implications for the ways in which journalistic content acquires social significance. As newspapers used to rely on the ability to bundle journalistic productions with commercial content, the process of unbundling has had significant consequences for the funding of journalism.

The Economic: Measurements, Control, and Values

The first type of commercial content to move away from newspapers were classified ads, which relocated to sites such as Craigslist in the mid- to

late 1990s—around the same time as the MP3 file started the unbundling process in the music industry, which had relied on the LP and later the CD as its main containers of distribution or circulation. A key reason for classified ads relocating to independent digital platforms was that these offered a more efficient (and cheaper) way of connecting content with appropriate audiences, that is, audiences who were potentially interested in buying what was advertised. It is, generally speaking, the ability of connective platforms on the internet (e.g., Facebook, Google) to make a much more precise match between specific content and relevant audiences. Thus, while most journalism publishers have aimed at relatively broadly defined audiences, for example, politically interested citizens within a given community (e.g., a city), social media can carve out much more specific audience constellations not necessarily related to geographical location and combine these with relevant commercial content. The traditional mode of circulating news, the newspaper, and later the news website thus cannot compete with the efficiency with which social media platforms and other internet services can connect users with commercial content. The news industry has consequently lost an important part of its predigital source of income.

What remains, broadly speaking, are different subscription models. In relation to this, circulation has taken on a new meaning in the sense that a significant amount of journalism content circulates freely on social media platforms in the hope that it may refer users to the publishers' websites, which is only one of the ways in which journalistic content is made available and circulated. The internet is thus full of free samples of journalistic work—some only in parts, others as full productions. As a substantial amount of people mainly or only encounter news through social media sites, publishers feel they need to be there for the sake of visibility, that is, to be where the audiences are, which may or may not convert some into subscribers. In general, however, it has proven difficult for publishers to monetize the circulation of their content on social media. An important element of this is related to the fact that the circulation has become a much more complex process in and out of various platforms. Thus, while circulation remains a measure of value, there is no standard currently through which circulation, and

thus audiences, can be traded as was the case in the predigital system. Another aspect of this is a lack of transparency in the sense that a lot of the data through which circulation can be measured is not necessarily available to news publishers; and, if available, this is in a form determined by the owners of the data. Adding to this lack of transparency is the emergence of automated trading through which content and audiences are linked on a variety of platforms. Compared to a predigital situation where many publishers dealt directly with advertisers, such automatic auctions are rather black-boxed processes. A final aspect is that the measures of circulation and the readership of news have coalesced as digital readership leaves traces of actual encounters between audiences and various forms of content. Readership is thus no longer measured by sampling based on social science methods.

While this on one hand allows automation and personalization—for commercial and/or for diversity/democracy reasons—it also means that audience metrics are much more immediate and detailed, which means that they are used in many newsrooms to determine editorial decisions. In general, one can say that the digital circulation of journalism has brought editorial processes and the market into much closer contact. While some have seen this as a welcome change in how journalism relates to its audiences, it has also raised concerns about journalism's ability to fulfill its obligations to democracy.

The Social: The Merging of Circulation and Consumption

Journalism has always been dependent on its social resonance (i.e., that the news was or became socially significant). News thus depended on being retold, shared, and talked about. A direct following of the unbundling discussed earlier is that people often do not meet news through the particular professional filter constituted by the modern newspaper, which—largely for reasons linked to news criteria—featured the most important stories on the front, after which contents dwindled in their perceived social importance with sports, comics, and crosswords appearing toward the back. When news items are circulated independently through various connective platforms, this happens through what may be termed a social

and/or algorithmic filtering, which does not take place according to journalistic values. Thus, while the construction of social significance related to the circulation of journalism still takes place offline, this is also something that has become increasingly mediated.

The two meanings of circulation, that is, the dissemination of certain containers of meaning, newspapers or the digital object holding an article, and the social processes through which meaning is constituted have, broadly speaking, shifted positions in terms of importance. While circulation in the newspaper landscape mainly referred to *physical dissemination* and *implied social significance*, the order in the digital landscape is almost turned around. Here, circulation is mainly about the social, the interactions, the likes, and the comments, while the actual processes of moving objects through the underlying digital infrastructure have become less focused on. This is partly because news is not disseminated in the old sense but rather simply made available on a website—no trucks or paperboys are needed. News is, however, still disseminated in email newsletters and, to some degree, through broadcasting. Another reason for such processes (i.e., the ways through which certain content appears in some contexts and not in others) not being the focus of so much attention is that they have become partly or almost fully invisible as they happen out of sight through combinations of user data and differently programmed algorithms. The dissemination of news, or a significant part of it, is thus partly out of the hands of the news publishers.

Thus, while one can argue that circulation in the sense of social significance has gained in importance over physical dissemination, one could also say that these two processes have coalesced, that is, that digital circulation is both a material process of dissemination of digital objects and a process of making sense of these objects. Put differently, circulation is at one and the same time circulation and consumption, or circulation happens *through* the consumption of and/or interaction with news. This was to some extent also the case with the newspaper, which—as a mobile object—was passed around among family members, neighbors, and colleagues. And, of course, such processes are still taking place. An

important distinction, however, is that while the postpublication circulation in the analog landscape was fully social, that is, not directly influenced by institutional interest (apart perhaps from the availability of newspapers in cafés and library reading rooms), the processes in the digital landscape are also programmed and thus based on commercial logics that transcend the social and which, in addition, most often are not very transparent.

A like or a comment on a news story in social media thus simultaneously disseminates the news item in various directions, partly based on this particular interaction and partly based on its prior trajectories. This happens in ways that are not fully obvious. One can, of course, observe the results of algorithmic orderings and, through this, try to decipher how underlying criteria are weighed. One can say, however, that the news item as a digital object continuously accumulates social interaction as metadata. These data play into the processes determining where the object appears next. The circulation of journalism is thus increasingly something that happens after publication and/or dissemination—what used to be called *the circulation of news*.

Obviously, news still needs to be made available or circulated before it can be recirculated. But, while journalists in the old media landscape could work in somewhat isolation from its postpublication circulation—apart from letters to the editors, chats in a bar, or published comments from competing publications—this is no longer entirely possible. As a journalistic institution, and as a journalist, it is thus increasingly important to think about circulation not only as a physical process through which content is made available and/or disseminated but also as the ensuing processes through which news may become socially significant. And while the news industry's ability to make money used to be linked directly to circulation in a physical sense—the number of newspapers sold—the industry is, as of 2021, struggling also to monetize postpublication circulation. The irony here is while certain aspects of the social significance of news circulation arguably have grown, such as the ways in which journalistic content is part of the glue that binds communities together, this has not been befitting news publishers.

Highly Intertwined Processes

The technological, the economic, and the social aspects of the digital circulation of news have become increasingly intertwined and thus can only be separated analytically—and even that is difficult. This means that fully understanding such processes from both a practical and an academic perspective requires the coming together of types of knowledge hitherto kept more separate. While the practicalities of circulation used to be dealt with in relative isolation from the production of news content, editors and journalists are increasingly faced with issues of circulation in their daily routines. And while journalism scholars interested in the social significance of news could assume somewhat uniform meetings between texts and audiences, they are now confronted with a complex landscape of highly diversified mediations of news, each of which has come about for a variety of reasons and thus potentially produce very diverse meanings. Understanding such processes necessitates much more than the ability to analyze texts and interview their real or intended recipients. Thus, moving forward, when consumption and circulation coalesce, an adequate understanding must combine knowledge about technology, economics, and social processes.

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See also Advertising; Audiences; Automation; Digital Distribution

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CITIZEN JOURNALISM

Citizen journalism is a term used to refer to the contributions of individuals not employed by news organizations to the reporting, analysis, and dissemination of information of public interest. The term came into wide use in the early 2000s, when the prominence and frequency of contributions by ordinary people to news reporting garnered public attention and prompted academic inquiry.

While citizens—a term used here loosely to mean nonprofessionals, rather than people possessing a particular legal status relative to a nation-state—had long contributed to journalism both directly, through letters to the editor, as sources for reporters, and in other ways, and indirectly through the choices they made as media consumers, the spread of new technologies in the late 1990s and early 2000s enabled many more to contribute more easily to news content. Those contributions took many forms, ranging from pictures or videos recorded by witnesses of disasters or incidents of things like police violence, to bloggers maintaining a regular update of local news, to crowdsourced efforts organized by professional journalists. This entry discusses the history of citizen journalism, terminology associated with it,

and the relationship between citizen journalism and professional journalism.

History

Citizens had been involved in journalism in various ways since long before the interest in what came to be called *citizen journalism*. Before the existence of a profession of journalism, most publishers of newspapers did not engage in the kind of fact-based reporting that characterizes professional journalism today. At the same time, citizens and activists have a long history of creating media that might be called *alternative media* but in many ways resembles activities labeled as *citizen journalism* today. Local newsletters and other nonprofessional information-gathering and sharing could have rightly been called *citizen journalism*. The professionalization of the press, and the creation of journalism schools and professional societies that took place in the early 20th century led to a distinction between professional journalism practiced by journalists working for certain kinds of publications and amateur activities or things that were deemed not to qualify as journalism, including advertising and public relations. Much of this effort at distinguishing professional journalism from other kinds of information was done by professional journalists who sought to set their work apart; these efforts are described as boundary work.

Professional journalism had established a strong understanding of the work that they do, adopted ethics codes, and set themselves as gatekeepers of public information by the end of the 20th century. While scholars and critics may have raised concerns about the legitimacy of those gatekeepers, ethical lapses by journalists, and other issues, the idea of a professional journalist had been well-established. However, many of the claims to authority over information were based on access to technology and control of the means to distribute information. To print a newspaper required a printing press and the means to arrange, print, and distribute papers. Radio and television journalists had even more control over the dissemination of content through those media, which required licenses, aside from the extremely expensive technology that was needed to record and broadcast information.

Those conditions began to change with several advancements in technology that were happening at the same time. The widespread adoption of the internet gave every user access to tools to disseminate written information with relative ease, and even pictures and video. Advances in camera and video technology made those tools more affordable and improved the quality of images that amateurs could capture. The integration of cameras into cell phones and the widespread adoption of phones as well as increasing connectivity of those phones to the internet and data services took these possibilities a step further. When many people began carrying in their pocket tools to capture and share pictures, text, and video, it created the opportunity for *accidental* citizen journalists who happened to witness an event of wider importance and then used those tools to report it. At the same time, the introduction of blogging platforms and other WYSIWYG (“what you see is what you get”) sites made it possible for internet users who did not have coding skills to create and post content online more quickly and easily, and without creating and paying for their own domain names. This kind of expansion of the number of people who could contribute to news and information led to declarations that everyone could be a journalist.

The earliest examples of the kinds of activities that drove interest in citizen journalism in the 2000s were a mix of the organized actions and one-time individual efforts that would come to characterize citizen journalism, as well as confusion about the term, over the following decades. Activists at the 1999 World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle were disappointed in the legacy media coverage of protests and launched the Indy Media Center to generate their own version of events. Other instances of citizens witnessing newsworthy events and capturing them included photographs and video of the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001, the December 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia, and the London Tube bombing in 2005. In disasters or events of that kind, people who are already on the scene are able to provide photos, videos, and personal accounts before professional journalists even arrive. By the time of the London Tube bombing in 2005, professional journalists had begun to recognize the potential for citizen journalists to

contribute to reporting, and the BBC received 1,000 pictures, 20 amateur videos, 4,000 text messages, and 20,000 emails from people sharing their experiences of the event.

One of the most prominent examples of citizen journalism predated cell phones with cameras: George Holliday, a Los Angeles man who in 1991 looked out his window and saw what looked like four Los Angeles Police Department officers beating a man, took out his VHS video recorder and began filming and gave the video to his local broadcast news station. The footage was aired on broadcast news stations in Los Angeles and led to a public outcry. The four officers involved in the beating of Rodney King were indicted, but eventually acquitted, a result that sparked protests in part because the video had been widely seen by the public.

The prominence of this early example of a citizen witness contributing to a story of public interest established a pattern and a dynamic in the public imagination that has been replicated many times over. Videos of police shooting unarmed victims were recorded by citizens in many other high-profile cases. The fatal shooting of Oscar Grant by a Bay Area Rapid Transit officer on a train platform in 2009 was one of the most notable examples of this. At least half a dozen people on the crowded train recorded the shooting from different angles, and the videos were shared on YouTube and broadcast on television news. Among many other examples, the aftermath of the police shooting of Philando Castile during a traffic stop in 2016 was recorded and shared by his girlfriend as she sat next to him in the driver's seat of their car, and the choking of Eric Garner by police in 2014 was recorded by a bystander on their cell phone.

Some sites attempted to harness the efforts of citizen journalists, creating sites whose information content was entirely or mostly created by contributions from users. The South Korean site OhmyNews was launched in 2000 as a site to accept, publish, and edit stories submitted by readers. The site's motto, "Every Citizen is a Reporter" was representative of the attitude of many citizen journalism sites. In 2006, the American cable news network CNN created an area on the CNN website called *iReport* that accepted citizen journalism submissions and even

provided a vetting process for some stories. Many local and community-run news sites were launched on the basis of citizen contributors or began inviting stories from citizen journalists as a way to increase content and include more voices.

Public, and even academic, interest in citizen journalism was either subsumed or overwhelmed by interest in social networking sites and social media in the 2010s. Many of the capabilities that had been extended to more of the public by the internet and the adoption of smartphones were also available on social media and were made even more simple. Creating a profile on the most popular social media sites, especially Facebook, was even easier than creating a blog and required less effort to reach an audience; the network of friends on the site provided an automatic audience for content that blogging sites could not. Posting content was equally easy, or even more so. Many of the possibilities for democratization of information that enthusiasts of citizen journalism had touted were seen as even more likely on social media. Twitter was celebrated for its role in empowering citizens to organize protests and share information about protests and social movements, particularly during the Arab Spring and later in the case of the Black Lives Matter and #MeToo movements to create awareness about, respectively, police and vigilante shootings of Black people and about sexual harassment and sexual assault.

Social media sites have become a source of news and information for many people in the United States and around the world. On social media news feeds, links to news stories produced by professional journalists appear alongside posts or commentary created by friends and acquaintances or just other users, some of it related to public information, and some of it disinformation or misinformation. It is unclear, however, how many social media users are practicing citizen journalism or consider themselves to be citizen journalists or whether that term has relevance in social media. One marker of the transition from citizen journalism to social media was the shuttering of CNN's *iReport*, which was replaced only by a hashtag (#ireport) with which users can mark stories for attention by CNN's *iReport* editor.

Terminology

It is important to note that the term *citizen journalism* has been used to refer to several different activities, and the way it is used has sometimes made it unclear what distinguishes it from other forms of participation in journalism by the audience, including contributions to activist newspapers and neighborhood newsletters or crowdsourced reporting. Participatory journalism, in which citizens are encouraged to contribute to projects, is quite distinct from the random acts of citizen journalism that happen as a result of a witness catching something newsworthy. Participatory journalism projects are organized either by professional journalists or others acting as gatekeepers or coordinators who invite members of the audience to contribute to the reporting or fact-checking or construction of a report.

Examples of participatory journalism include *The Guardian* (UK)'s crowdsourcing effort in which journalists posted hundreds of thousands of documents on their site and asked readers to help sort through them, and Talking Points Memo's posting of Department of Justice documents related to the politically motivated firing of lawyers. In these cases, citizens are involved in the reporting process, but control over the selection of stories and ultimately the editing and framing of the story remains in the hands of professional journalists. Participatory journalism could be considered a kind of citizen journalism but is distinct from the reporting of citizens who act autonomously.

Public journalism, or civic journalism, similarly maintains journalists as gatekeepers, moderators, or editors of the process but involves citizens more actively in the identification of stories that journalists will report on. Public journalism involves more reimagining of the role of professional journalists rather than giving citizens more of a role in reporting or spreading their own information. Advocates for the adoption of public journalism suggested that professional journalists should act more as interested advocates for the improvement of society, organizing town halls and focus groups to identify stories of interest to the public. This would not qualify as citizen journalism, despite its value to the public and its basis in civic life.

Crowdsourcing and user-generated content are other terms that might apply to journalism or

news and information but are not exclusively applicable to journalism. Crowdsourcing refers to leveraging the power of a large group of users to complete tasks. It can be utilized in participatory journalism projects. User-generated content is a broad term that describes all content created by users of social media and any other online sites. Citizen journalism could be considered to be one of the categories of information created under the umbrella of user-generated or user-created content, but as a whole, user-generated content is not necessarily newsworthy or informational in nature. Two less commonly used terms, *guerrilla journalism* and *street journalism*, more closely resemble several of those notable examples of amateurs in the street attempting to gather and share information in their neighborhoods and cities and would certainly fit under the umbrella of citizen journalism.

Finally, there is the problematic nature of the term *citizen* itself because of its implications about a particular status relative to a nation-state. Besides the fact that not all people sharing newsworthy information online are legal citizens of the country where they live, in a global media context online, it is not especially relevant whether an individual is a legal citizen of any nation-state. The term *amateur journalist* is similarly problematic, for different reasons. The term *netizen*, coined by Michael Hauben in 1997 and commonly used in English-language media in China, may be more appropriate, but it is not widely used in the rest of the world. *User* as in user-created content or social media user does not provide enough information about the way the person sharing the information differs from a professional journalist; all professional journalists are also users of the media they produce and consume.

Citizen Journalism and Professional Journalism

The relationship between citizen journalists and professional journalists has been fraught, varied, and inconsistent. There is a degree of ambivalence evident in studies of practitioners on both sides of the divide. On the one hand, professional journalists have often sought to distance themselves from citizen journalists, diminishing the credibility, legitimacy, and professionalism of citizen

journalists, and suggesting that the lack of editorial oversight, accountability, and ethics codes makes citizen journalism unreliable. On the other, many professional news organizations have invited and encouraged contributions from citizens. Almost all permit some level of contribution by nonprofessionals, for example, allowing readers to comment on news stories.

Some professional journalists responded to the citizen journalism movement by pointing out the failings of citizen journalism. They pointed to cases such as false tweets about the death of Steve Jobs that caused a drop in Apple stock as evidence that citizen journalists were unreliable and even dangerous. There were some who questioned the quality of the information and the ethical standards of citizen journalists, while others expressed more concern that citizen journalists could not be relied upon to regularly show up at city council meetings and do the work necessary to keep their fellow citizens involved. There were a few professional journalists who celebrated or sought out these kinds of contributions, but they were not common.

One aspect of the challenging relationship between professional and citizen journalism is financial. Critics have pointed out that citizen journalism-produced content is free, but that means the people who create the content are sometimes exploited by sites that profit from advertising shown alongside citizen journalism-produced content. On social media, this dynamic is even stronger. At the same time, this content that is effectively *free* to the audience competes for attention and advertising revenue with legacy media, which is relatively expensive to produce. Professionally produced content is also used, whether linked, cited, or reappropriated by the audience, with no compensation for the original creator of the information. Professional journalists' articles cost some amount of money to produce but then can be used by citizen journalists to create content that is free. This not only undermines the revenue of the legacy media but also contributes to the general public's sense that information is, or should be, free. This is especially problematic as advertising revenue has been depleted over the last few decades, forcing several daily newspapers to close or move to online-only publication.

Some scholars argue that the use of the term *citizen journalism* to refer to contributions by individuals who are not employed by legacy news media organizations sets up a dichotomy that is not particularly helpful and relies on outdated distinctions that are irrelevant in a digital media world. It might also be viewed as granting more authority or legitimacy to professional journalists and the information they produce. While it could rightly be argued that professional journalists are held accountable for their content and adhere to ethics codes and are subject to oversight by editors and fact-checkers, it is overly simplistic and unhelpful to assume all the content they produce is automatically superior to that produced by citizen journalists.

Some scholars have suggested new ways to conceptualize the process of newsmaking and the contributions by various actors in the system. Axel Bruns in 2008 coined the term *produsage* to describe the user-led process of creating content online and detailed the ways the process of information produsage differs from more traditional models of information production, including open participation, ad hoc meritocracy, and the idea of *unfinished product*, meaning that the content that comes out of produsage is never finished, but always subject to further revision and development. Sue Robinson (2011) described the participatory creation of online news as "journalism as process," an ongoing effort to create and shape news that begins with a report published by a professional journalist and continues online through the audience response, criticism, and the addition of further information or context. This view positions professional journalists not as the ultimate authorities on news and information, but as fact-gatherers and fact-checkers who present their work for analysis and dissemination by an active audience. Whether the members of that audience should be considered or called *citizen journalists* is perhaps not as important as the levels of media literacy they have and the effectiveness of their participation.

Proponents of citizen journalism argued that the practice would result in the production of news and information that was more representative of the broader public and would make more salient issues and voices that had been ignored or underreported by the legacy media. Others praised

the more active involvement of citizens in journalism as good in and of itself. While skeptics pointed out that participation in citizen journalism and other categories of user-generated content is not even, and those who are already on the other side of the digital divide are further marginalized in participatory information environments, it is nonetheless true that citizen journalism allowed more people to be involved in the selection, analysis, and dissemination of newsworthy information than traditional or legacy media. As technology and information media continue to evolve, citizen journalism may become more relevant again as a way to conceptualize the powerful role every individual plays in shaping information or may fade completely as the understanding of journalism and newsworthy information changes and the distinctions among information-creators require new definitions and conceptualizations.

Jessica Roberts

See also Audiences; Blogs and Bloggers; News Aggregators; Social Media; User-Created Content

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CIVIC JOURNALISM

The journalistic concept of "civic" (or "public") journalism is multifaceted. It simultaneously represents (1) an argument about the role and responsibility of journalism in a democratic society, (2) a set of practices that have been tried in actual newsroom settings, and (3) a movement of individuals and institutions concerned about strengthening journalism's contribution to public life. Following this tripartite distinction, this entry outlines public journalism's basic argument, describes how public journalism is practiced, and considers the individuals and institutions most responsible for its development as a journalistic reform movement.

Public journalism's broader journalistic significance lies not only in having inspired hundreds of newsroom experiments in the United States and elsewhere but also in having prompted much debate among scholars and journalists alike about journalism's fundamental mission. Indeed, public journalism's challenges to mainstream journalism continue to reverberate throughout the profession, notably in discussions about the need for a more citizen-oriented form of journalism.

Basic Argument

Central to public journalism is the underlying argument that journalism and democracy are intrinsically linked, if not mutually dependent. While scholars and journalists acknowledge that the practice of journalism depends on certain democratic protections, most notably freedom from government intervention, they maintain that democracy depends upon journalism that is committed to promoting active citizen participation in democratic processes. Mainstream journalism's failure to encourage citizen participation,

advocates argue, has contributed to widespread citizen withdrawal from voting as well as declining civic participation in community affairs. It also has contributed to declining public interest in, and perceived relevance of, political journalism, as evidenced by declining newspaper readership. Put differently, advocates perceive contemporary society as being split by two widening (though not yet irreversible) gaps: between citizens and government and between news organizations and their audiences. To help reduce those gaps, advocates argue that journalists should inspire increased civic commitment to, and active participation in, democratic processes.

To further such democratic ideals, advocates argue that journalists must change the ways in which they have perceived the public and their own role in public life. Instead of seeing the public as passive spectators who only seek news to be entertained, or even as consumers who watch or read news to learn about government officials, experts, and other elite actors, journalists should perceive the public as engaged citizens who are concerned about active democratic participation. Implicit in this argument is the claim that mainstream journalism's tendency to focus election reporting on campaign-managed events, candidate strategies and image management techniques, horse race polls, or scandal coverage positions the public as mere spectators to a political spectacle. At best, mainstream journalism's efforts to inform the public about actions by the political elite suggest that the public need not be actively involved.

Second, and equally important, advocates argue that journalists need to reconceptualize their own role in public life. Instead of perceiving themselves as disinterested or neutral observers who occupy a privileged position detached from other citizens, journalists should be political actors or fair-minded participants who care about whether public life goes well. Implicit in this argument is the claim that journalism's virtually exclusive focus on the perspective of elite actors has distanced news people from concerns of ordinary citizens.

While public journalism is a relatively recent notion (scholarly and practical writing on the topic date to the early 1990s), its basic argument has deep historical roots. It emerged as a salient topic in a famous debate about the role and responsibility of journalism in a democratic society between journalist Walter Lippmann and philosopher John

Dewey in the 1920s. Public journalism's underpinnings can also be traced back to the reports of the Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press in the late 1940s as well as to several theoretical and empirical works on deliberative democracy a half century later. Aside from these influences, an immediate historical "cause" of public journalism was the much-criticized news coverage of the 1988 U.S. presidential election between the senior George Bush and Michael Dukakis. While the news coverage focused overwhelmingly on the candidates' personalities, strategies and tactics, and horse race polls, the candidates themselves used simplistic image management techniques to appeal to voters, as exemplified by television advertisements featuring Bush visiting flag factories to show his patriotism and Dukakis climbing aboard a tank to show his tough stance on defense policy. Following the election, scholars and journalists alike, many of whom subsequently became advocates of public journalism, called for radical changes to election reporting, notably a move away from candidate strategies and tactics to a focus on substantive policy issues of concern to voters.

Practical Manifestations

Although much has been said in favor of public journalism, the notion is defined more clearly by practice. In contrast to its advocates' rather general pronouncements about what public journalism should be, many journalists have engaged in practices clearly different from those of mainstream journalism.

Public journalism is best understood as a series of experiments that emerged within the mainstream U.S. news media in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Since 1988, when the first public journalism initiative was launched by the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer*, more than 600 such initiatives have been carried out across the United States and elsewhere. Newspapers have conducted most initiatives—more than 300 dailies, or about one-fifth of all daily newspapers in the United States, have been involved with one or more public journalism initiatives. Similarly, while most of these initiatives have been carried out by individual newspapers, more than 160 (about one-quarter of all initiatives) have included partnerships among newspapers, television, and radio stations.

While public journalism initiatives exhibit different characteristics, these initiatives can be grouped into three categories: (1) elections, (2) special reporting projects, and (3) efforts to make public journalism an integral part of routine journalism practices. During local and national elections, news organizations practicing public journalism have made efforts to focus their reporting on problems of concern to voters rather than on candidate agendas. This has included identifying voter concerns through telephone surveys, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions; elaborating on the opinions of voters and how they differ from those of candidates; soliciting voter questions to candidates and publicizing candidates' answers; facilitating social interaction among voters and candidates in the form of town hall meetings; and reporting the outcomes of those voter-candidate encounters.

Although election initiatives were an early and visible example of public journalism, they account for only about 10% of the effort to date. Most initiatives have focused special reporting on problems of community concern. Since the early 1990s, news organizations practicing public journalism have engaged in a wide variety of reporting on such problems as racism, educational inequality, and poverty. As with election initiatives, news organizations have used various information gathering methods to identify problems of concern. They have reported on those problems from the perspective of residents rather than government officials and other elite actors, offered residents opportunities to articulate their opinions, elaborated on what residents can do to address given problems, and helped organize roundtable discussions, community forums, and local civic organizations.

Aside from such project-based initiatives, news organizations have also sought to make public journalism an integral part of their routine practice. Some news organizations have restructured newsrooms from conventional beat systems to focus instead on geographic- or topic-based teams. Other news organizations have met with residents on a regular basis to discuss which problems they would like to see covered, report on those problems, and encourage residents to evaluate their coverage.

Sources of Support

Several individuals and institutions have helped ensure that public journalism has been one of the best organized social movements inside American journalism. Public journalism efforts can be traced to 1987 when James Batten, then-CEO of Knight-Ridder (purchased by McClatchy in 2006), instituted a company-wide initiative known as "Community Connectedness," to strengthen the relationship between its newspapers and their local communities. When Batten learned of the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer's* efforts to involve local residents more actively in community affairs through its "Columbus Beyond 2000" initiative, he appointed the *Ledger-Enquirer's* then-editor Jack Swift "Editor-of-the-Year." Knight-Ridder owned many of public journalism's earliest practitioners, including the *Akron Beacon Journal*, the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Columbia, South Carolina, State*, and *The Wichita Eagle*.

As he was being lauded, Swift contacted the Kettering Foundation, which works to strengthen democracy in the United States and elsewhere. Kettering introduced him to Professor Jay Rosen of New York University. Rosen and the Kettering Foundation played key roles in the development of public journalism as a journalistic reform movement. Aside from influencing the nascent movement with his writing, Rosen helped establish (with a grant from the Knight Foundation) the Project on Public Life and the Press at New York University. Led by Rosen and Lisa Austin, a former journalist from *The Wichita Eagle*, the project operated from 1993 to 1997, documenting early experiments in public journalism. Since the early 1990s, the Kettering Foundation has helped support public journalism by publishing books and awarding fellowships to scholars and journalists from around the world interested in learning more about the movement.

In 1993, the Project on Public Life and the Press was joined by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism (funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts) to strengthen public life in the United States. The Pew Center for Civic Journalism emerged as the most important institutional vehicle for the public journalism movement with a decade-long initiative set in motion by Ed Foully, a nationally renowned former CBS producer and its first

president, and Jan Schaffer, a Pulitzer Prize-winning editor from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* who became president when Ed Fouhy stepped down in 1998. From 1993 to 2003, the center supported the movement by organizing numerous workshops for editors and reporters. At the same time, it funded more than 120 newsroom experiments in public journalism and publicized the most innovative of those experiments through its “James K. Batten Awards for Excellence in Civic Journalism.”

Moreover, the Pew Center for Civic Journalism complemented the work of the Project on Public Life and the Press by reaching out to commercial broadcasters, including funding numerous multiple media partnerships among press and broadcasters, and with workshops for news directors, producers, and reporters at National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting Service. Finally, the Pew Center for Civic Journalism was an early supporter of the Civic Journalism Interest Group (formed in 1994 and renamed the Civic and Citizen Journalism Interest Group in 2006) of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, the premier scholarly journalism association in the United States. This interest group remains one of the most important sites for journalism scholars, educators, and practicing journalists to assess the theory, practice, and teaching of public journalism.

After the Pew Center for Civic Journalism closed in 2003, the Public Journalism Network, a global professional association of scholars and journalists committed to public journalism, continued much of its work. The network cosponsored various workshops in collaboration with the Civic and Citizen Journalism Interest Group, produced publications on the theory and practice of public journalism, served as a forum for the sharing of curricular and instructional innovations in the teaching of public journalism, and maintained a weblog with continuously updated information about public journalism initiatives around the world.

Tanni Haas

See also Access to Media; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Diversity in Journalism; Engaged Journalism; Ethics; Polls and Public Opinion; Theories of Journalism

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CIVIL UNREST, COVERAGE OF

Since 2010, there has been a global rise in protest activity. From the Arab Spring to the #MeToo movement to Black Lives Matter protests, bouts of civil unrest are occurring more frequently and with more widespread participation. Born from grievances, inequalities, and social discord, protest and contentious politics are viewed as outside institutionalized forms of politics, despite their First Amendment protection in the United States. While participation in civil unrest—whether through on-the-ground demonstrations or online activism via social media—is on the rise worldwide, most of what people know about protest activity stems from the way events are represented in the media.

This entry first discusses factors that influence news coverage of civil unrest, the importance and impact of that coverage, and some common narratives and devices used in protest coverage. It then looks at differences in how the news media cover different types of protest movements and the consequences of those differences. Finally, the entry discusses how the use of social media has influenced protests and protest coverage.

Before the rise of social media in the early 2000s, the public's familiarity with protests and social movements was primarily limited to mediated exposure determined by what the mainstream media considered newsworthy. Today, though, the ubiquity of social media has expanded protesters' reach, exposing ordinary users to first-hand accounts from protesters at the center of the unrest. Importantly, our perceptions of social movements and protests, and our willingness to support or even actively participate in such actions, are interwoven with the way civil unrest is represented in the media.

Behind most civil unrest is a broader movement that addresses social injustices or grievances that affect a sector of society. Protesters and dissenters fall under the same First Amendment protections as the press. Like elected politicians and appointed political actors, the people behind social movements are legitimate actors in politics, and they often work to raise awareness and influence public opinion and policy. For social movements, civic and political support is required to advance their agendas and causes. Without the support of the people and the electorate, political and policy changes are difficult. Media coverage is a crucial component of advocacy and helps movements gain exposure and opportunities to signal the tenets of their grievances and demands.

However, movements often struggle to attract mainstream news coverage without some kind of newsworthy event. For journalists, the day-to-day operations of social movements usually do not have obvious news value in the way that crime, conflicts, and other dramatic events do. So, if social movements want to get the media's attention in order to get their message out to the public, they must engage in dramatic actions that involve a large number of people or create some kind of disturbance or emotional appeal, such as mass demonstrations, sit-ins, or vigils. These events fulfill many of the news values needed to grab the attention of journalists and editors, and as a result, social movements get press coverage.

However, getting the media's attention is a double-edged sword. When movements can get coverage, the press's reliance on traditional norms, values, and routines often ends up working against the movement. Mainstream news coverage tends to follow a pattern that delegitimizes, criminalizes, and

trivializes protesters by emphasizing superficial or sensational aspects of a movement at the expense of the movement's underlying demands and grievances. Journalists pay significant attention to protesters' emotions, crowd size, and the novelty of protester actions. For some protests, especially those that challenge the ever-shifting tenets of the status quo, news coverage highlights violence, disruption to society, confrontation with police, and the oddity of protesters.

Protesters' voices also often are lost in news coverage. Because of reporting norms, official sources typically are granted more credibility and afforded more space than protesters and movement leaders. Police reports, official government officials, and politicians thus get the upper hand of the narrative, and their message is therefore given more legitimacy than that of the protesters. Further, because journalists are accustomed to relying on spokespeople to give them official statements, they often assign authority to a particular protest organizer as a movement's leader, which can contribute to fissions within that movement. All the while, the grievances and agendas of the social movement and the protesters are marginalized, deflating the legitimacy and signaling capacity of the movement. Negative, demonizing, and delegitimizing coverage can depress movement progress, hinder public support, and thereby help maintain the status quo. This pattern is described as the protest paradigm and undermines the substance and issues that underlie civil unrest.

Common Press Narratives and Devices

Media framing refers to the way journalists routinely emphasize certain aspects of a story over other aspects. In many ways, these frames and the patterns in which they appear are products of the news routines and values that drive the journalism profession. In the context of civil unrest and protests, media frames serve to delegitimize or legitimize the social movement behind the collective action effort. Key delegitimizing frames include the riot, confrontation, and spectacle frames. The riot frame is characterized by an overemphasis on the protests' disruption of society. The riot frame includes devious behavior, violent activity, and looting, as well as the nuisance of protesters and their disruption of everyday life for citizens

and bystanders who are potentially inconvenienced by the protests. The riot frame also positions protests as a threat to democracy rather than an essential part of the political process.

The confrontation frame emphasizes the protesters as combative and engaging in conflict with another protest or entity. The press usually evokes the confrontation frame by focusing on “clashes” between protesters and police. However, the confrontation frame also includes narratives of conflicts between protesters and the opposition or counter-protesters. Like the riot frame, the confrontation frame emphasizes protesters’ actions over the substance of their agenda.

The spectacle frame is another delegitimizing frame that focuses on sensational rather than substantive aspects of protester activity. In many cases, this emphasizes the circus-like, spectacular tactics and behaviors that are ultimately employed to attract attention. These tactics include provocative dress, dramatic signs, or unusual or odd behavior. In the 2020 civil rights protests in the United States that followed the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, coverage of protesters in the nude fell within the spectacle frame. The spectacle frame also includes an emphasis on superficial involvement by celebrities.

The key legitimizing frame used to understand press contribution to the protest paradigm is the debate frame. The debate frame centers on the protesters’ demands and rationale for protesting. It situates protesters in the context of the grievances that sparked the protest and discusses the goals, agendas, and progression of the cause behind the protests. The debate frame serves to place the substance of the movement (rather than its actions alone) into the public discourse. This frame should not be read as one that supports social movements or protesters’ actions, but as a frame that acknowledges protest as a valid, legitimate, and valuable part of the political and democratic process.

Specific devices drive each of these paradigmatic frames, which in turn can have varying impacts on audiences. Terms such as “riot,” “mayhem,” and “chaos”—words used uncommonly in other contexts—are powerful and can falsely assign blame to the protesters themselves for the consequences of protesting and unrest. Coverage

also often underemphasizes police behavior during protests—if it is even mentioned at all. The lack of attention paid to police actions makes other common phrases problematic, such as “clash.” Headlines like “police and protesters clash” with articles that de-emphasize the role of the police also delegitimize coverage. Likewise, use of the passive voice to describe police actions against protesters (i.e., “protesters were hit with tear gas”) and active voice to describe protesters’ actions against police (i.e., “protesters threw bottles”) also serves to delegitimize protesters by blaming them for their actions as well as the police’s actions.

Front page photographs can also drive specific frames and have lasting impacts on how news audiences remember and understand protest events. Images of fires, vandalism, and smoke from overnight protests often appear more frequently than images of peaceful protests, again creating sensational and superficial understandings of what the protest looked like.

Differences in Protest Coverage

The protest paradigm and these negative patterns of media coverage are most easily identifiable and stable among movements that radically challenge the status quo. Although the parameters of what is (and is not) the status quo can fluctuate, in the context of societal power relations, some of the most consistent factors of the status quo include white supremacy, patriarchy, and ableism.

Anti-Racism Protests

The patterns of the protest paradigm have long played out in coverage of anti-racism protests. News media coverage of the 1960s U.S. civil rights movement marginalized Black protest through both demonizing coverage and indifference. Journalists were accused of instigating violence and bombarding national audiences with riot coverage, while also failing to cover Black communities in other contexts. When Martin Luther King, Jr. was murdered, protests—and police backlash against protesters—were seen around the nation, thanks in part to the growth of television. In an effort to better understand what led to this moment, President Lyndon B. Johnson created the

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The final report of the commission, known as the Kerner Commission for its chairman, Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner, found that the media played a significant role in creating and maintaining racial divides that contributed to the unrest. The report concluded that coverage saw Black people and communities through a white gaze that reinforced negative stereotypes and ignored essential issues.

The same pattern of negative coverage identified by the Kerner Commission continued well into the 21st century when it comes to media portrayals of modern anti-Black racism movements, such as Black Lives Matter. For example, mainstream coverage of the protests that followed the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., was dominated by demonizing and marginalizing coverage. Looking back on their coverage, even some journalists have admitted that their stories falsely made it sound like all of Missouri was burning in a race riot.

Importantly, racism against Indigenous peoples and Indigenous rights movements are rarely covered in the mainstream press, pushing their issues out of the spotlight and stifling the potential for the general public to better understand the issues their communities face. National coverage of the protests against the Dakota Access pipeline beginning in 2016 generally fit into the protest paradigm and was primarily demonizing and delegitimizing, rarely including the voices, demands, and grievances of the protesters or the Indigenous community.

Feminist and Sexuality/ Gender-Related Movements

Feminist movements around the world are typically considered nonthreatening; women's voices struggle to make headlines unless they engage in dramatic acts, but that leads to coverage that can mock the movement's goals. After the 2016 inauguration of U.S. President Donald Trump, the 2017 Women's March was a transnational effort to advocate for women's rights. The coverage touted the massive crowds as peaceful and positive, elevating and legitimizing the effort. Still, some news stories focused on spectacular elements—such as knitted pink caps—more than they did protesters' goals.

Coverage patterns of some LGBTQ protests and demonstrations also tend to be relatively legitimizing, though the sensationalism that accompanies the spectacle frame appears frequently. Further, the movement is mostly absent from coverage outside of Pride marches. Protests that consider intersectional perspectives, like the #sayhername protests that took place in 2020 to commemorate Black women who had been killed or injured by police, also struggle to get frequent and recurrent coverage.

Immigration Rights

Also starting in 2017, the Trump administration's changes and proposed changes to immigration policies, such as building a wall on the border with Mexico, prompted a wave of immigrant rights protests. Historically, immigration protest coverage often has included demonizing frames that made protesters seem unpatriotic or anti-American, thereby delegitimizing their demands. Importantly, demands have gone underreported in the past.

Status Quo Protectors

Attempts to protect the status quo can also lead to civil unrest. Pro-white supremacy protests and anti-feminist protests are particularly active in this regard. For example, though initial coverage can deceptively look to fulfill a liberal agenda, several research inquiries have shown that fundamentalist and evangelical movements are treated favorably in the mainstream media. Extremely conservative movements also receive more legitimizing coverage, a pattern that has been identified globally. In this scenario, once protesters are able to formulate clear grievances and demands, the press legitimized their efforts. Importantly, news organizations that take clear political stances often are seen as adversaries to conservative movements. But journalism industry norms, routines, and the commitment to objectivity eventually lead to more legitimizing coverage than other protests are afforded.

Consequences of Coverage Differences

Importantly, the status quo shifts, and over time, so do coverage patterns. Reinvigorations of social movements that advocate for human rights,

women's rights, racial justice, environmental justice, and political reform appear more frequently on the front pages now, and protests have become more normal in the news cycle and in the minds of the public. Differences in press coverage across protest type contribute to what is known as a hierarchy of social struggle, where press narratives prioritize and legitimize some issues more than others. In the United States, anti-racism protests seem to regularly fall to the bottom of that hierarchy, where news coverage emphasizes significantly more the actions of protesters than the substance of the movements for racial equality. This low position in the hierarchy of social struggle not only stifles social progress for some movements, but it can also create divisions between movements and hinder moments of solidarity and intersectional considerations, further contributing to the slow progression of multidimensional social issues.

Non-Mainstream Media

When it comes to legitimizing coverage of civil unrest, alternatives to the mainstream, such as activist, community, and grassroots media, tend to unravel the protest paradigm. News coverage from various outlet types that deviate from the designation of the mainstream—like emerging news organizations that exist online, or alternative and ethnic media—typically cover social injustices, civil unrest, and collective action more frequently and sympathetically. A study of coverage of the Arab Spring showed citizen journalist efforts adhered less to the paradigm than did those of *The New York Times*. For coverage of Black Lives Matter protests, alternative media outlets, as well as digital-native outlets, also tended to publish more legitimizing coverage on social media than traditional mainstream media. Advocacy media and social justice journalism prioritize the voices of advocates, activists, and affected communities. In addition, coverage often elevates the importance of the substance of a movement, provides nuance, and discusses ideas and solutions for problem-solving and social progress.

Civil Unrest in the Age of Social Media

Since the 2010s, it has become hard to imagine a protest without social media. Although the label

“Twitter revolution” that was applied to protests during the 2010-2011 Arab Spring has come to be seen as hyperbole, researchers acknowledge that social media, alongside traditional media, are now integral spaces for broadcasting social grievances, generating unrest, and aiding social movements.

Twitter, in particular, has become a medium for many movements to mobilize supporters and create a sense of collective identity. Like many social media platforms, Twitter is free. Conversations can be linked through hashtags; mobilization information can be connected with communities around the world. More generally, social media have given ordinary users some of the power once limited to mainstream media.

The insertion of news consumers into news production processes contributes to social movement actors' ability to usurp some of the mainstream media's power. Everyday citizens also have a say in what news gets circulated, and social media affords a space for digital audiences to engage in the distribution of protest and civil unrest coverage. Users play an important part in dissemination of protest news. It can be assumed that personal values and interests, as well as the political stances of social media users, could influence how they choose to share or engage with different types of protest news.

Through likes, shares, comments, and other forms of engagement, social media users have the power to disrupt the distribution of news stories that follow the negative, formulaic pattern of coverage that delegitimizes protesters and their causes. In several instances, social media users have amplified more positive coverage of protests than the protest paradigm would predict in some modern protests. Such was the case in protests in Ayotzinapa, Mexico, that followed weeks of demonstrations against government impunity after the disappearance of 43 students. Social media audiences amplified legitimizing coverage by sharing and engaging with stories across multiple platforms. In fact, Twitter users across the globe have been found to engage with protest news stories containing the legitimizing debate frame more than with stories using the delegitimizing frames characteristic of the protest paradigm. Ultimately, the spread of legitimizing coverage helps the public sympathize and support civil unrest and disruptive efforts to right injustices.

Users' ability to validate protest coverage via their "liking" and "sharing" behavior has potentially significant consequences for social movements, as social media interactions not only shine the spotlight on movements and their messages but also can potentially help sway public opinion to view a movement more positively. However, not every topic benefits from user engagement. News stories on social media about the Women's March, anti-Trump protests, and immigration protests received more positive coverage and more social media circulation than did stories about anti-racism protests such as Black Lives Matter. In other words, even as social media overall lessened the power of the paradigm, that did not hold true for all protests.

Unlike journalists, social media users are not bound by any professional norms of objectivity. As such, any user disruption of the paradigm must be critically questioned for its potential to also contribute to social media silos, thus limiting the ability of news about some protests—namely anti-racism ones—to gain visibility, broaden their reach, and attract support from new publics. It will, however, be important for researchers to revisit hierarchies of coverage on social media in light of the Black Lives Matter protests that swept the United States after police killed George Floyd in 2020, as this was a moment that could test the boundaries of the paradigm through traditional and social media venues.

In addition, social media users are not interacting with protest coverage in a vacuum. While overall, their engagement decisions might interfere with the protest paradigm, it's important to recognize that societal norms still are at play in which protest news stories are shared and liked more often. The focus, geographic region, and language of a media outlet, alongside the geographic region and topic of a protest, all make a significant difference in adherence to the paradigm and/or social media engagement. When journalists discuss protests and movements on social media, their coverage also tends to deviate more from the patterns produced by mainstream press coverage. However, even these patterns suggest journalists continue to marginalize protesters. Research has indicated that protest news on social media merely reproduces episodic coverage in traditional mainstream media.

Journalists and their media organizations continue to play fundamental roles in protest coverage, even on social media. Just because coverage is on social media, this does not mean it is inherently different than what is in traditional media. Further, as we consider social media to be an actor in social movement processes, we also cannot ignore the role of algorithms and other affordances of the platforms controlled by capitalist companies not originally designed with social progress in mind.

Social media enables movements to broadcast their messages, gain visibility, and signal strength to others. Social media activism campaigns can bring attention and even legitimacy to movements that otherwise might be misunderstood or ignored. Social media have changed the communicating capacity, and organizing strategies for movements, facilitating mobilization across time and space. Movement hashtags (e.g., #BringBackOurGirls, #MeToo, #NoBanNoWall, #BlackLivesMatter) are now popular organizing mechanisms that afford activists the opportunity to connect with others and form digital communities.

Some scholars criticize social media campaigns designed around the use of a certain hashtag or changing of profile pictures, for encouraging "slacktivism," or online, performative gestures unaccompanied by real-world actions or tangible effect. However, others contend that not only does digital activism allow citizens to create their own coverage, it also can help reshape media representations and public perceptions. Peer-to-peer communication tends to prompt higher levels of trust than blanket messages from news media. As such, social media have allowed protesters to take control of their messages, bypassing the traditional gatekeepers of mainstream news media that tend to negatively portray their causes. Twitter, in particular, has been found to be useful among marginalized groups for strengthening collective identities, creating solidarity, and countering negative representations in the press and popular culture, thus operating as a counter-hegemonic networked public. For all their positive contributions to identity and mobilization, social media might, in fact, undercut a protest movement, as algorithms privilege viral and spectacular content, users' participatory media-making can reinforce stereotypes, and accusations of terms of service violations routinely

result in activist accounts and content being taken down.

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See also Alternative News Media; Immigration, Coverage of; News Values; Social Justice Journalism; Social Media

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

Since the mid-1990s, the term *classified advertising* has expanded from those relatively short messages merely appearing as print ads to more elaborate types of advertising in various periodicals, as well as on the Internet and cable television. As newspaper classifieds have notably declined, those on electronic media continue to expand.

Classified advertisements have proved to be a boon for consumers and newspapers for hundreds of years. They have proved to be a useful resource across demographic and other boundaries. Today, these ads of the people are “classified” into different categories, ranging from different jobs available, apartment rentals, and even matrimonial propositions.

Characteristically, the text of classified advertisements is set in uniform type size and style, usually without illustration. The three major headings are Employment, Real Estate, and Automotive, although there are many additional categories. Classified advertising is usually located in its own separate section of a publication and has its own rate card. It is responsible for a major portion of most publishers’ revenue. Rates are based on the amount of space (words or lines of copy) and the

length of time the ad will run. The longer the run, the cheaper the per diem rate will be.

Quite simply, print advertising is divided into two basic categories, classified and display advertising.

Development

The term *classified* emerged in the 19th-century newspapers because it generally grouped together small ads within the publication under headings classifying the product or service being offered. Thus, ads were grouped into distinct categories in one section of the newspaper, distinguished from the larger illustrated “display ads.” The latter, interspersed with editorial content, were generally placed by businesses or individuals engaged in at least some moderate-sized enterprises.

There were subtle changes in style over the years. While “want ads” became a category by 1835–1836, led by the *New York Morning Herald* in 1848, the practice of placing a small illustration cut in the top left corner of ads as a categorizing tool was discarded in favor of classifieds with the first line set in small capital letters. The only difference for the next century was that only the first or index word was capitalized, for example, “HOUSE for Sale.”

Gilbert Gundersen, in *The Story of Classified Ads*, notes that by the 1920s, one could see readers turn to the back pages of a newspaper, preferring to peruse the classified section before reading through the headlines of the day. For the man out of work, the most vital section of the paper was found in the “Help Wanted” classifieds.

During World War II, help-wanted advertising increased dramatically as men left jobs to enter the armed forces. This left a tremendous number of jobs that needed to be filled. During July 1943, for instance, the *Chicago Tribune* noted that such ads had swelled its classified section to the point where 51% of the newsprint consumed that month was devoted to classified ads. Because of the war, newsprint was at a premium; yet the Chicago newspaper wished to maintain its dominance as a classified medium. The solution combined switching to a nine-column format and using smaller type. This actually increased the average number of revenue lines per column by 20%.

The author of a leading advertising textbook in 1950, Otto Kleppner (*Advertising Procedure*), articulated the vital importance of classifieds in media culture of the day. Classifieds are closely read, he argued, for the person who looks at them is already interested in the product or service they advertise. Classified advertising remained of major importance to newspapers into the early 1960s, though it was only of occasional interest to national advertisers. More interest had developed in classified display ads: more white space, larger typefaces, illustrations, and, by the 1990s, color.

National outlets for classifieds appeared, starting in 1982 with *USA Today*, the first nationally produced general daily newspaper. In August 2008, the newspaper’s “Marketplace Today” contained such classified categories as Business Opportunities, Investment Property, and Health/Fitness. “Real Estate Marketplace” consisted most of classified display ads in such categories as Prefab Homes, Land, Time-Share, and Condos.

Other prominent newspapers included classifieds in their national editions. In one representative 2008 issue of *The New York Times*, for example, a typical one-half page section was devoted to “National Classified Advertising,” most of which were real estate ads, categorized according to state, city, or even county. Most referred to locations in the New York metropolitan region. In the same month, *The Wall Street Journal* included a page of mostly classified display ads fit under the heading of “Waterfront Properties,” with subheadings in various states.

Emerging Technologies

Well into the 1990s, most people turned to print ads when looking for a job, apartment rental, or real estate. Yet the Internet classified market had emerged to change that situation by 2000, and more newspapers were beginning to appear on the World Wide Web, either charging readers for the extra service or including it as a bonus to advertisers. Print classifieds offered very limited information, while the web could provide enhanced descriptions as well as digital media, including video and audio, as well as the “search and find” feature.

The initial competition for classified advertising had come from online services that introduced

two concepts to the world of classifieds: aggregation and vertical sites. New web competitors offered vertical services—a single category of classified advertising such as jobs—with the benefit of compiling classified advertising from numerous markets. Prospective job seekers, particularly those looking to relocate from other areas, now could look at a single site and see employment opportunities anywhere in the country (or internationally) without seeking out-of-town newspapers.

There is a notable blurring between print and broadcast media, as increasingly local newspapers are turning to broadcast quality video reports on their web locations. It may be getting to the point where there may be no such thing as a print media outlet, broadcast media outlet, or a web media outlet. All will become multimedia outlets.

Sam Diaz, staff writer for *The Washington Post*, wrote in the August 31, 2007, issue that before the advent of the Internet, a classified ad for Andrew Davis's 2001 Mitsubishi Montero SUV might have been limited to two lines of descriptive shorthand: A/C, pwr pkg, 6cyl AT, 2wd, \$9k firm. Today, in ads on the Internet, Davis can post pictures of his car in an off-road setting and sharing such details as when the timing belt and water pump were last replaced. He can include a link to a feature article about his car's model in *Popular Mechanics*. All this was posted free in classified ads on Craigslist and other networking sites. He also paid for an ad in *The Washington Post*, a bundled deal that also put his listing on Cars.com and other websites. His approach of putting his vehicle in front of as many potential buyers as possible illustrates how dynamic the process of classified advertising has become.

Changing Revenue Streams

Once a steady source of revenue, classified advertising dropped between 14 and 20% between 2007 and 2008 at some larger newspaper chains. This drop was notable in once-lucrative segments such as automotive, real estate, and employment ads. This drop eclipsed that experienced even during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and this is largely due to fundamental newspaper challenges. Circulation is declining as readers move online and advertisers chase them, looking for more

targeted and measurable ad outlets. There are also cyclical issues: the economic and real estate downturn in 2007 to 2008 hurt advertising badly, particularly the national, retail, and classified ads that newspapers depend on. As one example, a yield of \$12.1 million for classified advertising at the venerable *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (both print and online) represented a decrease of about 22% for the first quarter of 2008. This was the 11th consecutive quarterly decrease in the paper's classified advertising.

Internet advertising presents a contrasting picture. By mid-2007, online traffic to classified ad sites had grown 23%, to more than 46 million unique visitors, up from about 37 million a year earlier. Walmart, the world's largest retailer, launched a classified advertising website, a move to open a broader range of shopping to its Internet customers.

Yet not all the print news is bad. Newspapers serving smaller suburban communities are faring much better than their counterparts in large metropolitan areas. Total ad revenues for community papers experienced a relatively modest decline of 2.4% in 2008 from the previous year. Community papers provide hyperlocal news and advertising that no other medium can effectively provide. Their unique local product contrasts with national and international news delivered by bigger papers. Yet the very definition of the local audience is expected to change constantly. Many are as apt to check out ads in *USA Today* (in print and online) or other websites when looking to change jobs, as they are to turn to local publications.

The classified market has become increasingly fragmented as a growing number of companies search for ways to convert offline newspaper ads into a web format. Two primary online approaches are emerging. One is simply to shift traditional classifieds to the web, aggregating ads to a single site. The other involves distributing those aggregated ads over as many websites as possible.

Many in the newspaper industry blame Craigslist, the seventh most popular website in the United States, for the downturn of their classified advertising business. A no-frills, ad-free, user-sensitive site, Craigslist has generated more than 600 million free classified listings. But companies are trying to do things online that lead to offline transactions, and because ultimately transactions

resulting from classified advertising will involve offline interaction, local papers say they will remain key players, even as classifieds find more venues online.

The Yellow Pages

The very first time the term *yellow pages* was used was in 1881. It is alleged that a printer working on a regular telephone directory ran out of white paper and used yellow paper instead. Then in 1886, Reuben H. Donnelley produced the first Yellow Pages directory in Chicago, featuring business names and phone numbers, categorized by the types of products and services provided.

While the term *classified advertising* may not bring the Yellow Pages to mind, they are one of the primary examples of this ad form. The Yellow Pages' history goes back to 1864, when Richard Robert Donnelley established a small printing plant in Chicago. In 1874, his company, R.R. Donnelley and Sons, developed and printed the *Chicago City Directory*, the first listing of companies and their addresses, which has evolved into what today is known as the telephone directory. In early 1886, the Chicago Directory Company began publishing a phone directory three times a year for the Chicago Telephone Company. That event is generally acknowledged as the birth of the classified telephone directory advertising industry—the Yellow Pages. The Yellow Pages continue to be an incredibly efficient advertising medium.

With the explosion of classified advertising on the Internet, the Yellow Pages have suffered the same problems as newspapers. And, like many newspapers, directory publishers are competing by setting up their own online sites. In the future of classified ads, newspaper publishers understand that their classified advertising businesses will be fundamentally different in the future. Joint efforts go beyond a newspaper posting local help-wanted ads on its own website. CareerBuilder, for example, is a jointly administered site on which Knight Ridder and Tribune Company combine their recruitment ads; the site has national reach and enough traffic to compete with the two leading job-posting sites, Monster.com and HotJobs.com. The CareerBuilder site, in turn, can give employers access to individual markets through participating newspapers' print want ads.

In recent years, as customers migrated to the web, the telephone directory business followed, hoping that the Internet would save it. The strategy has not panned out. The audience for online Yellow Pages remains relatively small, and the glut of online directory services competing for the advertiser dollars of local businesses means that there is no authoritative site for advertisers. Between 2005 and 2008, Yellow Pages publishers made concerted efforts to reinvent themselves, launching numerous digital offerings for advertisers. The 2008 economic downturn compounded the situation. In 2009, print and online ad spending on Yellow Pages is expected to plummet 6.3%, more than double the rate of decline projected for broadcast television, noted by John Janedis, a Wachovia analyst. It is anticipated that from 2008 to 2012, ad spending will fall 39% in print directories alone. This is the steepest projected decline across all local media categories, according to media research firm Borrell Associates. Finally, the publishers have been facing considerable debt, posing the real prospects of extinction.

It is crucial for local newspapers to protect their recruitment-ad turf against the national—in fact, borderless—online sites. Classified advertising has generated up to 40% of a daily newspaper's revenue, and job recruitment advertising accounts for 44% of total classifieds, or about 18% of total ad revenue. Newspapers are fighting back by bundling their want ads into websites with a national reach, which puts them in a better position to compete against the giants of online media.

Even the Newspaper Association of America is linking member newspapers via a site called *Bona Fide Classified*, which provides access to those papers' online classifieds. It allows users the opportunity to search over 1,100 individual newspapers' classified sections. The *Daily News* in Bowling Green, Kentucky, is one of the first newspapers to chart the "mash-up" concept with classified ads. With a daily circulation of 21,000-plus, the newspaper is combining data from Google Maps and yard sale ads from its classified section. The result is an online map that pinpoints the exact location of the sales.

While their form changes, classified ads are alive and well and will continue to attract readers. Although still dominated by the daily newspaper, they are extending their reach and function into

other media, especially the web. Classified advertising is transitioning from its primary print format and embracing the opportunities offered by the Internet not only to expand the methods of ad presentation—through multimedia tools, user interactivity, hyperlinks, multiple images, and searchability—but also to adapt to the possibilities of a worldwide marketplace.

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See also Advertising; Internet: Impact on the Media

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CLICKBAIT

Clickbait is a late 20th-century term that broadly refers to two converging practices in headline construction. One is rooted in news routines: the urge to present a development in clearer, more compelling terms than it would appear with the qualifications and hedges of a full text. The second, rooted in marketing, reflects the interaction of news and technology: the withholding of information (on promise of its imminent appearance) to draw the audience farther into a page or website. These practices have been brought together by the structural transition in commercial journalism from a

mass market model to a more itemized structure in which the individual article itself can become the measured unit of value, and “native” advertising, often harder to distinguish from news than traditional print advertising, becomes the preferred choice of advertisers. The increasing use of social media platforms to access and share news underscores the significance of click baiting to professional concerns about instant gratification at the expense of public interest. The bait might be used not just to move the reader around within a platform but to move the reader from one platform to another, in which standard credibility cues of familiarity or timeliness might be supplanted by personalized cues or simply done away with altogether. This entry traces the development of the practices described above with an eye on their role as a converged economic function. The entry considers how and under what circumstances click baiting affects audiences and where it might stand on the often transitory list of abstractive processes such as headlines as they have evolved over time and among news cultures. Clickbait is also discussed as an ideological practice and as a form, or carrier, of fake news.

Clickbait Defined

Clickbait, at its simplest, is a trail that is meant to be followed. Many definitions also suggest that the bait promises higher quality than the content delivers or takes the reader to appealing content unrelated to the context in which the link appears: the topic-adjacent stories about movies or food that might appear on a news website when a winter storm is expected. As a marketing/advertising tactic, clickbait capitalizes on the narrative gap created between an enticing headline and an unknown text. Information is rationed out to bring the audience along, often following techniques familiar in U.S. news practice from the mid-20th century: the use of nonspecified pronouns (He thought A, but B), posing questions that are answered in the text (Does A support B?), or ending a headline after a subordinate clause (But when they . . .). Thus, some scholarly definitions restrict click baiting to cases in which a headline or link depends semantically on information from the main text to be understood. Other approaches associate clickbait with the related

practice of aggregation or to an emphasis on “soft news” or feature topics, though click baiting is frequent in hard news as well.

Many features of clickbait are familiar because the challenge of abstraction—the need to reduce an event in size while fitting it into a narrative structure—has long been familiar to journalism. The 2-hour meeting or sporting contest produces a sequential flow of events that must be organized, reduced, and shaped into a coherent whole, then summarized in even fewer words as a headline. Qualifications and hedges, essential in the course of the event itself, are discarded as the sequence becomes a narrative. This corner-cutting might yield a story that is tauter than an earlier text—panicked shots fired by a frightened woman at her attacker become “neatly aimed bullets” by the trial—or a headline that is brighter than the story, without presumptively counting as fakery; absent the ability to prove a negative or see the future, the event might indeed have been as exciting as promised. One form of this practice is known as hedge deletion: assertions become more authoritative by shedding qualifiers such as “expected to” or “as many as,” and this loss is more common as they move farther from the event in time and distance. Rearranging evidence for storytelling purposes is also not novel; it can be dated to the early days of news photography in the 19th century and continued into the new century with innovations such as the *composograph*, which combined actual images into real or fanciful scenes (recently deceased celebrities being greeted in heaven, for example).

Such narrative techniques became associated with the marketing model that enabled mass-circulation newspapers. As distinct from online or broadcast models, paid content has been consumed (for the advertiser’s purpose) with a subscription to the paper or the sale of a single copy. Information is not withheld because of an economic need to draw the reader farther in; those enticements are there to complete the sale in the first place. Some professional concerns about the impact of clickbait, then, reflect longstanding questions about how either the selection of events (gatekeeping) or the nature of the events (framing) is prone to being drawn away from a public service ideal toward sensationalism or prurience.

Clickbait is also enabled by the further abstraction inherent in the headline: the event that became a 500-word narrative now becomes an eight-word summary, underscoring clickbait’s connection to the more established traditions of tabloidization. Tabloid headlines are meant to be sharper and livelier, more prone to invitation and less to hedging, than those of the “quality” press. The traditional headline mission described in journalism textbooks is to attract the reader through inclusion: an emphasis on key words or topics that might underscore a personal connection. Because the metered model of funding is rewarded when the reader lingers on a page or advances to another one, clickbait can attract readers through exclusion: information withheld until the reader advances, the second of the practices described earlier.

Information withholding has usually been more evident in commercially supported broadcast journalism because support is structured differently; where the newspaper buyer paid for the advertising up front, the listener/viewer must linger into the next segment before the ads there can work their magic. Hence the clichés of local television news: “Will it rain on your parade? Back with the weather after this.” The convergence of news media has brought such habits closer together; while journalistic output has always been subject to assessment by more or less crude metrics, the ability to monitor individual stories, and the paths by which audiences arrive at and leave them, has aligned written journalism more closely with the era of the set-top box that recorded TV viewing habits. The collapse of mass-market funding models and the rise of native advertising, which blurs the once rigidly enforced visual distinctions between news content and paid content, has heightened concerns about convergence and focused attention on what clickbait does.

Media Effects

Clickbait is also a style independent of metering considerations, as shown by the appearance of its lexical (“you won’t believe . . .”) and syntactic (associations of verb tense with timeliness) signals in media such as print, where clicks provide no benefit. Similar stylistic features have come and gone in media practice before; the “verb-first”

headline (an active clause with elided subject: “Nab 3 In Heist”), once prominent in U.S. journalism, has largely disappeared. Because click baiting occurs across many sectors of U.S. media, from partisan aggregators to public radio, and because of its association with radical changes to the economic model of journalism, click baiting raises questions about cognitive and affective outcomes: to simplify several theories at once, both what media do to people and what people do to media.

Journalists and audiences, in effect, train each other on new habits of consumption; the informational graphic quickly became fashionable after the debut of *USA Today* in the 1980s, but early “videotex” services fell by the way. The permanence or persistence of clickbait-era media effects, then, should be considered as tentative as similar findings were during the evolution of media theories in the 20th century. What an established audience finds unprofessional and careless might seem like best practice to an audience native to the digital milieu. How such an outcome interacts with other aspects of consumption or practice to address perceptions of credibility or quality, or how information is interpreted, synthesized, and retained, has been a matter of growing interest, but such patterns should not be expected to be permanent.

Given its roots in the sensationalism and extreme abbreviation associated with tabloids, click baiting has been examined for its impact on emotional arousal. Clickbait headlines have been found to resemble tabloid headlines in stimulating emotional arousal, with that arousal also associated with intent to click and read. Click baiting has also been associated with more consistent recognition of a news article’s “main point” in some presentation conditions, perhaps reflecting emotional arousal or the extra work involved in closing the headline-text gap, but does not appear to have an independent effect on memory for details of a news presentation.

Effects of click baiting on attitudes toward news and its producers interact with such factors as age, acculturation, and levels of editing quality; the relationship between click baiting and credibility seems to be related to whether audiences are socialized to accept traditional headlines as the norm. Click baiting has also been associated with lower perceptions of quality under some circumstances and with sometimes counterintuitive effects

on perceptions of value in others. While click baiting might be distasteful to parts of the audience, research to date does not clearly set its impact apart from other innovations in news practice.

Clickbait as an Ideological Practice

Like many other news practices, clickbait is also a site of ideological practice, at least as a potential carrier of ideology. This does not mean clickbait is by definition a form of fake news, but because it is indifferent to the traditional tight factual connection of headline to text—clickbait’s job is done when the reader clicks through to the text, whether the headline accurately represents the text or not—it is a potential carrier for disinformation and misinformation.

Several attributes of clickbait could contribute to lowering the barriers that audiences might normally have in place against faulty information. Accessed from social media, an article might lack familiar indications of its origin; traditionally vetted news might be indistinguishable from the product of partisan aggregators, and parody might be indistinguishable from news. Similarly, changes in how headline stylings address past events can ease the passage of older news—Twitter messages from 3 months earlier, or a ruling from a previous election cycle—into the stream of current events. The visual grammar of an established news organization’s presentation had traditionally kept such barriers higher, but the indistinguishability of linked headlines from each other and the closer resemblance of native advertising to the news product have posed questions that are yet to be fully explored.

The practice of withholding information that is promised on the click-through can also enable an innocuous procedural article—a study supporting earlier findings about combating a pandemic, for example—to promise on the homepage an outcome more ideologically in tune for a partisan audience: “New study debunks this belief” makes clear that something is debunked but is vague about which beliefs are confirmed or rejected. Again, though, while such concerns might be heightened by the growing prominence of partisan news sites, conclusions that click baiting is more harmful than other trends in news practice remain tentative.

As with other stylistic features, clickbait's permanence is difficult to forecast, but its interactions with established media effects and theories amid the economic upheaval of the 21st century underscore its relevance as a topic for study.

Fred Vultee

See also Advertising; Marketing

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CLIPPING SERVICES

Press clipping services monitor media for content of interest to their clients. They scan through newspapers, magazines, and electronic media, select

pertinent items, and then package ("clip") them for easy perusal. The industry's name derives from the traditional practice of clipping items with a pair of scissors from the newspaper for safekeeping. Modern-day services track not only newspapers but also nearly every print, broadcast, cable, and web-based information outlet, running the spectrum from network news broadcasts to teenagers' blogs.

Development

Clipping services have their origins in the expanding media environments of late-nineteenth-century cities. As the number of newspaper titles grew, editions multiplied, and issues expanded in length, a handful of entrepreneurs independently hit on the idea of a press monitoring service. Henry Romeike started the earliest clipping (or cutting) service in London in 1881 and quickly expanded its operations to New York, Paris, and Berlin. Romeike relocated to the United States in 1886 to take charge of his New York office, servicing a roster of entertainers, politicians, industrialists, and socialites eager to keep track of their press coverage. Frank Burrelle, an attorney who had represented mining companies and other clients grappling with image problems, started a similar operation with wife, Nellie, after detecting a demand for such a service among businessmen. Robert Luce, a Boston reporter and later U.S. congressman, started his service at roughly the same time. Burrelle's, Romeike, Luce, and National Press Intelligence took the national lead during the first decades of the twentieth century, while dozens of smaller companies carved out local markets.

Clipping services used industrialized reading operations to provide clients with a steady stream of articles snipped from newspapers and magazines across the country. The thousands of daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals the services subscribed to were reviewed by large staffs of mostly female readers. Each reader, guided by thousands of keywords committed to memory, scanned papers page by page, marking articles of interest. Marked papers were then turned over to razor-wielding clippers, usually men, who sliced out the items and glued them onto color-coded slips. A third group of workers sorted, packaged, and mailed off the clipped stories to clients. Services were paid a fixed retainer fee and collected a few cents per clipping.

Expansion

The clipping services have since the 1960s steadily expanded their operations beyond print media monitoring. Burrelle's began offering local media directories, inventorying all of the newspapers, magazines, and broadcast outlets in a state or region in 1960. In the 1970s, the company started monitoring radio and television transcripts. Shortly after, VCR technology made it feasible for services to record, edit, and package broadcast news clips.

Throughout its history, the industry has often been derided as a service for self-absorbed celebrities. Admonitions against "reading your own press clippings" even entered the vernacular as a warning to those in danger of becoming too entranced by their public persona. But this image of a frivolous, vanity service has always been a mischaracterization that overlooks the important social, political, and economic work carried out by the industry. From their start, clipping services sold themselves to politicians, businesses, and other powerful interests as a form of surveillance. Romeike's client list counted leading merchants, manufacturers, and political leaders along with actors and entertainers. Burrelle boasted in a 1905 interview of being able to provide the name of every new amputee in the United States to a client who manufactured artificial limbs. Throughout most of the twentieth century, developers and engineering firms relied on clippings to monitor public budgets, new zoning ordinances, and myriad other concerns to guide their marketing plans. Advertisers used the service to keep an eye on competitor's campaigns. Public relations offices relied heavily on clippings to detect threats to their clients' images and gauge their own success in garnering coverage. The U.S. Department of Defense created its own clipping service to publish a daily journal of cuttings, *The Early Bird*, which became a reading staple among inside-the-beltway power players. In this sense, the press clipping can best be understood as a control technology developed for transforming raw information into social power.

The clipping services' fortunes have been tied since the 1970s to three interrelated developments—heightened corporate sensitivity to image issues, a higher premium placed on market data, and advances in information technology. While

public relations had for decades been central to business strategy, many industries responded to what they deemed an antibusiness climate in the early 1970s, marked by mobilization among environmental, consumer-rights, and corporate-watchdog groups, by dramatically strengthening their image-control efforts. Media monitoring thus became a more crucial activity as businesses built public relations campaigns to deflect the criticisms mounting before them. At the same time, new communication technologies—satellites, data-transmission links, and computer networks—both accelerated the speed of business transactions and drew regional markets across the globe into closer relations. Media surveillance took on added value in this environment as businesses were faced with the problem of sorting through haystacks of information in search of the needles that could give them a competitive edge.

Technology and the Clipping Industry

Automation and new information technologies enabled the clipping industry to meet and, in turn, stoke this heightened demand. Through the 1960s, press clippers had operated in much the same manner they had six decades prior. But beginning in the 1970s, companies turned to computers to streamline their processes and offer new services. Monitors hooked up to mainframes replaced bulky keyword volumes. Workers coded stories onto computer punch cards to offer efficient storage, faster retrieval options, and powerful new forms of data analysis. New business machines allowed clippers to cut their delivery times as well. Burrelle's, for example, trimmed weeks off the industry standard by offering overnight turnaround via fax machine by the mid-1980s. By the early 1990s, services were developing search programs to crawl databases and World Wide Web pages for items of interest.

The press clipping industry has undergone dramatic changes since the early 1990s. The leading firms in the industry merged to form BurrellesLuce in 2003. At the same time, many new companies sprang up to capitalize on sophisticated search technologies and the explosion of web content. Automated searches offer clients access to rumors and breaking news by continuously crawling through webpages, online transcripts, blogs, chat

rooms, social-networking sites, and video clips. Along with expanding their reach, web technologies have dramatically changed the way clipping services package and deliver their findings. Rather than mailing or faxing clips, companies offer online portals through which clients can retrieve, organize, and analyze them. And web applications offer near real-time alert services. Critical Mention, a company with a niche specialty in television news, boasts the ability to alert clients within a minute from the time a clip aired. In terms of print media, the services have supplanted many of their readers and clippers with electronic scanners as both a laborsaving device and means of building larger, more searchable archives. Burrelles, for instance, still produces paper slips, but these are now printed versions of scans rather than physical cuttings from publications. In addition to the publication and date included on the slips of old, the scans include information ranging from copyright notices to thumbnail-sized images of the source page.

The innovations that have allowed clipping services to exponentially expand their reach and cut their delivery time have had a paradoxical impact on the industry. The same technologies have largely democratized, in the form of popular search engines, the industry's basic service—surveillance of a media universe too big for any one person to keep track of. Influenced by the fortunes the magazine and cable television industries found in audience fragmentation, media research labs experimented with ways of creating electronic newspapers that were narrowly tailored to reflect the interests of individual readers. Knight-Ridder fittingly called its early 1990s prototype—a mobile, tablet-sized computer—the *Daily Me*. While the *Daily Me* never made it to the mass market, Yahoo and Google popularized the basic concept through their news crawling capabilities. Both portals offer individualized news pages gleaned from thousands of international media outlets according to the interests indicated in the user's profile. A hypothetical reader in Seattle interested in Pennsylvania politics, deforestation in the Amazon, and the British soccer club Arsenal can open her web browser every morning to a page made up entirely of clippings on those topics. RSS feeds piped in through Google's ready-made templates can feed readers the news that most interests them as it is posted.

As the lines between clipping services and popular technologies have blurred, the former have looked to value-added services as a means of distinguishing themselves. In 2010, BurrellesLuce introduced a media outreach, monitoring, and analytics service portal, and in 2012, it acquired the U.S. print monitoring operations of Cision, becoming the only media monitoring service to provide print coverage. In 2019, BurrellesLuce rebranded as Burrelles and launched a significantly expanded portfolio of products and services.

Others look to social science as a means of setting themselves apart. Dow Jones, for example, promotes its subtle understanding of how new ideas diffuse through media networks. And just as its antecedents offered to read through the mountains of metropolitan dailies a century ago, Burrelles now offers “editors” that comb through the thousands of hits returned by search engines. The clipping services thus continue to rely on the strategy that has been at their core since the industry's inception—the willingness to read the news in its entirety, no matter how tedious a chore that may be.

Richard K. Popp

See also Advertising; Automation; Marketing; News Aggregators; Spin

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CNN

CNN was a big gamble when Ted Turner started the first *superstation*. The network was—and as of 2021 still is—headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. What made it *super* was the acquisition of satellite time that had been allocated to ABC. This allowed his Cable News Network to be seen anywhere in the world. CNN proved itself over a few high-profile stories that were reported in depth and in both live and recorded formats. CNN was the first network or channel to switch from terrestrial to satellite dissemination and to a 24-hour news cycle. With the advent of the global Internet, almost any station can now stream its programs over the Internet but that was not the case in the 1970s when CNN grew from a small television station to being the progenitor of all the contemporary 24-hour news cycles for each of the networks and all of the local and regional providers. This entry examines the prelaunch and launch of CNN, its early programming, and the development of the network over time. The entry also discusses the network within the context of bias and fake news.

Prelaunch

CNN, or the Cable News Network, started in 1970 when Turner bought a small Atlanta television station. Over the next 10 years, Turner amassed both enough capital and knowledge to turn his Atlanta station into WTBS, the Turner Broadcasting System. In 1976, Turner bought the Atlanta Braves and kept ownership for 10 years. Turner was not a complete unknown during the decade leading to the launch of CNN, but many thought of him as the *scrappy* outsider whose yacht *Courageous* won the Americas Cup yacht race in 1977, beating the Australian entry to the race. Turner was not without his critics, however. The owner of FOX News, Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch had a lengthy dispute with Turner and CNN. The feud with Murdoch started in 1983 over a disputed incident of one boat interfering with another during a race.

The Americas Cup win and the purchase of the Braves were indicative of Turner's ambitions. Turner pioneered the creation of the *superstation* model, finding a home on many cable television

menus and shifting from terrestrial to satellite delivery of program content. Turner—and TBS—finally bought the Satellite News Channel from ABC in 1983. This gave Turner more control of programming and removed his chief competition—ABC News—at the same time. Turner dropped \$20M into the creation of CNN, along with 25 other original members who each dropped \$20M. A good part of this capital went into the creation of a state-of-the-art news center in Atlanta, and by 1980, CNN was set to rewrite the way broadcast news was done.

Launch

At 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, June 1, 1980, the first 24-hour news service went on the cable. Up to this point, there had been a local *news cycle* that showcased morning and evening newscasts plus a late evening broadcast. The news cycles were important to broadcast journalists. A regular cycle of local, national, and international stories allowed reporters, editors, and news directors to perform their due diligence, checking sources, to present late-breaking stories, and simply to take a breath before a story hit the air. The possibility of filling out a story was all but lost. With 24-hour news and informational programming, all news was breaking news. There was little or no time to take a beat to consider the impact of how a story was visually and textually presented. As news management became aware of news and information as profit centers, more money was spent on more elaborate sets and lighting as well as better studio cameras and more high-profile journalists. More minutes of ads consumed a standard half-hour newscast. With a 24-hour cycle of news and interview shows, the number of commercial minutes available also grew. Not surprisingly, other news outlets followed CNN to their own 24-hour program of news. But CNN was the first to attempt this, and the look and feel of broadcast news had changed.

Early Programming

A few early programs on CNN established the network as a leading source of interviews as well as breaking news content. With Larry King's *Crossfire* and Lou Dobbs' *Moneysline*, the network gained some journalistic credibility. The early

years of programming spoke to the unique nature of programming for a 24/7 news and information source. Some of the early programs included:

- *Both Sides with Jesse Jackson* (1992–2000),
- *CNN Daybreak* (1980–2005),
- *CNN Live Today* (2001–2006),
- *Connie Chung Tonight* (2002–2003),
- *Crossfire* (1982–2005 and 2013–2014),
- *Freeman Reports* (1980–1985),
- *Larry King Live* (1985–2010),
- *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer* (1993–2009),
- *Lou Dobbs Tonight* (1980–2009),
- *Paula Zahn Now* (2003–2007),
- *Sports Tonight* (1980–2001),
- *Style with Elsa Klensch* (1980–2000), and
- *Wolf Blitzer Reports* (2001–2005).

There was widespread hope at CNN that the 2012 election would bring people back to CNN. The reelection campaign for President Obama promised to be hard-fought and would likely draw younger voters to the polls and to the various networks they would watch for continuing news coverage of the campaigns and the election. While ratings did go up, the looked-for younger voters did not materialize as had been hoped.

CNN Grows Up

The first newscast on the newly christened network was anchored by husband and wife anchor team Dave Walker and Lois Hart and featured an interview with President Jimmy Carter by Daniel Schorr. Other networks were watching closely. The early iteration of CNN drew critique from the more established channels and networks, which at times called CNN the *Chicken Noodle Network*. CNN in its early phase had a viewing area that covered about 2 million people, and for a few years, it was steadily increasing its number of viewers. As of 2021, CNN is seen by more than 150 million people around the globe. Two important stories helped CNN get some serious street credibility: they were the first on the scene in the 1986 Challenger disaster, and for their live coverage of the 1991 Gulf War which found Bernard Shaw, John Holliman, and Peter Arnett covering the story from the balcony of their Baghdad hotel

room. Arnett was the last reporter to leave Baghdad as the Gulf War heated up and demonstrated that CNN was establishing some important credibility as a source for journalism without political leanings. With a slogan of *fair and balanced*, CNN was shaping its role as an unbiased source of news and information. But it was never enough on its own to overtake either FOX News or MSNBC.

Contemporary Programming

Other contemporary shows and news anchors include John King (*Inside Politics*), Fredricka Whitfield (*CNN Newsroom—Atlanta*), Ana Cabrera (*CNN Newsroom—New York*), Fareed Zakaria (*Fareed Zakaria GPS*), and *The Lead with Jake Tapper*.

CNN has managed to keep producing news, as well as non-news programming, about many current topics of wide interest. Some of those have included:

- *Anderson Cooper 360*,
- *Anthony Bourdain: Parts Unknown* (2013),
- *Chasing Life with Dr. Sanjay Gupta* (2019),
- *The Hunt with John Walsh* (2014),
- *The Kennedys* (2018),
- *CNN Heroes* (2007),
- *Pope: The Most Powerful Man in History* (2018),
- *Prime Time with Chris Cuomo*,
- *The Movies* (2019),
- *This is Life with Lisa Ling* (2014), and
- *United Shades of America* (2016).

CNN has also produced original series such as *The five decades that shaped America* (*The 2000s*, *The Nineties*, *The Eighties*, *The Seventies*, *The Sixties*), *1968: The Year that Changed America* (2018), *The History of Comedy* (2017), and the *Race for the White House* (2016).

During the middle years of programming, CNN and FOX News were both having some lean years. The former head of NBC, Jeff Zucker, was hired to run CNN Worldwide. FOX News and MSNBC continued to attract more and more viewers until CNN became stabilized in third place by the end of the decade. Ten quarters in a row of falling viewer ratings solidified CNN in third place behind both FOX News and MSNBC. In large part, this was due to the work of Roger Ailes, the

former FOX News chief, who tapped into the mood of the country and designed FOX News to meet that mood. The 2016 election results forced CNN to reexamine its large-scale coverage of President Trump's campaign, effectively squeezing out other candidates' voices, becoming a real discussion of the CNN Effect: What happens when constant news coverage of a single significant event can have an impact on policy and political decision-making.

The CNN Effect

Largely regarded to be a generic term, the CNN Effect is one way to look at and understand the exploding news climate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. A 24-hour live news capability let CNN cover stories as early as the Vietnam war, but the impact of unending storytelling became apparent during Operation Desert Storm in the early 1990s. Images of starvation and war compelled the United States to withdraw from Somalia after images of dead American Rangers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu were shown repeatedly on CNN and elsewhere. The CNN Effect, then, applies to any time media coverage of an event leads to foreign policy decisions. While not confined to just one network or other media outlet, it was the impact of breaking news, presented both live and repeatedly throughout the day and night by CNN that led to the naming of this effect. The term *CNN Effect* may have become generic over the years; it is now assumed that the presentation of graphic images do have a cumulative impact on policy, but not enough by themselves to change foreign or domestic politics or decision-making.

Bias

The powers that program and manage the three major 24-hour cable news channels talk about how unbiased they are in their pursuit of good stories, stories that might be managed to meet varying philosophical guidelines. The first to do this was the first of three to appear on the world stage: CNN. Claims of biased content have not stood up to scrutiny. The strong suit for any of the cable news networks is their ability to go *live* when situations call for it. CNN was the first to

utilize this ability, and over the years, CNN has been seen as less biased than MSNBC on the left and FOX on the right. But research has shown that viewers want journalism that takes a stand on issues, consistently ranking FOX as most watched, followed by MSNBC, and the lowest ranking usually given to CNN. The national network news is seen to be more illustrative than the cable network newscasts. FOX was seen as a right-wing palliative to the news being presented on CNN. In later years, though, FOX became the channel to beat, overtaking both CNN and MSNBC for network cable news dominance. Late in the 1990s, CNN and MSNBC hoped to gain viewers, but neither of them came close to the ratings of FOX News.

Fake News

The polarization of news consumers, urged on by an administration that has found voice by calling news on CNN (and elsewhere) as being *fake*, can be seen in many public meetings and press conferences. This is not to say that the term is new; it is not. It has been around in some form for many years. *Fake news* has a different connotation than *misleading news* or *false news*. Just using the term *fake* carries meaning. But it is CNN that garners the most vitriol during press briefings and question-and-answer sessions with the administration. The term panders to the already conservative right and most heavily in the nation's midsection. The words used have a down-home clarity that is easy to understand, coupled with deeply held beliefs. This is known as *confirmation bias*, in which information is sought that confirms one's own already held positions or beliefs and downplays or even ignores any information that runs counter to those beliefs. Every time a president or other leader says those words, especially coupled with a dismissive tone, the bias becomes stronger. While MSNBC and the FOX Network seem more comfortable in their own liberal or conservative *skins*, respectively, CNN tries to strike a more objective stance.

CNN at 40

Looking back from 40 years of CNN, contributions have been made by people with a vision and the wherewithal to make those visions come true: Ted Turner at CNN, Jeff Zucker at MSNBC (and

later at CNN), Roger Ailes and Rupert Murdoch at FOX.

Ted Turner is no longer the driving force who created and sustained the channel through 40 years of programming, high ratings and low, personality-driven and data-driven. That mantle passed a while ago to Jeff Zucker who still has control at the channel and all of its many iterations. It was Zucker who recognized that programming should be entertaining as well as informative.

Zucker's life has revolved around his two careers: 25 years at NBC Universal and the 6 years he has spent running CNN Worldwide. The most notable feature of his career at CNN is the development of digital outlets. Zucker manages to keep his hands in the game, overseeing CNN International, HLN, Turner Sports, and the CNN television network, and this list does not even include Zucker's 25-year career at NBC.

Beyond 40

As CNN begins its next 40 years, it remains to be seen whether the network can survive in the scramble for more viewers, while remaining true to its past history. Whether it is Ted Turner or Jeff Zucker at CNN (after a quarter century at the helm of MSNBC), the future of 24-hour news channels is facing 24-hour news from a number of sources that may fragment an already fragmented market. Two technological advances may have impacts on news production: the proliferation of social media platforms and subscription television that promises to (and has already started to) develop paywalls for consumers who have cut the cable yet still want access to premium news and information programming. This is the environment that all cable providers may have to navigate.

Even though CNN is criticized for privileging entertainment news over breaking hard news, CNN and all its iterations around the globe reflect the mission of the network to provide objective coverage of the world. CNN was sold to WarnerMedia and its parent company, AT&T, and the sale was upheld by the federal courts in 2018.

Gary W. Larson

See also Livestreaming; Murdoch, Rupert; New Media; Paywalls; WarnerMedia

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COLLABORATIVE JOURNALISM

For journalism in general, but for local news and information providers in particular, the decade from 2010 to 2020 was one of resource scarcity, uncertainty, and rapid technological development. In democracies around the world, consolidation and cost cutting resulted in dramatic losses for journalism outlets in all but the largest cities. Within this context, many surviving outlets have turned to collaborative journalism as a way to share data and stretch limited resources while also providing what are often more comprehensive stories to bigger audiences. And, as many have realized, the digital age has created technological affordances that make collaboration easier than ever before. This entry defines collaborative journalism and discusses its history and reasons for its growth. It then looks at the different models of collaborative journalism, the promise of the approach, and some of the challenges it poses for news organizations.

Defining Collaborative Journalism

Collaborative journalism is a cooperative arrangement (formal or informal) between two or more news and information organizations, which aims to supplement each organization's resources and maximize the impact of the content produced. Collaborative journalism is not to be confused with "citizen-," "participatory-," "engaged-," "public-," or other types of journalism that solicit information from the public or consider interaction with the public a cornerstone practice (though an engagement element may be part of a collaborative project). While collaborative journalism is

most commonly thought of as being situated in newsrooms and news and information organizations that belong to the journalism field or the field of professional media more broadly, some collaborations involve other information-producing organizations such as civic groups, libraries, arts and culture organizations, and city halls.

History

In some sense, all journalism is collaborative; there is usually at least a reporter and an editor, and perhaps a photographer, videographer, or visual data person. Moreover, collaboration among reporters or between newsrooms has been practiced in different forms for more than 100 years. One of the earliest journalism collaborations was among the U.S. newsrooms that made up *the wires* in the mid-19th century; in 1846, six New York daily newspapers joined to form the Associated Press. Historians report that those outlets cooperated in gathering news and splitting the expenses of doing so.

In the 20th century, especially after the advent of the penny papers, competition between outlets was the norm. Yet, even during the height of profitability in the late 20th century, when competition, not collaboration, was the most salient relationship between newsrooms, it was common practice for journalists on the same beat to collaborate by sharing notes, swapping tips, and in general helping each other out. Formal collaboration during that period was most common within an organization rather than between. For example, Cable News Network (CNN) was formed in 1980 and codified intranewsroom sharing—between the national headquarters and its television news affiliates—with CNN Newsource in 1988.

Gannett's USA Today Network, which gathers content from local newsrooms across the country for packaging in the national edition, was rebooted in 2015 to take advantage of the latest technology for sharing content. There was also sharing between smaller newsrooms and organizations; New California Media (later called *New America Media*) began developing collaborative reporting projects in the late 1990s as a way to combine the strengths of ethnic media with those of mainstream journalism. At the local level, newspaper

chains have been *collaborating* for decades; small suburban weeklies share content with the large metro paper and vice versa.

However, there is a qualitative difference in the consciousness and intentionality with which collaborations are now being undertaken. The attention from outside philanthropic organizations, and their money, makes a difference. One major difference in the structure of contemporary collaborations is the presence of a dedicated manager; this person's main job is to run the collaboration, which includes communicating with the various partners, meeting deadlines, mediating disagreements, and identifying efficiencies.

The most recent, most intentional phase of collaborative journalism began in the mid-2000s, when publishers, journalism scholars, and foundations began to look at the opportunities made possible by digital networking. In 2009, an organization called *J-Lab* fostered nine newsroom collaborations, funded by the Knight Foundation. In 2012, University of California-Berkeley's Investigative Reporting Program and PBS MediaShift cosponsored an event on the practice, saying that collaboration was increasingly important to the long-term survival of news organizations. In 2014, Pew Research Center declared it to be "a new era of interest" in journalism partnerships, as they called them. (Research on the topic has called collaborative journalism by several names, including "convergence," "networked journalism," and "news sharing.")

Also, in 2009, the U.S. Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) began funding journalistic collaborations; as of 2020, CPB had put more than \$39 million into 40 local and regional partnerships. The Center for Cooperative Media, based in New Jersey, in 2018 began tracking collaborative journalism projects in the United States and around the world in an online database; the total as of 2020 was 303.

Why Collaborative Journalism Now?

The digital and economic upheavals that begat contemporary collaborative journalism form one reason why many of the most zealous collaborators are young, at digital-native outlets or from outside of the journalism profession. In other

words, practicing successful collaborative journalism very often requires a break with past practices and mindsets. Yet, legacy journalists and organizations are also increasingly participating in and seeing the benefits of collaboration, having experienced the same environments and constraints that smaller newsrooms have.

Investigative, or accountability, journalism is also increasingly practiced through collaborations; perhaps the most famous collaboration, The Panama Papers, was an investigative story that uncovered a global web of financial malfeasance and had a massive impact around the world. Investigative stories are particularly well-suited to collaboration because they require the greatest amount of resources and to have impact often need the expanded reach that collaboration provides.

Likewise, at least in this relatively early phase of contemporary collaborative journalism, nonprofit or community-supported outlets are the most likely to be involved in ongoing collaborative relationships, perhaps because of the millions of dollars from government and philanthropic organizations that have gone into starting collaborations (which usually only fund public and not-for-profit media). Yet, close observers also think that there are other reasons, having to do with economic constraints and the cultural makeup of these outlets; for example, all public broadcast outlets rely for a large amount of their funding on audience revenue, which instills a community orientation.

The trend toward collaborative journalism signifies deeper structural changes in the field of journalism, driven by the ability to connect digitally and the intense economic pressure that the loss of advertising dollars to platforms has engendered. Collaborative journalism is now being practiced

on a scale that constitutes a revolution in journalism. The many trials and errors during the growth of the practice in the 2010s have generated cooperative efforts that have stood the test of time and are showing the way for others. While lessons are still being learned, collaborative journalism has evolved from experiment to common practice.

Six Models of Collaborative Journalism

There are two main elements by which collaborations are organized: duration of time and degree of integration among partner organizations. As both of these increase, the level of commitment required to make the collaboration work also increases. On the *x-axis* are two variations in the *duration* of collaborations: one-time, or finite, projects and ongoing or open-ended collaborations. On the *y-axis* is the *level of integration* of participating organizations: at the lowest level of integration, organizations create content independently and share it; at the next level, they work together to create content; finally, they share resources at the organizational level, indicating the highest level of integration. Although the resulting combinations are fairly distinct, projects can fall into more than one category. Moreover, it is not uncommon for a collaboration to begin as one model but evolve into a different model, usually from finite to ongoing and at a higher level of integration.

Table 1 shows the six models that result from combining the five iterations of the two key variables identified as well as an example or examples of each. Other variables not included in the matrix but which figure in to many collaborations include: the formality of the arrangement (i.e., whether

Table 1 Models of Collaborative Journalism

	<i>One-time/finite</i>	<i>Ongoing/open-ended</i>
Partners create content separately and share it	Temporary and separate	Ongoing and separate
Partners work together to create content	Temporary and cocreating	Ongoing and cocreating
Partners share content/data/resources at the organizational level	Temporary and integrated	Ongoing and integrated

Source: Library of Congress

there is a contract); whether the subject of the collaboration is one topic, or spans many issues; and whether there is a community engagement element.

The Temporary and Separate Model

In temporary and separate projects, participants create content separately and generally have the greatest level of editorial independence, even when working within preestablished guidelines. The content may be aggregated for presentation in one place (e.g., the project's website) or may be presented in several different places (on partners' different platforms or across media). Some projects that fall under this model use a decentralized approach to coordination, which allows them to avoid the problem of competing organizational cultures and priorities. Others have guidelines for what should be produced by participating organizations. Those projects where decisions are not made in advance about who will produce which content tend to be less successful.

The Temporary and Cocreating Model

Temporary and cocreating projects are one-time or finite projects where participants work together to create content. These are necessarily closer and more coordinated than projects in which participants produce content separately. When partners work together to create content, there is potential for conflicting priorities at different newsrooms to affect the collaboration. However, creating content together for a finite project allows organizations to create a product that is greater than what could be created alone, while mitigating the need for partners to coordinate long term. As seems to be the case with finite projects, examples of this model tend to be investigative or accountability reporting pieces.

The Temporary and Integrated Model

The temporary and integrated model highlights finite projects in which participating organizations share data and/or other resources at the level of the organization. This model represents the greatest level of integration for finite projects;

when partners share resources at the level of the organization, they coordinate closely and have regular contact for the duration of the project. Perhaps the best example of this type of collaboration to date is the Panama Papers, where participating organizations all had access to the same data and proprietary software, working together to sort through it, but wrote different stories that were unique to the outlet that produced them, and published on many different sites.

The Ongoing and Separate Model

In the ongoing and separate model, partners create content separately and share it. Journalistic collaborations based on this model include some of the oldest-known collaborations—the early arrangements used by the wire services fall into this category, for example. It's also the model that best characterizes contemporary sharing arrangements by big news corporations such as Gannett's USA Today Network and CNN Newsource. But smaller news organizations—down to hyperlocal online outlets—are also starting to form lasting collaborative relationships. Stories are produced separately, within the editorial and economic structures of individual organizations, but collaborative benefits are realized through cross-sharing and greater impact when topics are simultaneously addressed by multiple outlets.

The Ongoing and Cocreating Model

In this model, partners are involved in an ongoing collaboration where they work together to create content. This means that organizations are more integrated than when they create content separately and share it; usually, there are regular editorial meetings or calls, and there is often a person who oversees the collaboration and regularly communicates with the various organizations involved.

In this model, even if content originates with an individual reporter or station, it will often be worked on and added to by the other collaboration partners. Shared resources like an active project editor or audio from a weekly call with a Congress member mean that partners are working together closely to produce stories on a regular basis. Projects falling into this category have

usually figured out the balance between what is needed and what can be offered and are aided in general by the benefit of addressing similar or overlapping audiences.

The Ongoing and Integrated Model

Projects fitting this model are ongoing collaborations where partners are integrated at the level of the organization. This model is not (yet) very common—but it is an innovative way to address the challenges of the local media landscape. Of those that do exist, several are made up of local outlets that operate independently but are completely integrated for their back-office services such as logistics around accounting, funding, engineering, and membership.

Ongoing and integrated partnerships usually have multiple components that make it work: trust between general managers, news directors, editors, and reporters based on years of working together; sharing a region with similar audiences and contexts; and sharing a need for resources or products that they could not meet on their own.

Collaborative Journalism: Promise and Challenges

In a news and information climate that is at once saturated, yet in many cases starving for resources, collaboration between information providers has become more and more common. From the perspective of many of the players involved—publishers, foundations that support journalism, and communities hungry for quality content—greater journalistic collaboration is a promising trend. However, there are also barriers and resistance; while smaller publishers see many benefits, larger news organizations can be more hesitant. Likewise, it takes a fair amount of heavy lifting up front, and no small amount of trust and goodwill, to keep successful collaborations going.

Because collaborative journalism is still a nascent practice, and a relatively new area for scholars who study journalism, the dividing line between *good* collaboration and *bad* is not yet clearly drawn. Agreed-upon definitions, once they are formed, will allow critics, philanthropists, and practitioners to see clearly when a

collaboration is for the betterment of the communities being served.

Sarah Stonbely

See also Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Engaged Journalism; Participatory Journalism

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COLUMN-WRITING

For much of the 20th century, American newspaper columnists offered readers an extraordinary range of content, especially on public affairs and special interest topics, and in local columns written for the hometown audience. Humor, general interest, and special topics columnists regularly contributed to the growing daily newspaper in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Increasingly, columnists began to strike a more serious political tone, so that beginning in the 1930s, the American newspaper reader witnessed an explosion of syndicated columnists who offered reporting, interpretation, or commentary on the news, often from Washington, DC, or New York City.

Columnists filled a unique role in the American newspaper. Columnists added a voice to what could otherwise be a collection of lifeless facts. The art of column-writing humanized and enriched the paper, and as papers became more commercial and more corporatized, columnists were thought to help the paper appeal to a mass market audience, whether in a one-newspaper town or in the head-to-head competition once seen in major metropolitan centers. Columnists flourished in the 20th century, especially with the rise of the syndicated columnist in the 1930s. As of 2020, the big-name columnists associated with distributors such as the Washington Post Writers Group and the New York Times Syndicate continued offering high-profile and high-quality opinion pieces. But in the first two decades of the century, newspaper employment declined sharply and many columnists, especially on the local stage, quietly left the field. Political elites and politically engaged readers closely followed the nation's top columnists. Syndicated special interest columnists writing about

health, finance, and a host of reader-focused topics also thrived during much of the 20th century, as did gossip columnists. Up until the early 2000s, most papers of any size also boasted at least one local columnist who offered a familiar voice on life and culture in the immediate area. At many smaller papers, however, the local columnist often was among the early casualties of the sharp decline in newspaper employment after the 2007–2009 recession. This entry discusses the origins of the columnist in American newspapers, newspapers' use of syndicated and local columnists, and the decline of columnists as a result of cutbacks in newspaper employment.

Origins of the Columnist

Columnists have a long history in American newspaper journalism, with some historians placing the origins in colonial newspapers. Certainly, the papers of the Early Republic and the early 19th century contained items that might be considered a prototype of the modern column—politically oriented items appearing regularly and written in a recognizable style with a point of view. The columnist as a journalist distinct from a reporter or editorial writer had its origins in the development of the commercial press and the division of labor that evolved during the last half of the 19th century. Metropolitan papers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and elsewhere began to carry regularly appearing columns signed by a familiar name and written with a personal touch. Sam G. Riley, in his 1998 book *The American Newspaper Columnist*, noted that the earliest columnists included women writers, literary figures, and humorists.

Columnists found a home in a newspaper that was increasingly compartmentalized and market-driven. Newspapers in the late 19th century were greatly expanding the breadth and volume of content to include sections for women, sports, finance, and comics while at the same time drawing more rigid boundaries between news and editorial opinion. Nineteenth-century columnists were known for their voice, often a folksy style, for humor and clever observations and for their poetry or literary talents. Although journalism was primarily a male occupation, women writers, such as Sara Parton, a feminist who wrote a satirical column from New

York in the third quarter of the century under the name Fanny Fern, were recruited to appeal to the urban housekeeper/consumer. Political topics largely remained in the purview of the editor or editorial opinion writer.

The Rise of the Syndicated Political Columnist

By the 1920s, however, the political columnist was on the rise, although the humorist, such as Will Rogers, and general interest columnist such as O. O. McIntyre, who wrote features from New York throughout the 1920s and 1930s and was syndicated in more than 500 newspapers, remained popular. Franklin P. Adams wrote his column, "The Conning Tower," using contributions from readers, for New York papers for more than two decades, beginning in 1914. The growth of the political columnist in part sprang from the birth of the op-ed page at the *New York Evening World* in 1921. Editor Herbert Bayard Swope reasoned that readers would be interested in well-written columns on the arts, and especially, on political issues of the day. He created a home by clearing the page opposite the paper's own daily editorials. Among the early recruits for this endeavor was Heywood Broun, a former sportswriter. Broun would eventually lose his job at the *World*, in part for his columns on the murder conviction of the anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927. After landing at the *New York Telegram* as a syndicated columnist, Broun went on to found the American Newspaper Guild. He was not alone, of course. Other early 20th century columnists who offered regular commentary on public affairs included Mark Sullivan, David Lawrence, and beginning in 1931, Walter Lippmann who for nearly 40 years would be considered the dean of newspaper columnists.

Reasons for Success

Spurred on by the successes of the pioneers, numerous syndicated columnists appeared in the early 1930s. Not all wrote exclusively on political topics. Gossip columnist Walter Winchell began a column in the *New York Mirror* in 1929 and also appeared on radio and eventually television. Hedda Hopper, who was active in the blacklisting

of actors and writers in the anti-Communist post-war years, wrote a Hollywood gossip column for three decades beginning in the mid-1930s. Still, interpreting events for readers, and commentary on the news, especially out of Washington and about the programs that were part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, was the dominant trend among columnists. The rise of syndicated political columnists can be traced to several developments within the newspaper industry. First, editors and publishers recognized a significant public interest in news of the day, especially in understanding the roots of the Great Depression and in the greater role of the federal government in their daily lives. In addition, the newspaper was facing competition from radio and the immediacy and emotion of broadcasting. Second, economy-minded publishers understood that a well-written and relatively inexpensive column from a syndicated voice was far cheaper than sending their own reporter to Washington or hiring a correspondent. Syndication rates were such that a small paper in Pennsylvania might be able to run a major Washington columnist in the early 1940s for as little as \$5 per week, and even the major metros might spend only \$35 per week to have access to an 800-word column five or six times a week. Rates were such that papers could afford to oversubscribe and pick from the best available. Third, the newspaper industry was under pressure to include more interpretive reporting. Academics and professional press critics argued that the so-called objective news style of the day, where stories were dependent on events and the sources who commented on them, was inadequate to explain the complexity of modern life to the average newspaper reader. The columnist was charged with interpreting the facts for readers. Finally, the newspaper was becoming less a personal instrument and more of a mass market business, with a goal of reaching the largest audience possible by finding a middle path. Publishers understood that having liberal and conservative voices within the paper might attract a broader readership and might be useful in insulating themselves from charges of political bias in the paper. Publishers could also claim they were not responsible for unpopular syndicated columns. Still, despite their vaunted independence, columnists had to please the head office. Indeed, Dorothy Thompson, who

wrote of foreign affairs and had a popular nonpolitical column in *Ladies Home Journal*, and the fire-breathing anti-New Deal columnist Westbrook Pegler were among those who lost their jobs in conflicts with their home papers.

Syndication

By the end of the 1930s, hundreds of columnists were syndicated with the Post-Hall Syndicate, King Features, United Feature Syndicate, and others. Columnists might appear in 200 papers with a total combined circulation of 6–10 million. The columnists Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, authors of the “Washington Merry-Go-Round,” were said to appear in 12 million papers, which would have been almost one third of total daily circulation of all papers in the United States. Some relied more on reporting than commentary, some offered an interpretation of why something happened or what it meant, and others just repackaged facts to fit a point of view. Not all columnists were journalists. Among the more popular in the 1930s was First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, whose syndicated “My Day” column appeared from 1936 to 1962. Columnists could be handsomely rewarded for their work, with reported income from columns, books, lectures, and radio commentary in the late 1930s topping \$50,000 annually, which in 2020 would have a buying power of about \$1 million.

By 1940, the national, syndicated, politically oriented columnist had become as much of a fixture in the daily newspaper as the comics, and they generally were allotted more space than the local editorial writers. Although critics derided the growing presence of syndicated columnists in local papers, editors at smaller papers argued that they could not keep up with national and world affairs and defended the columnist as a valuable addition to the paper. The development of hostilities in Europe and elsewhere in the years leading up to World War II, and the heated debate in the United States about American involvement in the war, only heightened the appeal of columnists such as Anne O'Hare McCormick, who wrote about world affairs. Some columnists went to cover the war firsthand. Raymond Clapper, a highly respected newspaper columnist and radio commentator, lost his life when his plane crashed in the Marshall

Islands in February 1944. The celebrated columnist Ernie Pyle, the voice of the foot soldier, was killed when his plane was attacked approaching a Pacific island war zone in April 1945.

Influence of the Columnist

It is not clear how much influence the columnists had over the general public, but they were closely watched by opinion leaders and politicians. According to survey research conducted in the 1940s, a majority of readers did not follow the great political columnists of the day. Pearson, Roosevelt, and Pegler were among the most read columnists, but even they were passed over by many readers. Lippmann, the great sage of the era, was not writing for the average reader. Lippmann wrote for, and wanted to be read by, elites. His prestige was based on who read his “Today and Tomorrow” column, not based on how many read it. With the onset of the Cold War after the end of World War II, columnists wrote more often about geopolitical affairs. In the mid-1950s, columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop were among the early voices for American involvement in Vietnam to contain the threat of Communism after the fall of the French at Dien Bien Phu. But others, such as Lippmann and publisher/editor John S. Knight, whose “Editor’s Notebook” was carried in all the Knight papers, were early opponents of the war in Southeast Asia. By the mid-1960s, Joseph Alsop and Lippmann offered readers, including President Lyndon Johnson, sharply contrasting views on whether to increase a military presence or withdraw from Vietnam. National columnists based at *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and elsewhere thrived during the last half of the 20th century, and if anything, their stature grew, as James Reston, William Safire, David Broder, and many others were showcased in daily papers. In the *Columbia Journalism Review* in 1966, media observer Ben Bagdikian described the prominence of the columnist in American newspapers under the title “The Golden Age of Oracles.”

Local Columnists

At the same time, most local papers of any size had at least one columnist who contributed regularly scheduled general interest or local feature columns.

These columnists were thought to give the dry news pages some personality, and they were chosen not only for their reporting and writing abilities but also for their keen sense of place. Indeed, even midsized daily papers in the later years of the 20th century might have two columnists who would write and appear in metro sections on alternating days. Most of these columnists were not syndicated, and if they were, they might have a regional distribution, but not a national one, and their primary audience was the hometown reader. Columnists wrote about more than political news, of course. Columns on sports had their own following and appeal. Sylvia Porter offered financial advice from the late 1930s, at a time when the field was still dominated by men, to the early 1990s. Erma Bombeck wrote “At Wit’s End,” a widely syndicated humor column, for more than 20 years, beginning in the mid-1960s. Jane Brody began writing a personal health column for *The New York Times* in the mid-1970s. And many syndicated writers, such as the *Boston Globe*’s Ellen Goodman or Leonard Pitts of the *Miami Herald*, offered opinion on a wide variety of topics at the end of the 20th century. Columnist Mike Royko worked from his home base in the Chicago papers, and though he often wrote about the city, he was syndicated in more than 500 papers across the country when he died in 1997.

The Decline of the Columnist

In the first two decades of the 21st century, the local newspaper columnist, as well as those self-syndicated, fell on hard times. The newspaper industry radically contracted after the recession of 2007–2009. Circulation, which had been on a slow downward trajectory since the middle of the 1960s, dropped from more than 50 million on weekdays in 2007 to an estimated 28 million in 2018, according to data compiled by the Pew Research Center. Year-over-year declines in advertising revenue were even more staggering, as volume went from more than \$45 billion to just \$14 billion during the same period. At the same time, newspapers across the country gave in to the push or led the charge to offer content for free on the paper’s website. Especially in the second decade of the 21st century, local general interest columnists were victims of cost-cutting measures as

newsroom employment in newspapers dropped from nearly 74,000 in 2007 to fewer than 40,000 in the late teens. Some columnists were reassigned to traditional news work or left the paper altogether, in some cases with a buyout and retirement package. Those who thought of themselves as columnists, as represented by membership in the National Society of Newspaper Columnists, increased between 2000 and 2020. However, by then, membership included a growing number of writers working exclusively online.

Philip M. Glende

See also Commentators, Radio; Editorials; Feature Syndicates; Interpretive Journalism; News Syndication; Objectivity; Op-Ed Page; Political Reporters

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COMCAST

Comcast Corporation is a global media and technology company with its main headquarters in Philadelphia and corporate offices in New York and London. It is a vertically integrated conglomerate with operations and subsidiary companies spanning across industries and roles in the production, distribution, and exhibition of news, entertainment, and information. It provides cable television and telecommunications services to residential and business customers. It operates cable- and satellite-delivered television networks and online video streaming applications for national and regional markets. It runs broadcast TV networks and stations. It produces and distributes filmed entertainment in the United States and abroad. And it owns or manages entertainment venues, including theme parks and sports stadiums.

Most of Comcast's business is in the United States, where it is the largest provider of both pay-TV and Internet services. The company's international footprint has expanded in recent years, first with its purchase of NBCUniversal (NBCU) in 2009, and again in 2018 with its acquisition of Sky, a leading European provider of many of the same services and products Comcast offers in the United States. This entry provides an overview of Comcast and details on its main business segments. It then discusses the NBCUniversal News Group, Comcast's growth through acquisitions, and controversies involving the company.

Among Comcast's holdings most immediately relevant to journalism are the NBC and Telemundo broadcast networks (and their owned-and-operated local stations); the MSNBC, CNBC, and E! cable networks; and the NBC Sports Group, which includes nationally distributed channels (NBCSN and Golf Channel), a cluster of regional sports channels available to subscribers of local cable systems, and ownership stakes in the MLB and NHL networks. Comcast also has substantial equity investments in digital media and news companies BuzzFeed and Vox Media. Since 2017, BuzzFeed and Vox Media have been among the many news organizations experiencing labor turbulence; both have made large cuts to editorial staff and conceded to successful unionization campaigns by news workers.

Major sources of revenue for Comcast come from subscriptions to Internet, pay-TV, and other telecommunications services; advertising sales on broadcast and cable television; distribution and licensing of television programming and motion pictures; and fees from the carriage and retransmission consent agreements negotiated between pay-TV providers and Comcast's cable networks and broadcast stations. In 2019, Comcast reported \$108.9 billion in revenue and more than \$13 billion in net income. That year, the company spent \$6.1 billion to advertise its own products and services in the United States, more than any advertiser except Amazon. Because U.S. firms can deduct advertising expenditures from their federal tax bills, Comcast enjoys a government subsidy on this large outlay while also benefiting from the stimulus these subsidies provide for the advertisers who patronize Comcast's media businesses. Brenton Malin (2020) calls this "America's hidden public media system" and lists Comcast among its top beneficiaries.

Ralph Roberts and his associates founded the company now known as *Comcast* in 1963 when they bought a cable system with 1,200 subscribers in Tupelo, Mississippi. Comcast expanded over the following decades by purchasing competing cable TV providers. When Brian Roberts, the founder's son, took over as president of the publicly traded company in 1990, Comcast had more than 2 million subscribers. Following its acquisition of AT&T Broadband (formerly *Tele-Communications Inc.*) in 2001–2002, Comcast became the largest U.S. cable operator, with more than 22 million subscribers. As of 2020, it ranks 28th on *Fortune* magazine's list of the top 500 public companies, as measured by revenue. Brian Roberts, now Comcast's chairman and chief executive officer, controls special Class B "super-voting" stock that gives him unimpeachable power over company decisions. Roberts's salary in 2019 was more than \$36 million and his net worth is reportedly \$1.8 billion.

Business Segments

Comcast's operations are divided into three main business segments: Cable Communications, NBCU, and Sky. The company also launched in 2020 a new video streaming service called *Peacock*, one of several related initiatives.

Cable Communications

First and foremost, Comcast is a cable and telecommunications company, delivering high-speed Internet, multichannel television, and other services to subscribers' homes and offices. Since 2010 Comcast has bundled residential products under the brand name *Xfinity*. At the end of 2019, Comcast reported 31.5 million customer relationships, and it led all its domestic competitors in providing Internet services (19.1% market share, 26.4 million residential customers) and cable TV (21.7% market share, 20.3 million residential customers). Cable Communications contributed 52% of Comcast's revenue in 2019, with a high operating margin of 40.1%.

As pay-TV subscriptions have been declining in the United States as customers replace costly cable packages with cheaper and more flexible Internet-delivered video-on-demand services, Comcast has made high-speed Internet the engine of its growth. In fact, the migration to online video streaming increases the demand for broadband Internet, and cable operators remain the predominant option for most homes in the United States to access download speeds sufficient for watching video content at a quality comparable to other modes of transmission. Losses in video customers and rising programming costs have been offset by growth in broadband subscriptions and price increases passed on to customers. The Cable Communications segment is also involved in selling advertisements on Comcast properties and providing advertising and marketing services (e.g., technology platforms and data analytics for behavioral targeting) to other companies.

NBCU

NBCU is an international producer and distributor of news and entertainment. It is subdivided into four units. The Cable Networks unit comprises 12 nationally available pay-TV channels, a collection of regional sports and news networks, and digital properties, such as websites hosting video programming. More than half of its national cable networks are available in at least 80 million U.S. homes, including MSNBC and CNBC.

The Broadcast Television unit includes the NBC and Telemundo networks and their owned-and-operated stations. NBC distributes news and entertainment across more than 200 affiliated stations. It owns 11 of those stations, including in eight of the country's 10 largest markets, such as New York (WNBC), Los Angeles (KNBC), Chicago (WMAQ), Philadelphia (WCAU), and Dallas-Fort Worth (KXAS). Telemundo produces, acquires, and distributes Spanish-language programming domestically across a network of 30 owned stations and more than 60 affiliates as well as for international markets.

The Filmed Entertainment unit is involved in making and marketing motion pictures under brand names such as Universal Pictures, DreamWorks Animation, and Focus Features. These films are exhibited in theaters, in retail stores and kiosks, and by multichannel video providers, including the company's own operations. Filmed Entertainment also includes Fandango, which functions primarily as an online retail vendor of movie theater tickets, but also houses related businesses, such as Rotten Tomatoes, an aggregator of film reviews.

NBCU's Theme Parks unit runs recreation destinations in the United States and abroad. These parks license intellectual property from Universal Studios to design attractions and sell merchandise based on the company's popular movie franchises and brands.

Sky

Sky is a media conglomerate operating in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy. It provides subscription to multichannel video services, mostly delivered by direct-to-home satellite. Among the channels available on these services are a handful of the company's own news, entertainment, and sports channels. The company provides Internet connectivity to customers in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Like Comcast's Cable Communications segment, Sky also sells advertisements and ad targeting and analytics services.

New Video Services

Just since 2020, Comcast has either purchased or initiated several new Internet-delivered video

services that complement or substitute for traditional cable television offerings. Peacock is a streaming video service supported financially by advertising and subscription revenues. The initiative takes advantage of the content assets belonging to the business segments listed above, including NBCU's news and sports programming, as well as the cable segment's existing customer relationships. Peacock was first made available for free to some Comcast Xfinity subscribers in the spring of 2020. Reportedly 15 million users had signed up for Peacock by September 2020.

In February 2020, Comcast announced its acquisition of Xumo, an advertiser-supported streaming service that gives users free access to live and on-demand content organized in categories such as news, sports, and fashion. At the time of the purchase, the service claimed to have 10 million monthly users. Later, in July, Comcast completed its purchase of the streaming and video rental service Vudu from Walmart. Vudu, now part of the Fandango subsidiary, features a large catalog of new and old movies and television shows that can be bought, rented, or watched free with ads.

NBCUniversal News Group

NBCUniversal News Group is the company's news division. Organized under this name in 2012, it comprises NBC News, CNBC, and MSNBC. NBC's news programming has a storied history beyond its ownership by Comcast. The *NBC Nightly News* has been on the air since 1970. The weekly news and interview show, *Meet the Press*, is the longest-running program on U.S. television. The *Today* show pioneered the morning news and talk show format, beginning in 1952. Longtime cohost Matt Lauer was fired from *Today* in 2017 due to allegations of workplace harassment and sexual assault.

Despite reports that the organization had tolerated complaints about Lauer's misconduct for years, *Today* remains popular with advertisers. *Today*, like other network morning news programs, is a financial tentpole for the entire news division. As *Today* and MSNBC's *Morning Joe* lose viewers to other platforms and information sources, these morning shows have tended toward more hard news coverage and more diverse

formats for engaging audiences, such as social media and satellite radio.

Acquisitions

Comcast's position as the top cable operator in the United States has come largely through mergers and acquisitions, including deals with Westinghouse's Group W Cable (1986), Storer Communications (1988), E.W. Scripps (1995), Jones Intercable (1998), Lenfest (2000), and AT&T Broadband (2001–2002).

Comcast has also bought its way into the programming business. Its best-known move was buying NBCU. The deal was announced in 2009, approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 2011, and completed in 2013. By absorbing one of the world's largest entertainment companies, Comcast gained control over a trove of content assets to bolster its cable service offerings, including new channels and more movies and TV series to exhibit via pay-per-view rentals and video-on-demand. The deals faced vocal opposition from critics who worried that this vertical integration of programming and distribution would allow Comcast to disadvantage competitors and customers in both business areas. Observers also feared that Comcast could leverage its role as an Internet service provider to give preferential treatment to NBC-related content. Despite these concerns, the deal was approved, with Comcast agreeing to concessions intended to preserve competition and extend Internet access to underserved communities.

Comcast made another big splash in 2018 by acquiring Sky. As Comcast's U.S.-based pay-TV business was losing customers, the Sky deal brought the company 24 million new subscribers in Europe, more than doubling its global video customers. Sky is also an entertainment and news conglomerate. It owns channels and programming assets delivered to customers through its own pay-TV services or via licensing agreements with other video providers. Sky mirrors Comcast as a vertically integrated media giant; the acquisition both extends Comcast's business internationally and offers potential opportunities to take advantage of the complementary programming and distribution properties held under single ownership.

Comcast's record of acquisitions also includes well-publicized failures. It made an uninvited and unsuccessful bid to purchase Walt Disney in 2004. Disney rejected the \$54 billion takeover. In 2014, Comcast reached an agreement to buy Time Warner Cable, the second largest cable operator in the United States. After skidding out in a legal morass stemming from antitrust concerns, the deal was abandoned in 2015. Comcast clashed again with Disney in 2017–2018 in a contentious bidding war to buy 21st Century Fox, another massive media conglomerate. After Disney and Fox reached a merger agreement, Comcast topped Disney's \$52.4 billion stock offer with a \$65 billion cash bid, only to be outmaneuvered when Disney sweetened its first bid by more than \$18 billion.

Controversies

Antitrust

Comcast faces little or no competition in many of the markets where it offers cable television and Internet services. This has raised concerns about monopoly (the power to dictate terms of sale) and monopsony (the power to dictate terms of purchase). Where subscribers lack the option of switching to a competing provider, Comcast can set the prices and quality of its services, respectively, above and below competitive levels. This also presents problems for the distributors of news and entertainment. Cable news channels, for example, generate revenue by selling advertising and by collecting carriage fees from the video providers exhibiting these channels, usually on a per-subscriber basis. Both revenue streams depend on the number of consumers accessing a channel, and therefore, it is important for cable channels to make carriage agreements with large cable operators. With more than 20 million subscribers and a monopoly franchise over cable services in many regions, Comcast often has leverage over programmers in these negotiations. This power extends to Internet-delivered services needing to reach customers. For example, in 2014, Netflix agreed to pay Comcast for direct interconnection into its networks to ensure the former would be accessible to and properly functional for Comcast customers.

Comcast has also been accused of using its ownership of programming assets to disadvantage

other pay-TV providers. By denying other pay-TV providers access to the popular channels or programs they need to attract subscribers, or by allowing access on unfavorable terms, Comcast may be able to improve its competitive landscape. Comcast's power is especially acute where its regional sports networks have exclusive rights to distribute professional sports games in those markets. Most famously, in its hometown of Philadelphia, where it owns the Flyers NHL team and the building they play in, the local sports network is not carried by satellite TV providers, like DirecTV.

Cable distributors are required by law to give satellite providers fair access to programming; for years, Comcast successfully denied satellite companies the opportunity to carry its Philadelphia sports network by exploiting a technical loophole in the 1992 Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act. The loophole was closed in 2010, but the channel remains unavailable to satellite customers. This means that city residents wishing to watch their home teams have no choice but to subscribe to Comcast. Industry analysts believe this strategy has depressed satellite subscriptions in Philadelphia, to Comcast's benefit.

Net Neutrality

Net neutrality is the principle that Internet service providers should treat all traffic equally. As both an ISP and a major owner of news, entertainment, and sports content, Comcast could be inclined to prioritize traffic that benefits its businesses and to discriminate against competitors' sites or network uses that conflict with Comcast's interests. Even before acquiring NBCU, Comcast was found to be interfering with customers' usage of peer-to-peer file sharing. From 2010 onward, Comcast has been an active opponent of U.S. efforts to create net neutrality laws, typically citing its need and responsibility to manage its network resources and warning that these rules would force the company to curtail investments in infrastructure and service improvements. Comcast claims that it does not engage in any blocking, throttling, or prioritization of sites and traffic, while critics maintain that its capacity and incentive to do so remains, checked only by net neutrality rules.

Politics and Lobbying

Comcast's main enterprises are in industries or sectors that are highly sensitive to the form and extent of government regulation, including telecommunications and broadcasting. Comcast consistently ranks among the top annual spenders on political lobbying in the United States, particularly in years when the government is considering important policy decisions. Comcast's interests are also represented by the NCTA—The Internet & Television Association, another of the country's biggest lobbyists, where Comcast executives have occupied prominent positions. Brian Roberts served multiple terms as chairman of the NCTA board of directors (1995–1996 and 2005–2007); Dave Watson, the CEO of Comcast's Cable segment, holds that chair in 2020.

Comcast also leverages personal and professional relationships to influence policy-making and regulation. The company employs former members of Congress and former regulators from the agencies that oversee industries where Comcast participates. In one notorious example, just months after the FCC approved the Comcast-NBCU merger, commissioner Meredith Attwell Baker left the FCC to become NBCU's senior vice president of government affairs. She was hired to the role by Kyle E. McSlarrow, a former deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Energy and NCTA president. Comcast's top management maintained close relationships with President Barack Obama. Roberts was a member of the President's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness, and senior vice president David Cohen was one of the biggest fundraisers for Obama's 2012 reelection campaign.

Lee McGuigan

See also MSNBC; NBC News; Talk and News Radio; Television News, History of

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COMICS

Comics, also known as *comic strips*, *funnies*, *printed cartoon art*, or *comic art*, have been a key element of the newspaper business since the end of the 19th century. They were an important reason for the economic success of many newspapers entering the modern age, a socialization device for both newspaper reading and social mores, an economic and cultural force outside of the newspaper industry, and viewed as a way to attract and maintain a youth readership. The future of the comics in the digital era, similar to the future of the newspaper medium, is unclear.

Comics through the 20th century were a key part of the fabric of American culture and everyday life. Newspaper editors historically faced a serious dilemma when dropping or adding a strip, given the loyalty readers felt—and expressed—toward particular comics. Many Sunday family rituals involved reading the color comics section, and exposure to daily comics characters had an enduring effect on successive generations of fans. Major character and plot developments, including character deaths (Mary Gold in *The Gumps* or the family dog Farley in *For Better or For Worse*), weddings (Dick Tracy to Tess Trueheart), and trauma (B.D.'s loss of a leg in the Iraq War in *Doonesbury*), often spark deep emotional reactions in readers. Comic-strip characters and phrases have transcended the medium to the point where their comic-strip origin is not universally known. Characters such as Buster Brown, Little Orphan Annie, Popeye, and Charlie Brown,

although beginning as comic strips, are perhaps better known for their cultural presence in other forms (in the aforementioned cases, as a shoe brand, Broadway musical, and film/TV characters, respectively). Moreover, comic strips have popularized, if not wholly created, familiar words and phrases in the American lexicon such as “keeping up with the Joneses,” jeep, Sadie Hawkins Day, security blanket, hot dog, and baloney.

After reviewing the origins of comics, this entry discusses various comics genres and styles as well as the association between comics and media syndicates. The entry also discusses comics as social–political commentary. The entry ends with a review of the scholarship on comics and at a look at future challenges.

Origins

No single creator invented the newspaper comic strip. The use of illustrations combined with words, sequential panels, color, and regularly occurring characters appeared in European and U.S. publications through much of the 1800s. Nevertheless, many comics historians attribute at least the popularization and commercial viability of these graphic and narrative characteristics to *Hogan’s Alley* (later featuring and known as *The Yellow Kid*), created by Richard F. Outcault and first appearing in Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* in 1895 (see Figure 1). Also subsequently published in William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal*, the character became a national sensation through heavy licensing activity (such as appearances in advertising and on Broadway) and the national distribution of Hearst’s Sunday humor section. Other developments soon followed as comics grew, including daily publication and national syndication. The latter allowed newspapers that could not afford their own printing technology or artistic talent to offer comics to their readers as well as give comics characters and trademarks national exposure.

The *Yellow Kid* and other early examples of groundbreaking comics (*The Katzenjammer Kids*, *Happy Hooligan*, *Mutt and Jeff*, *The Gumps*) developed and illustrated the symbiotic relationship between comics and newspapers. On one hand, as a part of the newspaper that overtly emphasized entertainment rather than hard-news

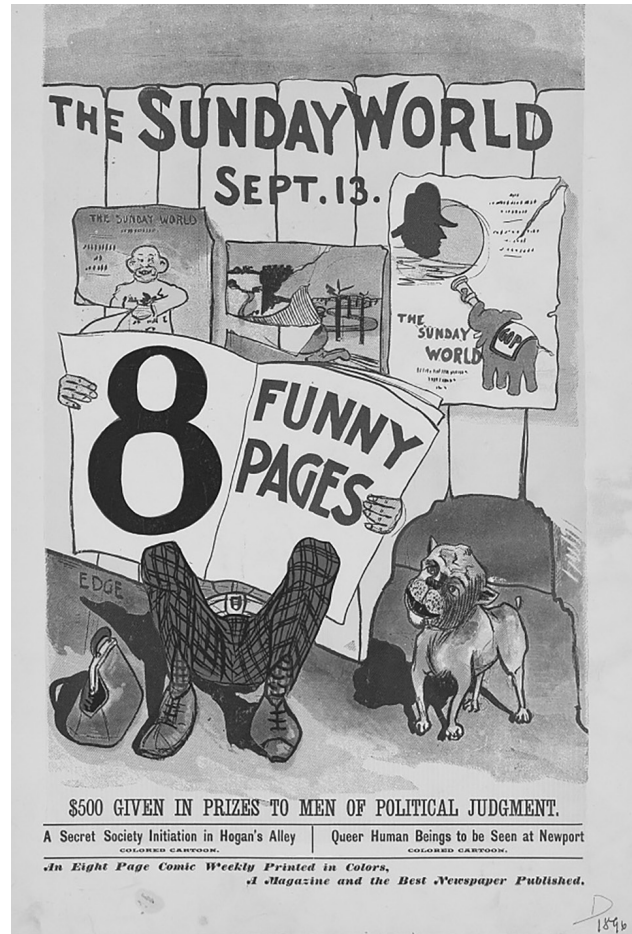


Figure 1 The Yellow Kid and Other Comics on a Poster for *The (NY) Sunday World* Newspaper

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-42395. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.42395>

journalism, comic strips became an important booster of newspaper circulation and one way that children were first exposed to the medium. On the other hand, newspapers served not only as the primary revenue source for comics, at least at first, but also as a popularizer and promoter for character licensing and merchandising, a trend that became more dominant later.

Genres and Styles

Several different types of comics were found in newspapers, although some genres became more prominent during different eras. Gag strips focus on a punch line or humorous situation each day,

with characters changing little over the years. Continuity strips often follow plotlines or evolving character developments over weeks, months, or even longer. In some cases, characters aged in real time, like the early example of *Gasoline Alley* or later in *For Better or For Worse* (see Figure 2). Continuity strips tend to involve more serious topics (e.g., adventure or domestic relationship oriented); however, hybrid strips like *Funky Winkerbean* include characteristics of both gag and continuity. Within each of these two major genres, there are several subgenres, such as family, adventure, sports, workplace, kid, and talking-animal strips. Likewise, drawing style can vary from the detailed (*Little Nemo in Slumberland*) to the simple (*The Far Side*) to the realistic (*Prince Valiant*) and to the cartoony or stylized (*Dilbert*). Some strips, like *Liberty Meadows* with its mix of realistic humans and funny animals, blended different styles.

One historical trend is a shift away from adventure and serious continuity-oriented strips

and toward gag strips, perhaps the result of television's quicker pace, which the syndicates may believe have shortened the patience of readers, and the rise of graphic novels, in which long-form narratives are now commonly found. Similarly, simplified drawing style, as exemplified by Charles Schulz's *Peanuts*, is much more dominant than the previous illustrator styles of such strips as *Buck Rogers* or *Tarzan*, a result of the shrinking newspaper space devoted to comics and increased emphasis on licensing activity that rewards characters easily transformed into toys or other media.

Syndication and Licensing

The linkage of comic strips to syndication companies affected the reach and the form of comic strips. Although syndicates allow for national exposure and can greatly enhance the income of comic strip creators, the gatekeeping power of syndicates may also have encouraged a "mainstreaming" of issues and perspectives to create a "lowest common denominator" appeal and avoid offending publishers, editors, readers, and advertisers. To allow himself to address more political issues in such an environment, Walt Kelly, creator of the often satirical *Pogo*, was known to provide apolitical gag strips that nervous editors could substitute for especially controversial installments. However, in 2001, Frank Cho, creator of *Liberty Meadows*, purportedly stopped creating comic strips for newspapers because he was frustrated with the lack of creative freedom. The influence of individual syndicates over newspapers, although still significant, has perhaps been lessened over the years as one-newspaper towns became the norm and large chains consolidated newspaper control (similar concentration was a trend in syndication organizations). Copyright and license ownership is also important in the history of comic strip production, with syndicates often controlling licensing activities and creators serving as "work-for-hire" employees for the syndicates, although very well-paid ones in some cases. In the 1980s, many high-profile creators worked to retain ownership of their creations. In the modern era, major comic-strip syndicates include Hearst's King Features Syndicate (*Blondie*, *Dennis the Menace*), Andrews McMeel Syndication (*Doonesbury*, *Garfield*,



Figure 2 *Gasoline Alley*, March, 1921. Characters, including Walt Wallet, Aged as the Strip Continued Over Decades

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-86778. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b33253>

FoxTrot), and Creators Syndicate (*B.C.*, *Wizard of Id*, *Agnes*).

Comic-strip characters since the 1890s have been ripe for merchandising activity through toys, games, and clothes, as endorsers for products in advertisements, and through the licensing of characters into other media such as film, television, and comic books. Buster Brown is an early example in which licensing was used to promote and commercialize a comics character from its inception. Through the 1980s, comic strips offered more source material for the motion picture industry than did superhero-based comic books, as illustrated by Columbia's Blondie movie series. With the dominance of television and the success of comic-strip compilations in book form—both trends especially visible in the success of Charles Schulz's *Peanuts*—licensing and merchandising is now an assumed, permanent, and institutionalized part of comics. Many radio and television programs have been based on comic strips, such as *The Boondocks*, *Baby Blues*, *Dilbert*, and *Garfield*. The integration of comic strips and licenses also works the other way: Many comic strips have been developed to exploit a successful license from another medium. This trend began in the early years of comics with strips featuring Charlie Chaplin's tramp character and later *Mickey Mouse* and *Tarzan*, but it accelerated with television and licensing-oriented multimedia conglomerates. Strips have been created, for example, from such film and television characters as Spider-Man, The Flintstones, Star Wars, and Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles.

Politics and Ideology

Comics are also political and ideological artifacts. Several scholars have suggested that comic strips, given their popularity and combination of verbal and visual elements, are particularly appropriate for study as forms of culture that can either uphold or critique the sociopolitical status quo.

Comic strips have long dealt with social issues in both the more serious continuity strips (such as in *Judge Parker* or *Rex Morgan M.D.*), and in hybrid gag/continuity strips like *Funky Winkerbean*, *Mutts*, and *For Better or For Worse*, focusing discussion on such topics as alcoholism, animal rights, mental illness, and literacy. Taking

their cue from editorial cartoons, strips have also commented on the contemporary political scene, either allegorically (*Little Orphan Annie* from the right, *Pogo* from the left, and the more mixed case of *Li'l Abner*) or explicitly, such as the modern examples of *Doonesbury*, *Bloom County/Outland/Opus*, and the right-leaning *Mallard Fillmore* which often feature real political figures as characters or as topics for commentary. Comics have also commented on war, either literally (including patriotic portrayals throughout World War II or with a more critical eye in the case of *Doonesbury*) or metaphorically (implied through children's play or sports portrayals). In the case of the Army gag strip *Beetle Bailey*, the absence of conflicts such as Vietnam sanitized military life.

Comics may also be politically relevant in a broader sense by highlighting and legitimizing certain social groups and social practices over others, including representations of gender, race, sexual orientation, class, and consumption. Family and domestic comics reproduce images of traditional patriarchal family structures, presenting sex role stereotypes and perpetuating gender inequality. Many comics present women as main characters (*Mary Worth* and *Cathy* to name but two), but female characters tend to be underrepresented overall though overrepresented in the home and in childcare activities.

Throughout much of the 20th century, characters who were people of color were either underrepresented in comics or were presented in negative stereotypes. Prior to World War II, African American and Asian characters appeared infrequently in comics and when they did they were depicted as almost subhuman, unable to participate in the social system, and in service roles. The appearance of people of color in comic strips diminished after World War II, perhaps because of an unwillingness to be reminded of societal inequalities after a war fought for freedom and equality and in a booming postwar economy. In the 21st century, comics still underrepresent African American experience. Gay characters remain largely absent from mainstream newspaper comics, but when they appear they are usually male and depicted as assimilated into heterosexual culture or are presented in such a way to evoke nervous laughter. Gay women, transgender individuals, and LGBTQ people of color are almost entirely absent.

In response to negative or missing portrayals, minority newspapers often featured strips about situations more central and realistic to a particular group's everyday life. African American newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* offered comic strips drawn by African American creators throughout the middle of the 20th century. In response to the dearth of gay characters, publications such as *The Advocate* and LGBTQ "alt-weekly" newspapers featured gay-themed comics, dealing much more fundamentally and frankly with issues of gay life, such as Howard Cruse's *Wendel* and Alison Bechdel's *Dykes to Watch Out For*. Today, people of color remain underrepresented in comics, but characters are included in a broader array of settings and occupations. Starting with Morrie Turner's *Wee Pals* in the 1960s, other comics including *Luther*, *Quincy*, *Curtis*, *The Boondocks*, *Secret Asian Man*, *Candorville*, and *Cafe Con Leche* feature people of color as main characters. *Welcome to the New World*, launched by *The New York Times* in 2016, reports on the true-life experiences of a family that emigrated from Syria to the United States.

Although the history of comics offers significant exceptions, like the early portrayal of class differences and slum life in *The Yellow Kid* or the much later *Agnes* about an impoverished little girl living in a trailer park, mainstream comics remain focused largely on the white middle class. Typical examples are *Blondie*, *Hi and Lois*, and *Family Circus*. Capitalist values are commonly found in comics. For instance, comic strips were important in helping shift American culture from a producer to a consumer orientation during the first half of the 20th century. Comics such as *Gasoline Alley* and *Winnie Winkle* commented on and taught middle- and working-class readers the appropriate way to consume while constructing reader identities around the purchase and consumption of goods and services. *Dilbert* perhaps offers a more cynical view of the capitalist workplace by focusing on the dehumanizing experience of a white-collar worker. Some suggest that *Dilbert* helps workers cope with the absurdities of the workplace while also providing a mild ideological critique, while others suggest that the strip offers an emotional salve that discourages action and social change.

Scholarship

The serious study of comics has grown from the occasional early work in the mid-20th century to a steady interdisciplinary and international output in recent decades. Coulton Waugh's 1947 book *The Comics*, although seen by many contemporary researchers as making the occasional dubious historical claim, nevertheless is the first serious attempt to bring scholarly coherence to the form. Scholars in the 1970s studied comics as part of the growth of popular culture studies, including Russel Nye, Arthur Asa Berger, M. Thomas Inge, and John Lent. Scholarly journals include *The International Journal of Comic Art*, *Inks: The Journal of the Comics Studies Society*, *The Comics Grid: Journal of Comics Scholarship*, *European Comic Art*, and *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*. Several academic libraries have extensive comic art collections, including the Comic Art Collection at Michigan State University and the Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum at Ohio State University. Researchers also influenced by the cultural importance of comic books discuss comic art scholarship at such fora as the Comic Art & Comics Division of the Popular Culture Association, the International Comics Art Forum, the Comics Studies Society, and the Comics Art Conference held during the Comic-Con International annually in San Diego, CA.

Future Challenges

Comics are still a key part of most newspapers and regularly read by many newspaper readers. Newspaper personnel see the comics section as a way to attract young readers, a factor of key importance both in terms of newspapers' future longevity and the medium's attractiveness to advertisers. Yet the space for comics in newspapers has shrunk over the decades, as has the number of newspapers. In addition, certain strips, which have existed for decades as new artists and writers have replaced earlier generations (such as with *Blondie*) or are rerun with a "Classic" label (such as *Peanuts*), limit the space for new strips. Culturally, characters from comic books are more popular and well known than comic-strip characters as comic art in the 21st century.

Unclear is the extent to which the future of comics will continue to be linked to the future of newspapers. Digital technology allows for the creation, promotion, and distribution of new digitally created and distributed comics, and the enhanced fidelity and interactive component of digital media may open up new creative possibilities. Distributors and some syndicates have worked to commercialize the Internet and other digital outlets for the strips they control; Andrews McMeel Universal's GoComics and King Features' Comics Kingdom are examples that generate revenue autonomous from newspapers.

In the digital era and with the decline of newspapers, comics creators have searched for additional sources of revenue beyond the traditional relationship with newspapers. Digital platforms such as Patreon facilitate financial support for "webcomic" creators directly from fans. Creators also may link funding mechanisms to their professional websites. Tom Tomorrow, the creator of political-humor comic *This Modern World*, has "Sparky's List," an email service for fans that, for a fee, promises updates and early releases of new comics. Jen Sorensen, another politics-based comic creator, offers fans a membership in "The Sorensen Subscription Service," linked to and promoted on her website. Such creator- and strip-based websites also sell related merchandise such as book collections and posters to generate income.

As comic strips become separated from journalism as the newspaper medium declines in sales, it may mean that some of the larger profile comic strips, as a lucrative form of visual entertainment, will become further housed in larger synergistically oriented media conglomerates looking to exploit valuable character licenses or will move to digital formats that may not monetize at levels found earlier in the form's history. How these trends will affect the creation, commercialization, and fan use of comics is still to be determined.

Matthew P. McAllister and Shannon Kahle

See also Cartoonists; Political; Feature Syndicates; Graphics; Printing; Yellow Kid

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COMMENT SECTIONS

Comment sections are online spaces where people discuss a wide variety of topics, including the news. While often hosted on the websites of news publishers, comment sections are also increasingly popular on social media platforms, for example, underneath news story links shared through the social media pages and profiles of news outlets. Comment sections are widely understood as vital venues for the health of democratic societies, as they allow people to exchange their opinions on a wide range of topics. Comment sections have also recast the relationship between journalists as the producers of news content, and their audiences, and provide agency for news readers—to interact with journalists, to provide feedback, point out mistakes in a story, and to talk to others.

As comment sections invite people to air divergent opinions, they are spaces prone to incivility or other types of problematic speech and necessitate that user debates are kept in check. Comment sections, therefore, are also important fields in which the acceptability of certain types of speech is tested and negotiated. While news outlets attempt to maintain civility in comment sections by various forms of moderation and by articulating policies of acceptable speech, moderating comments itself is a labor-intensive endeavor, and not all news outlets want to or can dedicate the necessary amount of resources to it. After a brief introduction on the history of comment sections, this entry discusses the role of comment sections from a societal-democratic, institutional, and social perspective.

Short History of Comment Sections

The history of comment sections dates to the late 1990s, with individual news outlets establishing commenting functions underneath news stories. Far from a novel idea, predecessors of comment sections were discussion boards that existed on a variety of digital services. News outlets slowly picked up on providing comment functions, hesitant at first to introduce the possibility for readers to leave their opinions directly and uninhibited in spaces formerly exclusively populated by professional journalists. Letters to the editor had been a common feature of the news well before. But unlike comments, these were editorially selected items, picked from a number of submissions. Comment sections, on the other hand, posed an agential threat to the position of power that journalists hold, as they would allow anyone to air their opinions on anything.

In the early days of comment sections, comments were policed less. Slowly but steadily, the provision of spaces for debate became the norm across news sites as well as other platforms, until around 2013, when some outlets such as *Popular Science* began to do away with their comment sections altogether. Other news outlets such as the *Chicago Sun-Times* and National Public Radio followed. News organizations that got rid of their comment sections cited a variety of reasons such as the financial impact of having to invest in teams that would keep comment sections clean, or that large swaths of readers had moved over to comment on news stories on social media platforms where the stories were shared. As

the dynamics of digital spaces changed, the majority of online debates was unfolding on social media platforms.

Three Perspectives on Comment Sections

Comment sections assume an important role in society, as they are spaces for deliberation and debate. Intricately connected to institutions that provide comment sections are the rules by which comment sections are governed—be that informally through norms of debate that are long-honed and cultural, or more concretely, through community guidelines that news outlets or social media sites have articulated. As comment sections have permeated life on the Internet, it is important to consider the people who comment online, as well as the psychology of comment sections. The remainder of this entry parses the subject area of comment sections in the domains of democracy, institutional questions, and social aspects associated with it.

Democracy and the Role of Commenting in Society

Comment sections have been hailed as spaces that allow for deliberation to unfold, a digital version of public squares that allow for people to come together and have debates about political ideas. The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas's theorizing on deliberative democracy is instrumental in thinking about online comments as a venue for the reasoned exchange of opinions that is crucial for democratic societies. As such, comment sections provide for citizens to discuss the important issues of the time, to hear countering opinions, and to not only inform themselves about the news, but also to engage with the news and participate. News outlets operating as democratic arbiters of information and as the fourth estate, in charge of keeping checks and balances on legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government, may extend their democratic claims to not only provide information for citizens but also to provide spaces to discuss such information. Most research, however, shows that comments fail to live up to these deliberative ideals. Hosting spaces of debate is accompanied by responsibilities such as maintaining civility among commenters.

Incivility is one of the most studied and most prevalent issues that comment sections are facing.

While some commenters may argue that even their most hateful and vile statements are protected by freedom of expression principles, this may not be true, because private corporations who host comment spaces do not have to allow all types of speech. Rather, they have to navigate thresholds of acceptability. While some content might be disconcerting, it may still be important for a fruitful debate, or drive traffic toward economic goals of the platform. Other content, however, could be so disconcerting that it is assumed never to produce meaningful debate, and news outlets (and other platforms) need to take difficult decisions on how to track and get rid of such content.

Institutional Approaches to Commenting

Comment sections have fundamentally recast the relationship between journalists and news audiences. They are important as they personify a paradigm of an active audience, or participatory journalism—famously described by journalism professor Jay Rosen in a blog post as “the people formerly known as the audience.” News outlets tasked with dealing with commenters often delegate comment moderation—the oversight of reader comments, intervention, and, possibly, deletion of problematic content—to journalists themselves. As the field of comment moderation professionalized, community managers started to be put in place, charged with moderation. This was accompanied by technological solutions that would make it easier for news outlets to deal with large numbers of comments that needed to be checked for violating terms of service. Contemporary comment moderation systems typically employ combinations of technological solutions in which algorithms filter problematic content and human oversight over difficult decisions.

Different regimes of comment moderation may be put in place, some of which employ premoderation before a comment gets published, and some may constitute postmoderation. Premoderation strategies may involve manual screening and approval or disapproval of comments by human editors, or computer-assisted techniques in which algorithms predict which comments should or should not be published. Postmoderation, on the other hand, typically involves moderators getting involved once content has been flagged by users, or

otherwise brought to the attention of moderators. Moderators can swoop in after the comments are already published and weed out the ones that do not align with the rules of the platform. Because moderation is very specific to the style, scope, and size of the host of the debate, models of moderation can involve professional moderators (who may even intervene or respond to comments, instead of only deleting) or volunteer moderators. On social media platforms, moderation efforts can constitute multilayered models, in which rules of the news outlet as well as rules of the social media platform might apply to what is acceptable to post.

Social Aspects of Commenting

Comment sections are inherently social enterprises. Their success or demise depends on the people who participate in them, and the ways in which they do so. Psychologist John Suler has coined the so-called *online disinhibition effect* that posits that people are less inhibited to post and say certain things online than they are off. Indeed, content analyses commonly show that about a fifth of all comments are somewhat uncivil.

Commenter demographics are often more male and older than the general population, and it is important to consider who does and who does not participate in online comments, for a variety of reasons. People who are members of minority groups may be less prone to comment altogether if they know that there is the possibility of being harassed. Even if only a small share of all readers may comment themselves, comment sections may be interesting to others. The so-called *lurkers* are the people who do not comment themselves, but who read what others have to say. While deliberation is what academics often argue is a merit of online news comments, more tangible uses for individual users may include a sense of community and belonging that online spaces can produce. Meanwhile, comment sections can be boon and bane—they may drive traffic for news outlets, but negative content attached to the bottom of a news article can also lead to negative overall perceptions of a news outlet. Similarly, research has established that there are negative effects associated with reading certain comments, as well as exhaustion for those people who are in charge of sifting through comments. The ways in which the

Internet operates give primacy to controversial and inflammatory content. In this vein, operators of comment sections may be interested in a certain level of uncivil debate to keep the forum interesting but need to be mindful of the negative effects of how people may perceive this bleeding over on the image of the outlet itself.

Martin J. Riedl

See also Audiences; Civic Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Discussion Boards; Letters to the Editor; Participatory Journalism; Social Media; User-Created Content

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COMMENTATORS, RADIO

The American radio news commentator or analyst role came into being in the late 1930s at a time of rising world tensions that would soon lead to World War II. Commentators provide their opinions about and analysis of domestic and international affairs in news segments or programs clearly identified as comment, as distinct from reportage. They are thus the aural equivalent of newspaper columnists—and of what we would term today “op-ed” contributors. While some large-market radio stations had their own commentators in the period from 1935 to 1950, the best known were network figures. Although only a few were active in radio at any given time, at their peak around 1945, several hundred commentators could be heard on the air across the country. Within a decade, however, the majority of those who remained active had moved to television. By the 1990s, radio talk show hosts had largely subsumed the commentary role. While traditional commentary had always been by definition subjective even as it attempted balanced judgment on domestic or international events, the new radio talk show formats have tended to be far more biased and politically polarized in their “commentary.”

Development

Commentary on radio is almost as old as the medium itself. In their search for programming to fill airtime, many stations welcomed those who appeared informed, could speak clearly and in an interesting fashion, to comment on current events. Indeed, commentators were heard on radio before regular news broadcasts in many cases. Newspaper attempts to quash radio newscasts in the early 1930s did not target commentary (which was not seen as competitive with newspaper columnists), thus further helping to promote on-air comment. Programs of commentary also lent themselves to commercial sponsorship much better than newscasts at that time. Commentary on radio attracted listeners who could identify with a voice and personality more readily than with mere words on a newspaper page. And commentary attracted an upper socioeconomic class audience—exactly the listeners many upscale advertisers sought. Commentators were respected and widely listened to, their views often quoted elsewhere. Most had extensive professional grounding in newspapers and magazines, and many benefited from both foreign experience and language ability, further distinguishing them from their radio talk show counterparts of today.

Commentary by its very nature usually deals with matters of controversy. Most commentators made clear that they expressed their own views, not necessarily the ideas of network or station management (and thus should not be confused with occasional broadcaster editorials that *do* speak for management). CBS and NBC developed policies by the late 1930s that appeared to promote news analysis more than commentary, while the newer Mutual (1934) and ABC (1945) networks generally allowed their speakers greater freedom of action. Numerous commentators who began on one of the legacy networks thus ended up on the newer chains. The stated aim to maintain overall objectivity and neutrality on issues—an express goal of most broadcasters who feared offending listeners or advertisers—was a constant countervailing pressure against commentary. So were shifting sponsors, for by the 1940s, advertisers controlled most radio airtime. To displease or lose a sponsor often meant losing a given time slot or even leaving the air.

Alongside the rise of television, fear of domestic communism early in the cold war helped end many radio commentator careers as radio sought to survive by airing popular music and generally avoiding controversy. A few major stations continued offering commentary, but by the 1960s, most such programs had disappeared from the air. Some commentators (such as Eric Sevareid, often heard on Walter Cronkite's evening television newscast over CBS) shifted from radio to network television. Edward P. Morgan, sponsored by the AFL-CIO labor alliance, was one of the last national radio commentators, his nightly program into the 1960s combining 7 minutes of news followed by as much commentary (presented as "the shape of one man's opinion"). Documentaries—often with a point of view—fled to television, only to disappear in their turn to such cable networks as the Discovery or History channels.

Some Noted American Radio Commentators

Hilmar Baukhage (1889–1976)

Baukhage used only his last name on the air, beginning his commentaries simply as "Baukhage Talking." Of German background, he studied there and in France, becoming fluent in both languages as well as English. He worked for a number of newspapers, the Associated Press, and some magazines before being heard on the NBC-Blue network starting in 1932. As World War II began, he broadcast first from Berlin, then from Washington. He continued with a 15-minute daily commentary when NBC-Blue became ABC in 1945, sometimes covering one topic per broadcast, sometimes several. While most concerned with news events, Baukhage would sometimes comment on lighter aspects of life. He began offering commentary on the Mutual network in 1948, moving to a spot with it full time in 1951. He retired 2 years later, after the network declined to renew his contract, arguing he was paid too much and spoke too long for modern listeners.

Harold Thomas "Boake" Carter (1903–1944)

Carter was born in Russia, and he grew up in England, arriving in the United States in the early

1920s. He worked for Philadelphia newspapers and was first heard on radio in that city when he broadcast a rugby match in 1930. His early attempts at radio commentary failed (listeners claimed they could not understand his English accent, which he soon modified to sound more American), but he was soon heard on a Philadelphia radio station offering news and brief commentary. His reporting of the Lindbergh baby kidnapping in 1932 propelled him to the CBS network. For 5 years, Carter was a highly popular figure on CBS, offering both news and commentary; however, the tone of his broadcasts became sharper and more right wing (and isolationist), and the network terminated him in mid-1938 when his sponsor contract ended. Carter broadcast twice a week over the Mutual network until his death.

Upton Close (1894–1960)

Close was born Joseph Washington Hall but gained his press and radio name from his early articles from and about China (he was a fluent Chinese speaker), which ended with the words “up close.” He became a right-wing radio commentator who began his career with liberal views. Close authored seven books and a host of articles about Asia. After a period as a lecturer in the early 1920s, he first broadcast in 1924. He provided occasional broadcasts over NBC from 1934 to 1941, often speaking on Asian affairs. These appearances became weekly by the fall of 1942—and increasingly right wing in tone, compared to his incisive and balanced Asian reporting. When his commentaries became increasingly focused on perceived conspiracies, NBC removed him from the air in December 1944. He broadcast briefly (1945–1946) over the Mutual network and then retired to Mexico.

Elmer Davis (1890–1958)

Davis is perhaps best remembered today for heading the Office of War Information during World War II. A Rhodes Scholar (1910), he became a *New York Times* reporter in 1914, and wrote novels and short stories as well. Failing to get the foreign correspondent berth he sought,

Davis served as an editorial page writer and editor until leaving the *Times* in 1924 and turning to freelance writing. His liberal views became clearer as war approached, and he began commentary over CBS radio in September 1939, just after war broke out in Europe. His reasoned, conversational delivery quickly gained him a loyal audience, and his audience ratings were behind only those of commentator H. V. Kaltenborn and newscaster Lowell Thomas. He employed calm, unemotional words with a dry wit. Early in 1942, after a period of months broadcasting from England, Davis was tapped to head Office of War Information. After the war, in 1945, he shifted to the new ABC network and broadcast news and analysis three evenings a week, alternating with Raymond Swing until 1947, when Davis took over the whole schedule. He retired in 1953, doing occasional television commentary.

H. V. Kaltenborn (1878–1965)

Kaltenborn began his journalism career in newspapers, rising to become editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle* in the 1920s. He may have been the first radio commentator when he appeared over a New York station in 1922 and remained the dean of the field for three decades. His clipped Germanic delivery style and his ability to speak without notes—and to translate from several languages—made him widely recognized and respected. He began reporting stories while serving as an American volunteer during the Spanish-American war. Serving as a reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, he rose to become associate editor. He had a regular program on radio by the mid-1920s and left the *Eagle* for full-time radio work in 1930. Kaltenborn’s supreme moment came with the September 1938 Munich crisis, where he stayed at his CBS studio in New York for a month, catching sleep in a nearby room so he could go on the air anytime an important event or speech needed translation and analysis—all of which he did extemporaneously. He shifted to NBC a year or so later and often broadcast from distant battlefronts. He stopped regular broadcasting in 1953 out of disgust over how television was reducing broadcast journalism by diminishing the spoken word.

Fulton Lewis Jr. (1903–1966)

Lewis grew up in and began his newspaper reporting from Washington, DC. He served for nearly a decade as the Washington bureau chief for the Hearst-owned International News Service. He became especially known for exposing scandal in the nation's capital beginning with the awarding of airmail contracts in the early 1930s that led to a Senate investigation and substantial change in the air transport business. At the same time, Lewis began his broadcasting career with Washington station appearances as one of many newspaper reporters. By 1936, he was featured on the new Mutual network in *The Top of the News* with a host of local sponsors, thus reducing his dependence on any one firm. Lewis's broadcast views were conservative, generally paralleling those of the Republican Party. In 1939, by then one of the country's most popular radio commentators, Lewis led the effort to secure for radio journalists equal seating rights in Congress and the White House as their colleagues in the press. Because of his efforts, what had been *press* conferences became *news* conferences. He backed isolationists before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and continued with highly critical commentary on government and military decisions during the war. He remained on the air, ever more conservative, into the 1960s, though with declining audiences.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965)

Murrow became the most popular radio commentator during and after World War II. Building on his reputation gained from insightful reporting from Europe during the war, he broadcast *Edward R. Murrow with the News* nightly at 7:45 p.m. on the CBS radio network from 1947 to 1959. It was the 15-minute radio showcase for CBS News that concluded with a few moments of Murrow's commentary, called *tailpiece*, on people and events in the news. His reassuring voice, combined with his by then extensive experience, made him a widely trusted figure in the 1950s, though also often a target for right-wing attacks on his perceived liberal viewpoint. Because he was using radio, then seen as a media backwater, he had more freedom of commentary than was allowed on his television documentaries.

Dorothy Thompson (1894–1961)

Thompson was a rarity—a woman in the largely male world of radio journalism. An early feminist and speaker for women's suffrage, Thompson became a foreign correspondent (one of the earliest women in that role, too) in Europe for newspapers and news agencies and then wrote popular columns for, among other publications, the New York *Herald Tribune* and *The Ladies Home Journal*. Her appeal was substantial, as was her audience. She began her radio work in 1936, 2 years after being expelled from Hitler's Germany, where NBC had sent her to report on the political conventions there. She began a weekly 15-minute radio commentary program a year later, first on NBC and then at Mutual, which lasted until early 1945. She continued writing until the late 1950s. Thompson generally took a strongly internationalist tone on world affairs and an independent approach to domestic issues.

Conclusion

Radio by the 1970s and 1980s no longer had time for or interest in commentary. In an era of "rip-and-read" 5-minute newscasts and sound-bite journalism, sustained, thoughtful analysis simply did not fit. The few remaining news commentators—such as the syndicated Paul Harvey or even Charles Osgood on CBS—began reading commercials for their sponsors, something almost no commentator in the medium's golden years had ever done. At the beginning of the 21st century, only on public radio did commentary survive in the United States. Daniel Schorr, for example, after years at CBS, joined National Public Radio in 1985 and commented on domestic and international affairs for more than two decades.

By the turn of the 21st century, there was virtually no commentary left on broadcast radio, and precious little on television. Instead, listeners were inundated with talk show hosts, most of them conservative in their views, who aggressively presented opinion rather than analytic commentary on local, national, or world affairs. Journalistic commentary had given way to better paying political and social verbal face-offs.

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See also Cable Television; Documentaries; Editorials; Newscasters, Radio; Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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COMMISSION ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Commission on Freedom of the Press, also known as the *Hutchins Commission*, was established in 1943 to study U.S. press freedom. It produced a landmark work in journalism studies, the book *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947). *A Free and Responsible Press*, the product of a unique collaboration of American public intellectuals, presents a sophisticated analysis of the news media in a democracy, one that transcends its times. This entry first discusses the origins and operations of the commission. It then looks at the commission's findings and the impact of *A Free and Responsible Press*.

Origins and Operations

In the early 1940s, Time Inc. editor-in-chief Henry R. Luce broached an idea to his friend Robert Maynard Hutchins, president (later chancellor) of the University of Chicago. Noting that the university conducted corporate-funded scientific research, Luce suggested a Time Inc.-funded philosophical

study of freedom of the press. Hutchins at first dismissed the notion as impracticable, but after several conversations, he agreed to organize the study. He and Luce recruited a dozen eminent American thinkers—including theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, poet and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, First Amendment scholar Zechariah Chafee Jr., philosopher William Ernest Hocking, and communications theorist Harold D. Lasswell—plus four foreign advisers. When Judge Learned Hand declined to chair the project, Hutchins took on the role himself, as the 13th member.

The Hutchins Commission, as it came to be called, met 17 times between 1943 and 1946, funded by \$200,000 from Time Inc. and \$15,000 from Encyclopaedia Britannica, and supported by a four-person research staff. (The commission members and the foreign advisers all were white males, as were three of the staff researchers; the fourth researcher was a white woman.) In March 1947, the University of Chicago Press published its general report, *A Free and Responsible Press*, which was signed by all 13 members. The commission also sponsored five supplemental volumes written by members and researchers.

A Free and Responsible Press

Although *A Free and Responsible Press* discusses a wide range of topics—information and entertainment in newspapers, books, movies, radio, and magazines, plus political discourse among citizens—it focuses principally on news of public affairs in newspapers and newsmagazines. The commission reaches four broad conclusions: (1) the current performance of the press is poor; (2) as a philosophical matter, a democratic government can legitimately regulate the press; (3) regulations are not warranted under current circumstances; (4) instead, solutions must come from outside the government.

Press Performance

The Hutchins Commission's assessment of press performance is best remembered for its list of the functions of a media system in a democracy:

Today our society needs, first, a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's

events in a context which gives them meaning; second, a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; third, a means of projecting the opinions and attitudes of the groups in the society to one another; fourth, a method of presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society; and, fifth, a way of reaching every member of the society by the currents of information, thought, and feeling which the press supplies (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, pp. 20–21).

Of the five criteria, the report concentrates principally on the first (truthful coverage) and the second and third (diverse voices). It asserts that significant elements in the American media are performing so poorly that they threaten “the preservation of democracy and perhaps of civilization” (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 106) though it presents little evidence.

Role of the State

The report rejects the view that freedom of expression by definition confers a near-absolute right to speak on citizens while imposing a near-absolute prohibition against government action. It develops three interrelated arguments.

First, free expression serves listeners as well as speakers; accordingly, conflicts over expression must be analyzed in terms of the interests of both groups. It follows that the state on occasion can regulate speakers, including the news media, in order to advance the interests of listeners.

Second, free expression merits protection because it advances certain social values, and those values demarcate the scope of the freedom. Under this instrumentalist approach, if speech is free for the purpose of fostering liberal democracy, then speech need not be free when it fails to foster liberal democracy. The commission characterizes this approach as *freedom for* (fostering liberal democracy) as opposed to *freedom from* (the state).

Third, although journalists typically view free speech as a negative right, meaning that government action abridges the freedom, free speech is also a positive right, meaning that the government can aid those who want to exercise the freedom. Under a positive conception, for example, the state might require media organizations to

provide column inches or airtime to certain groups, so that they could promulgate their messages to large audiences; by contrast, a negative conception would bar such requirements.

With these three arguments, the commission lays a philosophical foundation for regulating the press. The classic counterargument is that political leaders cannot be trusted with such regulatory power because their tenure in office may depend on news coverage. The commission acknowledges this counterargument but implicitly rejects it.

Governmental Remedies

According to the Hutchins Commission, American media owners have too much power and too little responsibility. The power stems from monopoly and concentrated ownership; the irresponsibility manifests in (among other things) the owners’ refusal to provide a platform for diverse ideas and their occasional use of falsehoods to promote their own ideas. *A Free and Responsible Press* generally rejects antitrust enforcement as a tool for reducing concentrations of ownership and power. To enhance the diversity of voices in the press, the report advocates a common carrier approach. (Under the law, a common carrier, such as a telephone company, must transmit all messages at standard rates; it cannot discriminate.) The report recommends the common carrier approach only as a model, and not as a legal requirement. It also concludes that new laws are not appropriate to punish falsehoods in the press.

Thus, although the commission argues that regulation of the press is justified on a philosophical level, it rejects most regulations on pragmatic grounds, given the exigencies of the moment. But it stresses that if the press fails to improve, new regulations are inevitable, and they may be draconian. The First Amendment will provide no protection, for “[t]he amendment will be amended” (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 80).

The report does urge the government to improve the system of free expression through various non-punitive means, including extending First Amendment protection to broadcasting and film; repealing laws against seditious speech; spurring government agencies to inform the public about their decisions and policies, through state-run media if necessary; aiding start-up media

organizations through tax laws or postal rates; and enabling news organizations to avoid some libel suits by publishing corrections or responses.

Nongovernmental Remedies

A Free and Responsible Press discusses nongovernmental oversight of the press in terms of internal and external mechanisms. It considers three internal mechanisms, operating within the media. First, the report rejects ethics codes and other forms of self-regulation as toothless. Second, it advocates the concept of professionalism, which holds that profit is not the sole measure of success, while acknowledging that journalism does not precisely fit the model of a true profession. Third, it urges media organizations to engage in vigorous mutual criticism.

The report also considers three types of external nongovernmental oversight. First, it rejects citizen activism, including boycotts, on the ground that pressure groups are inherently self-serving. Second, it calls on journalism schools to adopt a more critical stance toward the industry, on the model of law schools, while calling on universities to establish centers for academic study of the media. Finally, the report recommends a new form of nongovernmental oversight, a nonprofit civic organization that will periodically report on the performance of the press—in essence, a press council. The press council is the commission's principal recommendation.

Beyond oversight, the report advances additional proposals for nongovernmental actors to improve the system of free expression. For the media, it recommends shifting control of broadcast programming from sponsors (and their advertising agencies) to broadcast licensees; producing high-culture content, even if it loses money at first; and raising the competence of journalists through better education (particularly in the liberal arts), higher pay, and longer term contracts. It also recommends the creation of nonprofit media organizations at universities and elsewhere.

Impact

Contemporary Reactions

Reactions to *A Free and Responsible Press* varied. Generally speaking, establishment and liberal

publications and columnists praised it, as did *Quill* and the new *Nieman Reports*. Conservative publications and columnists denounced it, as did *Editor & Publisher* and leaders of two industry organizations, the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Luce found *A Free and Responsible Press* to be a disappointment. Responsibility to a free society, in his view, is meaningless. He believed that journalists (and everyone else) ought to consider themselves responsible to God.

Demise and Revival

After the initial wave of coverage and reviews, the Hutchins Commission and its report virtually disappeared. They began to be resurrected in 1956, thanks to the publication of *Four Theories of the Press*, by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. Peterson's chapter on social responsibility relies heavily on *A Free and Responsible Press* plus one of the commission's supplemental volumes, Hocking's *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle*. Peterson concludes that libertarian press theory is outmoded; social responsibility is the theory of the future.

Four Theories entered the curriculum of schools of journalism, and it helped bring *A Free and Responsible Press* to the attention of students and scholars. Today, the Hutchins Commission is the subject of several books and monographs as well as scores of articles, chapters, and dissertations. Its list of the functions of the news media appears in many textbooks. Beyond journalism studies, the Supreme Court cited *A Free and Responsible Press* and applied its analysis in a pivotal case about media access, *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo* (1974).

Stephen Bates

See also Access to Media; Civic Journalism; Comparative Models of Journalism; Positive First Amendment; Self-Regulation; Theories of Journalism

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COMMUNITY RADIO

The term “community radio” means different things in different contexts, but in general applies to small-scale terrestrial radio broadcasting featuring content created by and for distinct communities. Community radio is generally considered distinct from “commercial radio” and “public radio,” and its purpose is to provide a third tier of radio broadcasting that emphasizes public service programming and/or public access to radio airwaves. This entry further defines community radio and then discusses its origins and its manifestations throughout the world.

Community radio has existed in some form almost as long as radio itself, and the sector increased in scope and focus through much of the late 20th century. Since the turn of the 21st century, community radio has been enabled through widespread regulatory and licensing schemes, although the growth of the sector has been hampered at times by hostile legislation, opposition from commercial interests, and insufficient financial and volunteer support.

Not to be conflated with “local radio,” community radio is more than just radio serving a distinct geographic region; community radio emphasizes community-specific content produced by (or with heavy involvement from) the community itself. Distinctions between community radio and local/niche radio often are determined by organizational and funding models rather than matters of coverage areas and/or programming. Quite often (but not exclusively), community radio operates on a nonprofit, volunteer-staff model, with most, if not all, funding from local donations and sponsorships, governmental programs, and grants from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and philanthropies.

Although both commercial and public radio stations can (and some, in fact, do) provide community-specific news and programming, those sectors generally rely on paid professionals to develop content and to manage the stations. In turn, some community radio stations may augment their local programming with syndicated content that can also be found on commercial and/or public stations (e.g., BBC World Service is broadcast via a number of community radio stations in Africa and Asia, and low-power FM community radio stations in the United States often carry syndicated programs from public radio networks).

Legal definitions, used for regulatory purposes, also vary for “community radio” in different parts of the world, though an increase in distinct regulation has occurred in the early 21st century. Some small-scale commercial stations emphasize local content and encourage public participation and thus provide programming that, to the audience, may be indistinguishable from legally defined community radio stations. Outside the law, unregistered “pirate radio” initiatives also can fill the same cultural roles as licensed community radio, particularly in authoritarian and/or underdeveloped regions where anti-government content is restricted. Similar community-focused content may be produced by local stations of national networks (such as local ABC stations in Australia and local NPR affiliates in the United States), public service and educational radio based at universities, and church-based “hyperlocal” radio broadcasts. The term “community radio” also has been applied to Internet-based audio streams serving dispersed cultural groups, even if there is no

terrestrial broadcasting component to such outlets. Given all of the variables and culturally relative applications of the term, it is more useful to consider “community radio” as a big-tent concept embracing a number of different models, with the one common variable being an emphasis on community engagement via community-focused programming.

Origins of Modern Community Radio

In many ways, the earliest use of radio in the early 20th century was a *de facto* form of community radio, fueled by radio hobbyists and collective “radio clubs” (such as those in the United States and Canada before World War I) and rebel organizations in Ireland, Germany, and other parts of Europe, as well as the Egyptian capital, Cairo. The onset of governmental licensing and regulation from the 1920s onward created a legal limbo for community radio, and in some nations led to a decline in community radio as commercial radio and, later, public radio expanded. From the 1960s onward, efforts were made worldwide to create regulatory environments that would allow for legal nonprofit community radio; by 2020, dozens of nations had enacted laws specifically aimed at allowing and supporting community radio.

Latin America is considered the birthplace of community radio, and the platform continues in the 21st century to serve a number of disparate communities in both urban and rural regions. An early example was Radio Sutatenza, launched in 1947 by a Catholic priest hoping to combat illiteracy in rural communities of Colombia; the local effort eventually expanded to provide a variety of educational programming across a national network. In Bolivia, mine-workers’ unions began operating radio stations as early as the 1940s using relatively inexpensive equipment with only local or regional range. The various Radio Mineras stations provided Bolivian communities with more than news and cultural programming—they also became conduits for public announcements, personal messages, birth announcements, obituaries, and anti-corruption commentary during periods of authoritarian censorship of newspapers and commercial broadcasters (during which some miners’ radio stations also were targeted for closure by government forces).

Clandestine radio broadcasting was common in the geopolitical shifts that followed World War II, with examples such as Voice of the Revolution in the Dominican Republic, Radio Rebelde in Cuba, Palestinian and Zionist radio in Israel, anti- and pro-communist radio in Eastern Europe, and Basque radio in northern Spain. The term “pirate radio” originated in the 1960s and 1970s, with Denmark’s Radio Mercur broadcasting from a ship in international waters to evade mainland licensure and regulators. The programming of many of those European pirate radio stations was mostly popular and/or minority-culture music that was not carried by government broadcasters, and the business models were mostly commercial, for-profit enterprises. The movement inspired a proliferation of unlicensed stations serving minority immigrant groups in and near major cities. A few, however, had more political bents in the traditions of clandestine radio, such as Radio Free Scotland (advocating for Scottish independence), Radio Enoch (promoting conservative politics), Our Radio in London (promoting anarchism and left-wing politics), and numerous pirate stations serving various Black communities in the United Kingdom. Late in the 20th century, community radio (mainly unlicensed) had flourished in Ireland, Spain, France, and other countries as well, although regulatory crackdowns in the 1980s and 1990s began to curtail the activity.

Community radio also has its roots in the mid-to-late 20th century expansion of the “campus radio” (also known as *college radio*) sector, which evolved concurrently with commercial radio starting in the 1920s. Through the middle of the 20th century, campus radio was used for experimentation and training, and public broadcasts often included local news, weather reports, public announcements, educational programming, and, occasionally, live coverage of campus events such as sporting contests or public lectures. Because of financial constraints and regulatory limitations, most early campus radio efforts were low-budget operations staffed by volunteers, mostly students, and programming decisions often emphasized locally produced content of local or regional interest (quite often reflecting the ideological and aesthetic preferences of the students who volunteered at the stations). The civil rights and counterculture movements of the 1950s and 1960s, both of

which saw strong support on college campuses, influenced programming decisions at many student-run campus stations as well.

In the United States, KPFA started broadcasting to the San Francisco Bay region from Berkeley in 1949, launching the listener-funded model of radio later adopted by the public broadcasting model. As many college stations switched to the public-broadcasting model, the 1960s–1970s saw the early stages of regulatory changes (primarily in stable democracies) to accommodate nonprofit, community-focused radio. That period also saw an increase in associations devoted to bringing together community broadcasters for mutual support and professional development.

The end of the 20th century set the tone for the contemporary community radio environment. South Africa's Bush Radio, now considered a model for community radio, started as an anti-apartheid "broadcaster" that distributed audio programming by cassette tape and (briefly) via illegal broadcasts in the months leading up to the 1994 election and the end of apartheid, after which Bush Radio was officially licensed to operate in Cape Town. A few years later in Serbia, Radio B92 in Belgrade courted censorship by providing an anti-war, pro-feminist message to counter the authoritarian opportunism of the regime of President Slobodan Milošević. Off the coast of Israel, The Voice of Peace broadcast pro-peace programming from 1973 until 1993, when the ship was intentionally scuttled to recognize the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords; in 1988, Voice of Peace was countered by another offshore broadcast, Arutz Sheva, which opposed peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Other examples of politically motivated pirate radio can be found around the world, some of them clandestinely backed by governmental intelligence agencies, but many of them existing as truly grassroots endeavors.

From the 1990s onward, community radio also was leveraged as a tool for economic expansion and social progress in developing countries and regions, as well as for nation-building in postcolonial nations in Africa and Asia. Often funded by NGO grants and/or government funding schemes, nonprofit community radio has been viewed as a conduit for free expression, a means to showcase cultural diversity, and a conduit for educational programming (particularly in regard to personal

health and conflict resolution). Especially in underdeveloped regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, community radio projects have focused on promoting the rights of women and children, encouraging education and community engagement, celebrating (and documenting) local culture, and sharing views and opinions that are largely absent from existing commercial and public broadcasting.

Community Radio in the 21st Century

Despite the promise of community radio, and initial support of that "third tier" of broadcasting via regulatory frameworks and startup funds, the reality is that community radio projects often struggle to survive in terms of both operating revenue and sustainable volunteerism. Political shifts also play a role, as changes in regulatory and enforcement priorities may support community radio during one regime, but the next regime may undercut community radio for commercial and/or partisan reasons.

Global and regional bodies have generally been supportive of the expansion and support of community radio. In 2001, the African Charter on Broadcasting, adopted by participants in a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conference held in May of that year in Windhoek, Namibia, called for international recognition of community radio as distinct from public broadcasting, claiming the former is "broadcasting which is for, by and about the community . . . which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit" (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2001). In 2007, a Council of Europe declaration regarding media pluralism recognized "community media" (including radio) as having

Independence from government, commercial and religious institutions and political parties; a not-for-profit nature; voluntary participation of members of civil society ...; activities aiming at social gain and community benefit; ownership by and accountability to the communities . . . and commitment to inclusive and intercultural practices. (UNESCO, 2019)

UNESCO in 2008 called for worldwide measures to “improve conditions for the development of community media,” and again in 2012 called for countries to support “all three tiers of broadcasters—public service, community and commercial.” Founded in 1983, the Association Mondiale Des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires (AMARC, World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) has been especially active in the 21st century. In 2003, AMARC issued its “Kathmandu Declaration” noting that community broadcasting was “the most affordable, egalitarian, and accessible communication technology” (Schuler, n.d.) to counter militarism, religious fundamentalism, and other threats to human rights; at its 2010 conference in Bangalore, AMARC committed to expanding community radio among indigenous peoples of the world; and from 2014 to 2015, AMARC teamed up with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to support community radio in farming communities.

Calls by intergovernmental bodies for expansion and support may have led to action by national governments, but in practice, the expansion of community radio has been a slow process with mixed results.

In Africa, where many nations gained independence and shifted to democratic governments since the 1990s, the regulatory and financial frameworks for community radio have had varying levels of efficacy. Community radio saw expansion in some African countries, most notably Benin, Mali, Mozambique, and South Africa, but has languished in others—most notably Nigeria, Africa’s most populous nation, where regulatory hurdles and high licensing fees have hampered the expansion of community radio.

Formal community radio remains relatively undeveloped across Asia, though there have been some success stories. Hundreds of community radio stations in Indonesia (many unlicensed) provided crucial information after the 2004 tsunami disaster. The small cadre of community radio stations in coastal Bangladesh, using local dialects, provide an early-warning system against tsunamis, flooding, and cyclones. Nepal’s scores of community radio stations in 2005 circumvented an order from King Gyanendra prohibiting anything but music on the airwaves by singing the news in more than 20 languages. Community radio has a long

tradition in the Philippines, though the term is often applied to commercial local radio outside of greater Manila; nonprofit, development-oriented radio there struggles under a cloud of militaristic authoritarianism (including a “culture of impunity” toward violence against journalists) and resistance from commercial radio. India’s community radio environment has seen slow growth but has been important in preserving local dialects and minority music and folklore traditions while also advocating for women’s and children’s rights.

The long-standing role of community radio throughout Latin America has seen both support and contraction as nations modernize regulatory frameworks, with media-friendly governments offering regulatory support and more authoritarian regimes enforcing censorship from government and hostility from commercial media that feel threatened by competition from nonprofit radio. In Uruguay, decades of legal limbo—by which community radio was neither regulated nor specifically outlawed—ended with the 2007 Community Broadcasting Law, after which scores of radio stations were disbanded for running afoul of content prohibitions (focused on religious and political activism), while scores of new stations were licensed in urban and rural neighborhoods. Ecuador’s community radio sector languished for decades but saw some improvement in 2010 when 14 licenses were issued to indigenous groups along with government start-up and training programs. Colombia’s hundreds of community radio stations enjoyed some governmental support, but organized crime has made Colombia one of the most dangerous countries for journalists in the world.

Community radio in Europe has flourished in the mature democracies of the north and west but has languished in the younger democracies of the central and eastern nations as of 2020. Denmark, France, and Sweden have robust community radio sectors, but the sector is nascent and underdeveloped in the United Kingdom, Poland, Serbia, and Germany. Community radio has especially struggled under an increasingly authoritarian government in Hungary since 2011. Elsewhere, favorable regulatory environments in Australia, Canada, and the United States led to an expansion of community radio early in the 21st century, but many remained low-budget operations associated with

college campuses, churches, and niche urban communities. The United States especially underwent an expansion of low-power FM licensure from 2000 through 2013, but no new licenses had been issued through 2020.

Around the world, the promise of community radio remains precarious due to hostile legislation, authoritarian regimes, unfavorable regulatory environments, financial hurdles, and insufficient volunteerism. Yet those challenges are overcome by thousands of long-functioning community radio stations that leverage grassroots popularity, “make-do” determinism, and, of course, enduring support from the communities they serve.

Bill Reader

See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Development Journalism; Hyperlocal Journalism; Local Journalism

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COMPARATIVE MODELS OF JOURNALISM

There is a long tradition in journalism studies scholarship of comparing the ways in which journalism is practiced in different contemporary societies. Such work usually combines elements of ideology or norms with consideration of legal or political traditions and economic arrangements. In the 20th century, comparative studies were deeply influenced by modernization narratives and Cold War politics. In recent years, studies of national systems replaced more normatively inflected studies and have in turn begun to be displaced by considerations of global systems and infrastructures. At the same time, new models of journalism have flourished in the new technological ecosystem, complicating comparative frameworks. This entry discusses the development of comparative models of journalism, including the influential *Four Theories of the Press* and subsequent models that grew out of critiques of the *Four Theories* approach.

Work in comparative models in the English-speaking world emerged from studies of the history of freedom of the press. Drawing on journalism's craft memory, scholars constructed a Whiggish narrative of the rise of a free professional press that combined the intellectual history of liberalism with an evolutionary model of the history of the news business from partisan attachment to market-based independence. This approach also took note of the steady increase in the size and penetration of the news media system in developed countries, suggesting a connection between quantitative increase and liberalization and encouraging measurements of numbers of newspapers per capita or of broadcast stations to accompany assessments of increasing freedom of expression. To the scholars of this generation, the non-English-speaking world constituted a less-evolved hinterland in need of evangelization and conversion.

This framework of Whiggish development led to a series of attempts to compare or rank media systems according to either the single dimension of legal freedom from restraint or the growth of quantitative indicators of media activity. The first approach was exemplified by the annual report *The Balance Sheet of Freedom*, begun in 1955 by the U.S. nongovernmental organization Freedom House, which continues to publish a series of successor annual reports ranking or classifying countries on various aspects of liberal governance. The second approach typified the development-oriented work of international organizations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which began classifying countries according to quantitative indicators in the 1950s. These two approaches complemented each other, as both assumed an unproblematic link between norms that promoted freedom of the press and the sort of economic development toward societies of “high mass consumption” that fostered the growth of media systems.

An enduring crystallization of this line of thought was the 1956 short book *Four Theories of the Press*, coauthored by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. *Four Theories* identified four ideal types of media systems—the authoritarian, the libertarian, the social responsibility, and the Soviet communist—structured according to philosophical principles about basic matters: the nature of “man,” the nature of the state or society, and the nature of knowledge or truth. The authoritarian theory held that “man” is inherently selfish and dependent on a strong state for the maintenance of order and that knowledge is difficult and truth either unitary or opportunistic; while the libertarian theory held that “man” is guided by reason and is capable of independently discerning truth, so that only a minimal state to protect natural rights is required. The social responsibility theory is a modification of the Libertarian Theory to fit industrial society; the Soviet communist theory does the same for the Authoritarian Theory.

Four Theories was quickly thrown together out of its authors’ other work. The first two chapters drew on Siebert’s book on freedom of the press in England, Peterson based the social responsibility theory on his research on the Hutchins Commission,

and Schramm’s chapter on Soviet communism came out of his long involvement in work for the U.S. government, from World War II’s Office of War Information to psychological warfare and U.S. Information Agency media development work with Daniel Lerner and others.

Despite its casual composition, the book had enduring influence in journalism education. Its impact was a result of its simplicity and its normative clarity. These characteristics made it an effective teaching instrument; translated into many languages, it came to occupy a space in the curriculum of journalism schools around the world and was frequently summarized in more general media studies texts. Its normative influence and sweeping historical generalizations also made it a target of scholarly criticism. Some scholars critiqued its philosophical assumptions, arguing that *Four Theories* had constructed a supposedly neutral schema of normative theories by using the basic categories of one of the traditions it characterized, thereby smuggling in a covert point of view. Others pointed to historical inaccuracies that led to a flattening of the distinctions between strange bedfellows like Plato, the Pope, and Adolf Hitler.

These criticisms dented but did not wreck the appeal of *Four Theories*. Its longevity owed much to its harmony with ideological currents in the postwar liberal world order. In fact, it experienced a revival with the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the rise of market-based media in the former Soviet republics.

Critiques of *Four Theories* and Western Liberal Approaches

Criticisms of *Four Theories* come from several angles. Some focus on what the book included and note weaknesses in its historical accounts and philosophical framework. These are usefully summarized in the book *Last Rights*, written by a group of scholars at the University of Illinois, which gathers critiques aimed at each of the theories of *Four Theories* while at the same time questioning the overarching architecture of the book.

Other critiques point to the need for a broader spectrum and therefore propose more theories. Much of this work recognized that the authors of *Four Theories* did not claim that there were only

four theories and was inspired by a realization that the four theories that had been chosen had come from the particular histories of a few countries. With the movements for national liberation that followed World War II, a whole generation of new countries offered different theories of the press. So some scholars proposed, for example, adding “development journalism” as a fifth theory.

Other critiques called for a more nuanced or reflexive philosophical approach. Some noted that the confident liberalism shared by the authors of *Four Theories* seemed out of tune with the postmodern moment; these required comparisons to reckon with the viewpoint from which they were written. Others embraced a reconstructed liberalism based on pragmatics and the sort of public sphere theory that became associated with Jürgen Habermas. Studies comparing the public spheres or political cultures of pairs of countries became common in the 1990s. One work that tried to encompass this angle of attack and offer a more nuanced historical and philosophical exploration of the roles and values in media systems was the 2009 book *Normative Theories of the Media*, written collaboratively by an international group of communication scholars.

A broader kind of critique called attention to the global order within which any nation’s media system was nestled. This sort of criticism drew on a recognition that any media system would embody the power structure of the society it inhabited, a point of view emphasized by J. Herbert Altschull’s influential 1984 book *Agents of Power*. Such criticism found support in the emergence of movements from the global South. Scholars working with the concept of dependency, for example, challenged the modernization paradigm that scholars like Lerner and Schramm proposed. Noting that the path to modernization for Western liberal societies had been built out of the subjugation of the East and South, they pointed to patterns of “cultural imperialism” that mirrored military and economic imperialism. Such scholarship called for new categories of comparison to capture non-Western ways of assembling media systems.

One exemplar of this line of thought was the movement for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) that occupied

UNESCO in the 1970s and 1980s. The NWICO debate climaxed with the report of the MacBride Commission, first presented in 1978 and published as *Many Voices, One World*, in 1980. The report summarized criticisms of the uneven flow of news, culture, and information in the world, echoing arguments from dependency theorists and foreshadowing the rise of postcolonial studies and subaltern studies. It was met with a furious attack from the United States under President Ronald Reagan and the United Kingdom under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, both of which withdrew from UNESCO in protest: a key moment in the emergence of a neoliberal world order.

Comparing Media Systems

By the turn of the century, critiques of Western liberalism, geopolitical developments, and growing recognition of the postmodern condition combined to produce greater humility among scholars of comparative studies of every sort. It was recognized that universal maps of comparative systems would have to be tentative and self-reflexive. It was also felt that empirical categories should be cleansed of the normativity that approaches like *Four Theories* had exhibited.

The exemplar of this moment of comparative studies was *Comparing Media Systems*, by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini. Hallin and Mancini limited their scope to a coherent historical sphere—Western Europe and North America in the modern era—and conscientiously surveyed scholarship in the history, politics, and sociology of the media structures in various nations. Out of this material, they induced three basic ideal types or models of media systems: the liberal North Atlantic model, the democratic corporatist Northern European model, and the polarized pluralist Southern European model. They noted that every country’s system includes diverse elements and that these models are constructs, but they also noted a historical tendency across almost all of the national systems to converge toward the liberal model. Aware of the defects of the *Four Theories* approach, they clearly limited their observations to the West and explicitly demurred from normative pronouncements for non-Western media.

Comparing Media Systems has had wide impact. Among other reasons, it bases its models

on “dimensions” that are often measurable, allowing quantitative comparisons across nations. This factor has been especially important in Europe, where grant money has enabled a generation of follow-on studies.

Hallin and Mancini have been criticized for not exploring beyond Western media systems. Typical of this critique is the collection *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*, edited by Hallin and Mancini themselves. Partly consisting of country studies and partly of more abstract or methodological contributions, the collection demonstrates the usefulness of Hallin and Mancini’s approach for theory building while at the same time pointing to realities that are harder to encompass, particularly the increasingly important case of China and the rising salience of regional and global media, such as Al Jazeera in the Arab world.

A similar approach to comparative study is exemplified by the Worlds of Journalism Study. A collaborative effort spearheaded by Thomas Hanitzsch at LMU Munich and Folker Hanusch at the University of Vienna, Worlds of Journalism compiles survey data contributed by affiliates in countries around the world. Its aim is to provide resources for comparative studies of the discursive construction of journalism at both the organizational level and the societal level. In contrast to Hallin and Mancini, Worlds of Journalism incorporates the perspective of working journalists, capturing their perceptions of journalism’s roles, values, and constraints.

Globalization

There are limits to country-by-country approaches. Critics of the global media system had long made the point that national media systems were dependent on global infrastructures. One of the targets of critics in the NWICO movement was the dominance of Western news services such as Reuters and the Associated Press. Other global factors included the distribution of spectrum through the International Telecommunications Union; the recognition of intellectual property rights through the Berne Agreement, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, and the World Trade Organization; and the assignment of Internet names and numbers through the Internet Corporation for

Assigned Names and Numbers, all of which have been criticized as dominated by Western commercial interests.

In addition to infrastructural elements, the 21st century has seen the emergence of additional global media players. These include both nominally independent entities, such as Al Jazeera and Sky TV, and state-related operations such as RT and France 24. Operating in tandem with these and other news organizations are platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Weibo, which are based in a single nation but are truly global in reach.

Models of journalism remain in some meaningful sense national. This is because journalism normatively focuses on the political, and the nation remains the most important domain of politics. Global influences in the national arena tend to be considered intrusions or even infestations, signs of the vulnerabilities of the modern state in the age of globalization.

But only the most powerful states are able to define a model of journalism, and even in those states there are usually competing models of journalism. Currently, no state seems more capable of media governance than China, where state-related enterprises dominate the landscape. Media enterprises are all state-related; infrastructural players, including telecom companies, Internet service providers, and equipment manufacturers, are also under strict state supervision. China exemplifies a form of market authoritarianism—state control coupled with “neoliberal” market policies—that is increasingly in evidence in east Asia and elsewhere. But even in China, different models of journalism contend within the news sphere.

In the classically liberal countries, the multiplication of models of journalism is even more pronounced. In the 20th century, an ordinary model featured a public service sector—the exemplar would be Britain’s BBC—competing with profit- and market-oriented media. In the United States, media law distinguished between broadcast media, governed by the Fairness Doctrine, and print media, which were free from any such restrictions on editorial decision making. As public service media have lost ground to commercial media, however, markets for news have also undergone trauma that overturned traditional journalism norms. New “journalisms” have sprung up in response: public journalism, citizen journalism,

solutions journalism, engagement journalism, entrepreneurial journalism, platform journalism, and so forth. Some of these nest within traditional news organizations, while others inhabit new digital or network media.

Increasingly, the news system of any nation is a mélange of different models: some social democratic, some commercial, some sponsored by autocratic states, some algorithmic, and some alternative or vernacular. And increasingly all of these journalistic voices find audiences through the mediation of a platform that is itself neither national nor journalistic. The platform, which is the core of new media systems, thus becomes the horizon of comparative studies.

John Nerone

See also Commission on Freedom of the Press; Development Journalism; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

Conflicts of interest in journalism can exist on both the individual and institutional level. Codes of ethics or organizational rules traditionally sought to maintain professional distance between reporters and their sources, while keeping news organizations free from financial or other pressures that could potentially bias their news products. Journalists have long prized their independence and ability to report the truth fairly and accurately, which is why, as a profession, journalism developed boundaries to protect individuals and institutions from both conflicts of interest and conflicts of commitment. However, as journalism has moved into the digital era with new business models and a softening of boundaries between types of mass communication, traditional barriers to protect individuals and institutions from conflicts of interests and commitments have been removed or reinterpreted.

This entry describes the scope of conflicts that impede (or can be perceived as impeding) journalists from doing their jobs and explains why even the appearance of a conflict of interest matters to journalists and their employers. Examples of individual and organizational conflicts are provided, along with an explanation of how conflicts have changed with the digital era.

The Journalist's Job

In a web-centric information era, journalists compete for public notice amid a cacophony of messages that includes those from entertainment, public relations, and advertising sources, as well as from news organizations that serve private or political interests rather than the public interest. Information that is in the public interest is balanced, accurate, complete, and relevant to citizens' need for educated self-governance in a democracy.

Traditionally, the initial role of journalist was that of gatekeeper. What counted as "news" were those issues and events chosen by editors and reporters to investigate and report. By the start of the 21st century, anyone with access to a computer, tablet, or a cell phone could be a news producer. Members of the public can access information from a world of sources without relying on journalists.

While the journalist's traditional roles as gatekeeper and primary channel of information to citizens have become outdated by digital technology, the social function of journalism remains vital to democracy. The responsibility of journalism as a social institution is to provide citizens with information needed for self-governance. The essential shared value that distinguishes journalism from other media and journalists from other information providers is that of providing balanced, accurate, complete information that is relevant to citizens' self-governance. In the virtual world in which journalism competes for audience members with many special interest outlets, the key difference is consistency and credibility in fulfilling that responsibility. Journalists and trustworthy news organizations must ensure that audiences recognize them as credible sources that provide reliable information.

Concentrated ownership of news outlets increased over the last half of the 20th century, resulting in a business model that seeks to produce the news "product" at the least cost and greatest profit. The potential conflict between making news and making money is ubiquitous. Traditionally, this issue was managed by the maintenance of a strict "wall" between the editorial function (newsgathering, reporting, and placement) and the business function (advertising and circulation). That wall has eroded throughout the industry. In addition, freelance journalists and nonprofit public interest repositories of news lack the resources to separate business from editorial pursuits. It is not unusual for fundraising and news production to occur among the same leadership team members or sometimes by the same individual.

Dispassionate Journalism

The idea of the professional journalist who strives to serve the public interest in his or her reporting is a relatively new concept, arising from marketing and technological concerns. Because of the infinity of information outlets, some are beginning to argue that the notion of journalism providing balanced, accurate, relevant, and complete accounts of an event or issue is simply outdated. Until 1850, journalists often used their reporting and writing skills to support political candidates or ideology while working for partisan newspapers. In the early 21st century, bloggers often play the role of partisan purveyors of information who provoke citizen response. *Washington Post* editor, E. J. Dionne, says that bloggers are important because "They draw people into the fight. They have made millions of people feel that their voices will be heard somewhere and, when aggregated together, can have a real influence on the outcome of policy debates and elections" (Dionne, 2006, p. 34).

Although a journalist or news organization prioritizing personal or others' private interests over that of serving the public has been considered an ethical violation for the last half of the 20th century, such "conflicts of interest" find their roots in technological and marketing concerns. In the 1800s, new technology such as the cylinder press allowed for cheaper printing, which placed newspapers within the budget of all readers. Rather than continue to serve the desires of political parties and

candidates, as they had for more than 100 years, newspapers reframed their public service to providing information for a mass audience with a broad range of political views. The editors who ran these cheap newspapers, dubbed the “penny press,” now viewed their role as providing a realistic view of contemporary life, exposing abuses, and reporting items of human interest for the audience members. As the news organizations wanted to hold on to as many readers as possible, any writing on politics now included a range of political perspectives.

The development of the telegraph, which allowed transmission of information over hundreds of miles in real time, prompted news organizations to share the cost of newsgathering. Rather than each news organization sending staff hundreds or thousands of miles to cover stories of interest to their local audiences, the newspapers formed cooperatives who sent one reporter to create news stories that could be appreciated by audience members regardless of geographical location or political ideology. This collaborative reporting required a product suitable for a “mass” audience, in which journalists could make no assumptions about their readers’ worldviews. The goal of producing an “objective” news account was based on providing information that could be filtered through any user’s political or personal biases.

While accurate reporting is touted as an important ethical principle today, it rests on technological and marketing values of the past. Through that notion of serving no special interest, the concern about conflicts of interests for journalists was born. In the 1800s, journalists and news organizations were known by their political affiliations. The return of a partisan press, in which audience members know to expect that coverage from Fox News will be different from that presented by MSNBC, for example, has led to a softening of concerns raised by what have been traditionally considered conflicts of interest. In a time of struggle between a partisan press and news outlets proclaiming to provide balanced coverage, transparency is essential. Citizens ultimately have the responsibility to seek different perspectives, but first they must be aware of biases that influence news coverage.

Operational Definitions

Individuals and institutions can have conflicts with external obligations and interests or within

internal roles and expectations. Some of these are conflicts of interests; others are conflicts of commitment.

Patricia Werhane and Jeffrey Doering (1996) define conflicts of interests as those “between professional interests and personal or financial interests. What distinguishes conflict of interest situations is that the conflict is between what one is trusted or expected to do in one’s role . . . and financial or personal influences or interests that will or could compromise one’s professional judgment and behavior in that role” (p. 51).

One scholar, Michael Bugeja, categorizes traditional conflicts of interests for journalists as follows:

Junkets: expenses-paid trips that make it attractive for journalists to cover events.

Freebies: gifts provided by corporations, such as free meals or tickets, intended to entice journalists to befriend or influence a media professional.

Bribes: outright payments or promises to buy services or goods in return for some favor. These are often aimed at organizations rather than individuals, such as a lawyer promising to purchase advertising from a TV station if the station’s general manager cancels an investigative consumer segment about a product manufactured by the lawyer’s client (Bugeja, 2008, p. 198). Individual journalists can be bribed as well with payments to induce positive comments in a report or payments for concealing damaging information.

Conflicts of commitment are those “that entail a conflict between two or more sets of professional commitments that will affect one’s focus of time, attention, and responsibility” (Werhane & Doering, 1996, p. 51). Conflicts of commitment can also occur between one’s personal and professional roles and between one’s professional commitment and a commitment to values or principles.

All individuals and institutions face potentially conflicting situations. However, while conflicts of *interest* can always be ethically managed through avoidance, recusal, or disclosure, conflicts of commitment may need to be balanced.

Nonmonetary issues, such as loyalty, may create conflicts as troubling as financial interests. It is

easy to recognize the ethical problem inherent in a journalist accepting a bribe to kill a story. Yet failing to report material at the request of a friend or a loved one is equally an ethical violation. Conflict of interest and commitment expectations are based on the principle that no interest—financial or otherwise—should deter a journalist from providing citizens with information needed for self-governance.

Individual Conflicts of Interest

Conflicts of interests for individuals can be obvious, such as a reporter having romantic or sexual interest in a source or a story subject or accepting a bribe to keep information out of a news story. These types of conflicts could (and do) easily compromise an individual's ability to meet his or her professional obligations. Other common types of conflicts of interest include competing employment interests.

Most professional newsgathering organizations provide guidelines regarding the need for journalists to avoid individual conflicts of interests. For example, the Society of Professional Journalists says in its Code of Ethics, "Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know." Along with "avoiding conflicts of interest, real or perceived," and disclosing "unavoidable conflicts," members are counseled to "remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility," "refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity," and to "deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage" (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

After eschewing such codes for years, the venerable New York Times developed its own "policy" on ethics, prompted by a series of scandals in the early 2000s. This policy notes that "at a time when two-career families are the norm, the civic and professional activities of spouses, household members and other relatives can create conflicts or the appearance of them." The 14-page document covers a variety of potentially conflicting situations and makes clear that the company will not tolerate

behavior that might interfere with a journalist's neutrality or give the perception of interference, on or off the job. *The New York Times* policy requires that freelance journalists who provide work for the Times "avoid conflicts of interest, real or apparent" (New York Times, 2019).

Journalists who gather and produce images and sound are held to the same standard as their print counterparts. For example, the National Press Photographers Association Code of Ethics says, "Do not accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage," and "Avoid political, civic and business involvements or other employment that compromise or give the appearance of compromising one's own journalistic independence" (National Press Photographers, 2006). The Radio Television Digital News Association acknowledges that "Editorial independence may be a more ambitious goal today than ever before. Media companies, even if not-for-profit, have commercial, competitive and other interests—both internal and external—from which the journalists they employ cannot be totally shielded. Still, independence from influences that conflict with public interest remains an essential ideal of journalism. Transparency provides the public with the means to assess credibility and to determine who deserves trust" (RTDNA, 2015).

Regardless of organizational expectations, freelance journalists or those who work for Internet-based information providers must avoid conflicts of interest to maintain credibility and their own integrity. While users may find journalists who have no corporate ties easier to trust, they may be compromised as well. The Federal Trade Commission controls false or misleading information on social media and requires that any "material connection" between a writer who endorses a product or service and the advertiser or marketer be "clearly and conspicuously disclosed." This includes "a business or family relationship, monetary payment, or the gift of a free product." Disclosures are to be placed at the beginning of a post, above the "more" button (FTC, 2017).

Institutional Conflicts of Interest

Two years after Disney acquired the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), ABC pulled an

investigative television news report regarding pedophiles working at Disney theme parks. The network did not disclose the reasons for why the story did not run, making the appearance of a conflict of interest with the parent company inescapable.

According to one study, more than 40% of journalists and news executives surveyed admitted that they had engaged in self-censorship by purposely avoiding newsworthy stories or softening the tone of stories to meet what they perceived as institutional expectations. Market pressures were most often cited as the reason for such self-censorship. More than one third of all respondents said news that might hurt the financial interests of a news organization is sometimes or often ignored. More than one third said they censored themselves because of personal career concerns (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006, p. 179).

Whether for-profit or nonprofit, news organizations have always had to make money cover the costs of operations. But the late 20th century saw a shift from news organizations owned by an entity that produced only news to ownership by conglomerates with a variety of interests. When ownership values changed from producing the highest quality news product to producing dividends for stockholders, news managers were hired precisely because they shared those values. "By the 1980s, the consolidation of media ownership put businesspeople, rather than journalists, in ultimate charge of news divisions" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006, p. 167).

Market pressures are discussed within the journalism ethics literature but are rarely labeled as the conflicts of interest that they are. For example, a story on the front page of the Arts section of December 4, 2007's *The New York Times* says, "Morning programs like *Today* on NBC and *The View* on ABC are the modern equivalents of the old Barbizon Hotel for Women, a frilly haven where men were not allowed above the first floor—or here, after the first hour—and viewers are treated to diet tips, ambush makeovers, cancer health scares, relationship counseling and, of course, shopping." These shows "have blurred the distinction between consumer news and product promotion." Despite noting that "[i]t used to be that hosts who are part of the network's news

division maintained an air of neutrality during consumer segments; now they are in on the pitch," the blurring is treated as an extension of the status quo: "Product placement is hardly a new phenomenon, and the morning shows long ago mastered the quid pro quo of daily television: Actors give interviews timed to their latest projects; authors are recruited as experts just as their books hit the stores" (Stanley, 2007).

Most observers, along with news organization owners and managers, simply note how economic values are replacing news values. To call these organizational conflicts of interest by name would imply that the organizations have an obligation to address the ethical implications of failing to meet their responsibilities to citizens. Yet the conflict is clear to scholars who address it directly:

The responsibility of journalism to report fully and fairly on events of the day has the potential to clash with the interests of corporate parents to promote their businesses and minimize any negative news about their operations. In addition, because their business interests are so broad and far-reaching, there are very few economic or legislative initiatives that do not affect some part of a media conglomerate. (Croteau & Hoynes 2006, p. 185)

News media credibility rests on citizens' assumptions that their news source is choosing material based on the public interest and is presenting information that is balanced, accurate, relevant, and complete. Anything that challenges this assumption weakens the credibility that separates journalism from other sources of information. Individual journalists are dependent on the news organization to provide the conflict-free latitude for them to do their own best work.

Conflict Examples

Conflicts of interests arise when an individual's or institution's self- or financial interest may conflict with the priority of producing news in the public interest. Easiest to notice are financial conflicts, and certainly those are many and varied. Most news organizations, as is the case with *The New York Times*, prohibit newsroom employees from buying stock or engaging in financial transactions

if there is a possibility that they had inside knowledge due to their journalistic status. Journalists are almost always prohibited from accepting compensation from any potential news source or story subject. Generally, they are not allowed to accept anything of value from anyone other than their employer unless it is something also offered to the public. For example, journalists are allowed to accept and use frequent flyer miles that they earn on business or personal trips, but may not accept free flights from the airlines.

Managing conflicts of interest when journalists do work on their own behalf, like writing books or maintaining websites, is trickier. The material contained in a news story or production is usually a very small portion of the information that the journalist has collected. It is not unusual, therefore, for a journalist who has been involved in a long investigation or ongoing news story to be approached by an agent or publisher wishing to turn that journalist's observations and expertise into a book-length manuscript. *The New York Times* bans journalists from using such experience "until the news has played out." *The New York Times* staffers who host their own personal webpages or blogs are counseled that they cannot completely separate themselves from their professional connection with the *Times*. They are told that they must bear in mind "the need for neutrality on divisive issues" (New York Times Company, 2019). In a world in which journalists have varied opportunities to contribute to the public discussion, news organizations have an affirmative duty to publish clear guidelines for employees that are available to audience members as well.

Developing an intimate relationship or a close friendship with a source is also considered to be a conflict of interest. While there may not be a financial component, sustaining the relationship may take precedence over following one's news judgment. Similarly, the desire to produce an award-winning story or picture may interfere with news judgment. But, while it is possible for news organizations to disallow close relationships with sources or require disclosure of relationships with potential newsmakers, it is more difficult to control an individual's drive for reward. But through initial training and appropriate prioritizing of values in the newsroom, journalists learn and are reminded that the goal is to produce great news,

rather than simply to produce the kind of stories that they hope will catch the eye of a judge in a contest. This kind of conflict is often more of an issue for visual journalists. Something that everyone in the newsroom agrees is "ahellova picture" may be used for its sensational value rather than its newsworthiness.

News organizations have a combination of interests in making news and making money. Whether they are complementary or competing depends on management. A classic example of an institutional conflict of interests is the *Los Angeles Times*/Staples Center case. The *Los Angeles Times* devoted its complete Sunday magazine in October 1999 to coverage of the newly opened Staples Center arena. The journalists who worked on that section did not know that news and business managers had secretly entered into an agreement with Staples Center owners to split the advertising profits from the magazine. When the truth was discovered, readers and reporters were appalled and top managers lost their jobs. But this was no accidental slipup or surprising error in judgment. Instead, it was the culmination of the 2-year reign of publisher Mark Willes who "announced that he was dismantling the wall between the paper's business and editorial departments, saying he'd blow it up with a 'bazooka' if necessary. Willes contended that the two could work together to help the paper, without allowing advertisers to influence news decisions" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006, p. 171).

While this example is an extreme form of "ad-formation," the hybrid of advertising and information, some forms of ad-formation are commonplace. For example, most newspapers feature "special" topical sections on a regular basis, on subjects such as science, computers, food, cars, and homes. The reader must look carefully to determine which parts of the section are written by editorial staff and what is written, and thus financed, through the advertising department. According to Croteau and Hoynes (2006), "At the *Oregonian*, the advertiser-friendly home and auto sections are simply written by the ad department. The *Denver Post* turns over the production of its skiing, gardening, casino gambling, and other sections to its advertising department" (p. 175). In the absence of disclosure, few readers know whether the food section is sponsored by

advertisers or is produced by reporters. It is not unusual for local weather pieces to have local sponsors. It is seldom known outside the newsroom whether the piece on the local hospital's latest diagnostic tool running on the news program was really produced as news by the station or whether the station is simply running a video news release produced by the hospital's public relations department in the hopes of generating business for the expensive machine. The lack of transparency by news organizations in this regard creates the appearance of a conflict of interest. If the origin of a piece raises doubt, credibility is lost. As even the appearance of a conflict erodes journalistic credibility, ideally, news organizations have an obligation to separate advertising and sponsorship from all news production. Sponsored "news" should be clearly disclosed and not made to resemble editorial material.

However, conflicts of interest can develop simply because it is cheaper for news organizations to accept what sources provide—press releases, video news releases, and photo opportunities—rather than to conduct independent and time-consuming newsgathering. When the priority is cheap news production, diversity is one of the casualties. The least powerful and most vulnerable members of the community have the least access to marketing techniques and knowledge. They are least likely to be represented and their stories are least likely to be told when news organizations rely on advertisers, marketers, and other special interests to provide news.

Another potential conflict is "transaction journalism," where news accounts are tied to the promotion of products. For example, some online news sites have review sections with links to online booksellers. Whether the newspaper gets a percentage of resulting book sales is not visible to the reader. The connection between review and product sales produces, at least, the appearance of a conflict of interest. Positive reviews are more likely to result in sales than negative reviews.

There is also reason for concern about the subtle trend toward making news more entertaining. "Sex, violence, spectacle: these sorts of programs are the logical end products of the corporate pursuit of profits. They are relatively cheap to produce and, like an accident on the highway, they

predictably draw a regular audience. What these programs lack, however, is any sense of serving a larger public interest by providing substantive content" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006, p. 164). In the conventional vernacular of local television news, "If it bleeds, it leads." The most visually dramatic or sensational (e.g., crime) story is far more likely to appear on the website home page than the story that may be more relevant to self-governance, but also predictably less dramatic. Click-bait that attracts readers may not result in more informed citizens even if it draws users to a website.

It is not enough to note the drift in the industry from news values to commercial values. Just as for-profit hospitals have a responsibility to provide high-quality patient care despite the interests of the stockholders, so too do news organizations have a responsibility to provide information that citizens need for self-governance, regardless of economic interest.

Conflicts of Commitment Examples

Individual journalists' conflicts of commitment most often arise in the social activism arena. It is natural that journalists should be passionate about political issues and social justice. *Caring* about the news is certainly an essential element to doing a good job of gathering and reporting the news. However, many news organizations and individual journalists have a hard time determining where to draw the line regarding civic participation. Marching in a rally or posting political signs in one's front yard is a conflict of commitment, while donating money to a cause, particularly if the contribution is anonymous, often is not.

The closer a journalist's personal connection is to a newsworthy matter, the more difficult it becomes to justify their covering the story. For example, a *San Francisco Chronicle* city hall reporter and photographer were taken off coverage of "marriage for gays and lesbians, because they were among the thousands of same-sex couples who received marriage licenses through the city" the day that they became available. The determination was made on the basis "that *Chronicle* journalists directly and personally involved in

a major news story—one in whose outcome they also have a personal stake—should not also cover that story” (McBride, 2004, pp. 1–2).

Personal involvement in a story damages the journalist’s ability to be unbiased or to be perceived by the audience as unbiased. But so does public political and civic involvement. The question is not *whether* journalists are allowed to participate in matters of social importance. It is rather whether journalists should be allowed *additional* participation in matters of social importance. Journalists are active in the community by nature of doing their jobs. Additional participation provides them additional power to that which they already enjoy. Journalists, through their professional choices of what to cover and how, have more power to influence community interest than any other industry. As the journalist’s personal power and credibility rides on the coattails of the news organization, it is impossible to effectively separate the two. It is harder for a news organization to declare that it provides balanced and fair coverage if its reporters are perceived by audience members as advocates.

Institutional conflicts of commitment also arise over the role of the news organization as good corporate citizen. News media are often involved in local philanthropy from having their own “People in Need” or “Send a Kid to Camp” fund with stories that highlight an individual’s need to involvement in the local United Way campaign. Fundraising efforts by news organizations or publishers or editors who serve on community advisory boards interfere with their journalists’ ability to do independent reporting. Nothing in the community should be above scrutiny. Social service agencies can fail to meet the needs of their clients. Philanthropic organizations can be the site of scandal and misuse of funds. But careful journalistic scrutiny of a cultural, philanthropic, or social service organization is less likely if a news manager serves on the board.

Perhaps most troublesome is the role that the charity United Way plays in most newsrooms. “Of all the charities and non-profits that exist within a community, only United Way gets the benefit of wide-spread payroll deductions. Few fund drives involve reporters receiving pledge cards with their paychecks. Even fewer can boast

of newsroom ‘volunteers’ who follow up with colleagues, checking to ensure that everyone has ‘had the opportunity to give’” (Elliott, 1991). United Way implicitly gets managerial approval that results in newspapers and programs that keep track of the success of the fundraising drives with plenty of stories to encourage citizens to give. United Way, and the agencies under its wing, get less journalistic scrutiny.

Attachment to government can also be a problem. It is conventionally understood that journalism serves as the “watchdog” on government. Part of what citizens need to know is what government is doing and any controversies regarding those actions. In a time of national crisis, citizens need news that critically reports U.S. governmental actions and how they are being perceived in a global context. Citizens do not need journalism that simply repeats officials’ perspectives or panders to the latest public opinion poll. The 21st century rise of partisan news programming creates an urgent need for citizens to seek news from alternative sources.

Equally troublesome, but conventionally accepted, is the role of news organizations in endorsing candidates or voter initiatives or weighing in on controversial civic matters through editorials. Along with offering a public forum for citizen and external commentator opinion, news media present their own well-reasoned arguments in favor of or against a variety of public issues. While some news sites erect a “wall” between those who write news and those who write editorials, the separation is rarely apparent to audiences.

Deni Elliott

See also Bias; Checkbook Journalism; Credibility; Deception; Ethics; News Values; Plagiarism; Self-Regulation; Spin; Video News Releases

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CONGRESS AND JOURNALISM

Congressional journalism has been a part of the news media landscape since the founding of the United States. Likewise, journalists and members of Congress have shared an important, working relationship for well over two centuries. Both perform vital functions for American democracy—Congress as the primary policymaking and representative body for the nation, and the media as informer and watchdog of its activities. However, changes in both institutions—including for the professionals working inside them—as well as larger historical developments in the United States more broadly, have led to media portrayals that are in many respects not flattering to either one.

Although detailed and informative news coverage of Congress can be found in certain outlets, major changes in the media and political environments have led to shrinking coverage overall and a generally more cynical, adversarial tone in that coverage since the 1970s. Scholars have indicated that journalists' framing of the institution's work is one reason the public has a low opinion of Congress. Congressional news reporting is to some extent influenced by the subjects themselves, as well as a political culture that mistrusts and ridicules politicians. This entry first discusses the characteristics of Congress that influence how it is covered, then looks at how news coverage of the institution has changed over time. The entry then discusses how scholars view the news coverage of Congress and its effects and how newer platforms, as well as social media, have influenced congressional news coverage.

Congress is the most accessible, decentralized, and dynamic branch of government and likewise the most democratic. These features make it relatively easy for reporters to get information, build stories, and document and comment upon the activities that make up the legislative process. Members of Congress are usually eager to speak to reporters so as to gain coverage and get their message, name, and image before the public.

But Congress is also the most fractious, complicated, rule-bound and incomprehensible of the three branches of the U.S. government, making it hard to convey “what’s going on” in a simple, clear fashion, keep track of the actors and the action, and accurately portray its role to a mass audience. So much is happening in different venues, and with procedural variations that only experts can understand, that telling any congressional story can be challenging.

Furthermore, though Congress is the most democratic branch, it is also the least efficient and most internally conflicted. Its openness also reveals the messiness and ugliness of the democratic process. As a result, the media tend to portray Congress in a negative light and to focus more on the personalities, foibles, scandals, and battles that are part of its functions, arguably helping to fuel public disdain for and cynicism about Congress.

Development

During the first decades of its existence (1790–1850), members of Congress generally had the upper hand in dealing with the press. They tightly controlled access to congressional proceedings, as most committee meetings were off-limits to members of the press. The Senate did not even open its floor proceedings until 1795 and continued to keep nomination and treaty debates secret until the 20th century.

The line between reporter and propagandist was not always clear, as members generally had close relationships with the journalists who covered them, sometimes hiring them in the periods between congressional sessions as clerks and secretaries and giving them other patronage duties. Government printing contracts were also doled out to supportive papers. A prime example of this was the *National Intelligencer*, which was the dominant newspaper of the Capitol in this period. For years, its two publishers, William Seaton and Joseph Gales, were the sole reporters for the House and Senate, respectively, and had close ties to Thomas Jefferson’s Democratic-Republican party, which was then in control of Congress. They were also the official printers of Congress from 1819 to 1829 and began compiling official reports of the activities of Congress, the precursor to the *Congressional Record*.

Because the locus of national power in the 19th century was centered firmly in Congress rather than the presidency, the congressional beat grew in importance and stature. Given the growth of the partisan press into the mid-19th century, the trend of favorable coverage for many members continued, since often their partisan patronage or political connections back home included that of allied newspaper owners and editors—with the exception of those aligned with the opposition party.

More “objective” journalism became the norm later in the 19th century, leading to more documentary and descriptive coverage of Congress’s members and legislative activities. By the start of the 20th century, the rise of muckraking and investigative journalism that exposed numerous scandals of industrialization brought about a more adversarial posture.

With the rise of radio and then television, coupled with the increasing power of the presidency (due to the increasing power of the federal government in domestic and world affairs), Congress ceased to be the main engine of political power. Congressional coverage decreased and became more specialized. Stephen Hess, in his 1981 book *The Washington Reporters*, classified Congress as a second-tier news beat in terms of prestige, behind others such as diplomacy, general national news, the military, and the White House.

In 2015, there were over 6,000 journalists in the Congressional press corps, making it one of the largest in Washington. The total number of outlets regularly covering Congress had dropped slightly from 2005, however, reflecting media concentration. Using the rules in each of its chambers—the House and Senate—Congress issues credentials for journalists to cover it through official galleries, with separate ones for newspapers, magazines, and broadcast media outlets. In practice, however, Congress allows committees made up of congressional correspondents to decide who may be part of its galleries. The primary criterion is whether the individual seeking a press pass earns their living through journalism or related activities, as lobbyists or paid political consultants are prohibited. Since the late 1990s, there have been attempts to broaden access to members of the online media, opening new issues about who is a “journalist.”

One thing that has not changed over time is the need for journalists to regularly cultivate congressional sources. Indeed, in covering the institution, journalists, along with members and their staffs, must come together in order to make news. Timothy Cook calls this a “negotiation of newsworthiness” and likens it to an elaborate dance. Both have something the other wants: Journalists want information and need sources around which to craft their stories, and politicians want media coverage to help get their message and issues out to constituents and gain favorable attention. Yet each is also independent of the other, as members and their staffs try to manipulate or stage news to their advantage, and choose whether and what kind of information they give out, while reporters try to resist being mere dupes for congressional news management and choose what information they will use and how it will be presented or framed. It is this interaction that creates the nature and content of congressional news.

Current Coverage

Researchers who have examined news coverage of Congress in the late 20th and early 21st centuries generally have found that it does not show the institution in a positive light nor does it promote a comprehensive understanding of policy or the legislative process.

Decline and Negativity

Coverage of Congress has been decreasing—especially when compared with the executive branch—and also has become more negative and combative. Studies have shown the congressional share of the “news hole” in major newspapers (such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) and the major broadcast television networks has been declining since the late 1970s. One key factor was the role of television that made the president more important, visible, and appealing. Another was a declining interest in politics and government among the public, leading media to focus more on “lifestyle” issues and “infotainment” (soft news about entertainment celebrities, popular culture, and the like).

Congress arguably suffers in comparison to the president for several reasons. As a single figure

elected by the entire nation, a president is an interesting individual known by all who is easy to depict to a national audience, whereas Congress contains a diverse group of 435 representatives and 100 senators that rarely speaks with one voice. Likewise, the legislative process is complex and is hard to explain and has many avenues of action and players in the game, as opposed to the simpler, often more exciting actions of a chief executive.

What coverage there is of Congress, beyond mere description of its actions or inactions, is also increasingly negative. Arguably, Congress has never been revered within our political system, since senators and representatives, along with their legislative wheeling and dealing, reflect the worst tendencies of politics in the public mind. However, scholars now document that the amount of generally descriptive, even neutral-toned congressional coverage has shrunk dramatically.

The more analytical, critical, and interpretive genre of reporting that grew out of the Watergate scandal of the administration of President Richard M. Nixon in the early 1970s also impacted Congress, leading to more critical, penetrating, “gotcha” journalism that painted an unflattering picture. This trend was coupled with a more sensationalist or at least “infotainment” news genre driven in part by increased competition between media outlets. The result has been a focus on the dark side of congressional behavior at the expense of a more balanced view presenting the larger number of members who do their jobs honestly and well. Coverage now emphasizes scandals and malfeasance; bickering partisanship (the fight over the confirmations of Clarence Thomas, in 1991, and Brett Kavanaugh in 2018, to the Supreme Court; the impeachments of presidents Bill Clinton in 1998 and Donald Trump in 2019 by the opposition-controlled House); or members’ capture by unsavory lobbyists (such as the Jack Abramoff affair in 2005–2006). While scholars and media experts do not suggest events such as these should not be covered, a focus on scandal can drown out other news from Capitol Hill.

Inequalities and Biases in Coverage

Other notable patterns have emerged in terms of what and who gets covered. Senators attract greater

attention than House members. This is largely because there are fewer of them, they are more likely to have some issue expertise or leadership position, and they are more likely to be presidential contenders. More importantly, however, party leaders (such as the Speaker of the House, Senate Majority Leader, or committee chairs) are far more likely to get coverage than are regular “backbenchers” who hold no formal position within the Congressional power structure.

Other qualities that lend certain members greater attention, and hence newsworthiness, include taking extreme or controversial issue positions, being a “maverick” or taking stances that go against the mainstream of one’s own party, being from a large state or city, or being implicated in a scandal. Local media naturally cover their own delegation in Congress far more than other members, even those in leadership positions.

Further biases in coverage have also been identified. Female and ethnic minority members have been found to receive less, and more stereotypical, coverage than white males. African American members not only receive less coverage, they are often portrayed negatively, as being disproportionately focused on race and local issues. Female members likewise are covered as anomalies, overly concerned with such “women’s issues” as child care, education, or abortion. Their roles as wives and mothers in competition with their professional responsibilities is often emphasized, whereas male politicians’ home lives are rarely profiled.

Despite the increased diversity of Congress since 2000, with notable members such as Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), the first female Speaker of the House, and minority and/or women members such as senators Barack Obama, Cory Booker, Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren, Kamala Harris, and Kyrsten Sinema, such coverage patterns largely remain. For example, Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-MN), who along with Rep. Rashida Tlaib (D-MI) became the first two Muslim women to serve in Congress after their election in 2018, received more coverage for her statements about her religion, her relationship with her spouse, and her ongoing Twitter dispute with President Donald Trump, than her legislative activities.

Naturally, subjects or pending bills that are the most newsworthy receive more press coverage than others. In practice, this means that major

legislation—such as the top priorities of the President or party leadership, including major spending bills—are covered more heavily than are minor or technical issues thought to be of interest only to a few. Legislation or debate on “hot button” controversial topics, such as abortion or gun control, are similarly more likely to merit media attention. Such coverage is important because controversy and conflict attracts readers and viewers.

Indeed, scholar Mary Layton Atkinson finds that the media’s negativity bias about the legislative process impacts views about the institution and its outputs. She also notes that “contentious” laws (those with partisan division) are covered by major media outlets at far greater rates than “bipartisan” or largely consensual, or landslide, legislation. Thus, “the news media’s focus on negative information about the ugly lawmaking process makes that information more prevalent in the minds of news consumers” than the substance of the legislation, and as a result, citizens “with a distaste for the partisan tenor of the debate often report disapproval of the plan itself,” even though they may otherwise like its policy components (2018, 13).

Legislation and the Legislative Process

Studies of how the legislative process is covered make clear that much congressional activity is not captured by the media. Bills and other legislation are covered as a political process but tend to be framed more in the context of a political “game” that emphasizes strategy and winning and losing rather than substance—a form of “horse race” journalism also seen in campaign coverage. Bills are usually covered only in their final stages, when they are nearing a vote. Committees, the so-called “workshops” of Congress, are generally ignored—sometimes because their deliberations are closed, but more often because they are deemed boring and hard to summarize. The exception is when they happen to hold public hearings thought to be exciting or controversial, such as those investigating a scandal or Senate confirmations of judicial or executive officials.

Committee chairs sometimes intentionally stage hearings for maximum media effect—such as when Judiciary Committee Chair Sen. Arlen

Specter called adult film star Linda Lovelace to testify in a hearing about child abuse legislation (because she had once been a victim), or when decades later the same committee called Stephen Colbert, a late-night satirical comic, to testify about immigration and migrant labor. Nevertheless, most studies conclude that journalists do a decent, if somewhat cynical, job in conveying the messiness of the legislative process and providing the basics of legislation.

Variations by Media Type

Differences among the media also lead to coverage differences. Print media have fewer time and space constraints than does television, for example, and can better encapsulate congressional work. The visuals and sound bites required for broadcast media often limit the effectiveness and breadth of congressional coverage. Indeed, Congress makes for more difficult television reporting, since it appears made up of people standing or sitting around talking.

There are also differences between local and national coverage. Local coverage tends to focus on members and their activities and is generally seen as more positive and deferential than national media. Reporters for smaller local newspapers and radio and TV stations have less time and space for, and professional expertise in, covering Congress. Indeed, most local media rely on news agency reports. Smaller media tend to rely more upon the press secretaries of their local representatives. But C. Danielle Vinson has found that local media coverage of Congress mirrors many aspects of national coverage discussed earlier and also appears to have become more negative in the process. Nevertheless, members spend considerable time and effort cultivating journalists from “back home,” in their attempts to positively impact voters.

Congress is viewed differently by outlets that specialize in the legislative branch. Publications such as CQ Magazine, The Hill, *National Journal Daily*, and *Roll Call* provide coverage for professional DC insiders (staffers, lobbyists, administration officials, and other professional Congress-watchers) who are an especially interested and informed audience. Their coverage is far more in-depth and analytical than that of the mainstream media and may include

coverage of players and processes not deemed worthy of attention by mass outlets. Reporters who specifically cover the congressional beat (regardless of type of media) generally have a greater respect for and appreciation of both the institution and its members.

Newer media services developed since the 1980s have also impacted the congressional-media relationship. Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network has in some ways fundamentally altered congressional operations. Members not only use it to strategically communicate but also as a surveillance mechanism to keep track of what else is going on in Congress, in committee hearings, or on the House or Senate floors.

The rise of cable and Internet outlets, with greater consumer choice, has also to some extent led to a rebirth of “partisan media” akin to the earliest days of Congressional coverage. Partisan websites are now supplemented by networks like Fox News (conservative) and MSNBC (liberal), which in turn portray Congress as a loud den of heroes and villains. For example, through March 2019, freshman Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), a self-identified “democratic socialist” received more coverage on Fox than any of the Democratic candidates for president except Elizabeth Warren, another conservative target. In turn, these outlets provide a national soapbox for members, with Republicans vying to appear on Fox, and Democrats, on MSNBC. According to Richard Forgette, the effect of greater news competition for audience share creates a cycle of conflict-driven, partisan news which leads to audience distrust of the opposition, if not both sides—and when coupled with cynical satirical and “fake” news, leads to increased public disapproval of Congress.

The development of blogs, political websites, and social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter have also altered the media and journalistic landscapes. Members now use online media to communicate directly with their constituents and other parties directly through two-way, even interactive formats. The emergence of online journalism has also created new outlets for coverage, commentary, and criticism of Congress.

Todd Schaefer

See also C-SPAN; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Supreme Court and Journalism

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CONSTRUCTIVE JOURNALISM

Since 2010, constructive journalism gained popularity and has since been frequently discussed in journalism practice and in the academic world. Constructive journalism uses a public-oriented approach that attaches great value to socially responsible journalism with a need to produce accurate news to avoid a negative bias. It critically questions conventional journalism and elaborates on the ways in which journalism has to change so it can contribute to a sustainable and tolerant society with involved citizens.

The idea that a constructive strategy will improve journalism is not new but was already suggested by the esteemed journalists Joseph Pulitzer and Walter Williams in the early 20th century. One hundred years later, the term was reintroduced and developed into a broader and more elaborate concept. This entry describes the origin of constructive journalism, how it is conceptualized and researched, and its practical implications and future challenges to its practice.

Origin of Constructive Journalism

Constructive journalism is not a completely new phenomenon but builds on previous counter movements that use a public-oriented approach. These movements, such as the social responsibility theory, peace journalism, civic journalism, and more recently, solutions journalism, all share a dissatisfaction with conventional journalism. They share a strong commitment to responsible journalism that is fair and accountable and acts in the best interest of citizens and society. According to these movements, traditional journalism disproportionately represents institutions, and the logic of power in society

and is too distant to the citizens and civil society it claims to serve. These counter movements oppose the sender-oriented journalistic discourse that was dominant throughout the 20th century and still is in much of conventional journalism. Compared to the conventional approach, these counter movements can be characterized as public-oriented, with a focus on how to stimulate public dialogue.

The renewed attention to a constructive approach can be understood against the background of socio-cultural, economic, and technological developments that have fundamentally changed the environment in which journalism operates. Under the influence of structural societal change, including digitalization, the mass media model that characterized public communication in the 20th century has been gradually replaced by a network model in the 21st century. This transition has severe consequences for the professional journalist, the public, and the news industry. During this process, journalism has lost its monopoly position as news supplier and a scarcity of news changed in an overflow of available information. Moreover, a relatively passive receiver of news has been replaced by an active news consumer who can decide what news they want to consume, along with the place and time they want to consume it.

Next to that, practitioners as well as scholars show a growing concern about the negative bias in news and the effects this can have on both news consumption and democracy. On an individual level, it can lead to apathy, disengagement, and feelings of powerlessness. Within society, the negative focus is likely to increase polarization and divisions.

The idea that constructive journalism can improve 21st century journalism first resurfaces in Northern Europe. It receives international attention due to two Danish journalists, Ulrik Haagerup and Catherine Gyldensted. Both argue that news overrepresents negative angles and reports excessively about conflicts, problems, and disasters, contributing to an unbalanced, negative worldview. However, they differ in their approach to the concept. Haagerup uses the term constructive news to indicate that he sees the constructive approach primarily as a shift in practice that should lead to improved news products. Gyldensted uses the term constructive journalism to indicate that she refers to a paradigm shift that goes beyond the quality of the product. She includes

the importance of an engaged role of journalists in society. Gyldensted combines insights from the field of journalism and the behavioral sciences, especially from positive psychology, to further develop the concept of Constructive Journalism and substantiate it with empirical research.

Meaning of Constructive Journalism

Constructive journalism states that the changes in society demand renewed attention to the way in which journalists fulfill their role. A public-oriented approach is characterized by the belief that journalists have a responsibility for the way they construct reality in their news coverage and for the way this news coverage impacts both the individual and society. Constructive news is expected to avoid the negative bias in the news and the negative effects it causes. This is not to say constructive news has to be positive news, but rather that the news provides context to socially relevant issues, without overemphasizing the sensational and what goes wrong.

As the role of journalists in society changes, constructive journalism does not see journalists as detached disseminators of news, but as committed facilitators or mobilizers. This active role implies that it is journalists' responsibility to make news that contributes to the empowerment of citizens and helps people to make well-considered decisions. Therefore, it is considered important to reevaluate traditional journalistic routines and values that underlie the decisions made in the selection and production processes of the news. Furthermore, because citizens are important actors in the news process, journalists should actively seek out knowledge of peoples' news preferences and needs as important input for their work.

What can be called constructive journalism does not seem easy to define in concrete concepts, but some principles have been formulated that can be helpful to define a constructive news approach: solution oriented, future oriented, and action oriented.

To further substantiate and develop principles of constructive journalism, empirical research started in the 2010s. Until recently, most studies addressed the question of whether using constructive elements in news has the expected positive effects on the personal level and motivates

individuals to act. Often these studies are theoretically embedded in positive psychology, more specifically the broaden-and-build theory developed by Barbara Frederickson.

Former news effect studies have indicated that exposure to emotional cues in media messages leads to similar effects and thus influences the way people think and act. Consequently, conventional news that often uses negative frames is likely to provoke negative feelings such as fear, apathy, and anger. This is underlined by international research on news avoidance published by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism in 2017 and 2019. The most common reason respondents gave for why they consciously avoid the news was the negative effect it had on their mood. According to constructive journalism, the use of constructive elements can bring about the opposite and can have a beneficial effect on the state of mind of people. This is confirmed by research showing that incorporating constructive elements in news, such as a solution perspective, has the expected influence. Compared to conventional news, constructive news is found to decrease negative emotions and increase positive emotions. Using theories from positive psychology, a broadly applied constructive journalistic approach is expected to reduce feelings of fear and powerlessness and evokes feelings of understanding and hope in society.

Practical Implications

Constructive journalism emerged from journalistic practice and arose from dissatisfaction with existing journalistic methods and the resulting news coverage. To improve the quality of news, journalists need to act against the disproportionate attention given to conflict and what goes wrong. Therefore, constructive journalism calls for journalists to change their traditional mindset and to be open to new skills and practices that will frame their stories in ways that lead to productive change. To achieve this, a new, more creative news process is needed that focuses on new angles and ideas to replace standard ways of news coverage. A constructive approach looks beyond the previous so-called core questions of journalism: “Who,” “What,” “Where,” “When,” and “Why,” which are often seen as the most important angles to be

answered in news. Adding the questions “How” and “What Now” can provide a more complete depiction of reality and a better understanding of the world. Both questions go beyond the issue of the day and seek to provide context to these individual news stories and put them in perspective, which also includes the incorporation of possible or available solutions and future developments.

In daily practice, constructive journalism provides a supplement to the prevailing daily routines and should not be seen as a radical shift away from the core values. Journalistic values such as being critical, independent, and factual are still important and need to underly journalistic practice. Constructive journalism focuses on adjusting the journalistic attitude and develops guidelines that help journalists to make constructive decisions in producing news. These guidelines can be summarized as follows:

Deepening

Give context by offering a more complete insight through more explanation, broader context, and more attention to possible consequences for society and its citizens.

Empowering

Inform the public about existing and possible solutions for common problems and about possibilities to take action.

Future Perspective

Inform the public about the world, beyond daily events and incidents, while raising attention to long-term processes.

Inclusive

Include a broad range of perspectives and sources (representing diversity of layers and groups of society) and provide information that contributes to a public dialogue.

Cooperative

Involve the public actively in the process of agenda-setting, framing, and producing the news.

Inspiring

Inform the public about positive examples and developments and about people that made a difference.

Transparent

Give insight into the working process and be accountable for your choices and their impact.

These constructive elements are a mix of strategies that can be applied in several stages of the news process: choice of story, information gathering, source selection, and item production. Which strategies are suitable to use, depends on the particular news issue. Constructive journalism should therefore not be interpreted as a specific set of rules but rather as a broader mindset about the journalism profession.

Constructive journalism has begun to find its way in several news organizations around the world but mostly in the United States and countries situated in northwest and central Europe. Examples of news organizations that use elements of constructive journalism are BBC World, The Guardian Media Group, and *The Economist* in the UK; HuffPost and *The New York Times* in the United States; The DanishTV2\Fyn and Swedish Radio SR in the Scandinavian countries; Norddeutscher Rundfunk and *Die Zeit* in Germany; and De Correspondent and *Trouw* in The Netherlands.

Furthermore, there is an international Constructive Institute situated in Arhus, Denmark, that promotes the constructive news approach and provides workshops and training for professionals. Windesheim's School of Journalism in the Netherlands has adopted constructive journalism as a key concept in their education curriculum.

It is important to note that attention to constructive journalism started in countries with strong, democratic political systems in which the media are protected by the freedom of the press. However, recently the term constructive journalism has also been used in countries with (modern) authoritarian political systems, where media face government scrutiny and censorship. In these instances, constructive is (mis)construed to mean active support for the authoritarian government. While this does not fit the original understanding of the concept, it does raise concerns about the different ways in which core

principles of constructive journalism can be misinterpreted or misused.

Future Challenges

As a concept, constructive journalism provides a contribution to addressing the challenges journalism faces and to the reflection needed on how journalism can accomplish its public service function in the changed circumstances of the 21st century.

Despite increasing attention to constructive journalism, there is ongoing discussion on the importance of having an unambiguous definition and operationalization of the concept. On the one hand, being a flexible concept is seen as a strong characteristic, because the concept is open to ongoing insights and can be adjusted based on knowledge coming from practice as well as research. However, it can also be seen as a weakness, because the term constructive journalism runs the risk of being interpreted in such diverse ways, that it becomes a fluid, undefined concept without concrete boundaries. Even proponents of constructive journalism differ in their views on the operationalization and application of the concept.

One of the challenges that current research on constructive journalism faces is studying the effects of this form of journalism when it is not yet broadly used within the media. This has made research in the long-term effects on individuals and society difficult. As more elements of constructive journalism become part of the mainstream media, future research will be better able to expand the understanding of the effects of a constructive approach.

Liesbeth Hermans

See also Audience Research; Bias; Civic Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Emotion in Journalism; Framing; News Values; Solutions Journalism; Theories of Journalism

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CONSULTANTS, NEWS

News consultants are specialists in the news process who provide “inside” expertise often from market research that assists newsrooms in building audiences and maximizing revenues and profits. Newspapers and web-based news services hire consultants for direction on content and design that increase their numbers of readers and users.

News consulting is most widely identified with television news, where newswriters not only provide content but do so in newscasts, in effect television “shows,” that each day and night are in direct competition with shows telecast by rival newsrooms. News consultants play an important role in selecting and directing a newscast’s performers, its anchors and reporters, whose on-camera delivery and “look” are essential to attracting audiences and determining a newsroom’s commercial success. This entry discusses consultants and newsrooms, as well as the process

of news consulting and criticism of consulting in the context of news. The entry also examines “Eyewitness News” and Social Class Theory, along with the talent function of news consulting.

Consultants and Newsrooms

The identities and activities of news consultancies rarely are known to the general public. Sometimes, their activities are not known to the newswriters they advise. They are small businesses typically independent of known media organizations which, often at high fees, are hired by an organization’s owners and senior managers. Operating in private, consultants propose audience-building tactics and strategies to managers who, in turn, communicate the consultants’ direction to newswriters through a newsroom’s chain of command.

News consultants have in common significant past experience in newsrooms. From their extensive backgrounds as hands-on news managers, newswriters, and journalists, consultants derive credibility as experts and informed providers of newsroom “action plans.”

While all news consultants are seasoned news professionals, the consulting field is diverse and broad. A news proprietor needing to diagnose a particular issue, such as the arrangement of items on a website, may hire a one-person “boutique” consultant.

Yet news consulting is most associated with corporate consultancies. Large-scale consultancies provide an array of services, most notably audience research. They cater to mainstream corporate media organizations, typically those prominent in television news and which own groups of stations, cable news channels, and streaming services with demands for profits that depend on an intricate understanding of audience behavior. In such environments, research centers the consulting process. By engaging the public in focus groups, surveys, social media analysis, and testing, consultants determine favored content, style, and news personnel. After implementing that which the public prefers, media organizations can expect larger audiences and profits.

The largest news consultancies are the firms Frank N. Magid Associates, Audience Research &

Development, and Smith Geiger. A fourth U.S. firm, Convergent Communication, is the successor to the first news consultancy McHugh & Hoffman, an enterprise important for demonstrating that news appealing to a working class male “mass” audience determines audience accumulation. The practice of news consulting originated in local television news in the 1960s and proliferated in the 1970s and 1980s. Following media consolidations, downsizings, and a shrinkage of clients in the 2000s, large consultancies shifted concentration to nonnews digital platforms and entertainment media. Yet they remain highly active in newsrooms.

The News Consulting Process

The use of news consultants occurs when a news-active media organization determines that its need to enlarge an audience justifies the expense of obtaining outside expertise. The need typically is demonstrated in audience ratings, notably those gathered by the Nielsen organization, which report a newsroom’s number of viewers. The larger a newsroom’s Nielsen rating, the greater will be the revenues it will generate from advertisers. Most often, a consultant’s client will be a television newsroom that trails in the ratings and understands that it is losing revenues that, as a ratings leader, it would be able to obtain.

A consulting process begins when a consulting team, typically a lead consultant and a research specialist, travels to the client newsroom, assesses its operations, and confers with the organization’s senior management. The consultants’ dealings soon narrow to the single individual, a news vice president or news director, in charge of news operations. While typically a journalist by background, the news director has executive duties above and apart from activities at the news desk. A news director’s principal responsibility is ensuring that newscasts attract audiences, maximize advertising revenue, and boost profitability.

The parties discuss the newsroom’s likely weaknesses. Consultants often suspect that content does not match viewers’ interests. Almost always, news “imagery” raises questions. Does the public identify with the client’s newscast? Does it trust the newscast for complete and accurate coverage? Is the newscast perceived as sufficiently distinctive

to draw audiences who may habitually rely on competitors’ news? The newscast’s style and “packaging” can be issues. Finally, and often the chief concern, is whether the public likes or dislikes the anchors and reporters who deliver the news.

Each issue is put before the public in two main types of audience research. Most common is the focus group. The other is field surveys in which researchers obtain data, often from as many as 1,000 randomly sampled respondents. Because audience ratings trace to the appeal of anchors and reporters, consultants apply special methodologies. One is the dial test, in which the public views test recordings of news personalities and registers approval through continuous metering. It is not uncommon for consultants to conduct experiments in which different combinations of personalities are auditioned and tested.

From analyses of the research, the lead consultant derives recommendations. Some are directed to senior management. They may call for investments in promotion and news-gathering technologies and/or the placement of newscasts in more competitive time periods. Most recommendations are directed to the news director. They likely will call for changes in news presentation that the research suggests will increase viewership.

While consultants and their clients maintain proprietary secrets, firms such as Magid, AR&D, and McHugh & Hoffman have placed several of their “action plans” in the public domain. In studies of them, scholars note that recommendations conform to preferences not of high-status viewers but of a middle and lower class “mass” audience. Content recommendations advise against routine coverage of government, politics, and institutional affairs in favor of breaking news, crime, and human interest subjects. Recurrent are recommendations for “news you can use,” such as crime prevention, money management, health, and, notably, weather.

Prioritization of a “mass” audience is evident in recommendations on newscast style and personnel. Consultants advise against strict and serious delivery in favor of fast-paced, friendly, and entertaining news presentation. While recommendations on anchors and reporters vary by personality, consultants rule out stern, sober, and typically older news personas. They advocate energetic,

charismatic, and typically younger news presenters capable of projecting individual personality while cultivating chemistry with others on the news team.

News directors are not obliged to implement any recommendations, nor do they act on all of them. However, studies show that news directors are highly attentive to recommendations supported by the consultants' research. News directors routinely terminate and replace anchors and reporters with unfavorable "Q scores." Studies further show correlations between content recommended by consultants and the content newsrooms provide.

Discussion and Criticism of News Consulting

News consulting is a subject of much professional and scholarly discussion and criticism. Traditional theories of news hold that journalists independently gather and report news as members of organizations whose purpose is to inform and serve the public. A chief question is whether the news process accommodates the consulting process.

The largest and longest running public examination of news consulting is that provided by critics of consultants, typically commentators, popular authors, and noted journalists. Prior to his passing in 2009, renown CBS newscaster Walter Cronkite devoted much of his career to encouraging the eradication of news consulting. Critics maintain that news work and news consulting are incompatible. They contend that news consulting transforms the purpose of news from public service to profit-making. They argue that news consultants impede the independence of journalists. They insist that audience research contaminates journalism by forcing newsmakers to pander to public taste and give the public "not what it needs but what it wants."

Consultants rarely engage in public examination of their role and function. They maintain they serve strictly as outside advisors; thus they have no authority either to transform a newsroom's purpose or impede journalists' independence. Moreover, they have defused detractors by pronouncing audience research as a tool that affords needed dialogue between the public and the news

community. A leading professional organization, the Radio Television Digital News Association, is on record as approving news consultants so long as they are not permitted authority in newsrooms.

Beyond professional discussion, news consulting has affected scholars' efforts to understand the news process. Scholars' two most-studied news theories, "gatekeeping" and "agenda setting," presume that newsmakers alone are responsible for news content and presentation. Neither theory considers profit-making as a news process factor nor does either provide for the application of audience research in news decision-making.

During the 1990s, when consulted newsrooms in the United States multiplied and numbered in the hundreds, scholars recognized a need to explain why researchers increasingly showed news conformed to profit-making measures directed by outside advisors with no newsroom authority. The first empirical studies of news consulting brought two theoretical directions. Together, they accommodate news consulting's role in the news process.

The first "news production" theory holds that, rather than a public service, news is a construction or "show" invented to attract an audience. Long suggested in television news and formalized by John McManus in 1995, the idea establishes market exploitation and profit-making as central conditions of news reporting when a news provider is a privately-owned, profit-making enterprise.

The second theory addresses news consulting's chief riddle: how advisors without newsroom authority impact the news. Adaptation of Warren Breed's 1955 theory of "news socialization" explains the anomaly. It holds that newsrooms are not free and creative domains but, like all organizations, directed by managerial prerogatives individually and collectively absorbed by workers. Breed emphasized "social control"—enforced by newsmakers' understanding they must conform to managers' philosophies and objectives or risk termination.

Studies by Dan Berkowitz establish "news socialization" as the theoretical lynchpin of the consulting process. A consultant's recommendation for reduced coverage of politicians and government would go to a news director. A news director would not commandeer a news desk and

order gatekeepers to comply. Instead, news directors translate recommendations into directions communicated as beneficial to the organization, in turn, to news workers. Directions pass downward through the newsroom's chain of command, first to producers and editors, then reporters, writers, and associates, until they become instinctive. Thus, as they maintain, news consultants do not dictate news production and reporting. Instead, they have impact from their ability to socialize, or in more vivid parlance, "influence" news workers.

"Eyewitness News" and Social Class Theory

News consulting is important for its historical role in designing and proliferating a universal concept for news presentation, one considered the paradigm for establishing on television a "news of the masses." This occurred with the consultants' invention of "Eyewitness News." While eventually a trade name, "Eyewitness News" originally was an alternative newscasting format. It became popular in U.S. local news in the 1970s. During the 2000s, American news consultants instituted the "Eyewitness" concept at newly privatized television networks in Europe and Asia.

Viewers had been accustomed to a newscast form personified by the venerable newscaster Walter Cronkite, a "stentorian" style in which an authoritative and lone male newscaster read summaries of the day's events. Upon the advent of "Eyewitness News," viewers witnessed a "family" news team with male and female coanchors, weather and sports, extensive visualized on-scene reporting, "news you can use," and staged studio effects for the first time.

"Eyewitness News" was inspired by noted sociologist Lloyd Warner, who from studies in the 1930s known as the "Yankee City Series" was the first to propose a theory of class stratification in the United States. The first news consultancy, McHugh & Hoffman, sprang from Warner's Social Research, Inc. (SRI), a market research institute at the University of Chicago that after World War II heralded a union between scholars and big business.

The first news consultants were PhD sociologists Warner assigned to McHugh & Hoffman. They had been students of Warner who as

research assistants contributed to his finding of five social classes—and differences between the roughly 25% of college-degreed and professionally employed Americans in the upper-middle class and the 65% of largely high school educated and rank-and-file Americans in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. SRI helped shape the consumer marketplace with market research that distinguished the classes. Mass market enterprises that targeted the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, a group Warner termed the "Middle Majority," thrived.

At McHugh & Hoffman, SRI's sociologists applied Warner's theory in helping formulate "Eyewitness News." In 1968, New York station WABC enlisted McHugh & Hoffman. SRI's research showed that while the upper-middle class favored the "stentorian" style, lower-middle and upper-lower class viewers cited discomfort with its detachment and distant and complex content. McHugh & Hoffman proposed, and WABC implemented, most of the innovations that identified the "Eyewitness" concept. Among them was personality projection. Newscasters interacted and joked with one another in a technique known as "happy talk." WABC's news ratings tripled.

In 1970, a former University of Iowa sociologist schooled in Warner's theory, Frank N. Magid, entered the news consulting field. At WPVI in Philadelphia, Magid's research emphasized the Middle Majority's brief attention spans. Magid proposed a shortening of news stories, and the replacement of long interviews with abbreviated "soundbites," in order to achieve a fast-paced news presentation. The result was a variation of "Eyewitness News" called "Action News." WPVI quadrupled its ratings.

Upon these ratings successes, McHugh & Hoffman and Magid swelled with clients. In turn, guided by Warner's theory, both news consulting and devotion to the average middle-class male viewer became entrenched in television newsrooms.

News Consulting and News Talent

Much interest centers on news consulting's "talent" function. Elemental in consultants' research is an item that reads "Why do you choose Channel X for news?" Invariably and often overwhelmingly, viewers cite not the news, which they regard

as the same regardless of news provider, but the personalities. Thus, imperative in distinguishing a newscast apart from competitors, anchors and frontline reporters are proven as the key to attracting audiences and achieving commercial success news.

Accordingly, the consultants' talent function is extensive. Large consultancies team with "boutique" consultants in grooming and coaching potential "star" anchors. Research is exhaustive. From specialized methods such as dial tests, consultants report "Q scores" on anchors and reporters. A consultant's plan for enlarging an audience often amounts only to recommendations calling for the replacement of low-scoring presenters with more audience-appealing personnel. Such recommendations can call for clients to raid the anchors and reporters of competing newsrooms whose Q scores are superior. Consultants further can facilitate personnel changes through national "talent banks" where dossiers and audition videos on high-scoring anchors and reporters are kept in secret.

Although they determine the careers of those who aspire to on-camera roles, the consultants' talent research and dealings are among their most closely guarded secrets. Yet some light is shed in scholarly studies of a phenomenon known as *para-social interaction*, in which individuals are shown to form vicarious relationships with television personalities. The idea emerged in 1956, when psychologists Donald Horton and Richard Wohl observed a *para-social response* among soap opera viewers who described one-way so-called friendships with TV performers. In studies, including those of Alan Rubin, researchers have established that in TV news viewing, viewers attest not only to forming vicarious relationships with certain news anchors, even "talking" to them during newscasts, but also to the fact that their so-called friendships motivate their selection of a channel or network for news.

Much remains unknown. It is possible that consultants act on something akin to parasocial interaction. Evident in a high Q score is measure of an anchor's ability to bond with audience members. A dial test instantly exposes which anchors are and are not those an audience might choose to befriend. When consultants coach anchors and reporters, directions on voice, mannerisms, and appearance may aim at teasing and manipulating a parasocial effect.

The consultants' talent function has critical implications. Alleging consultants' emphasis on charm and beauty rather than journalistic skills, detractors maintain that had consultants existed when Walter Cronkite's career as a newscaster began, he would have been replaced. While consultants reply that they have no authority and merely provide recommendations, it is certain their role in newsrooms includes weeding out and waving on some of those who pursue careers as reporters and presenters of news.

Craig Allen

See also Anchors, Television; Audience Research; Audiences; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Television News, History of

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CONVERGENCE

Convergence is the merging of media, for example, the merging of newspapers, radio, and television on the Web. It also includes the merging of characteristics associated with traditional one-way media with characteristics of online and social media such as interactivity, serving different content to different users based on algorithms of users' behavior, and links to other stories and sources of content. There are many dimensions to convergence, including business consolidation, technology integration, functional convergence of news services, convergence on social media, audience fragmentation, geographic convergence, and changes in government regulations that make convergence possible. Convergence is also a buzzword that has come into popularity, fallen out of favor, and moved back into popularity again. It is a response to rapid changes in technology and shifting behaviors of consumers. Some scholars view convergence as the inevitable result of the changing media environment. Others view it with alarm, arguing that it is driven primarily by the profit motivations of large media conglomerates. Still others argue that it has benefited large media entities but harmed many smaller news organizations. For students of journalism, convergence has implications for the training they need, how they produce news in the future, and how they conceive of news distribution in a multiplatform media environment. This entry offers a brief history of media convergence and discusses several dimensions of convergence. The entry also examines convergence with respect to social media as well as obstacles to convergence and its potentially negative effects.

Brief History

Media convergence has been underway for some time. Some trace its origins to the convergence of computers and telecommunications, for example, the development of Arpanet by the U.S. military

and the introduction of videotex services such as Prestel in the United Kingdom, Minitel in France, and CompuServe in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. These services carried text, data, and, in some cases, graphics over telephone lines for display on computer monitors or dedicated terminals. Cable and satellite technologies in the 1970s and 1980s also fostered convergence, for example, when CNN merged television news with a dedicated cable channel and satellite distribution. By the early 1990s, most news organizations recognized a need to repurpose content for multiple media to satisfy different customer needs and tailor content to the characteristics of different media. In the 2000s and 2010s, many start-up, Web-only news organizations emerged, accepting a converged media environment as a given for doing business.

Everette Dennis (2003) identified four stages in the history of convergence. The first was an awakening of recognition that computing was becoming a core component for many media industries. Second, the Internet became a practical tool for millions of households in the 1990s, providing news, games, ecommerce, and email. The third stage was an uncritical acceptance of the Web as a dominant new medium that would take over many media industries. A fourth stage, in the early 2000s, was the presumption of failure of that model and a renewed confidence in older business models for media following the collapse of many so-called dot.coms. However, this was a temporary bump in the road. Convergence as a concept and a process made a roaring comeback in the 2000s and 2010s with the widespread acceptance of online services and the emergence of social media as a multifaceted source of news, entertainment, commerce, and messaging.

The Many Dimensions of Convergence

Business consolidation is one cornerstone of convergence. It has been underway for some time. Consolidation of media properties began with the formation of large chains of newspapers and groups of TV and radio stations under the ownership of a single company during the second half of the 20th century. It picked up speed in the 1990s, as very large media conglomerates were formed, for example, the merger of Time Inc. and Warner Communications into Time Warner or the

acquisition of Cap City/ABC family of networks by Disney. Consolidation continued to flourish in the 21st century, for example, in AT&T's acquisition of Time Warner and Disney's acquisition of 21st Century Fox.

Media conglomerates typically control a number of subdivision companies across multiple media platforms, for example, newspapers, TV stations, magazines, websites, and social media platforms. One impact of business consolidation has been that companies seek efficiencies in operations across their media properties. This may involve a reporter at a newspaper writing stories for the company's websites and TV news operations. A variation of this process is for a story written specifically for one medium to be adapted or repurposed for another medium. On the business side of the organization, a salesperson may sell advertising for the company's newspaper and websites, or programmatic ad buying and selling may automate the process across multiple platforms. Often, facilities are consolidated, so the staff of a newspaper may work side by side with the staffs of a TV station and the company's website personnel. With modern telecommunication links such as fiber optics, it is possible to create a virtual staff consolidation in which people at different locations can communicate and share resources as if they were in the same space. However, there are many variations in how newsrooms are organized based on the size, composition, and management style of the news organization.

The technological integration of media, for example, devices that provide text, music, graphics, videos, and other forms of communication is a second cornerstone of convergence. Technological integration was made possible by the digitization of media in which all forms of content are transmitted as streams of data. This makes it easier for one device to provide more robust multimedia content. Perhaps the most versatile media device is the smartphone, which has access to millions of apps—more than 2 million apps in Apple's App Store—which converge onto this mobile device.

Convergence also involves the functional merger of services. This is most notable on the Web, where a news site may have stories in multiple formats, along with reader forums and comments, blogs, polling, and interactive maps. Many interesting new formats have emerged, for

example, audio podcasts, some with photos or videos and commentary by a reporter, photographer, or expert on a topic. Some mergers of content are more controversial such as the merging of information and entertainment into *infotainment*. Critics see this as a degradation of professional journalism. Others argue that some infotainment services such as *The Daily Show* on cable TV or *The Onion* on the Web are legitimate and useful forms of satire. More sinister is the creation of fake news and deep fakes, which manipulate content to deceive. The creators of fake news have the same technological tools in a converged media environment as legitimate news organizations.

There is a seeming contradiction between the convergence process (the coming together of media) and the proliferation of media devices. In reality, both are happening. People use more media devices than in the past, but the technologies they use have more features and services. One consequence of the proliferation of media devices is the fragmentation of audiences. Most people in a town do not read the same morning newspaper and watch one of the three network newscasts in the evening, as millions did decades ago. News consumption is scattered across a broad range of media services. Convergence, in the sense of publishing news on multiple platforms, is one way of dealing with audience fragmentation. This is supported by algorithmic filtering: computer processes that categorize content and then filter it to individuals based on their past history of selecting content. A second consequence of the new media environment is that many people consume news on the Web in bite-size chunks rather than a dedicated session of watching or reading a menu of news content in a newspaper or on television. Geographic convergence is apparent most clearly on the Web, where news providers are both everywhere and nowhere. Anyone can compete for audiences, no matter where the news provider is located. *The New York Times* online has a large readership outside the United States; Clarín, a major news service in Argentina, competes directly with American news services on the Web for Hispanic readers in the United States. The BBC and hundreds of news organizations around the world vie for audiences in any part of the world where their streaming services are not censored. The

convergence process, especially business consolidation, has been made possible by changes in government regulation. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 weakened restrictions on conglomerate ownership of media properties. Federal Communications Commission policies in the decades that followed also weakened restrictions on ownership of multiple media in a single market. In television, this led to the disappearance of many independent stations; in radio, it led to the elimination of news operations at many local stations that were owned and operated by conglomerates in other markets. Government regulations in other countries vary widely on the issue of media convergence. In the United Kingdom, for example, there are stricter rules about cross ownership of media in the same market and less media convergence as a result.

Convergence on Social Media

Convergence is a cornerstone of social media. What started as a text-based service for college students to communicate with friends, evolved into social media based on audio and video as well as services that morphed text into multimedia formats. In addition, a broad range of information/news providers adopted social media, including news organizations, entertainment companies, corporations, government agencies, and individuals.

Business consolidation of social media is dominated by technology corporations, for example, Facebook's acquisition of Instagram, Google's acquisition of YouTube, and Microsoft's acquisition of LinkedIn. Social media companies resist being characterized as media companies—insisting they be thought of as technology platforms. This has helped the industry avoid many government regulations.

The largest social media companies have billions of users. Further, most social media users, especially young people, rely on social media for news, both as a platform for news and links to news organization websites. For news organizations, social media is both an opportunity and a competitor. News organizations can have a presence on many social media sites, including multiple channels on a site and vast archives, but many

other organizations, both legitimate and illicit, compete for those same news consumers.

Social media platforms and their proprietary algorithms control much of what news consumers see. A combination of friends sharing media stories and automated content curation became the “managing editors” for much distribution of news online. Virility, driven by clicks and sharing, is rewarded by social media's algorithms classifying news items as “trending.” As a result, timely and sensational news often does better, regardless of whether it comes from a verifiable media source.

Most American adults get at least some of their news from social media; for some, it is a primary source. The convenience, speed, and interactions with people are considered benefits of social media news consumption. Critics point out that when news distributors operate at scale without adopting established norms, values, and practices of news organizations, they are vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation. Many social media news consumers say they expect the news on social media to be largely inaccurate. Clickbait headlines, fake news, lack of fact-checking, and unreliable sources are leading factors in consumers' low trust of social media news but, in spite of this, many rely on social media for news. Social media has also come at a cost for traditional print news organizations. They have felt a requirement to provide video news stories, which can be very expensive. This practice has been called *pivot to video*. It has drained resources from other news venues such as print, for example, a reduction in print reporters, but often has not yielded enough revenue to offset the costs.

Obstacles and Negative Effects

There are many obstacles to convergence and potentially negative effects. Company culture can create barriers to inter- and intraorganizational cooperation, for example, when a company's newspaper, TV station, and websites operate with different organizational structures and management styles. Economic factors can also be a barrier. Many newspapers have been under financial pressure for years, forced to maintain or increase profits with fewer resources in the form of reporters and technology.

Reporters have mixed attitudes about convergence. Some view themselves as print or broadcast journalists and do not want to create stories for multiple platforms. Others lack the skills or training to create for a medium such as television. Still others are cynical and view convergence as a marketing gimmick or a management ploy to get fewer journalists to do more work and promote the news as a product, not journalism. There are editors and publishers who resist convergence, viewing it as a jargon term with more hype than reality or a code word for technology taking over the newsroom, especially video technology.

Consumer behavior can be a barrier. Consumers have taken to the Web and social media for news in very large numbers, but some do not want to pay for content and others are willing to pay but want to pay less than what they paid in the print era, forcing news organizations into new business models.

Critics of convergence point out that it does not always work, can take a long time to recoup investment costs, and is a reaction to technology change rather than a conscious step forward for journalism. AOL's purchase of Time Warner in 2000 is often cited as an example of convergence that did not work. It represented a clash of organizational cultures, and few of the promised synergies across media groups ever materialized. It has also been argued that large conglomerates offer less diversity of opinions due to the concentration of ownership and a need to convey a consistent brand image across media divisions.

Other critics argue that convergence is about automation of the news production process, leading to fewer reporters and the temptation to lower standards, for example, turning press releases into editorial content because it fills holes in news production, and mixing advertising with content because it increases revenue. It can also lead to the elimination of news programming, for example, the consolidation of radio stations in the 1990s and early 2000s led to a sharp cutback in news coverage—it was deemed too expensive.

The convergence of media in the production and distribution of news content is a well-established reality. In the new media environment, journalists require a broader set of skills. Writing is no less important than in the past, but writing for

multiple media is now a prerequisite for the professional journalist. Convergence has led to more competition as the location of a news organization becomes less important, and media that were separated in the past by their means of distribution (e.g., print and broadcast) now occupy the same space on the Web. CNN, *The Washington Post*, ABC Radio, the BBC, and *Time Magazine* are direct competitors in the Web environment.

The group that may be challenged the most by convergence is local news organizations. They lack the resources of larger news organizations. Also, larger news organizations now compete with local news entities who, lacking sufficient resources to produce large amounts of content for the Web, may cut back on local reporting—their main competitive advantage. This contributed to a sharp decline in the number of local news organizations in the 2000s and 2010s.

The concept of producing and distributing news stories to multiple platforms seems straightforward but it is not. A news organization needs software to manage and distribute stories in different formats, hardware to store files, and budgets that cut across departments and organizations. The assignment editor in a news organization must decide not only what stories to cover but in what formats, where they will be published, and how to cover a story for multiple media.

Convergence also requires a new mindset for journalists. They must think multimedia and plan ahead for repurposing content across different platforms. Many old journalistic instincts are wrong in the new media environment. For example, in a newspaper or television news context, the goal is to attract and keep the reader or viewer. In the Web environment, readers jump around and expect the reporter to be an expert who will not only convey valuable information but will provide links that send the reader to additional sources of information. The consumer of news is also much more active in the converged media environment. Consumers comment about stories and sometimes provide news in the form of photos they submit or news tips they provide. The so-called citizen journalist movement is not without problems. How does a news organization maintain quality, fact check, and avoid outright deception in an era of citizen journalism?

If there is a threat to journalism from the convergence process, it may be the commoditization of news. News organizations are under significant financial pressure to create more news, for more media, with fewer resources. Technology and repurposing stories help them do this, but the question arises as to whether professional reporting could be squeezed out in the process and news quality could be reduced to the point where it is just a commodity like paper towels or soap. The answer is probably no, but the danger exists. If groups such as Google can create news services with no reporters, simply by aggregating or linking to content from other sources, it becomes difficult for news organizations with costly staffs of reporters to compete.

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See also Citizen Journalism; Infotainment; Podcasting; Social Media

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includes trademarks, patents, and trade secrets. This entry examines the origins of copyright as well as related theory and criticism. The entry also discusses copyright law, the fair use doctrine, and legal issues connected to copyright law. The entry concludes with a discussion of copyright within the context of journalism.

Origins

Civilizations dating to ancient Egypt have inscribed unique marks on physical objects, such as bricks, to indicate ownership or craftsmanship. Greeks first used marks to indicate a creator's association with more cerebral products, such as art and literature. Romans further distinguished an author's right of ownership from an alienable right to reproduce a work. Chinese as early as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 200) recognized an exclusive legal right to reproduce written works. But intellectual property notions in ancient Eastern cultures developed less fully than in the West because Eastern philosophical traditions tended toward more communal than individual notions of knowledge ownership.

In the West, the prominence of medieval guilds led to increased legal recognition and protection for marks that identified goods and services. These marks correlate closely with marks recognized in modern intellectual property law: trademarks, service marks, and certificate marks. Guilds also maintained trade secrets that correlate closely with modern trade secrets, protected by law against theft as long as the owner takes steps to maintain secrecy. The concept of the patent also dawned at this time, as governments sought to attract new scientific methods in the development of public works by offering creators exclusive legal rights in their designs.

With the introduction of movable type in Europe in the mid-15th century, authors and printers joined engineers and traditional guilds in seeking enhanced legal protection for intellectual property. The Republic of Venice became renowned for obliging and attracting intellectual talent. Venice is credited with adoption of the first patent statute in 1474. The British Crown in 1557 provided a royal charter to the Stationers' Company, a powerful printers' guild, granting its members exclusive rights to reproduce written works, thus essentially to oversee a system of copyright.

COPYRIGHT

Copyright is a legal protection of expressions that are fixed in tangible media. Copyright describes, for example, an author's right to reproduce a book manuscript, an artist's right to duplicate his painting, or a musician's right to perform an original score. Copyright is part of a family of legal interests loosely termed *intellectual property*, which also

Governments thus protected intellectual property against piracy and awarded exclusive rights, or privileges, to intellectual property owners to profit from their graphic or mechanical designs and publications.

More definite statutory precursors to modern intellectual property law developed in Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries. The 1623 Statute of Monopolies generally proscribed the monopolization of inventions but operated as a patent law by protecting a creator's interest in an invention for the first 14 years. The 1710 Statute of (Queen) Anne formalized copyright law, superseding the monopoly of the Stationers' Company. The statute established depository libraries for copyrighted works, gave authors a right of reproduction, and allowed them a 14-year term of copyright, renewable by still-living authors for 14 more years.

Following the lead of such 18th-century political philosophers as John Locke (1632–1704), post-revolution governments in the United States and France reenvisioned intellectual property as a natural right, rather than a privilege awarded by government authority. Still, these new governments limited intellectual property rights with statutory terms. The U.S. Constitution of 1787 (Article I, section 8, clause 8) empowered Congress “[to] promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries.” Congress enacted copyright and patent laws in 1790, the former modeled on the Statute of Anne.

Modern American copyright law was inaugurated by the 1909 Copyright Act. It remained in effect, with amendments, until it was superseded by the 1976 Copyright Act, though the former remained in effect for works copyrighted up to 1978. The 1909 act doubled the terms of initial and renewed copyright to 28 years each and required that copyrighted works bear copyright notice—for example, the typographical symbol, “©”—and be registered at the federal Copyright Office. The 1909 act did not preempt state common law copyright, which provided some protection for unpublished works.

The 1976 law did substantially supersede state common law copyright but extended the federal system to protect works from the time they are “fixed in a tangible medium of expression,” thus

encompassing unpublished works. The 1976 act further extended the term of protection to the life of the author plus 50 years. The 1976 act still required notice and registration of a copyright before the owner could employ the enforcement provisions of the law, but defects of process were no longer necessarily fatal to later copyright claims.

U.S. copyright law was amended in 1988 to effect U.S. accession to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, a multilateral agreement dating to 1886 that requires nations to recognize one another's copyrights. The 1988 amendments also relaxed procedural formalities of U.S. copyright, notably the requirements of notice and registration as conditions of enforcement. Congress implemented other international agreements on copyright by enacting the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998 (DMCA), which in part prohibited the circumvention of technology designed to thwart piracy of copyrighted electronic content, such as motion pictures on compact discs. Also, in 1998, Congress extended the term of U.S. copyright to life of the author plus 70 years, and corporate copyright to the lesser of 95 years from publication or 120 years from creation. The U.S. Supreme Court has deferred to Congress on copyright term extension and even the restoration of copyright protection of works that had fallen into the public domain.

Copyright law in the United States and around the world has been amended to conform to the international Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, or TRIPS, which built on the Berne Convention and established the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. TRIPS provides copyright protection to computer software and limited protection to data compilations. In addition to the WTO, the World Intellectual Property Organization of the United Nations is an influential intergovernmental body in the harmonization of global copyright.

Theory and Criticism

Like other intellectual property interests, copyright reflects a fundamental tension between the public's interest in shared knowledge and free-market trade, on the one hand, and private property rights and the public's interest in encouraging

innovation, on the other. On the former score, society has an interest in the exchange of information free of legal restriction so as to facilitate the collective attainment of desirable norms such as truth and equality. The free market also depends in part on a free exchange of information, as actors in a marketplace who are better informed are more likely to make rational decisions that maximize productivity and efficiency.

Critics of these justifications for copyright argue, for example, that excessively long copyright terms unjustly enrich content creators and stifle creative expression that might otherwise emerge. Critics charge that affording creators too broad a spectrum of copyright protection contorts free market dynamics; for example, the anticircumvention provision of the DMCA arguably inhibits development of content-delivery technologies more efficient than what the market offers.

Copyright is understood as an expression of natural rights, which posits that a creator of intellectual property enjoys a unique relationship with the creation; accordingly, respect for the creator demands that he or she be afforded control over the disposition of the creation. The creation is therefore given the legal status of private property with rights of ownership vested in the creator. This arrangement serves the public interest both because it protects natural rights and because it fosters creation of new intellectual property. Authors and artists who know that they will be permitted to profit from their creations are more likely to create again. Historically, this latter concept, termed *incentive theory*, has been important in U.S. law, while the natural rights approach has been of foremost importance in European law.

Because the Internet is an unprecedented medium for the global and nearly instantaneous exchange of content, and by its nature the Internet tends to defy the legal constraints of national laws, it has become a battleground for government regulators, content owners, open-knowledge advocates, and intellectual-property pirates.

Contemporary Law

By statute, U.S. copyright law protects “original works of authorship fixed in any tangible medium of expression . . . from which they can be perceived, reproduced, or otherwise communicated,

either directly or with the aid of a machine or device.” Original works include the literary (which simply means written or printed—this is not a term denoting any minimal level of quality), musical, dramatic, choreographic, pictorial, graphic, sculptural, audiovisual, and architectural. While copyright protects the expression of ideas, it does not protect ideas themselves. Thus for example, a description of a new accounting method may be copyrighted, but the method itself may not be, and may be described in other words by someone else. Short names, representative symbols, processes, and inventions are not copyrighted but may be eligible for trademark or patent protection.

A constitutionally required element of a copyrightable work is originality. That means that the work must have been created independently by the copyright holder and that the work must embody some minimum of creativity. For example, an author who writes a sequel to a classic literary work may copyright the new, independent creation, but not the preexisting classic. A publisher of calendars may copyright an arrangement of photographs but may not copyright the ordinary arrangement of dates in a seven-column table.

Generally, a copyright owner enjoys the exclusive legal right to reproduce a work, to prepare work that is derivative of an original, to distribute copies, to perform or display a work, to broadcast a sound recording, or to authorize another to exercise the owner’s rights.

Copyright is subject to many limitations. For example, a public library may duplicate the contents of a book threatened by physical decay. A system of compulsory licensing authorizes musical groups to “cover” popular songs. Some statutory limitations on copyright are so complex in their interpretation and application, and the demand to use copyrighted content so high, that *de facto* licensing authorities have arisen. For example, the nonprofit American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers is one of several organizations that manages royalties for music performance and broadcast. Pursuant to the Music Modernization Act of 2018, the nonprofit SoundExchange collects royalties on streaming digital music. The for-profit Copyright Clearance Center handles licensing for many written works in the United States and has sister organizations around the world.

Fair Use Doctrine

An important limitation on copyright is the fair use doctrine. The doctrine was developed by the courts and expressly incorporated into law with the 1976 Copyright Act. A problem of copyright is that an exclusive right vested in one owner is at odds with the freedom of expression enjoyed by all other persons. Indeed, copyright is at some point at odds with itself, as an excessively protective regime would choke off the very creative expression that copyright is designed to foster. Fair use means to balance these competing interests by allowing limited though unauthorized use of copyrighted works.

Fair use is determined by a four-factor analysis. The first factor considers the purpose and character of the use. Noncommercial use, such as an educator using copyrighted material in class or a journalist using copyrighted material in a news story, is preferred to commercial use. A transformative use, when the user has a different purpose from the creator's and the use is not a substitute for the original, favors a determination of fair use. For example, copyrighted photographs might be repurposed as artwork within a creative collage. Courts have held increasingly that contextual changes may effect transformative use even when material is copied fully. In this vein, courts have allowed digital library projects to scan copyrighted texts into databases to facilitate research, preservation, and access for people with disabilities.

The second fair use factor considers the nature of the copyrighted work. Works with more original creative content, such as a wholly original fantasy novel, are entitled to greater protection than works of less originality, such as the fact-intensive contents of an almanac. The third fair use factor is the amount and substantiality of the use relative to the whole of the copyrighted work. A reproduced page of a medical treatise is less likely infringing than a reproduced chapter. The fourth fair use factor concerns the effect of the use on the market value of the original. Reproduction of the climactic scene of a suspense film may well infringe copyright if it depresses consumer demand for tickets.

Application of fair use doctrine is often at the heart of legal disputes over copyright. Flexibility

of the four factors means that case outcomes are difficult to predict, and unpredictability promotes litigation. At the same time, a vigorous fair use doctrine offers essential breathing room for free expression.

Issues

Copyright law has given rise to myriad legal issues and its own subspecialty of legal practice. Key issues in modern copyright have been protection for data compilations, parody as fair use, and copyright enforcement online. Copyright issues intersect at the problem of Internet memes.

A first copyright issue is protection of data compilations. A landmark copyright dispute over telephone books reinforced the originality prerequisite of copyright and disallowed protection of mere data. In *Feist Publications, Inc. v. Rural Telephone Service Co.* (1991), a telephone cooperative sued a telephone book publisher for copyright infringement in the unauthorized extraction of compiled listings. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that no infringement had occurred because a data compilation, while generated by "the sweat of the brow" of the compiler, lacks the minimal originality required for copyright protection. Creative choices, such as the arrangement of data in presentation, or the selection of data for inclusion, may merit copyright protection, but the data themselves do not.

Rejection of "sweat of the brow" copyright in the United States differs from its acceptance in Europe. In 1996, the European Community protected database content as well as data selection and arrangement. International application turns on reciprocity, so only databases from participating countries are protected. The desirability of database protection and the market consequences of its absence have spurred lobbying and litigation by the U.S. information industry, as yet to little avail. Responding to industry pressure, the TRIPS Agreement explicitly protects selection and arrangement but not underlying data themselves.

A second copyright issue is parody. Communication of parody depends on its resemblance to the original, so a vital parody market requires a tolerant copyright regime. Recognizing this problem and the importance of parody to social and political criticism, the U.S. Supreme Court built parody

protection into the fair use regime in *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.* (1994). In *Campbell*, the rap music group 2 Live Crew had produced an unauthorized and commercially lucrative parody of the copyrighted Roy Orbison song, “Oh, Pretty Woman,” borrowing an opening riff and lyrics, but little more. The Court found that 2 Live Crew’s taking from the original was not excessive considering the nature of parody, which must contain enough of the original to conjure it in the mind of the listener. The Court’s fair use analysis cut a wide path for parody, recognizing, for example, that a parody’s commercial success does not necessarily degrade the market for the original, and might even enhance it.

A third copyright issue is online enforcement. The Internet has vastly enhanced the ease with which a user can copy and republish copyrighted content en masse without diminished quality. Meanwhile, rightsholders have found online enforcement prohibitively burdensome for many reasons: the technical difficulty of identifying infringers, the legal challenges of transnational enforcement, the costs of innumerable enforcement actions, and the public relations of pursuing individuals. Consequently, rightsholders have sought legal means to enforce copyright against electronic intermediaries, such as software developers and Internet service providers (ISPs), whose work product makes infringement possible. In 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court held unanimously that distributors of peer-to-peer file sharing software could be held liable for encouraging copyright-infringing uses of their products.

But rightsholders have had difficulty pushing past plain facilitation of infringement to reach ISPs, such as social media platforms and the popular Google video platform, YouTube. The DMCA created a “notice and takedown” regime, emulated by European legislation in 2000. Notice and takedown affords an ISP safe harbor against copyright enforcement for the unwitting storage and republication of protected material, provided that the ISP takes down the material upon receiving notice of infringement.

Notice and takedown proved effective, if arguably too effective. Critics charge that ISPs acceded automatically to notice letters without questioning their assertions, empowering rightsholders to suppress noninfringing fair uses. Rightsholders

meanwhile complain that enforcement is still a game of whack-a-mole and that ISPs feign ignorance of user infringement while profiting from it. Responding to rightsholders’ pleas, in 2011, a U.S.-negotiated treaty and two bills in Congress sought to step up online enforcement with strong-arm tactics including criminalizing infringing streams, blocking providers’ financial transactions, and shuttering websites. The treaty and bills prompted unprecedented global protests, and world leaders and U.S. lawmakers backed down.

Nevertheless, rightsholders have continued to press for systematic copyright enforcement through intermediary responsibility. Copyright enforcement provisions were part of the failed Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement in 2016. With its 2019 copyright directive, Europe moved away from notice and takedown, calling for national legislation that would require ISPs to filter user uploads for copyright-infringing content. Lobbyists have pressed U.S. lawmakers for comparable compulsion.

The problem of Internet memes arises at the intersection of parody and enforcement. In memes, Internet users combine text and visual imagery to effect social commentary. Internet memes tend to propagate virally online regardless of copyright, often to the displeasure of rightsholders. For example, cartoonist Matt Furie saw his famously easygoing Pepe the Frog character, in 2016, retweeted in support of the Trump presidential campaign, and, later, appropriated as a symbol of white nationalism. The prospect of upload filtering raises concern over the suppression of memes, especially when they are used in politics.

While some memes openly appropriate copyrighted content, inviting only fair use as an arguable defense, others test the threshold of copyrightability. Multiplayer online games incorporate “dance emotes,” options that allow players’ avatars to express emotion by dancing. In 2019, actor Alfonso Ribeiro sued Epic Games, alleging that emotes in the popular game Fortnite appropriated plaintiffs’ dance moves. Ribeiro created the eponymous Carlton dance for a sit-com character in the 1990s. Memes have long used audiovisual representations of Ribeiro as Carlton, disregarding copyright. Epic’s use raises the question whether dance moves may be copyrighted when divorced from the dancer’s own representation. Like parody,

dance moves evoke the original in the mind of the viewer. But experts have opined that dance moves alone fall too far short of a complete choreographic work to merit copyright protection. Whatever the outcome in the suit, the case foreshadows other copyright problems that are likely to arise from the ever-increasing capacity of computer-generated imagery to simulate the real world.

Journalism and Copyright

Copyright is essential to journalism, as the journalist trades on proprietary expression. A journalist's work is copyrighted when it is fixed in an article or broadcast story. Under copyright's "work for hire" doctrine, copyright vests in an employer-publisher, not in an employee-writer, unless the parties agree otherwise.

A dispute has smoldered for more than a century over the copyrightability of news itself. Copyright plainly applies to news stories, as fixed expressions, but cannot apply to the underlying facts of the news. Thus, news may be repackaged and republished in new stories without violating copyright. However, there are only so many ways to write a headline or lead with an economy of words. Repetition is inevitable, prompting difficult questions as to when news extracts are imbued with the minimum of originality to warrant copyright protection, and when taking exceeds fair use. American courts have tended to reject copyright in mere headlines and short news extracts.

Adding to confusion over news copyright, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1918 held that despite federal copyright's inapplicability, an action may lie in state misappropriation law when one news service pirates the scoop of a competitor. The viability of this "hot news doctrine" has been questioned since the preemption of state common law by the 1976 Copyright Act. Federal courts have consistently reaffirmed the doctrine but have narrowed it in application. In 1997, a court found no misappropriation in a pager service that transmitted real-time sport scores because the service expended resources to ascertain the information and did not "free ride" on the work of the sporting-association rightsholder. In 2011, a court found no misappropriation in a website's reiteration of a bank's investment recommendations because the website was

reporting the recommendations as news, not passing them off as its own.

Online news aggregation and technological features of the Internet have aggravated tensions over news copyright. The hostility of U.S. courts to the assertion of copyright in facts, rather than creative expression about facts, and the courts' liberal approach to fair use have combined favorably for defendants accused of infringement. Characteristically, in 2007, a court found no copyright violation in framing and embedding copyrighted content and applied transformative use doctrine to allow informational and retail use of thumbnail images linked to rightsholders' full-size originals.

At first blush, this trend against news copyright seems to favor free speech. At the same time, advocates for journalism in the public interest blame liberal copyright doctrine for facilitating the collapse of journalism as a viable business model. Displaying advertising alongside extracted and embedded content, search engines and news aggregators profit without paying for the content that drives users to their sites. Journalism advocates have posited that a system such as the compulsory licensing of music for broadcast or streaming could achieve equity and restore public interest journalism to profitability.

That theory animated the authorization of a "link tax," or "snippet tax," in the 2019 EU copyright directive. The first country to legislate pursuant to the directive, France in 2019, ordered search engine and aggregator Google to pay news publishers for using snippets of their content. Google responded by pledging to redact snippets from search results in France. The country and company are at a stalemate as of 2021.

Copyright is a delicate instrument of public policy. Properly designed, it simultaneously fosters and inhibits freedom of expression. Accordingly, journalism depends on copyright to ensure both protection for work product and a free speech market. Financial, technological, and cultural changes pose ever greater challenges to courts and policymakers to keep copyright working.

Richard J. Peltz-Steele

See also Associated Press; Digital Distribution; Distribution; First Amendment; Freelance Writers and Stringers;

Images, Ownership of; Internet: Impact on the Media;
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CORRECTIONS POLICIES

In journalism, a correction is the notice that a news outlet provides to its audience of mistakes in published or posted content. Reporters and editors identify or are informed about errors and then follow their organization's policy—an adopted newsroom practice typically found in its codes of conduct—in correcting published, posted, or broadcast content. Reputations of news organizations rely on truthful reports, so factual accuracy is paramount. Otherwise, journalism may be perceived as misleading the audience, prompting people to turn to other sources of information that may be tainted by self-interest rather than public interest. In this entry, the history and ethics of corrections policies in U.S. news organizations are explored, with discussion of policies and procedures in place at different types of news outlets. The entry concludes by discussing some of the challenges of correcting errors in the 21st century and recommendations that have been made for improving corrections policies.

Some journalism mistakes are so egregious that they make rather than document history. The 1948 presidential election featured New York Gov. Thomas Dewey, a Republican, against President Harry S. Truman, a Democrat. On November 3, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* carried this erroneous headline: DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN. In actuality, Truman had won the election. The *Tribune* blamed polls that predicted an easy Dewey win. At the time, there was a printer's strike that forced the newspaper to go to press earlier than usual, prompting then managing editor J. Loy "Pat" Maloney to call the election before East Coast results were tallied. The mistake was immortalized in media history when Truman was photographed holding up a copy of the first edition with the infamous Dewey headline. Some 150,000 copies of the newspaper were printed before the error was corrected in the second edition.

In the United States, the idea that news organizations have a responsibility to inform the citizenry can be traced to 1690 in the first colonial American newspaper, *Publick Occurrences: Both Forreign and Domestick*. Benjamin Harris, printer, stated that he would publish “what we have reason to believe is true,” adding “when there appears any material mistake . . . it shall be corrected” (DiBacco, 2015). The Massachusetts Bay Colony, concerned that officials would be held accountable, shut down his paper after the first edition, requiring similar publications to be licensed before disseminating and distributing content.

A generation later, in 1733, John Peter Zenger published a report in the *New York Weekly Journal*, accusing royal Gov. William S. Crosby of rigging elections. Zenger was arrested and accused of seditious libel or content that challenged the authority of the state. The case helped to establish a precedent for the development of subsequent corrections policies inasmuch as it upheld accurate reporting as a defense against claims of libel. At the time, English courts elevated authority over truth, believing the greater the truth, the greater the libel. Defense attorney Andrew Hamilton successfully argued for “the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth” (Walker, p. 111). The John Peter Zenger case elevated factual truth over royal authority, setting the stage for the American Revolution as well as setting the standards for accurate journalism.

Accountability

The ethical principle associated with corrections is accountability. It ensures credibility. Fallibility is common in every institution or organization but those whose mission is associated with credibility have an obligation to be accountable to the publics they serve. Devising accountability policies and standards that address mistakes and errors not only enhances credibility but also reaffirms quality and reputation while reducing the likelihood of future mistakes.

Humans make mistakes. Reporters make mistakes every day. They may misspell a name, cite the wrong address, misquote a source, or otherwise misrepresent key attributes of a story. Sometimes, reviewing their posted or published work, the

reporter catches the mistake. Sometimes readers, viewers, or even colleagues in the same newsroom identify the error and bring it to the reporter’s attention. Increasingly, online fact-checking organizations may dispute a published report or claim made by a source or company. A study by Michelle Amazeen and colleagues noted that fact-checking entities and websites have increased substantially since 2001, analyzing what sources claim in political stories as well as what companies do in marketing and advertising campaigns.

Policies and Procedures

Once an error is detected, reporters are expected to follow newsroom policy and correct the error. At *The New York Times*, correcting mistakes is an ongoing process with a website updated daily. In a 2018 essay, *New York Times* corrections editor Rogene Jacquette wrote that the newspaper’s goal is to provide the highest quality journalism possible by telling the audience the truth in a factual manner, adhering to a standard that recognizes an ethical responsibility to correct all errors, no matter how large or small, in a timely manner and prominent place reserved for that purpose.

The New York Times correction policy also includes instructions on how reporters, editors, and producers should:

- Strive for accurate and complete stories.
- Do so in clear, understandable language, explaining what was wrong.
- Update digital reports, inserting a note that a story has been updated with corrected information.
- Clarify when a report is factually correct but poorly expressed, requiring revision.
- Create an editorial note when a correction raises significant ethical issues or fails to meet editorial standards.

Corrections need to be made in a timely, prominent manner. Prominence is associated with placement of corrections in a section, web page, or portion of a broadcast report that readers, listeners, and viewers can easily locate. Without specifying how prominence should be defined in broadcast reports, the Radio Television Digital News Association states, “Ethical journalism requires owning

errors, correcting them promptly and giving corrections as much prominence as the error itself had” (RTDNA, 2015). Placement in print typically is in the same section of a newspaper or magazine where the original error occurred or in a specific page where the audience can find it.

Some who work in U.S. print media maintain that a correction should be given the same treatment and prominence as the original flawed article. Craig Silverman, who has written extensively about news media errors and accountability, argues the same principle should apply to the web. The issue there, however, differs from static print; the web is fast and fluid. The Online News Association acknowledges this, noting many print publications “believe a correction should be at least referenced where it first appeared. . . . Rules for how to correct errors in online news are less clear” (ONA, n.d.).

The issue of “timely” also has changed in the Internet era. Typically, timely meant the next issue of a printed publication, such as a newspaper or magazine, or the next news cycle in television or radio. Now all those platforms have websites where corrections can be made within a short time following the discovery of an error. This aspect of corrections provides for more transparency, increasing trust and credibility.

The Washington Post’s corrections policy makes a distinction between updating an online story as events occur and new information is learned and updating the story because of an error that requires notice to readers. The policy states “*It is necessary* to use a correction, clarification or editor’s note to inform readers whenever we correct a significant mistake” (Washington Post Staff, 2016). Serious errors at *The Washington Post* may require an editor’s note with an explanation of how the mistake may have happened.

A 2007 study by Michael Bugeja found that policies of news media companies on what should be included in a published or broadcast correction vary from company to company. Drawing from multiple studies, Bugeja (2007) identified the following as key components of correcting a news story:

1. Identify the error (what it was, when and where it occurred).
2. Correct the record.
3. Do so as soon as possible.
4. Do so prominently.
5. Provide an explanation to the audience or clientele.
6. Disclose how the error could have been avoided and/or how it will be prevented in the future.
7. Issue an apology to those damaged by the false disclosure (p. 50).

Many published corrections omit one or more items from this list, as there is no uniform standard on how to deal with errors. In the end, readers, listeners, and viewers expect that corrections contain genuine expressions of regret rather than justification or excuse-making whose intent might appear to absolve the corporation from liability rather than resolve the issue at hand.

Challenges and Recommendations

The Internet has brought challenges to traditional practices of correcting the record. Social media users routinely share or discuss flawed content without regard to the consequences of inaccuracy. This effect may be associated with differences in standards between traditional and digital media. For instance, traditional print outlets value such tenets as balance, impartiality, gatekeeping, and prepublication verification, whereas digital products often emphasize immediacy, transparency, partiality, and postpublication correction. The nature of digital content is its speed, which distributes mistakes instantaneously and globally.

The interface with social media further disrupts the conventional process of correcting errors. An initial mistake in a report may be shared thousands of times before a correction appears online. In the interim, viewers may have seized upon the initial error in posts, links, and comments, sparking charges that the report was intended to deceive. Moreover, rumors abound on social media. There are few guidelines on how to deal with rumors while upholding conventional values of accuracy, verification, and transparency. However, some newspapers are utilizing social media monitoring tools and are able to see who or what has redistributed content. Using those applications, reporters, editors, and producers can contact top sharers of content and inform them about updated, accurate reports.

The Knight Commission on Trust, Media and Democracy's 2019 report, *Crisis in Democracy: Renewing Trust in America*, outlined several best practice recommendations for media outlets to restore trust in media and regain credibility. Among the recommendations were:

- Processes to correct errors should be simplified.
- News organizations should make it simpler for the public to report errors.
- More resources should be allotted for staff to respond to requests for corrections.
- Technology should be developed to track the same digital paths that erroneous content traveled, correcting the record along the way.
- Policies should be updated to address new methods of content creation, including corrections in podcasts, voice-activated devices, virtual reality, and augmented reality.

Policies will continue to evolve as platforms become more interactive and algorithmic. Ethicists are concerned that erroneous content from robot journalists could tarnish newsroom reputations, especially when a mistake rises to the level of libel litigation. Questions concern how the courts would assess who or what might be responsible for faulty algorithms or other flaws in system design and whether a robot was negligent or malicious when disseminating libelous content damaging individuals or organizations. Conversely, executives at news organizations using artificial intelligence say they are using robots to report more mundane content, giving human journalists more time to create accurate reports on substantial issues.

Michael Bugeja

See also Credibility; Fact-Checking Movement; Libel; Trust in Journalism

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CREDIBILITY

The credibility of news, and people's willingness to learn from it and act on it as if it were true, has emerged as a major issue in contemporary American and world society. The willingness of some individuals or groups to accept as credible information that others reject as propaganda or disinformation is emerging as a significant barrier to the governance of nations, including the United States. This lack of uniformity suggests a problem with media literacy and to some extent cultural and institutional discontinuities that have badly divided politics and the larger society in the age of social media.

This manifests in the rapid spread of so-called fake news that is written with the intent to deceive, the inability of some to tell the difference between fake news and credible news, acceptance or even

preference for propaganda over more balanced information, and the propagation of hate speech and various forms of misinformation. All of this together signals significant dysfunction and public confusion about the credibility of information. Difficulty assessing media credibility interferes with the ability to communicate with one another accurately and responsibly and for the public to make accurate judgments about matters of public policy, make assessments of their elected officials, and decide how to vote.

Acceptance of various forms of misinformation has emerged as a recognizable problem that requires significant research attention. What is needed is not only a clear understanding of what people misunderstand, but also why, and how this can be addressed by policy makers. The World Economic Forum, which meets annually at Davos, Switzerland, warned of the problem of misinformation in their 2013 report, *Digital Wildfires in a Hyperconnected World*. The World Economic Forum warned that misuse of hyperconnectivity characterizes the contemporary world and that misguided attempts to prevent such outcomes can also pose great danger to governance and society. This entry further discusses the importance of credibility in journalism. It then looks at how people assess the credibility of media they consume, the challenges presented by the loss of local news sources in the United States, and efforts to support local news producers and improve journalism quality.

When a government institutes a new policy, the news media are among the most important venues where citizens can learn about what is planned, how it will affect them, what it will cost, and so forth. In 2010 the United States Congress approved the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) that aimed to build on the existing private health insurance systems operating in the United States, as well as certain government programs such as Medicaid, to attempt to cover each person with comprehensive health insurance. Medicaid is a federal and state partnership that helps pay for medical treatment for certain people with limited incomes.

The ACA was considered the signature legislative achievement of the Obama presidency and was passed without Republican votes, making everything about it politically contentious. News

focused on the chances of passage and the polling about its level of public support. Even after the law was passed, confusion, reigned over what it would cover. Political opponents spread myths of the law setting up “death panels” that would determine whether older people could receive treatment for certain diseases under the law. Others suggested that undocumented persons would be eligible for benefits when in fact they were banned from receiving benefits. Politicians opposed to the ACA have run ads against it in subsequent Congressional races and during the 2016 presidential election, often spreading false or misleading information.

A 2015 study that examined public perceptions of the ACA attempted to distinguish between ignorance (lacking a correct belief about an issue) and misperception (holding an incorrect belief with confidence). As the study’s authors, Josh Pasek and colleagues, note: “Whereas ignorance is lamentable in a democracy, misperceptions have the potential to be dangerous” (Pasek et al., 2015, p. 660). Their study found that incorrect answers to questions about the ACA were far more common than confidently held incorrect beliefs. The confidently held misperceptions were most common about parts of the law about which opponents had spread false information. Accurate information, when widely spread through the population, helped people hold correct beliefs with confidence.

A similar pattern of misperceptions can be found on a range of other important issues in the United States, including public understanding of terrorism, claims about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq made prior to the Iraq War (2003-2011), and the economic effects of the Tax Cut and Jobs Act of 2017. These perceptions and misperceptions built up in nonelection contexts are very influential in shaping the election discourse and political judgments.

Mainstream empirical research in communication suggests that social media’s effects in U.S. national elections of 2012 and 2016 were small and limited. However, detailed studies indicate that weaponized use of social media, combined with “hacking and dumping” information, that is, selectively releasing damaging and divisive information to affect public opinion and possibly change election outcomes, underlines the

importance of these issues and suggests that information effects can be quite powerful. People seem to select media, in part, on identity cues from those media that reflect their individual and group identities.

Changes in the media system and the ways various subgroups in the population use them may contribute to conditions that facilitate misinformation. People’s use of media and information are changing rapidly as technology advances and media literacy lags. One important trend is the increasing reliance of many people on social media as a trusted source of news. Social media pass along articles from reputable and disreputable news organizations along with a great deal of user-generated content. Social media also contain entertainment content related to the news, and the growing number of satirical news sites and a proliferation of new sources and commentary may outstrip some people’s ability to form critical judgments about the quality of such material.

A study published in 2018 by NORC, a social research organization at the University of Chicago, examined two important heuristics that shape credibility judgments of social media: the trustworthiness of the person sharing the story and the credibility of the news outlet reporting the story. Results strongly favor the interpretation that people are more likely to trust and engage with social media information shared by people they trust than if it is shared by someone they don’t trust. Thus, the sharer is far more important than the source of the content, although the source is important in terms of people’s engagement with the information.

These factors suggest that there is an important role for motivated reasoning in the assessing and using media credibility judgments in everyday life for many people. Motivated reasoning is a psychological theory that suggests that information choice and evaluation, and resulting attitude formation, judgment, or decision making, are influenced by one’s motives or goals. These goals may be ideological or rooted in the desire to be consistent or correct according to some predetermined set of ideas or commitments.

Another dimension of the credibility crisis examines the increased use of digital platforms for disseminating news, including social media, which has radically changed the media universe and has

undermined the advertiser- and subscriber-based funding models that have supported many media for decades. This has led to considerable disruption, particularly in local media, trends that have created what researcher Penelope Abernathy has found are vast “news deserts” throughout parts of the United States once served by community newspapers.

As newspapers have traditionally been the largest producer of local news, when they close or consolidate due to ownership changes, it becomes more difficult for people to understand the problems and needs of their local communities. The political content that some cable news provides seems to give one-size-fits-all ideological solutions (e.g., the desirability of small government and low taxes) to governance that might or might not be appropriate for the special problems encountered by highly diverse local conditions.

Exposure to a diversity of media content is a bedrock principle of democratic society and has come under tremendous challenge in recent years due to shifting changes in the technology. The rise of search engines, recommending algorithms, and reliance on social networks put people in new, vastly more complex information environments than the traditional ones to which older generations have become accustomed. In addition, people may have significant problems with media literacy, that is, understanding the strengths and limitations of these commonly used venues.

In light of these problems, a number of organizations have emerged to support local news producers, including U.S. organizations such as the Local News Initiative at Northwestern University, The Maynard Institute, Institute for Nonprofit News, and Report for America, among others. United for News is a project associated with the World Economic Forum that largely works to improve journalism quality and independence internationally. The Gates Foundation has been particularly active in its calls for scholars to counter misinformation campaigns.

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See also Bias; Corrections Policies; Deception; Ethics; Framing; Media Literacy; Newsroom Culture; Objectivity

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND JOURNALISM

Coverage of crime and the court system dominates local news in all forms of media and makes up a significant portion of national news in the United States. There is even a cable news network, Court TV, devoted to coverage of major trials. For many Americans, mass-mediated forms of information, either through fiction shows or the news, are the main source of information about crime and the courts.

Because the right of a free press under the First Amendment and right to a fair trial under the Sixth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution are often in direct conflict, a balance is constantly negotiated to ensure protection of both of these rights to the best extent possible. This entry first discusses how news coverage can influence perceptions of suspects and the legal system in the United States. The entry then looks at restrictions set by courts and voluntary guidelines followed by the legal system and the news media to balance the constitutional rights of individuals and news organizations.

Polls show that the public forms opinions about crime from what they see or read in the news much more than from personal experience. A host of studies have shown that subjects exposed to pretrial publicity were significantly more likely to assess guilt to the defendant than those who did not see the media coverage. The majority of studies showed that the bias remained after the deliberation and final verdict. In fact, they found that this bias was strongest when subjects were tested before the trial, which is a dismal testimony to the premise of innocent until proven guilty. Yet media accounts also can convince

people of an accused person's innocence, or at least raise questions in their minds about whether the accusations are justified.

The hit podcast, *Serial*, aided in granting a second look at the case of Adnan Syed, a convicted murderer. In its first season in 2014, the podcast unearthed new evidence in the case through interviews with a variety of people who knew Syed, as well as interviews with the convicted murderer himself. The reporting and popularity of the show prompted a hearing for a new trial that was later denied in the Maryland courts. Similarly, doubts were raised about a murder conviction in the Netflix docuseries, *Making A Murderer* (2015–). After its release, courts reexamined some of the charges under question, and the case garnered 500,000 signatures to petition the White House.

Other studies examine how peoples' physical characteristics can affect judgments of people. Jury research looks at extralegal bias—those biases based on factors that are not supposed to be considered during a trial. Several studies have shown that mock jurors judge attractive defendants more leniently than unattractive ones during sentencing. Race also has been shown to affect perceptions of the accused and the impact on jury decisions and sentencing. White jurors rate Black defendants guilty more often than white defendants in murder cases. Black defendants are found guilty more often when the victim is white. Also, minority defendants who are convicted for the rape and murder of white victims are more likely to receive the death penalty than white or Black perpetrators who have harmed Black victims.

Court Restrictions

As a result of the perceived problems with bias from pretrial coverage, the courts have instituted some ways to combat the prejudice. This prejudice is significant because it implicates both the First Amendment rights of the press and the Sixth Amendment rights of the defendant to a fair and speedy trial.

A case more than a century ago provides a stellar example of these rights in conflict. When Marilyn Sheppard was stabbed to death in her home, front-page headlines splashed the gory details of the murder. Each day, local and national newspapers delivered inflammatory revelations, including

the fact that Marilyn Sheppard's husband was a prime suspect. The husband, neurosurgeon Sam Sheppard, was eventually charged and convicted of murder. Twelve years and numerous appeals later, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Sheppard's murder conviction because it said he had been denied the right to a fair trial as a result of pretrial publicity.

Following this ruling, in 1968, the American Bar Association proposed routine use of restrictive orders—more commonly called *gag orders*—to control the potential negative effects of press coverage. For the next decade, key players in the trial were regularly silenced. This practice, however, was not tolerated for long. In 1968, the American Newspaper Publishers Association argued that press coverage enables fair trials rather than hindering them. It argued that reporters must have full access to court proceedings so that the public can make informed judgments about the justice system. The Supreme Court agreed and in the 1976 case *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart* the Court sharply limited restrictive orders on the press and said gag orders on the media should be a last resort in high-profile cases when release of the information will create a clear and present danger to the conduct of a fair trial and when no other remedies could offset the effects of negative publicity.

News media still cover high-profile cases before and during court proceedings. A clear example was Casey Anthony, a mother charged with first-degree murder after the discovery of her baby daughter's remains in a wooded area near her home. Widespread coverage and opinion circulated years before her trial began, giving the public access to a wealth of information about the Anthony case before jury selection. Once the trial was underway, it also served as boon for the news business. Cable channel HLN's relentless coverage of the trial led to the best ratings in its then 29-year history, as millions watched host Nancy Grace excoriate Anthony day after day, and refer to her as "Tot Mom." The trial became such a spectacle that people gathered in bars and restaurants to watch as Anthony was acquitted of murder but found guilty of several misdemeanor offenses and released for time served.

Similarly, in the case of the *State of Florida v. Zimmerman*—where a white neighborhood watch

volunteer was charged with second-degree murder for killing an unarmed Black teenager—media outlets circulated the same few pictures showing the deceased teen, Trayvon Martin, wearing a hooded sweatshirt and a headshot of George Zimmerman wearing a suit and tie, as well as pictures of Zimmerman's mugshot and childhood photos of Trayvon Martin. These pictures were splashed across newspapers, social media, and television leading up to the trial and throughout its duration, and again, the case attracted huge viewership. Coverage reached well into the millions, even catching the attention of then U.S. President, Barack Obama, who later gave official remarks following the not guilty verdict saying, "Trayvon Martin could have been me 35 years ago" (White House, 2013).

Self-Regulation

Even though many attempts to reduce pretrial publicity bias are deemed unconstitutional, two key remedies remain: self-regulation, also called *bench-bar-press guidelines*, and procedural safeguards.

Bench-Bar-Press Guidelines

The American Bar Association formulated bench-bar-press guidelines along with journalists and judges. They offer suggestions for information that police, judges, or lawyers should not release to the press as well as information that the press should not report because it might endanger a defendant's chance for a fair trial. Information about a confession and prior convictions, performance on a lie detector test, or stories about the defendant's character or credibility of witnesses have been flagged as potential problems. Confessions, prior records, and lie detector test results are likely inadmissible in a trial, and prior research has shown these to be the most damaging types of information in pretrial publicity.

The bench-bar-press guidelines are not legally binding but rather merely suggestions for reporters, police officers, judges, and lawyers. However, a classic 1979 study by James W. Tankard, Jr., Kent Middleton, and Tony Rimmer concluded that violations of the ABA guidelines occur more often in states *with* bench-bar-press agreements than in those states that do not have such agreements.

Procedural Safeguards

Another key way to mitigate the effects of pretrial publicity is through procedural safeguards in the courts. Several procedural safeguards are in place to remedy the effects of pretrial publicity such as voir dire, instructions to the jury, the deliberation process, continuance, and change of venue.

Voir dire is the process by which prospective jurors are asked questions under oath to determine whether they are predisposed to a particular outcome. Research on real and mock jurors and juries has found that this process cannot erase the biasing effect of pretrial publicity. However, other studies have shown that the trial process, including voir dire, can lessen the effect of pretrial publicity.

Even with effective voir dire to rule out jurors who are prejudiced before the trial, bias can develop during the trial. A few studies have shown judicial instructions can stop prejudicial perceptions from factoring into decisions. However, a longer line of research reveals the ineffectiveness of jury instructions to disregard inadmissible testimony. As Judge Learned Hand put it in a 1932 ruling in *Nash v. United States*, asking jurors to disregard certain evidence would require “a mental gymnastic which is beyond, not only [a juror’s] power but anybody’s else’s.”

Another safeguard is the deliberation process itself. Many jury studies involve individual mock jurors assessing guilt, while others examine how working in a group, as actual jurors do, can impact these biases. The results are dramatically contradictory. One side argues that the jury deliberation process mitigates the biases exhibited by individual jurors before the trial. The information integration model of jury decision making shows that a juror’s initial perceptions are neutralized by evidence presented in the trial. However, other studies have shown that jury verdicts rarely defer from an individual juror’s initial predeliberation opinions. This suggests the deliberation process does not change opinions of individual jurors. Psychological evidence shows that deliberation tends to *exaggerate* whatever bias individual jurors came in with. Experts have argued that the difference between group and individual decision-making magnifies small biases at the individual level into large ones in the group jury deliberation.

Another possible remedy is to delay the trial until people no longer remember the negative publicity. A 1990 study by Geoffrey P. Kramer, Norbert L. Kerr, and John S. Carroll showed that factual publicity such as a prior record is forgotten when a trial is delayed by 12 days, suggesting that continuance would be an appropriate remedy for this pretrial publicity. However, it should be noted that a continuance would only be effective if there is not a resurgence of the original coverage to re-form the bias in the potential juror’s memory.

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See also Censorship; First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Objectivity; Press Freedom

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CROWDFUNDING

Crowdfunding, as the name suggests, means going to the *crowd* to financially support a project. Typically, this is done using a website or crowdfunding platform on the internet to elicit small amounts of

funds from a large amount of people. Crowdfunding existed before the internet, for example, when public broadcasters and community stations hold telethons where people call in and pledge money. However, while this sort of crowdfunding continues to exist today, crowdfunding over the internet, on crowdfunding platforms, or through an organization's website and social media, is what the term is now associated with. This entry examines crowdfunding platforms, types of crowdfunding, the labor involved in the process, and the connection between crowdfunding and diversity in journalism. The entry concludes with a discussion of journalistic norms and identity.

While crowdfunding has been used to support a wide variety of ventures and product development in the culture industry, from video games to movies, in journalism, crowdfunding has become increasingly popular in the wake of the industry's economic struggles. Since the financial crisis of 2008, news organizations around the world have struggled to make ends meet. This is in part due to falling advertising revenues as advertising migrates to other places on the internet and a decrease in subscriptions as people have become used to getting information on the web for free. As a result, there have been cutbacks and closures, resulting in fewer journalists and fewer news organizations. As one response, both large news organizations and independent journalists have turned to crowdfunding to try to support their journalism. For example, established news organizations, such as *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom, at the end of their articles regularly ask their readers to contribute what they can to support their work. Independent journalists are using crowdfunding platforms such as Kickstarter and Indiegogo to raise funds to start their own small, start-up news organizations. Freelancers looking to publish in legacy media (such as print, television, and radio news organizations) are also using crowdfunding as a way to support their reporting endeavors as freelance budgets at legacy news organizations dry up.

Platforms

Independent journalists and freelancers often use online platforms such as Kickstarter and Indiegogo to crowdfund. Crowdfunding on these

platforms involves creating a *pitch*, describing what the journalist wants to create and why people should fund them. These specific online crowdfunding platforms usually have a fixed deadline for the campaign. Kickstarter, for example, gives journalists 1 month to raise the funds. These online crowdfunding platforms take a percentage of the journalists' earnings. Other journalism organizations set up crowdfunding through their own websites.

Types

Crowdfunding is different from subscribing to a newspaper or magazine, which involves a monthly or yearly payment in order to gain access to the content. With crowdfunding, people are usually donating to support a start-up or one-off individual endeavor or pledging support for content that will be made freely available on a website. There are different types of crowdfunding that differ based on what donors expect for their contributions. Crowdfunding can be equity-based, meaning that people who donate do so with the expectation that they will get a cut of the profits. There is a lending-based model, where money is given and expected to be paid back with interest. There is also donation-based funding, where money is given altruistically without expectation of anything in return. As outlined by Tanja Aitamurto, there are different types of crowdfunding that differ based on what donors expect for their contributions. Generally, journalists who crowdfund use reward-based crowdfunding where the rewards increase in value depending on the amount that is donated. One challenge for journalists is coming up with rewards. When crowdfunding to support a product, such as a video game or a film, often the rewards are a copy of the product itself or affiliated products, such as stickers or T-shirts. However, when crowdfunding for journalism often the product that will be produced will be freely available, as is the case with many news start-ups that have the goal of being open access. Or the story is going to be published elsewhere and cannot be given as a prize. As well, often journalists are unclear at the time of crowdfunding what the product is even going to be; this is especially the case for journalists who are crowdfunding to support freelance work and are not positive

how the story will turn out. In response, journalists have had to get creative. It has become common practice to offer small gifts such as places they are going to if they are raising travel funds for a story, advance copies of their work, behind-the-scenes information on the reporting process. In some cases, for larger donations, journalists have even offered themselves as rewards, offering to go for coffee or drinks with donors, or speak at their events. Because of the difficulties with coming up with suitable rewards, some journalists say they rely less on the rewards as an incentive, and more on altruistic donations, focusing on convincing potential donors that the kind of journalism they are supporting is something that is worth putting their money behind.

Labor

Crowdfunding is often characterized as empowering for both journalists and audiences as it enables journalists to work outside of legacy media, and it allows potential audiences to fund journalism they deem important. However, what is often overlooked in the promise around crowdfunding is that it involves intense labor for journalists, particularly if a journalist is using online platforms such as Kickstarter or Indiegogo. This includes building the pitch and coming up with an outreach strategy. A lot of thought goes into crafting a compelling pitch that will convince people to donate. It is common practice to combine text, visuals, and video in a pitch, which means journalists must have skills in multiple modes of production in addition to promotional writing skills. During the time span of the crowdfunding campaign, there has to be sustained outreach to potential donors. It is not enough to simply put the campaign up and expect people to find it; journalists running the campaigns need to reach out through social media and their offline contacts to bring people to the campaigns. Some journalists find that this part of crowdfunding can amount to a full-time job. Crowdfunding is also a type of labor that many journalists are not used to, as it requires them to be entrepreneurs. Many journalists consider themselves to be public servants, drawn to journalism in order to report on important stories and hold power to account. Crowdfunding requires a different set of entrepreneurial

skills that they may not be used to, which include crafting a pitch that will sell the product, and also promoting and advertising the campaign. For this reason, journalists often work in teams and bring in people who have expertise in marketing to help with the project.

Crowdfunding also changes how journalists work, requiring a type of transparency that is often at odds with how they have usually approached their work. Many journalists are used to keeping a story under wraps until it is published, particularly investigative journalists, for fear that they are scooped by other news outlets. When crowdfunding, journalists have to be very open about the story they are covering if they are freelancing, or the types of stories they will be pursuing if they are creating a news start-up. While many journalists who have worked for legacy media are used to pitching their stories to editors and producers, it is different to pitch one's work to a crowd of strangers and ask them to support the work. However, while some journalists find this a difficult adjustment, there are others who feel it can also be rewarding and helpful to get feedback in advance from potential donors about their work.

Labor and the Audience Commodity

The audience commodity is a theory developed by the Canadian sociologist Dallas Smythe that the real product of media is not the content itself, but the number of people watching the media. These people are then *sold* to companies in the form of ratings, to entice them to advertise. The audience commodity theory argues that audiences are working when watching media, in that they are learning to become consumers by paying attention to the advertisements. This theory is disputed by some who believe that it does not take into account audience agency, and the idea that watching ads can be a source of pleasure and entertainment rather than work. Nonetheless, Smythe's theory of the audience commodity adds another dimension to the discussion of the type of labor that occurs in crowdfunding. Often journalists are using crowdfunding as a way to start a news organization that they then plan to sustain through advertising dollars. In these cases, crowdfunding is seen as a way to get start-up funds, and

the crowdfunding campaign is a way to prove to potential advertisers that they have a built-in audience for this endeavor. Diversity Crowdfunding is often touted as a way to increase diversity in journalism by expanding the types of stories that are told. Journalists crowdfund to create their own independent news outlets that cover stories not told in legacy media. Others are crowdfunding to support their freelance writing to cover stories that have not been told elsewhere. For instance, many journalists are crowdfunding to support news ventures that will cover local news in their areas where news outlets have been closed or cut back. Crowdfunding also increases the number of working journalists, which adds to diversity in the profession's workforce. The work these journalists are doing can be contextualized using the theory of structuration, first coined by the sociologist Anthony Giddens and also used in political economic theory of communication. Structuration theory asks people to look at how society is constrained by social structures as well as how people have individual agency within these structures. These structures can be political or social. In the case of crowdfunding journalists, those who are not able to participate in the structure of legacy media or feel there are stories that are not being covered in this media can be seen as exerting agency when they crowdfund. For example, when students in Canada formed an online magazine called *The Pigeon*, they said they were doing so because they felt that marginalized voices were not being heard in mainstream media and they wanted to create a space for these voices.

Journalistic Norms and Identity

Unlike professions such as medicine and law, where there are exams to pass to enter the profession, journalism does not have set practices. However, norms and standards have developed over the years. In Western journalism, notions of autonomy and independence are key. In newsrooms, this means a separation between the newsroom and advertisers/owners. Journalists refer to an *invisible wall* that exists between the two, meaning that while they might exist in the same space, they are not influenced by advertising and owners. However, in crowdfunding, this wall disappears as journalists must deal with content as

well as the funding. Some journalists who crowdfund do not have any problem with this, as they expect that the people who are funding their journalism believe in the stories that are being reported on and are donating specifically to support this work. Other journalists and journalism organizations that crowdfund are very clear about drawing strict lines between the funding and the content, stating in their campaigns that donors will not have influence over their content. Some journalists who crowdfund who used to work in legacy media bring with them into crowdfunding ideas of objectivity, fairness, and balance that they adhere to in their reporting. However, others are turning to crowdfunding in order to create advocacy journalism where they take a clear stand on an issue or journalism with a point of view where they position themselves in relationship to the story but try to tell many sides.

Andrea Hunter

See also Diversity in Journalism; Entrepreneurial Journalism; Gatekeeping; Hyperlocal Journalism; Innovation Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; Social Media

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C-SPAN

C-SPAN, the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, is a nonprofit cable network funded entirely by the U.S. cable industry that provides viewers access to the processes of government, in the form of televised sessions of Congress, political events, and other forums where decisions about public policy are made. C-SPAN distinguishes itself from other news outlets by its lack of traditional

reportage. This entry reviews the history of C-SPAN, subject areas of coverage and array of services, and its mission as a neutral conduit of political and public affairs happenings.

C-SPAN: A Brief History

In *The C-SPAN Revolution*, Stephen Frantzich and John Sullivan provide background and the story of televised coverage of the U.S. House of Representatives. The origins of C-SPAN itself date from the late 1970s, when the House of Representatives allowed full television coverage of its sessions in 1977, by a vote of 342 to 44. Thirty years earlier, in 1947, television cameras had recorded the opening of Congress, establishing the first stepping stones toward making the workings of government open to mass media viewing by the public. In 1970, House committees became open to the broadcasting of public hearings with the Legislative Reorganization Act, and in 1977, the House conducted an in-house test of televised coverage.

The televised feed of the House's proceedings, although available to anyone, lacked an outlet. It was during this time that Brian Lamb, the Washington bureau chief for an industry publication called *Cablevision*, pitched the idea for such a conduit of government to cable industry leaders. Lamb had worked in various governmental jobs prior to his job at the industry publication, including as press secretary for U.S. Sen. Peter H. Dominick (R-CO) and in the press office of the White House Office of Telecommunication Policy.

One of the experiences that influenced Lamb's idea for a public affairs channel was when he witnessed an anti-war protest at the Pentagon during the Vietnam War years. The protestors became vocal and active only when a network television reporter was on camera. "Lamb realized that what he was going to see on the evening news was much different from what had actually happened," noted Frantzich and Sullivan (p. 26). This concern that the public get a more complete picture of newsworthy events contributed to Lamb's vision: "My experiences with Washington coverage at the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill led me to believe that there had to be a better way to cover public affairs" (p. 28).

With the House television signal sitting there and the cable industry looking for new programming ideas, Lamb—who had been thinking about a network dedicated to public affairs for a while—formally presented it to a group of cable operators in 1977, according to Frantzich’s biography, *Founding Father: How C-SPAN’s Brian Lamb Changed Politics in America*. With support of U.S. Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA), to whom he pitched the idea after an interview, Lamb met with House Speaker Thomas “Tip” O’Neill in 1978 about the idea; O’Neill himself had been dissatisfied with the networks’ “soundbite” coverage of the House. With only a verbal agreement that C-SPAN would provide gavel-to-gavel coverage of the House, the deal was sealed. The House would have control over and staff the cameras during sessions, however. With the financial backing of cable leaders, C-SPAN launched on March 19, 1979, with welcoming remarks by Rep. Al Gore Jr. (D-TN) and a “routine” debate on the creation of a committee studying jurisdictions of committees (Frantzich & Sullivan, 1996, p. 38). The House coverage via C-SPAN went to 350 cable systems serving 3.5 million households.

C-SPAN’s funding comes from cable subscriptions; it receives no governmental funding and accepts no advertising of any kind. Cable operators pay to have C-SPAN included in their lineup, costing about one cent per subscriber in 1979, and about six cents as of 2019. C-SPAN does not rely on ratings and provides public affairs programming as a public service. But serving the public with a dedicated channel to televise the proceedings of the U.S. House of Representatives, and, later, other public affairs and political-oriented programming, was not the only reason for the cable industry to support such an endeavor. As Frantzich and Sullivan noted, “Many members supported C-SPAN because they felt that it would help improve the public image of their industry” (p. 322). And giving public exposure to those who would write legislation concerning their industry might make for more favorable consideration.

C-SPAN in the U.S. Senate

C-SPAN programming grew beyond that initial feed of the House proceedings in just a few years, with 24-hour coverage starting in 1982. In 1984,

both Republican and Democratic national conventions were cablecast live. In the mid-1980s, the Senate was debating whether or not to allow television coverage of its proceedings. According to Frantzich (2008), C-SPAN had wanted to include the Senate to complement its House coverage, and younger senators had supported the idea of having cameras televise their proceedings. An experience by Sen. Robert Byrd, the Democrats’ minority leader, has been documented as contributing to the Senate’s move to join the House in having the cameras on, when Byrd was mistakenly introduced as the Speaker of the House at an event in his state of West Virginia. As Frantzich and Sullivan relayed, “Byrd realized that both he and the Senate had a visibility problem and that the Senate was at a severe disadvantage as long as the House was the only chamber on television” (p. 57). Eventually, the Senate approved cameras, and a second cable outlet, C-SPAN 2, began covering that body in 1986, and went to 24-hour coverage the following year.

C-SPAN Expansion

With both houses of Congress having television coverage via cable, the advent of the Internet allowed for streaming live coverage of both in 1997. In 1997, C-SPAN Radio debuted, with broadcasts in the Washington, DC, area on 90.1 FM, as well as online and by Sirius satellite radio. C-SPAN 3 was added in 2001, offering live coverage of committee hearings, press conferences, and political speeches. With content regularly available through the C-SPAN website, the array and variety of content has of course greatly expanded, both in amount and in reach. Available C-SPAN figures from 2017 showed an estimated 70 million adults had accessed C-SPAN content within the past 6 months, with approximately 9.5 million users doing so several times a week.

Since its inception, C-SPAN has grown from its initial channel that gave cable subscribers a view into the U.S. House of Representatives to two more channels, radio, and Internet content. Beyond U.S. public affairs and political coverage, C-SPAN went international in 1985, with coverage of the Canadian House of Commons. The network’s international programming includes coverage of the British House of Commons, Israeli Knesset, German

Bundestag, and the Russian Duma, as listed by the C-SPAN *Viewer's Guide*.

With improvements in technology, C-SPAN some 40 years later has grown from its minimalist operations to a staff of 260 and a \$60 million budget, which, for the extent of coverage it offers, is still considered “shoestring,” compared with other television news organizations. C-SPAN’s array of coverage includes not only the House and Senate but also the White House in the form of press briefings, presidential events, and addresses. C-SPAN regularly covers Department of State briefings and has cameras following political campaigns as well.

In addition to having cameras on the ground at political events and happenings, its call-in show, *Washington Journal*, gives viewers the opportunity to ask office holders and experts questions, a distinguishing feature that circumvents, up to a point, the one-way communication that characterizes mass media in general. When the Senate is not in session, C-SPAN 2 offers the long-running *Booknotes* program with interviews of authors of nonfiction books. Weekend programming on C-SPAN 3 features *American History TV*, which offers footage of historical sites, archival material of presidential speeches, and lectures by historians. Every C-SPAN program aired since 1987 is included in its free, online archives consisting of more than 260,000 hours of video.

C-SPAN is dedicated to bringing all manner of political and public affairs to the public, but one branch of the federal government that has eluded its cameras is the U.S. Supreme Court. The network has covered confirmation hearings of justices and has been granted requests made to the Court for same-day releases of taped oral arguments. (The Court did allow audio livestreaming of oral arguments in 2020, when justices called in from their homes due to the coronavirus pandemic.) Some justices, such as Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Clarence Thomas, have even been cited as being favorable to television coverage. However, C-SPAN remains unsuccessful in its quest to televise the highest court in the land.

An Unfiltered Lens

C-SPAN’s mission, posted on its website, stipulates that its live feed of the U.S. House and Senate and coverage of “other forums where public

policy is discussed, debated, and decided” are provided to viewers “without editing, commentary or analysis and with a balanced presentation of points of view” (C-SPAN, Our Mission, n.d.). The slogan “Your Unfiltered View of Government” thus reflects the core purpose of C-SPAN as originated by its founder Brian Lamb, whose idea was to show the public “what their government is doing, and let them see the action undiluted” (Frantzich & Sullivan, 1996, p. 24). Lamb resigned as CEO in 2012 and retired from the network in 2019. The noncommentary approach familiar to viewers watching House or Senate sessions, political conventions, state funerals, or footage following candidates on the campaign trail, appears as raw footage with only natural sound or speakers talking on a microphone as the audio component.

The C-SPAN Style

Although C-SPAN does offer hosted programming, such as the viewer call-in show *Washington Journal* and interview programs, Frantzich described it as a “no-personality zone” when it comes to on-air personnel, as well as show guests and story choice (2008, p. 100). Indeed, hosts do not utter their own names during programs, which further deemphasizes them, putting the focus on the content at hand.

Part of C-SPAN’s mission is to “employ production values that accurately convey the business of government rather than distract from it” (C-SPAN, Our Mission, n.d.). With its “no-frills” ethic, C-SPAN’s production style may appear simple and unexciting, when compared with the graphics, music, and special effects common in television news production. During C-SPAN’s early years, with budget limitations and CEO Brian Lamb’s personal frugality, studio sets were minimal and quickly built.

Regarding the look of C-SPAN visually, camera shots appear static, simple, and direct; there are few wide shots, and little if any panning (left-to-right scanning of scenes). Establishing shots, which give viewers a sense of a particular setting, are used, so that viewers feel as if they are “in the room” (Frantzich & Sullivan, 1996, pp. 128–129). This approach is enhanced by the lack of voice-over or commentary, with little interruption

between what is unfolding before the camera and the viewer.

Cameras and Control

C-SPAN's mission not only includes its service to bring to the public an unfiltered view into government but also serves on behalf of decision makers and representatives of government, providing "elected and appointed officials and others who would influence public policy a direct conduit to the audience without filtering or otherwise distorting their points of view" (C-SPAN, Our Mission, n.d.). In that C-SPAN is essentially just the transmission service for the television feeds of Congress, Congress controls the cameras and camera angles, not C-SPAN. The control of these cameras has been the subject of news itself. One such instance, which became known as CAMSCAM, occurred in 1984, when Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill ordered the cameras to pan the House chamber, which was empty during special orders speeches (a period for speeches at the end of a legislative day) against the Democrats.

In 2016, when House Democrats staged a sit-in to demand votes on gun control during a recess, the House cameras were turned off, on the grounds that the House was not in session. Some of the representatives used smartphones to livestream the sit-in, which C-SPAN put on the air. To explain why the regular House feed was not on, C-SPAN itself used Twitter to explain: "C-SPAN has no control over the U.S. House TV cameras" (June 22, 2016). The use of cellphone technology to circumvent the traditional television feed in order to bring the event to viewers became news itself: "C-SPAN's decision to work around the rules and show the sit-in was—rather predictably—viewed by some as a sign of political bias," reported Callum Borchers (2016). Although the aim of C-SPAN is to bring government, and other public affairs events and issues, to the public without analysis, commentary, or bias, it nevertheless is subject to such accusations and scrutiny.

Balancing Act

As Borchers (2016) noted, "C-SPAN, which carries live, unfiltered congressional proceedings, is supposed to be the very definition of neutrality."

While neutrality may be the goal, the very fact that the television cameras in the houses of Congress are controlled by Congress presents a challenge to that neutrality. This becomes apparent when considering that even a basic camera movement such as panning might impinge on that goal. The whole picture of government in action thus becomes edited, in a way, as Kyle Peterson (2019) explained: "Take those fiery speeches on the House and Senate floor. An open secret is that lawmakers are often fulminating to an empty room." To interfere in the presenting of such speeches on C-SPAN, such as in the 1984 "CAMSCAM" case mentioned previously, becomes a target for charges of bias, even if C-SPAN was not responsible.

One of the criticisms of C-SPAN stems from the allowance for members of Congress, whether making speeches on the floor or as members of televised hearings, to say what they want without the filter. Graham (2019) pointed to how lawmakers learned to take advantage of being on camera, able to avoid media analysis or contradiction to what they were saying: "circumventing the press and mediation means politicians can also offer complete hogwash directly to the public without anyone stopping falsehoods." This, and the grandstanding that frequently occurs in hearings where committee members are expected to ask questions of witnesses instead, serve as some of the downsides to the C-SPAN mission of bringing government unfiltered to the people.

Politics and its coverage inherently invoke certain points of view, and not having one ironically constitutes a viewpoint nevertheless. C-SPAN's purposive tone of neutrality similarly has been subject to research looking at whether or not it skews politically to the left or to the right. Borchers (2016) cited studies that concluded it skews conservative (one on its coverage of think tanks and another on the political affiliation of guests on *Washington Journal*). Borchers referred to yet another study that looked at C-SPAN's Twitter networks (those whom it follows and those who follow it) and characterized its findings as showing C-SPAN to be "virtually dead center—if anything, a smidge left." As a media news source that aims to provide space for all political viewpoints, C-SPAN's straight-ahead approach that eschews filtering, so common among other cable news organizations,

nonetheless will continue to have its fans and detractors.

Erika Engstrom

See also Access to Media; Cable News; Congress and Journalism; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Transparency

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Weekly Newspapers
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.
WhatsApp
WikiLeaks
Women's Magazines
- Xinhua News Agency
- Yellow Journalism
Yellow Kid
YouTube
- Zenger, John Peter

Reader's Guide

The Reader's Guide is provided to assist readers in locating articles on related topics. It classifies articles into 30 general topical categories: Broadcast Organizations; Broadcast Technology; Broadcast, Past and Present; Broadcast, Practiced and Defined; Broadcast, Radio; Broadcast, Television; Cultural Issues in Journalism; Economics of Journalism; Freedom of the Press in American History; Issues and Controversies, Coverage of; Journalism Online, Practiced and Defined; Journalism, Practiced and Defined; Journalism Techniques; Journalism Types; Journalism, International; Journalism, International Organizations; Journalism, U.S.; Journalism, Visual Orientation; Law and Policy; Media Regulation and Oversight; Media Theories; Photojournalism, Issues and History; Press and Politics, The; Print Production; Print, Historical Issues and People; Print, Practiced and Defined; Public Relations, Issues and History; Social and Ethical Aspects of Journalism; Social Media Organizations; Technological Aspects of Journalism

Broadcast Organizations

ABC News
CBS News
CNN
Fox News
MSNBC
National Public Radio
NBC News
Public Broadcasting Service
Sinclair Broadcast Group
Sky News
ViacomCBS

Broadcast Technology

Audio and Video News Services
Audio Journalism

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
Digital Sound
Livestreaming
Satellite Newsgathering
Shortwave Radio
Simulcasting
Streaming Media
Video Journalism
Video News Releases

Broadcast, Past and Present

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
Commentators, Radio
Murdoch, Rupert
Mutual Broadcasting System
National Public Radio
NBC News
Newscasters, Radio
Pacifica Radio
Paley, William S.
Public Radio Journalism
Public Service Broadcasting
Radio Corporation of America
Shortwave Radio
Television News, History of

Broadcast, Practiced and Defined

Anchors, Television
Community Radio
Newscasters, Radio
Public Service Broadcasting
Sports Broadcasting
Talk and News Radio
Television Newsmagazines
Video Journalism

Broadcast, Radio

ABC News
Audio Journalism

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
 CBS News
 Commentators, Radio
 National Public Radio
 NBC News
 Newscasters, Radio
 Pacifica Radio
 Public Radio Journalism
 Radio Corporation of America
 Shortwave Radio
 Talk and News Radio

Broadcast, Television

ABC News
 Anchors, Television
 Broadcast, or Broadcasting
 Cable News
 CBS News
 CNN
 Fox News
 MSNBC
 NBC News
 Public Television Journalism
 Tabloid Television
 Television Commentary
 Television News, History of
 Television Newsmagazines

Cultural Issues in Journalism

African American News Media
 Asian American News Media
 Democracy and the Media
 Diversity in Journalism
 Émigré News Media
 Ethnic Press
 Feminist News Media
 Indigenous News Media
 Latino News Media
 LGBTQ Issues, Coverage of
 LGBTQ Journalism
 News Audiences, U.S.
 News Avoidance
 News Deserts
 Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of
 Religious News Media
 Social Movements and
 Journalism

Economics of Journalism

Advertising
 Advertising, Ethics in
 Advertorials
 Audience Research
 Audiences
 Circulation
 Classified Advertising
 Clickbait
 Convergence
 Digital Advertising
 Discussion Boards
 Employment
 Fake News
 Free Daily Newspapers
 Hoaxes
 Infotainment
 Labor Unions in Media
 Marketing
 Media Conglomerates
 Media Markets
 Media Monopoly
 Media Ownership
 News Deserts
 Newspaper Chains, Ownership of
 Nonprofit Media
 Paywalls
 Self-Publishing

Freedom of the Press in American History

Commission on Freedom of the Press
 Democracy and the Media
 English Roots of the Free Press
 Espionage Act
 First Amendment
 Fourth Estate
 Free Expression, History of
 Free Press and Fair Trial
 Pentagon Papers
Publick Occurrences
 Sedition Act of 1798
 Stamp Act
 Watergate
 Zenger, John Peter

Issues and Controversies, Coverage of

Civil Unrest, Coverage of
 Education, Coverage of

Immigration, Coverage of
 Military and the Media
 Poverty, Coverage of
 Violence Against Journalists
 War and Military Journalism
 War Correspondents

Journalism Online, Practiced and Defined

Blogs and Bloggers
 Crowdfunding
 Digital Advertising
 Digital Design
 Distribution
 Editing, Online and Digital
 Liveblogging
 New Media
 News Aggregators
 Paywalls
 Podcasting
 Social Media
 User-Created Content

Journalism, Practiced and Defined

Amplification
 Byline
 Citizen Journalism
 Consultants, News
 Corrections Policies
 Documentaries
 Editing, Print Media
 Editorials
 Editors, Roles and Responsibilities
 Embedded Reporters
 Feature Syndicates
 Freelance Writers and Stringers
 Hard Versus Soft News
 Human Interest Journalism
 Internships and Training Programs
 Interpretive Journalism
 Inverted Pyramid
 Journalism Awards
 Literary Journalism
 Local Journalism
 Longform Journalism
 Materiality
 Natural Disasters, Coverage of
 News as Narrative
 News Conferences

News Organizations
 News Syndication
 Newsroom Culture
 Obituaries
 Participatory Journalism
 Press Pools
 Producers
 Publishers
 Recording
 Solutions Journalism
 Sources
 Sources, Anonymous
 Sportswriters
 Time in Journalism
 Trauma, Coverage of

Journalism Techniques

Audio Journalism
 Bandwagon Journalism
 Checkbook Journalism
 Collaborative Journalism
 Data Journalism
 Development Journalism
 Emotion in Journalism
 Engaged Journalism
 Interviewing
 Investigative Journalism
 Mobile Journalism
 Quotation
 Self-Publishing
 Spectacle

Journalism Types

Agriculture Journalism
 Alternative News Media
 Business Journalism
 Citizen Journalism
 Civic Journalism
 Constructive Journalism
 Entertainment Journalism
 Entrepreneurial Journalism
 Environmental Journalism
 Food Journalism
 Health and Medicine Journalism
 Human Interest Journalism
 Hyperlocal Journalism
 Innovation Journalism
 Interpretive Journalism

Labor Journalism
 Lifestyle Journalism
 Literary Journalism
 Longform Journalism
 Peace Journalism
 Religion Journalism
 Science and Technology Journalism
 Sports Journalism
 Student Journalism
 Terrorism, Coverage of
 Travel Journalism
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Journalism, International

Nations

Bangladesh
 Brazil
 China
 Germany
 India
 Indonesia
 Japan
 Nigeria

Regions

Africa, North
 Africa, Sub-Saharan
 Asia, Central
 Asia, East and Southeast
 Asia, South
 Australia and New Zealand
 Central America and the Caribbean
 Europe
 Middle East
 North America
 South America
 Pakistan
 Russian Federation

Topics

British Broadcasting Regulation
 British Commercial News Broadcasting
 British Newspapers
 Election Coverage
 Ethnic Minority Networks
 European Press Regulation
 Foreign Correspondents
 International Journalism

Journalism and Globalization
 Journalistic Translation

Journalism, International Organizations

ABP News
 Agence France-Presse
 Al Arabiya
 Al Jazeera
 Al-Manar
 Bertelsmann
 British Broadcasting
 Corporation
 Chinese Television
 Deutsche Welle
 Euronews
 PANAPRESS
 Reuters
 RT and Sputnik
 Sky News
 TASS and Russian
 News Agencies
 Thomson
 Xinhua News Agency

Journalism, U.S.

Associated Press
 Bloomberg
 Breitbart
 Comcast
 Dow Jones
 Gannett
Los Angeles Times
 McClatchy
 MediaNews
New York Times, The
 News Audiences, U.S.
 News Corporation
 Nexstar Media Group
Stars and Stripes
 Tribune Publishing Company
 U.S. International
 Communications
 United Press International
USA Today
Wall Street Journal, The
 Walt Disney Company, The
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Journalism, Visual Orientation

Cartoonists, Political
Clickbait
Comics
Data Visualizations
Graphics
Maps in Journalism
Motion Pictures, Journalism in
Visual Journalism
Video Journalism
Video News Releases

Law and Policy

Antitrust
Boycotts
Censorship
Copyright
Criminal Justice and Journalism
Espionage Act
Fairness Doctrine
First Amendment
Free Press and Fair Trial
Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
Gag Orders
Images, Ownership of
Indecency and Obscenity
International and Comparative Journalism Law
Libel
Net Neutrality
Newspaper Preservation Act
PATRIOT Act
Pentagon Papers
Plagiarism
Prior Restraint
Privacy
Public Funding
Secrecy and Leaks
Section 230, Communications Decency Act
Sedition Act of 1798
Sexual Harassment in Journalism
Shield Law
Stamp Act
Supreme Court and Journalism
Sunshine Laws
Telecommunications Act of 1996

Media Regulation and Oversight

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

Antitrust
Censorship
Commission on Freedom of the Press
Federal Communications Commission (FCC)
Free Flow of Information
Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
Indecency and Obscenity
Internet: Impact on the Media
Net Neutrality
Newspaper Preservation Act
Positive First Amendment
Press Freedom
Secrecy and Leaks
Section 230, Communications Decency Act
Shield Law
Sunshine Law
Telecommunications Act of 1996

Media Theories

Agenda Setting
Comparative Models of Journalism
Framing
Gatekeeping
New World Information and Communication
Order (NWICO)
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Propaganda
Theories of Journalism

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Aerial Photography
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Photo Agencies
Photo Editors
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Press and Politics, The

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Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of
Government, State, U.S., Coverage of
Political Reporters

Polls and Public Opinion
 Presidential Families, Coverage of
 Presidential Scandals, Coverage of
 Presidents, Coverage of
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 Design and Layout, Newspaper
 Digital Distribution
 Printing
 Type and Typography

Print, Historical Issues and People

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 Cables, Undersea
 Douglass, Frederick
 English Roots of the Free Press
 Fourth Estate
 Fuller, Margaret
 Graham, Katharine
 Gutenberg Press
 Hearst, William Randolph
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 Hersey, John
International Herald Tribune
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 Morse Code
 Muckrakers
 New Journalism
 Partisan Press
 Penny Press
Public Occurrences
 Pulitzer, Joseph
 Stunt Journalism
 Telegraph
 Watergate
 Wells-Barnett, Ida B.
 Yellow Journalism
 Yellow Kid

Print, Practiced and Defined

Advocacy Journalism
 Alumni Magazines
 Broadsheet Newspapers
 Business Magazines
 Celebrity and Fan Media

Column-Writing
 Editing, Print Media
 Men's Magazines
 Newsweekly Magazines
 Op-Ed Page
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 Weekly Newspapers
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Public Relations, Issues and History

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 Clipping Services
 Havas
 Lee, Ivy Ledbetter
 Public Relations
 Public Relations, Ethics in
 Public Relations, History of
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Social and Ethical Aspects of Journalism

Advertising, Ethics in
 Access to Media
 Arts Journalism
 Bias
 Blacklisting
 Comment Sections
 Conflicts of Interest
 Credibility
 Deception
 Digital Journalism Ethics
 Digital Journalism Tools
 Discussion Boards
 Ethics
 Fact-Checking Movement
 Fake News
 Hoaxes
 Human Rights and Journalism
 Infotainment
 Journalism Education
 Juvenile Offenders,
 Coverage of
 Letters to the Editor
 Media Criticism
 Media Literacy
 News Values
 Objectivity
 Ombudsman

Parody of News
Plagiarism
Photojournalism, Ethics of
Public Relations, Ethics in
Pulitzer Prize
Risk and News
Satire of News
Satirists, Political
Self-Regulation
Sensationalism
Social Justice Journalism
Transparency
Trust in Journalism
Vox Pop

Social Media Organizations

Advanced Research Projects Agency Network
 (ARPANET)
Buzzfeed
Facebook
Google
Instagram

Snapchat
Twitter
WikiLeaks
YouTube

Technological Aspects of Journalism

Artificial Intelligence and Journalism
Automation
Bots
Digital Journalism Ethics
Editing, Online and Digital
Internet: Impact on the Media
Liveblogging
Livestreaming
QQ
Satellite Newsgathering
Search Engine Optimization (SEO)
Streaming Media
Virtual Reality
Web Analytics
WeChat
WhatsApp

D

DATA JOURNALISM

The term *data journalism*—sometimes called *data-driven journalism* or *computational journalism*—refers to a range of journalism practices in which structured information (data) plays a key role. Structured information can take the form of spreadsheets, databases, and official statistics or might be compiled from other sources specifically for the purposes of journalism, for example, by combining information from multiple documents into a structured format or digitizing information in a way that allows it to be more easily queried by users through interactive storytelling forms and visualization. Structured information might also be complemented or directed by interviews and other newsgathering activities. Research by Megan Knight in 2015 suggests that *data journalism* first began to appear as a phrase in 2008 in *The Guardian* newspaper in the United Kingdom, although the practice predates the term and there is a long history of data-driven reporting that has informed its development. In less than two decades, data journalism has moved from a niche specialist role in the industry to a skill that is practiced in multiple editorial domains, with major news organizations including the BBC rolling out basic data training to all reporters. This entry discusses that recent history of data journalism, the antecedents that inform it, and the debates that are shaping its ongoing development.

Data and Journalism: A Long History

Data regularly had a central role within journalism between the 17th and 19th centuries: as early as 1692 the *Shipping News* was publishing weekly data on the arrivals and departures of ships, while information on commodities, deaths, and taxes was common in newspapers throughout the period. The rise of international trade—and the birth of statistics—created both demand and material for newspapers: The front page of the very first issue of *The Manchester Guardian* in 1821, for example, contained a table of data on schools in Manchester and Salford as part of a story on education reform, while in the United States in the late 19th century, the journalist Ida B. Wells was using data to fact-check the reasons used to justify lynching.

With the arrival of the 20th century, the spread of computers provided a new way to work with data: In 1952, a mainframe computer was used by the U.S. broadcast network CBS to attempt to predict the outcome of the presidential election—although they didn't actually use the resulting data, and the key year for computers in journalism wasn't until 1967 when the *Detroit Free Press's* Philip Meyer used a mainframe to analyze survey data relating to riots in the city.

Meyer's reporting—testing claims about who participated in the riots and why—won him a Pulitzer Prize and helped provide the basis for the field of computer-assisted reporting (CAR), an antecedent of data journalism. His 1969 book *Precision Journalism* established some of the key methods of the field, centering on the use of

databases, surveys, and the methods of social science. It also outlined how such methods could be used to address some of the criticisms of contemporary journalism, such as its reliance on information from sources in positions of power and a lack of independence from those sources.

In addition to the methods promoted by Meyer, the late 1960s onward also saw journalists gain access to a growing amount of data thanks to the enacting of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act in 1967 and Canada's Access to Information Act in 1983, along with training and networks of support through the National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting, formed in 1989 to support the development of the practice. As a result, although it was practiced in other parts of the world (particularly through the Global Investigative Journalism Conference, launched in 2001), CAR remained a largely North American phenomenon.

From CAR to Data Journalism

Data journalism was seen as a departure from CAR in two key respects: firstly, the networked nature of data journalism news work (as opposed to the desktop or mainframe-based focus of CAR), and secondly, the emphasis on visual and interactive presentation and consumption of the resulting stories, where the *data* being generated by the user might be used in the telling of the story (through their interactions or inputs). Both were facilitated by the introduction of internet-based technologies into the production and consumption of news. In addition, data journalism was marked by cultural differences such as transparency and sharing of data and collaborative work practices that involved contributors such as developers and designers from outside of the newsroom.

The 2005 project chicagocrime.org was a particularly influential demonstration of this new form: an interactive map of crime reports in the city, it was generated by a computer script that programmer-journalist Adrian Holovaty had written to gather information (*scrape*) from the police department's website. These data were then automatically combined with Google Maps so that users could navigate the crime data in the way that was most meaningful to them. Unlike traditional CAR reporting, it was networked, interactive, and visual and centered on providing the data

itself to an audience rather than a narrative interpretation of it.

Although CAR had emerged and flourished in the United States, data journalism's growth had a much stronger European dimension: In the United Kingdom, there had been an active *open data* movement campaigning for greater government transparency since the start of the 21st century, and this laid much of the groundwork for data journalism practice in the country. The organization mySociety, for example, risked legal action to open up data on how politicians voted, then worked with Channel 4 News on its 2005 election coverage; in the same year, the BBC's Backstage project (an influence on Holovaty's work) opened up data for developers to experiment with; and a year later, *The Guardian* launched its *Free Our Data* campaign. As governments in the United Kingdom and North America began to open up their data, news organizations caught the bug too, from *The New York Times*'s launch of their Open blog and Visualization Lab in 2007 and 2008 to *The Guardian*'s Datablog in 2009.

The availability of data grew not just as a result of political initiatives, nor was its growth limited to the United Kingdom and North America: As the role of the internet in society expanded, growing amounts of information were being rapidly digitized in every sector. This also helped distinguish data journalism further from its predecessor CAR. Where CAR relied on formal sources of information such as official databases, or social science methods such as surveys, and as a result, tended to focus almost exclusively on hard news topics, data journalism was a much broader church: Sources for data journalism might be compiled by obsessive sports or film fans; data might be generated by analyzing pixel values in pictures or the frequency of words mentioned in social media chatter. This opened up subjects that hadn't been reported in this way before.

Major stories played a significant role in demonstrating the need for data journalism skills in the newsroom. The WikiLeaks-driven stories of 2010 were significant in this respect, but later, the Panama Papers, Luxembourg Leaks, Football Leaks, and other *megaleaks* stories would regularly remind news organizations of the need to be able to deal with increasingly large and complex data sets if they were to compete with their rivals.

Meanwhile, a commercial model for news online that increasingly valued user engagement provided a commercial argument for investing in data journalism capacity: interactives, visual journalism, and investigations all demonstrated significant engagement with readers.

Data Journalists, Data Teams, and Transparency

Data journalists and data journalism teams vary widely in their makeup and output. Nikki Usher's 2016 study of interactive teams in the United States, United Kingdom, and the Middle East, for example, identifies how some reporters produce work daily, while others work on projects over longer time periods. While some teams work with other parts of the organization, others stand alone. Usher also highlights teams having *hacker journalists*, data journalists, or programmer journalists and the impact those roles had, particularly on expectations of transparency and accountability from journalism itself. Many data journalists, for example, provide links to data and code on dedicated repositories on sites such as GitHub (a form of *disclosure transparency*), while *The Guardian's* Datablog would regularly feature contributions from readers, and the newspaper also hosted user visualizations of their data on the newspaper's Flickr account (both forms of *participatory transparency*). Industry *hackdays*, which bring together journalists and developers, are another example of this practice.

Transparency in data journalism has roots in the increased collaboration between journalists and developers and in trends such as the open data movement, civic tech, hacktivism, and the open rights movement. That transparency, however, is not always realized in wider journalistic output that draws on data. A number of recent analyses have shown that a minority of statistical references in broadcast output identify the source of data, let alone link to it, with similar patterns observed in U.S. broadsheet newspapers.

Computational Journalism

Later literature around data journalism has attempted to make a further distinction between it and *computational journalism*, with the latter

positioned as having a particular focus on the application of computing and computational thinking (i.e., the process) rather than the subject of such processes (the data).

Chris Anderson, for example, distinguishes between three types of journalism. The first type is the *journalism of occurrences*, traditional news work focused on episodic, individualized, narrative-format reporting, relying on oral evidence for context. The second type is *the journalism of social science*: the precision journalism and data journalism of factualizing and providing context via statistics. *Computational journalism* is the third type, which Anderson argues combines the first two to create structured stories that represent applications of computational thinking to news reporting. This category therefore includes the relatively recent forms of *automated* reporting whereby algorithms are built, employed, and maintained in order to identify newsworthy events and/or *report* them, whether internally or in a public-facing format.

In this taxonomy, while data journalism is typically focused on the scale of an issue, its variation, outliers, or ways of allowing users to explore those facets for themselves, *computational journalism* is, like traditional journalism, focused instead on events—summarizing the salient newsworthy aspects in an efficient and timely manner.

This *robot journalism* relies on predictable sources of data in areas where stories can be written routinely at a scale or speed that human journalists cannot match. Some areas where robot journalism is used to report basic information include sports matches, crime reports, weather, and company financial reports. The Associated Press (AP), for example, use it to generate thousands of earnings reports that wouldn't have otherwise been produced.

In addition to adding increased scale to reporting, robot reporting has typically been more accurate: Around 7% of human-written company earnings reports at AP contained errors (such as transposed digits) compared to around 1% when generated automatically.

Critical Issues

Data journalism has been widely recognized as having the potential to support journalism's

normative role, lowering the barrier to investigative journalism and allowing journalists to manage volumes of information that previously would have been impractical. But its development has also faced a range of challenges and opportunities, including a lack of practitioners and time, technical barriers, challenges of verification and accuracy, of maintenance, archiving and *linkrot* related to interactive storytelling, and of credibility and readability.

Ethical challenges raised by data journalism practice, for example, include tensions between privacy and the public interest where data relate to people—especially when the further ethical dimension of transparency means that raw data are shared. Data compiled from online sources might also raise legal issues around the copyright and database rights surrounding that information, while leaked data may raise issues around data property rights.

The use of data is a subject to explore critically as a contemporary challenge for journalists. Among the issues that must be addressed are those around data selection, collection, analysis, and security. Not only can data be the source of data journalism, they can also be the tool with which the story is told, through interactivity. Like any source, data should be treated with scepticism; and like any tool, we should be conscious of how data can shape and restrict the stories that are created with them.

For example, the open data agenda and spread of right to information laws have made it easier to access data from the public sector, but less so the private sector, creating the potential to skew coverage accordingly. The rise of big data represents a further challenge, with commercial access to big data rivaling traditional academic centers of knowledge and government collection of demographic information. Some data journalism projects seek to “give a voice to the voiceless” by creating data where none existed before: examples include The Bureau of Investigative Journalism’s Naming the Dead project compiling data on those killed in covert U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan, or *El Universal*’s “Desaparecidos”: a database of the 50,000 Mexicans and Colombians who have disappeared in recent years, many as a result of organized crime.

Ultimately data, like media, are a way of encoding information, which is then decoded by an

audience. Certain uses of data have revived debates about gatekeeping and the availability, selection, and treatment of information. Data can be incomplete, biased, or contain errors. Data journalists address this using similar approaches to their interactions with human sources: by understanding how data were collected and potential associated methodological issues, by understanding the potential motivations of those collecting the data, by seeking other sources (whether data, documents, or human) that can confirm or dispute what the data are saying, and by including important contextual information in the resulting piece of journalism so that audiences can judge it accordingly.

In addition, methods can be employed to systematically check data for erroneous outliers, statistically suspicious patterns, or to identify and clean *dirty data* before analysis. In some organizations, data journalists will work in pairs to independently analyze the same data in order to test that they arrive at the same conclusion when using different methods.

Paul Bradshaw

See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism;
Automation; Bots; Data Visualizations; Transparency

Further Readings

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DATA VISUALIZATIONS

Data visualizations are central to data journalism and help to distinguish it from overlapping journalism forms, such as investigative journalism, precision journalism, computer-assisted reporting, computational journalism, quantitative journalism, and database journalism. Data journalism projects usually involve enormous amounts of complicated information and data. Visualizations play a key role in turning numbers into easier-to-understand information content.

The increased availability of certain forms of data and the use of data visualizations has had an impact on the news media landscape. To make effective use of visualizations, a data journalism team should consist of reporters, developers, data analysts, and designers. Interdisciplinary collaboration among people with different trainings is highly valued and may be required in news production, as data-driven storytelling becomes mainstream. Since data-processing tasks are now major components of the newsroom's environment, computational literacy has become a fundamental requirement for journalism practitioners. A lack of computing knowledge and skills may constrain journalism professionals in news production, particularly in smaller news organizations.

This entry discusses the significance and evolution of data visualizations and their applications to journalism practice. Data-driven storytelling draws on a wide variety of skills—from simple data collection to statistical analysis to graphic design to coding and programming, among which data visualizations are core to the process of news production with data.

Data Visualizations in News

Data journalism, that is, using numerical elements in the production and distribution of news with

computer-assisted tools, is an emerging area in the field of information and mass media. According to a 2017 research report by Google News Lab, one of the first comprehensive multinational studies of data journalism, 42% of the journalists surveyed use data regularly to tell stories, and 51% of news organizations have a dedicated data journalist on staff.

Journalism stories involving big databases and statistics have won several Pulitzer Prizes for general news or investigative reporting since the 1980s. Examples include the *Montgomery Advertiser's* use of financial analysis to investigate the state's high infant mortality rate in 1988 and a series of investigative articles published by *The Wall Street Journal* on the admission preferences for white privileged students in elite American universities by Daniel Golden in 2004. In addition, the staff of *The Washington Post* won the 2020 Pulitzer Prize (in the Explanatory Reporting category) for its climate change series that analyzed global temperature records and showed “with scientific clarity the dire effects of extreme temperatures on the planet” (The Pulitzer Prizes, 2020).

Tables, charts, maps, timelines, infographics, animations, and interactive graphs are common visual elements utilized to present data in data-driven storytelling. The basic ideas behind data visualization are not new. Diagrams, maps, and sketches have been used to depict events since ancient times. Maps were drawn to assist in exploration, navigation, and the identification of the locations of the stars in the universe. In ancient Egypt, for example, mapping of stars was used to locate the appropriate positions to construct towns and habitats. By the 18th century, new techniques were being used to present data in fields such as cartography, with theme-based maps based on medical, geological, or economic data instead of only showing geographical locations.

From the onset of the 19th century, graphics began to form the shape of present-day visualizations, thanks to advancements in the field of statistics. Over the course of the 19th century, various plots, pie charts, bar charts, histograms, and line graphs were conceived and developed. These types of illustrations started to appear in scholarly publications to facilitate the readers' understanding and interpretation of textual narratives. During this time, a wide variety of shapes and numerous

colors were employed in sophisticated graphical depictions to effectively present data and statistics. Data visualizations have since become common in textbooks and governmental reports.

Data visualizations also played an instrumental role in presenting and promoting scientific findings in several fields such as biology, humanities, and astronomy. In infographics, various charts and illustrations are applied to reorganize figures and words, and sometimes to visualize numbers, thus making it easier for readers to digest complex information. This practice can be traced back to the 1930s, when *Graphic Presentation*, a guidebook on infographics production, was published.

It is commonly agreed that the first prominent news outlet to publish a news story with data illustrations was the UK-based *The Guardian* (or *Manchester Guardian* as it then was). On May 5, 1821, it published its first issue, with data illustrations in an article that included a table with tallied data regarding how many pupils attended schools in two cities and the average annual spending in the United Kingdom. The table illustrated how many pupils received free education and how many poor children there were, which was helpful for understanding the educational system of the country.

Technical Aspects of Data Visualizations

The development of data visualizations is intertwined deeply with breakthroughs in the field of computer science as well as with increasingly available open data. As such, technological aspects play an influential role in data visualizations.

Visual Appeal

Visual appeal is core to data visualizations. This dimension of data visualizations concerns the kinds of visual elements used and whether innovations in visualization are made. Basic models have been developed via computer programs to update the forms of visualizations that can be utilized in news production.

Interactivity

This dimension of data visualizations concerns whether and how data journalism uses computational tools and interactive features to engage with

audiences. Interactivity is a key characteristic of new media in the digital age. As in new media journalism, interactivity changes the role of an audience from passive information receiver to active content consumer, selector, and contributor.

Many data visualization projects pay attention to user-experience design and human-computer interactions. One way to increase interactivity is to involve audiences in the process of content display. By designing interactive visualizations, data journalism projects allow audiences the possibility to filter and choose information based on their interests. Projects related to political elections often offer this kind of interactivity by allowing people to select candidates they want to know more about and compare them with their rivals.

Journalistic Aspects of Data Visualizations

Data visualizations are an in-depth stage of data processing in news production. Visualizations can reveal more concrete results and observations regarding a news topic. In the reporting phase, visualizations may help identify themes and questions, reveal significant hidden issues that are seemingly unimportant, find examples to support an argument, or show loopholes in the reporting. In the presentation and publication phase, data visualizations can illustrate change over time; compare values; show hierarchy, connections, and ties; and trace flows. They can illustrate a point made in a story in a compelling way. Particularly when the visualizations include interactive features, they allow audience exploration and participation.

Some research has suggested that data visualizations generate more positive evaluation of news articles, measured by the extent to which the study participants thought the news articles were in-depth, useful, informative, and relevant. The advantages of visualizations have been analyzed in terms of visual reporting, audience attention, universal language, visual processing, ease of recall, and audience interaction. Biological evidence collected to illustrate the effectiveness of data visualizations, including the U.S.-based *eye-tracking* research run by the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, reveals that visual elements draw an audience's attention more quickly.

Research has also indicated that the use of data in a news article's text does not make the audience see the article as more credible but that data visualizations can increase the audience's perception of news credibility. Data visualizations can turn a news report with tedious numbers into a significantly more reader-friendly one.

Data Visualizations in Practice

As previously mentioned, tables, charts, maps, infographics, and interactive graphs are the common visual elements in data journalism. In the visualization process, readily available software applications, such as HTML5, CSS3, and JavaScript, are among the top tools used in major newsrooms. These, however, require a certain level of knowledge and skill in coding and programming. Software and tools, such as Adobe Illustrator, Tableau, ChartBuilder, and D3, are also frequently used to generate visualizations. As different colors and shapes are used in visualizations to categorize figures and values, a working knowledge of and aptitude for design may also be required.

Mapping is very commonly used in data journalism, as it can be used to convey complex information and integrate other elements, including nongeographical factors. GeoCommons shares data and boundary data to create global and local maps. While iCharts specializes in small chart widgets, ChartsBin is a tool for creating clickable world maps. Google Fusion Tables and Tableau have been used for simple mapping needs, whereas CARTO and Esri are professional, sophisticated mapping tools for visualizing data based on geographic information systems.

Piktochart is a web-based infographic application that allows users without advanced skills as graphic designers to easily create infographics and visuals using themed templates. It was launched in 2012 and has remained popular with a large user-base. The version of Piktochart that was released in 2017 includes an HTML publisher that allows users to create visuals that can be viewed online or embedded into a website as well as allowing the user to include multiple interactive elements.

Google Fusion Table was once a popular tool for simple visualizations that required no coding knowledge and was especially appropriate for brief forms of data journalism. The tool was

launched as part of Google News Labs in 2009. Google shut down its cloud visualization service at the end of 2019, but a more powerful visualization tool called *Tableau* also requires little coding or programming skills. Tableau offers a simple drag-and-drop interface with which different data sources can be combined to create sophisticated visualizations.

D3, a JavaScript library with the full capabilities of web standards such as HTML and CSS, is also a powerful and popular tool for data visualizations in newsrooms. D3 is efficient in making complex visualization projects as its users may only need to import data and choose the proper structure (form) to display them, without having to write code from scratch.

R is a programming language and free software environment that is increasingly popular among data journalists. R allows journalists to quickly iterate through simple or sophisticated data visualizations to explore the data and see what works best to communicate the information. It is also handy for exploring the underlying connections between different graphs. Finally, many journalists continue to use Microsoft Excel for data processing, including simple visualizations.

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See also Data Journalism; Design and Layout, Newspaper; Digital Design; Google; Graphics

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DECEPTION

Deception has been lauded as an effective tool of last resort for investigative reporting for more than 100 years. When used in the pursuit of material that is in the public interest, it has been invaluable in helping the press meet its watchdog function. When justified, journalists can provide persuasive explanations to audience members for why the technique was required to access information that the public needed to know. However, deception used for other reasons, such as to add unnecessary drama to a report, can damage journalistic credibility.

This entry further defines deception in journalism and discusses why it poses an ethical problem. It then looks at how deception can be justified and provides some examples of journalistic deception. The entry focuses on deception in the newsgathering process or by withholding information from the public in news articles. It does not deal with publications that are intended to deceive to generate advertising revenue and/or for political reasons.

Definition and Conditions

Deception occurs when one or more persons attempt to lead others to form or maintain a false belief. Deception may occur through action or inaction. People are deceptive even if they are *caught*, or the person they intend to deceive was not fooled. Deception is ethically questionable, which means that it is wrong, unless accompanied by adequate justification.

The first step to analyzing deception is conceptualization. It is necessary to determine whether

an act counts as deception before determining whether the deception is justified or not. Intention is required for any act to be deceptive. When one has uttered a false statement without intention, we say that the person is mistaken. To say that a badly placed sign *deceived me* is to speak metaphorically.

Intention is a necessary condition in that an act is deceptive, even if the deceiver is unsuccessful. For example, when a reporter lets others assume that he is a police investigator to get access to a meeting open only to law enforcement officers, he has acted deceptively even if someone recognizes him as a journalist and tells him to leave. But, one can have the intention to deceive without following through. Acting deceptively, in addition, requires one of the following three sufficient conditions.

Uttered Falsehood or the Nonverbal Equivalent

Making a false statement with the intention of leading others to form or maintain a false belief is deception. A journalist has acted deceptively if she tells a real estate agent that she wants to buy a home when the intent is really to see whether a neighborhood is redlined to limit racial integration. There are also nonverbal equivalents of lying. For example, if a journalist presents through dress or circumstance to make others believe that she is a doctor, she has acted deceptively.

Withholding Information Under Certain Conditions

When a person withholds information with the intention of leading others to form or maintain a false belief and, in the process of withholding the information, breaks a law, breaks a promise, cheats, or neglects a duty, the withholding of that information is deceptive. For example, if a reporter who has been subpoenaed fails to disclose all that he knows, he has acted deceptively by breaking a law.

If a reporter promises not to reveal a source's name without talking to the source first and then discloses the name without talking to the source, the reporter has acted deceptively by breaking a promise.

If a columnist goes to a party and does not tell those from whom he is gathering quotes that they

are on the record, the columnist has deceived by cheating. The journalist has failed to meet reasonable expectations that people have at a party, that is, that those attending are not collecting information that will be published.

Journalists can also act deceptively by withholding information that they have a duty to tell. The duty, or role-related responsibility of journalists, is to provide citizens information that citizens need for self-governance. (Journalists may also report on less weighty matters, but the unique responsibility of journalism is to provide citizens with information needed for self-governance.) The published material serves this public interest. If a news organization presents material to serve a politician's or advertiser's agenda rather than serve the public interest, that news organization has acted deceptively toward their audience members. This is deception by failure to do one's duty.

Truth Telling With the Intent to Mislead

It is possible to be entirely truthful, but to tell that truth with the intent of misleading. For example, journalists might pressure potential sources by telling them that a story will run whether or not the source comments or responds to the journalist's questions. While true, unsophisticated sources may falsely believe that the story will be less incriminating with their response. However, quotes from the source will often make the source look worse rather than better. In this case, journalists tell the truth with the hope of misleading the source into believing that he should (or must) comment. The journalist's intent is to mislead the source.

Responses to a news organization's request for documents under the Freedom of Information Act have been known to include not only information requested, as required by law, but to also include an extraordinary amount of unnecessary data. This "needle in the haystack" approach amounts to deception because the intent of providing the unnecessary data is to mislead a reporter into missing incriminating information.

The Ethical Problem of Deception

Deception is an ethical problem because of the potential harms to those deceived and others. To

say that deception is ethically questionable means that the act is wrong unless justified. Unjustified deception causes harm to the individual deceived, to the larger community, to the practice of journalism, and to the deceiver him or herself. The individual deceived is deprived of the freedom to make truly educated decisions. This is true even if the individual does not realize that he has been deceived.

The larger community is harmed because societies depend on trust. If a stranger asks a stranger for directions or for the correct time, it is with the assumption that he will be told the truth to the best of the ability of the person answering. Deception is successful because people assume that others are generally truthful. Each act of deception chips away at public trust.

Journalism is harmed by unjustified deception because any story based on deception alerts potential sources that journalists might deceive them too. Reporters depend on the trust of their sources to develop information for news stories. Audience members, when exposed to unnecessary or unjustified journalistic deception, wonder how news organizations determine when to be truthful and when not. Deceptive process leads to concerns that the products might also be deceptive.

Last of all, many philosophers have suggested that the deceiver is harmed by his or her own deception. A person of integrity knows herself to be the kind of person who can overcome temptation and choose not to perform unethical acts. The person who deceives knows herself to be a liar. A person becomes more ethical, more morally sophisticated by acting in ethical ways. A person becomes less ethical, stuck at a low level of moral development, by performing unethical acts.

Justification of Deception

To say that an act is deceptive does not mean that it is necessarily wrong. In some cases, people want to be deceived. Many people like to be surprised by parties or gifts, even if the person was deceived prior to the surprise. The audience members at a magic show want to be deceived by the magician's tricks. In these cases, the people deceived have given their consent to the deception.

Deception can also be justified by convention. In some countries, such as Australia, working

journalists are required to wear press credentials even in public spaces. In the United States, journalists may legitimately collect crowd reactions or quotes from speakers in a public space without disclosing their identity. It would be deceptive to fail to disclose one's journalistic identity in this situation in Australia, but not in the United States because the rules and expectations are different.

Deception may be justified by paternalism, on the grounds that lying or withholding information is in the best interest of those deceived. For example, when news organizations report on emergency notifications to evacuate, they may decide not to include speculation from a public official that everyone may not get out in time since this speculation could cause panic. The comments from the public official could instead be reported after the evacuation.

In addition, citizens implicitly agree to be deceived when they allow undercover law enforcement techniques such as unmarked police cars, speed-checking by radar, and sting operations. The important difference between undercover law enforcement and undercover journalism is that there is governmental control of deception in law enforcement. News organizations and journalists are on their own in determining whether deception is justified.

Four criteria need to be considered in determining whether journalistic deception is justified:

1. *All usual means of gathering important information have been attempted and exhausted for uncovering facts needed for citizens' self-governance.* It is not enough for journalists to decide that it would be easier to get information through deception as compared to pursuing the information through honest means.
2. *Regulatory agencies that have the responsibility of overseeing the problem have been approached.* If government is failing to do its job, the reasons for that should not be lost in an undercover display of the failure.
3. *No innocent person is deceived.* If the story is important enough to warrant deception, the problem is big enough that it should be possible to limit those deceived to only persons involved in the suspected wrongdoing.
4. *After the undercover investigation, the news organization or journalist must publicly disclose questionable tactics, regardless of the outcome.* Transparency lets the subjects, sources, and audience members know that the news organization or journalist knows why deception was thought to be necessary in this case.

Some Examples of Journalistic Deception

In 2015, the news organization Al-Jazeera sent an operative undercover, falsely claiming to be a gun enthusiast, to hear the National Rifle Association (NRA) leadership discussing the organization's stand on mass shootings. The ruse included creating a website for the fictitious Gun Rights Australia. The results were broadcast in a documentary film.

In 2017, Project Veritas, an organization known for undercover operations to expose media bias, had a female reporter falsely claim that she had been impregnated by Alabama senatorial candidate Roy Moore. When approached by the fraudulent source, *The Washington Post* chose not to publish the claim. Instead, the *Post* investigated further and confronted the source with her lies. The *Post* published a story about the undercover sting operation.

Both of these examples seem justified under Criteria 2 through 4 in the previous section. In neither case is there official oversight that is being ignored; the only people being deceived are those suspected of wrongdoing; both organizations were transparent about their techniques. However, a review of the first criterion listed in the previous section raises questions about both examples.

Al-Jazeera does not explain why disillusioned NRA members could not have been used as sources for the information uncovered. It may be that an undercover operative, as used by Project Veritas, is the only way to see whether a news organization is doing a good job of investigative journalism. But, while Project Veritas is upfront about its use of undercover operatives to achieve a more ethical and transparent society, it does not acknowledge the problems with deception or explain why deception is justified as their standard tool.

Reporting in the digital era has led to new issues of deception and disclosure for journalists and news organizations. It may not occur to users of the internet how closely their actions are tracked. News organizations track which articles draw users to their websites. They track who clicks on the articles and for how long the article is open. Is tracking readers deception or is the lack of clear disclosure justified by the unread terms of agreement that each user had clicked to agree? Those tracking argue that users should know that their data are gathered and used. Many readers, however, are surprised to learn how their actions are being followed.

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See also Bias; Credibility; Ethics; Fake News; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Investigative Journalism; Hoaxes; Propaganda; Secrecy and Leaks; Spin

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DEMOCRACY AND THE MEDIA

As a form of government that centers around the rule of the people, what is commonly referred to as *liberal* or *Western* democracy hinges on central tenets of open and free societies. One of these tenets is the freedom of expression and of the press. Independent media have the potential to inform citizens, hold truth to power, provide means of public participation, and empower people to make educated electoral decisions and leave their imprint on society. Illiberal democracies, authoritarian, or totalitarian forms of governance may tend to expand their control of (or even close down) existing media critical of ruling parties and put restrictions on freedom of expression. As of 2021, some contend that media are under attack not only in the realm of politics but far beyond. They may face interconnected crises of trust, of literacy, of information quality and veracity, of epistemic authority, as well as of infrastructure. This entry provides a brief sketch of liberal democracy and the media and examines the relationship between the two from a variety of perspectives: It traces the conceptual beginnings of media and democracy, discusses the role of free speech and free media, the relationship the media have with the people, theories of media systems, principles that govern media between public interest and the market, and lastly, pathologies of media and democracy. While there certainly are media outside of liberal democracy, it is difficult to envision forms of liberal democracy that preclude media or exist without them.

Conceptual Beginnings

Democracy refers to the rule of the people, harkening to the Greek words *dēmos* for “people” and *kratos* for “rule.” Exactly who constitutes the people, whether they are involved in a form of direct or representative democracy, whether a constitution enshrines a core set of values, and how governance and law are to be executed is then defined in theories and contracts outlining the relationships between the state and its people. Basic rights often include universal suffrage, protection of minorities, and the rights to assembly,

speech, life, and equality, among others. Democracy relies on safeguards to protect itself from tyranny, such as adherence to the rule of law, majority rule, qualified majorities for certain decisions, or the separation of powers between judicial, executive, and legislative branches of government.

British-Austrian philosopher Karl Popper, in his 1945 magnum opus “The Open Society and Its Enemies,” reflects on a question at the core of contemplating liberal democracy: He argues that political theory should focus not on who should be considered legitimate to rule, but rather, how democratic systems could be designed so that a bad actor in power could be removed without force or violence. In liberal democracies, checks and balances and systems of accountability enable the people to hold the most powerful accountable. The media, too, fulfill a critical role in this context.

In the United States, media are often referred to as the *Fourth Estate*. Its present-day meaning casts them as a watchdog holding powerful forces accountable by virtue of their role as a distinct and independent fourth estate beside the branches of government. While the quality of democracy is difficult to measure, one important indication is the existence of a free and independent media. If the people are to rule, they must be well-informed in order to meaningfully engage in civic duties such as voting or running for office. Media assume a critical role in political communication, as they convey information on policy and politics as much as on public attitudes. What is commonly referred to as the *media*, a term used to relate to the institution of the press, fulfills the role of an intermediary between elected officials and the people. This perspective of the press serving as an arbitrator comes with its own criticisms: Thinking of the press as a disseminator of information makes it vulnerable to accusations of bias.

The term *media* confers a sense of institutionalism—a concrete group of actors that can be thought of as part of “the media”: print outlets, broadcast and radio, online media. Such an institutional view situates the media as a unified actor in society alongside others, such as the state or academia. From an institutional viewpoint, people and organizations are either part of the media, marked by specific criteria, or they are not. Professionalism of the people who work in the media is often used to demarcate what constitutes “media.”

Importantly, when one speaks of the media here, one speaks of news media (vis-à-vis a range of other media, for instance, entertainment media). Journalists as protagonists of news media distinguish themselves through shared professionalism, ethics, vocational educational offerings, self-regulation, but also regulation of the media by the state, checks and balances such as ombudspersons, and membership in professional organizations. Unlike other professions such as law or medicine, journalists in most countries are not professionally licensed through qualifications akin to how a bar exam marks the entrance requirement for people who want to practice the law.

However, conceptualizations may also be construed more broadly, including participatory and citizen media in which the people become producers. Social media platforms, while most often not acting as primary producers of media content, are sometimes compared to media outlets as they fulfill similar functions such as the dissemination of news, or selling advertising space alongside content. For instance, media policy scholars Philip M. Napoli and Robyn Caplan have pointed out how firms such as Google or Facebook insist that they are technology—not media—companies, for regulatory and other reasons.

Since Marshall McLuhan’s affirmation that the media are the message, a paradigm shift, acknowledged by researchers such as Stig Hjarvard as “mediatization,” describes how media have permeated all aspects of social life—public and private, political, and religious. Democracy, too, has been mediatized to the extent that political life happens throughout and within media. It is reported on and critiqued in media, discussed in social media platforms, and in some cases, participative forms of democracy harness media technologies, such as tools that enable online voting.

Free Speech, Free Media

The histories of democracy and the media are interrelated. An important example is marked by the invention of the movable Gutenberg printing press in the 15th century and the possibility to mass-produce media, which brought on important questions about power and censorship and the role of the state as it relates to media. As the production of media became more accessible, so was

rulers' alertness that information is a powerful weapon. Thus, copyright and libel laws were used to police information and its dissemination. Defenses of freedom of expression as articulated by political philosophers are testament to this, articulating claims to access and expression as crucial rights. In 1644, John Milton's "Areopagitica" urged the Parliament of England against pre-publication censorship. At around the same time in Europe, Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza anonymously published his "Theological-Political Treatise," in which he discussed the role of the state in society and emphasized the importance of freedom of expression. British philosopher John Locke's "Letters on Toleration" were also influential for the development of a contemporary understanding of freedom of expression, as Locke's defense is one of freedom of religion in the sense that religion cannot be imposed on people.

About 200 years after Milton, John Stuart Mill's 1859 essay "On Liberty" heralded an ardent defense of freedom of expression, arguing that in a marketplace of ideas, truth would win, and therefore falsities should be allowed to circulate. According to Mill, the exchange of opinions itself is productive as it necessarily leads to the truth, and in the process, to a higher degree of certainty about truthfulness. French Enlightenment thinker Voltaire's philosophy is famously summarized by Evelyn Beatrice Hall in "The Friends of Voltaire" in the oft-quoted statement "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," (p. 199) published in 1906 under the pseudonym of S.G. Tallentyre.

Notably, the First Amendment to the U.S. constitution of 1789 was introduced via the Bill of Rights, a document which expanded the constitution and added a set of liberties and rights. It prohibited the federal government from interference into freedom of expression and of the press. The notions of free speech, a free press, and a free market/marketplace of ideas lay the foundations for the commercial press system in place in the United States. The ways in which—at least in the United States—ideology equated freedom of speech and the press with a free market, led toward a path of media commercialism, and of the news media as a professional institution left fending for itself.

Internationally, the postwar era brought to the fore two important doctrines articulating the

importance of freedom of expression and the press. In 1948, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One of the articles of the declaration articulates that every person has a right to free expression and to share their opinions through the media. In 1953, the Council of Europe adapted the European Convention on Human Rights, which also articulates freedom of expression as a human right.

Theories of Media Systems

The relationship between the media and the state has generated a host of concepts and theories. In their classic 1956 treatise "Four Theories of the Press," Fred Siebert and colleagues propose four normative frameworks that describe media systems—an authoritarian, social responsibility, libertarian, and a Soviet communist theory of the press. The book left a lasting mark on media and journalism research. It has received criticism on various grounds such as that its proposals are too normative, are lacking depth, or are unfit to describe certain media systems. Scholars such as Denis McQuail have called for adding an additional category of "development theory," to account for media systems morphing from developing to developed market economy commercial systems. Still other categories of the press have been presented since, such as William Hachten's five concepts (Western, revolutionary, developmental, authoritarian, communist) or Herbert Altschull's three movements (Market, Marxist, and advancing journalism). Clifford Christians and colleagues' work finds middle ground between free market-based media and state control, as manifest in systems in Europe that include private and public actors. In 2004, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini published the influential "Comparing Media Systems," a book which strayed away from laying out normative ideals of what media should be, and instead pursued a descriptivist approach toward mapping what media systems are in existence. The authors propose different axes to categorize media systems: media market structures, partisan ideology, journalistic professionalism, and the role of the state. By parsing out different media systems along these criteria, they describe three models of media systems (though their evaluation is severely limited by its emphasis

on Western democratic systems): A polarized pluralist, or Mediterranean model, a democratic corporatist, or North/Central European model, and a liberal, or North Atlantic model.

Public Interest Versus The Market

The European postwar model of media is summarized by Robert Picard's "democratic-socialist theory of the press." No such press system came to fruition in the United States. In the book "America's Battle for Media Democracy," Victor Pickard emphasizes how in the 1940s the United States saw a series of important developments that, for a moment in history, articulated a social democratic path toward what he calls "media democracy." The 1946 Blue Book of the Federal Communications Commission (which is the national communications regulation agency in the United States) articulated public service responsibilities for broadcasters. The 1947 Hutchins Commission defined what the role of the press should be in society—and left a mark on what is today considered the social responsibility of the media toward society. In short succession, the FCC in 1949 introduced the Fairness Doctrine, which articulated how political views must be balanced between different sides on broadcast media (the doctrine is no longer in place today).

As media outlets vie for audience attention in highly competitive environments, it becomes more difficult to maintain the very public interest principles in content production that make them imperative for liberal democracies. This is the notion of journalism producing what is called *merit goods*, goods that are socially desirable but not financially viable or profitable. According to Victor Pickard, journalism when understood as a merit good is precisely what media democracy hinges upon. Indeed, while some countries combat capitalist market pressures through independent but publicly funded public service media, libertarian media markets that are almost exclusively commercial are facing bigger difficulties.

The Media and the People

Thinking about democracy and the media brings up critical questions as to who exactly is in charge of creating media, and what role and agency

media audiences are granted. Two important thinkers of the early 20th century, Walter Lippmann and John Dewey, arrived at rather different opinions as to what precisely the role of journalism in society should be. According to Lippmann, journalism should explain politics to citizens who would otherwise not be able to grasp such complexities. Dewey, on the other hand, envisioned journalism as a force to inform people so they could make decisions. Contemporary thinking on the role of journalism in liberal democracy takes audience members seriously and casts media consumers as active participants of democratic media ecosystems. Media are vital for an informed citizenry. In a global world order in which different people from differently organized societies congregate on the internet, much in the sense of Manuel Castells' network society, new communicative infrastructures such as social media platforms or other technologies can throw conventions of communication, power, and institutional orders in disarray.

In the 1990s, the public journalism movement extended Dewey's argument of emancipated audience members and postulated that journalism must take audience members seriously and act as a public steward that engages citizens by listening and talking to them. The movement was marked by protagonists such as Jay Rosen and Davis "Buzz" Merritt. Public journalism sensed that the distance between journalism and audiences, often enforced by journalists to protect their professional integrity and objectivity, had gone too far. While public journalism as a movement ebbed out in the early 2000s, it found new lifeblood in the mid-2010s. On the same premises as public journalism, a new wave of journalistic organizations articulated that audience engagement was imperative for sustaining media. This came at a time where it was becoming clear that the infrastructural grasp of technology companies, in which journalistic organizations compete for attention against a variety of other actors, must pursue more interactive strategies. "Engaged journalism," also referred to as *engagement journalism*, manifested itself in journalistic and journalism-adjacent jobs at media outlets critically emphasizing interacting with audience members. The participatory paradigm involves, as Jay Rosen famously stated in 2006, the people "formerly known as the

audience” (para. 1) assuming more prominent positions in society, and the decline of journalistic power and authority over what is published, prominently documented in Axel Bruns’ reconceptualization of journalism’s former role of “gate-keeping” now relegated to what he calls “gatewatching.” This shift toward more civic-minded forms of participation in media is mirrored in democratic theories, most prominently Jürgen Habermas’ concepts of the “public sphere” and of “deliberative democracy,” and his book “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,” originally published in the German language in 1962. Habermas argues that in a public sphere, rational discourse and deliberation about political ideas can evolve. The notion of deliberative democracy has received ample attention in thinking of political participation and communication, particularly in public spaces online such as on social media platforms or in the comment forums of news outlets.

Pathologies of the Media

Media are critical platforms for liberal democracies. They are also under attack, facing interconnected crises in the realms of politics, of trust and literacy, of epistemic authority, of information quality and veracity, as well as of infrastructure.

The *political realm* confronts media with crises of simplification and populism, in which explanations commensurate to the complexities of the world have little to no currency when competing with seemingly simple solutions rooted in a politics of alienation and tribalism, othering and hate. Populism and political polarization as well as divisive culture wars can drive wedges into society that can be difficult, if not impossible, to heal. Individualism as a prime pathology of capitalism hinders empathy and shared responsibilities in political systems. This is accompanied by politics of institutional destabilization, and attacks on the press that are typical of democracies under stress. The “fake news” narratives popular among populist politicians are semantic moves intended to sow discord and distrust of media and to destabilize societies. When media are vilified, this makes it easier for governments to shape and reconfigure laws that repress speakers and make media production more difficult, including the blocking of

certain sites and platforms, the political overtaking of previously independent public service media, or the expansion of defamation laws that can make media outlets go under. Independent media are under attack, not only in authoritarian regimes such as Turkey, Russia, or China, but, by way of countries such as Hungary, within the very heart of the European Union—a political and economic bloc priding itself on its democratic values. As political actors seek to silence journalists, tragedies such as the killing of Saudi Arabian dissident and columnist for *The Washington Post*, Jamal Khashoggi, in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in 2018, at the hands of Saudi government handlers paint a dark picture of press freedom worldwide.

As media outlets fight over attention, their role as authorities over the veracity of content and truth is increasingly getting challenged. Outlets that were once able to provide guidance and stewardship in information ecosystems compete for attention with a multitude of other actors, both benign and malign: Citizens, governments, private corporations, partisan media outlets, entertainment industry actors, and more. Crises of trust are accompanied by crises of media literacy: A large number of media actors, some providing truthful information, some not, complicates people’s abilities to distinguish who remains a trustworthy informational actor.

In her book “The Origins of Totalitarianism,” published in 1976, German-American philosopher Hannah Arendt discusses the imminent dangers of societies in which propaganda exerts influence—it becomes difficult to know what is true and what is not. Indeed, as disinformation flourishes, this brings up the very real question of whether and to what extent media are able to maintain authority over truth and report on information of public interest. In 1988, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky published “Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media,” a book which is often referenced for coining the “propaganda model.” Such a model assumes that commercial mass media are compounding economic interests and exert control over people through propaganda. Indeed, the commercial nature of many media systems itself is party to the problems that endanger the media as of 2021.

Pathologies of media also surface on an infrastructural level. Commercial media systems

without incentives for public interest journalism are under pressure to compete in attention economies in which the most divisive content reigns supreme. News media are infrastructurally somewhat dependent on disseminating content through social media platforms. This, too, means having to compete with content ranging from the most entertaining to the most outrageous. When platforms deprioritize news content over other information, news distribution becomes more precarious. Furthermore, funding models rooted in profit maximization can ultimately lead to the death of newspapers that then leave behind news deserts.

This entry considered the relationship between liberal democracy and the media from a variety of angles, tracing its history conceptually and bridging into contemporary threats to and pathologies of media. Information plays a crucial role in creating and engaging an informed citizenry, and independent media have long acted in this capacity, as check and balance for both private and public actors. This manifests in how freedom of expression and of the media are centrally expressed values in liberal democracies. As societies have shifted into informational paradigms of high connectivity, the term mediatization acknowledges the role that media have in permeating society and in shaping communication. This entry further referenced snapshots in history to examine the evolution of liberal thought regarding freedom of expression and the press in the Western world. Subsequently, the relationships between the media and the state were discussed by looking at different roles envisioned for journalism to assume in democratic societies, and the market and public interest principles that influence media. As communication has shifted toward online platforms of various kinds, the role of the audience in relation to media has changed as well. Consequently, media rearticulate their role in society and redevelop and strengthen relationships with audiences in increasingly competitive attention economies. Lastly, this entry described pathologies of media in different realms. When democratic systems crumble, independent media are at risk. Political threats bring on a destabilization of media as an institution and challenge their authority. Infrastructures such as social media platforms render news media as one of many actors who must vie for attention among entertaining as well as divisive content,

including propaganda and disinformation. This is accompanied by crises of media literacy, and of increasing difficulties in assessing the veracity and provenance of information. Some believe it remains imperative to acknowledge the important role that media play in liberal democracy and to protect independent media from imminent threats of which there are many.

Martin J. Riedl

See also Civic Journalism; Commission on Freedom of the Press; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Fourth Estate; Free Expression, History of; Gutenberg Press

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DESIGN AND LAYOUT, MAGAZINE

Magazine design is the technical and artistic process of selecting and arranging elements in magazine layouts. Design and layout are essential parts of the magazine planning and production processes. Using relevant approaches to page layout, art directors and magazine designers establish credibility, appeal to consumers, and guide the audience through stories and other published content. Functional and visually interesting design attracts readers and keeps them engaged. The design of feature stories, news articles, tables of contents, covers, pull quotes, illustrations, and other types of (and parts of) layouts helps set a magazine apart from others. This entry explains the principles underlying magazine design and

reviews the historic contributions of movements, individual designers, and technical innovations leading to the practice of design in today's digital media environment.

Those involved in the design and layout process apply appropriate use of color, typography, photography, and design considerations (e.g., balancing consistency and contrast) to produce a publication that matches its branding and purpose. Art directors use design principles such as alignment to produce functional layouts in a grid, while others break out of the grid and design in a less structured manner. They also consider balance, hierarchy, proximity (effective spacing and grouping), and rhythm or pacing between spreads to produce an aesthetically pleasing, functional design that achieves what designers call a *gestalt* or unity in a design.

All magazines have a specific niche and target audience, but the level of specificity varies. For example, while some magazines focus on sports in general, other magazines deal specifically with college football or sports photography. Other popular magazine topics include cooking, education, fashion, general interest and news, health and fitness, parenting, science, technology, travel, and much more. While magazine topics vary, the approaches to design and layout also differ between magazines, even within specific niches. For example, in the science and technology niche, the magazines *WIRED* and *Popular Science* overlap in terms of subject matter but take different approaches to typography, color, and placement of elements. However, both magazines feature large photographs or illustrations to attract attention and interest, particularly on the covers. Likewise, the home design magazine *Dwell* features photography by documentary, portrait, and fine art photographers, which gives itself a different look than other home design magazines that feature photography by architectural photographers.

Some publishers employ design agencies or consultants to design the magazine, while others use in-house staff. For in-house positions, titles for the person who produces the layouts can include page designer, publication designer, production designer, graphic designer, or designer. However, magazine design is a collaborative process that involves content from photographers (and the photography editor), writers (and the editorial department, often including copy and research),

and the digital media department (including web and social media). Regardless, the designers laying out the pages are usually overseen by a creative director or an art director who oversees the organization and aesthetic of the visual content of the magazine. At smaller publications, a person who designs the print layouts might also help with online designs such as web article layouts or social media images for the magazine, and this position can be called a *print and web designer*.

To maintain a consistent look, magazines have a style guide for the art or production department. Instead of focusing on editorial considerations (such as consistent capitalization or abbreviations of names), design style guides help the design teams maintain consistency throughout the issues. They include guidance on placement and styling of elements (e.g., photographs, illustrations, headlines, and section headers), the size and style of type for various typographic elements (e.g., headlines, body copy, and photograph captions or cutlines), and specific colors to use across the issue and within each story or section. The logo of the magazine is almost always prominently displayed on the cover near the top, although some magazines place it elsewhere on the cover. The logo consists of the title of the magazine and typically stays consistent for at least several years.

Approaches to magazine design and layout have been influenced by a variety of movements, individuals, and technological developments throughout history, particularly in the 20th century and into the 21st century. Recent technological developments such as online web publication and social media have also contributed to changes in the magazine design and layout process.

Historical Influences and Development

Magazines occupy the space between newspapers and books in frequency of publication (newspapers often publish daily, and books might have new editions after a year or number of years, but magazines publish somewhere in between, whether it is weekly, monthly, or bimonthly). The first magazines appeared in the 17th and 18th centuries, and many of the early magazines lasted only a few months. However, various magazines launched in the 1800s were still in print many years later, including *The Atlantic Monthly* (later

renamed *The Atlantic*) (1857), *Cosmopolitan* (1886), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), *National Geographic* (1888), and *Outdoor Life* (1898).

Various art movements influenced the magazine design and layout process, especially during the 20th century. Design movements from Europe helped popularize modernist approaches, which focused on function, order, white space, and consistent typography. Art directors in America further experimented with layouts, and many of them were also influenced heavily by modern art. Postmodernism later emerged, and a variety of approaches flourished by the latter part of the 20th century. Various technological advancements also contributed to changing approaches to magazine design and layout.

Influences of Art and Design Movements on Design and Layout

As magazines increased in popularity due to improved printing capabilities in the 1800s, design considerations became more important. From the 1890s to the early 1900s, Art Nouveau emerged as an international design movement. The designs inspired by this movement featured curving lines and abstract shapes. The Czech artist Alphonse Mucha and the American designer Will Bradley designed posters and magazine covers using this colorful design approach. Art Nouveau worked as a transition between the earlier ornate Victorian design movement and the various modernist art movements of the 20th century.

Years later, between World War I and World War II, European designers used new and experimental approaches. They focused on the essential, elemental forms and colors in design, and they rejected ornament. Abstract and austere art movements influenced by industrial society contributed to the modernist approaches to design and page layout, including De Stijl in the Netherlands as well as the Russian movements Suprematism and Constructivism. Magazine layouts would later feature geometric shapes composed of elementary colors, open areas of white space, and sans serif typefaces, which can be traced back to these influences. (“Sans” is French for “without”—sans serif typefaces lack serifs at the end of the strokes of letters. Examples of serif typefaces include Times New Roman and Garamond;

examples of sans serif typefaces include Helvetica, Arial, and Univers.)

The Bauhaus, a German art school founded in 1919, synthesized various art movements into a clear and cohesive modernist design philosophy. The Bauhaus emphasized form and function in design—eschewing ornate embellishments from earlier art and design movements in favor of simplicity. They also applied hierarchy of size as well as hierarchical placement of elements to emphasize the importance of some design elements. Design influences from this era also include specific layout techniques. László Moholy-Nagy, a painter and photographer from Hungary who joined the Bauhaus in 1923, developed the method of compositing overlapping elements to produce a photomontage, a design technique that would be used years later in various magazines.

Not all prominent advocates continued to support the austere principles of modernist design their entire lives. For example, the German designer Jan Tschichold originally spread the modernist design philosophies in *Die neue Typographie* (*The New Typography*) in 1928, after being influenced by the Bauhaus. Numerous printers and designers learned about contrasting type sizes, weights, and widths and the use of white space as a design practice to organize elements on the page. However, he later promoted the use of classical Roman typefaces for body copy in publications. Likewise, not all graphic designs lacked decorative or ornate elements during this era. For example, the Art Deco movement was developed in the 1920s and featured decorative elements and detailed geometric designs (it was influenced by the Bauhaus but did not focus on simplicity).

In Europe, after World War II, the Swiss Design (or International Typographic Style) movement was a result of collating and standardizing various modernist influences in graphic design (e.g., removing ornament and using sans serif typefaces). Graphic designers in Switzerland and Germany built standardized grids composed of horizontal and vertical lines to add consistency of placement and alignment in layouts; they also developed the use of consistent colors, typefaces, and trademarks, a practice that various magazines and corporations would continue to use decades later.

In the 1940s, as European designers developed International Typographic Style, American

designers such as Paul Rand applied concepts in design (such as the use of colored shapes as symbols) from modernist artists including Swiss-born painter Paul Klee, Spanish artist Pablo Picasso, Russian designer El Lissitzky, and Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky. Although he is perhaps more well-known by many for his logo design work (for brands such as IBM, ABC, UPS, and more), Rand designed various layouts for magazines, and at one point in the 1930s, he worked as the art director for *Esquire* magazine.

Mehmed Fehmy Agha, a Turkish designer and art director born in Russia, applied avant-garde or experimental design developments as a prominent art director. After working at the Paris and Berlin offices, he led art direction at *Vogue* in New York City from 1929 to 1942. He redesigned *Vogue* as well as other Condé Nast publications *Vanity Fair* and *House & Garden*. He modernized the layouts with ample white space, replacing an old-fashioned look by introducing sans serif typefaces as well as removing extraneous borders around sidebars and photographs. Influenced by Art Deco and Constructivism, Agha employed sleek lines in magazine layouts. While other magazines had featured stories that were longer than one page, Agha was the first to design double-page spreads in magazine layouts that had photographs cross the margins and spines of the spreads. He placed some photographs over the edge of the magazine pages, which were the first full-bleed photographs in magazine design. Agha also developed the pictorial feature while working with prominent photographers including Edward Steichen and Edward Weston. Although standardized grids were promoted by various modernist designers at the time, Agha often designed layouts without column rules.

The Russian émigré Alexey Brodovitch was another prominent art director of the same era; he led art direction at *Harper's Bazaar* in America from 1934 to 1958. Brodovitch applied new approaches to design and layout, employing ample white space, clean and consistent typography, and innovative photography (including work by Richard Avedon and Henri Cartier-Bresson) in groundbreaking layouts that catapulted him to celebrity status. Photographs sometimes seem pop out of the text columns, and columns of text could be curved or angled. He is known for adding a sense

of rhythm and movement to magazine layouts by varying the sizes of typography and photographs between and within spreads. Like Agha, Brodovitch understood that readers look at the magazine pages two at a time, unlike with books or newspapers, and that the designer should take this into consideration by adding unity and continuity within and across spreads.

The period after World War II featured a continued expansion and exploration of graphic design at magazines. Inspired by the innovations of Agha and Brodovitch, various designers experimented with new approaches to magazine layout. For example, Bradbury Thompson, one of the most well-known art directors of the 20th century, experimented with typography as a design element and used colorful grids in the pages of *Mademoiselle* from 1945 to 1959. Otto Storch, art director at *McCall's* from 1954 to 1967, placed text and illustrations on top of photographs instead of only beside them. At *Glamour*, Austria-born Cipe Pineles was one of the first female art directors at a prominent American magazine. In 1947, she began at *Seventeen* as art director. Pineles improved the aesthetics of the magazines she oversaw in part by hiring fine artists to produce art for the layouts.

Other developments in magazine design continued in subsequent decades. In 1968, Milton Glaser and Walter Bernard innovated with their launch of the weekly magazine *New York*. Glaser designed *New York* for an audience used to watching television; he used more subheads to organize the article content and featured advertisements throughout the magazine instead of only in the front and back. Postmodernism as a design philosophy soon developed as a reaction against modernism, starting in the late 1970s. Decorative and ornamental elements were added, in contrast to the often-minimalist look of modernist designs. Designers “broke out of the grid” even more than those who earlier broke column rules. In the 1980s and 1990s, postmodern design flourished at various magazines focused on music, culture/counterculture, travel, and sports, although many publications continued modernist or classical approaches.

One of the most well-known postmodern (and Neo-Expressionist) graphic designers David Carson is known for experimental layouts that lack a

unified grid. In 1984, Carson joined *Transworld Skateboarding* as art director. In the early to mid-1990s, David Carson worked at *Surfer* (1991–1992) and then the rock magazine *Ray Gun* (1992–1996). Carson’s work features overlapping photographs and typography, a lack of hierarchy, and sometimes even illegible text. Colorful collages of photographs, abstract shapes, and scattered type are spread across layouts that sometimes still employ color harmony (analogous or complementary)—in this way, Carson’s sometimes chaotic, expressive designs still employ some level of order.

Some could argue that postmodernism has roots in Dadaism, an experimental or avant-garde movement that began decades earlier (around World War I in Europe), because both focused on personal expression and more of a chaotic and less ordered and rational approach. However, it can also be argued that postmodernism was simply a reaction against what was perceived as the rigidity of modernistic grid layouts and its appeals to order, consistency, and functionality in magazine design. Art directors and designers can be influenced by both modernism and postmodernism, and both approaches have some aspects in common. Modernism emerged as a group of art and design philosophies in reaction to classical art and design with its ornamental decorations, serif typefaces, and lack of ample white space. Art directors influenced by modernism still produced expressive, creative layouts, while postmodern art directors still produced layouts with some sense of cohesiveness (to varying degrees).

Not all magazines of the 1980s and 1990s employed a postmodern design approach—they varied during this period, with not one dominating. For example, the fashion magazine *Elle* featured a modernist look with primary colors accompanied by photographs placed onto the bleed of the page. Another design trend in magazine layouts during the 1990s and early 2000s was the focus on celebrity portraits on magazine covers. A portrait photograph of a celebrity grabs the attention of shoppers and the increased number of sell lines (teasing the stories inside the issue) is a tactic to get consumers to purchase the issue. The 20th century ended with a wide variety of design influences, as celebrity-focused covers and content grew in popularity.

Technological Developments and the Influence on Design and Layout

Technological advancements also influenced the magazine design and layout process. Johannes Gutenberg's moveable type printing press system developed in the 15th century paved the way for periodicals later. The development of the mechanical press in the 19th century led to lower costs and the ability to reach a wider audience. During the latter part of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, offset printing and half-tone technology were invented and then improved. Four-color offset printing uses cyan, magenta, yellow, and black or *key* (abbreviated CMYK) and includes four separate plates. Halftoning (or screening) allows for selectively applying lower saturation levels of the inks, leading to more colors in printing. These developments would lead to faster, cheaper methods for accurately printing photographs and graphics in magazines. (Decades later, designers would need to become familiar with spot colors as well, with the development of the Pantone Matching System, which is useful for matching colors and for applying wide areas of a specific color.)

By the 1960s, metal type set by hand or machine was commonly replaced by the phototypesetting process at various magazines. It involved a keyboard and screen, and the relatively inexpensive cost and new features of phototypesetting led to an increase in the number of typefaces in magazines. The American graphic designer Herb Lubalin used phototypesetting to feature more typefaces in his designs at *Reader's Digest* and *Saturday Evening Post*. Type could be set in various sizes, and the kerning (individual space between letters) and leading (vertical space between lines of text) could be easily adjusted. Letters could be overlapped, condensed, and otherwise edited in new ways, which permitted greater flexibility in layout and design.

However, phototypesetting would later be replaced with desktop computers and desktop publishing software. In 1984, Apple released the Macintosh computer, which was the first commercially successful personal computer that used a graphic user interface (GUI), which let users move a cursor controlled by a mouse on a graphical interface (instead of a simple textual command

line prompt). Apple co-founder Steve Jobs had sat in on a calligraphy class at Portland's Reed College years earlier, which inspired the idea for different fonts in the computers at Apple, and Susan Kare, a designer of screen graphics, icons, and digital fonts at Apple, also helped innovate in this area.

With a GUI, images, shapes, and text could be overlapped and edited on the screen. As computer technology advanced and became more affordable, it allowed for more experimentation and variety in magazine layout and designs, especially with desktop publishing programs. In 1985, the software company Aldus introduced PageMaker desktop publishing software for the Mac and released it in 1987 for the PC. Quark launched QuarkXPress in 1987—it was the industry standard publication design software through most of the 1990s. However, Adobe Systems bought Aldus (and PageMaker) in 1994. Adobe outcompeted Quark with Adobe's release of InDesign in 1999, which quickly became the industry standard publication design software. As digital technology progressed, magazine designers eventually started to take over roles and tasks previously held by typesetters and production. In fact, at many magazines, the design and production departments are merged.

Digital Media Convergence in Magazine Design and Layout

Various prominent magazine companies launched websites in the mid-1990s, and by the first part of the 21st century, publishers also launched mobile apps as well as magazine layouts specifically for tablets. Effective design of digital layouts helped magazines maintain consistent branding as they faced increased competition from websites and apps. Art directors also evaluated and applied special design considerations of publishing digitally (on websites, apps, and social media). Usually, digital versions of magazines have supplemented print editions instead of replacing them. However, some magazines went fully online, such as *PC Magazine*, which went exclusively online in 2009. In 2013, *Newsweek* discontinued printing after 80 years and continued publishing digitally.

Many magazines produce online-exclusive content, and some publications such as *Forbes* have

more contributors to their digital publication than their print magazine. Digital distribution allows for magazines to publish more often—even monthly and quarterly magazines can post daily updates that are of interest to readers. Editorial content distributed digitally on tablets, apps, or websites consists of much more than articles composed of text and photographs—digital content can include video storytelling, expanded galleries of photographs, and podcasts. Infographics that accompany a story can be interactive and animated. The websites of the magazines *Women's Health* and *Men's Health* include exercise demonstration videos for readers to follow along with. Magazines focused on food and cooking such as *Southern Living* feature additional recipes and cooking videos on their websites, and video game magazines such as *Game Informer* include video game reviews in video format with footage of the games being played.

As media converged across various platforms, art directors helped maintain branding with a consistent logo and colors across different iterations of the magazine. However, some design elements such as typography for body copy can vary on websites, as compared with print. Designers follow various principles in digital publishing. For example, since the audience reads articles on an app on their phones, photographs used in digital versions of magazines need to look good at smaller sizes. Typefaces on websites need to be readable on the screen, but they also need to be legible at varying sizes due to the ability to adjust text size on websites and apps. As digital media have influenced readers, it has become increasingly more difficult to keep the audience's attention—some studies have shown that using larger photographs or more saturated colors in online images attracts more attention. Mario Garcia, who has redeveloped numerous newspapers and magazines, has advocated for shorter paragraphs even in print, so readers can digest them more easily.

Readers do not engage with information on magazine websites in such a relatively predictable way online as compared with print, where articles can be put in a specific order in the magazine. Many readers will arrive at a website through articles found via a search engine or when shared via social media. Therefore, designers strive to

establish pacing between web pages (like pacing between printed spreads) through the use of appropriate navigation links. Whereas designers needed to become familiar with production considerations as technology progressed in the latter part of the 20th century, designers benefited in the first part of the 21st century by becoming adept at digital convergence, including how video, interactive content, and user experience design can benefit online magazine design and layout through effective form, function, and a consistent aesthetic.

Chad Neuman

See also Design and Layout, Newspaper; Digital Design; Graphics; Newsweekly Magazines; Photo Magazines; Trade Magazines

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DESIGN AND LAYOUT, NEWSPAPER

Consideration toward the visual presentation of news on the printed page began largely in the middle of the 20th century and amplified through the end of the century with the additions of color

printing and enhanced emphasis on design pioneered by Gannett through *USA Today* and its other newspapers. In the early 21st century, design has been considered as a component of branding for a newspaper's content and as a value-added component of consuming the print edition. The layout of news pages is a distinct operation from the layout of advertisements, and it follows the long-standing separation of editorial and advertising operations; it is often called *news design* or *editorial design*.

Newspaper design and layout blend skills of journalism and graphic design. Designers often write small amounts of content, either through headlines, photograph cutlines, information graphics, or promotional references to content elsewhere in the newspaper or online. Similarly, designers use artistic skills in color, line, shape, hierarchy, scale, unity, rhythm, and balance.

As newspapers shift emphasis from print to online production, the role of design is also shifting. While designers once worked alongside local editors and reporters, now they most likely work in a different facility and design multiple titles. The once unique designs that individual newspapers had have been swapped for interchangeable chain-wide designs at major U.S. newspaper companies such as Gannett, McClatchy, and Digital First Media. This entry first discusses the history of newspaper design, then looks at its different elements. It concludes with a discussion of the increasing use by many newspapers of a centralized staff to design multiple newspapers.

History

As a field, news design came of age in the late 20th century. This focus on design came about as technology allowed for more flexibility in layout. In earlier eras, newspapers were designed with lead type and engravings to craft their messages. Photographs and illustrations were less common, and the vast majority of content was words.

Early newspapers were fairly narrow and compact but grew through the years. In the 19th century, greater differential sizes of type began to be used by newspapers for layout and hierarchy. Newspapers of this era started about 20–30 stories on the front page and continued many of them inside the paper. Broadsheets were very

wide—some were even 10 columns wide. Through time, papers got narrower and added pages. As such, design moved from being a vertical enterprise, following the columns and the height of the page, to being a horizontal one, where photographs and headlines spanned three to four columns and stories ran underneath. This movement to simplify layouts was part of a shift in focus from the depth of content to the readability of content.

The modern era of newspaper design has focused on the use of typography, differentials in type sizes, dominant art by way of photography or illustration, alternative story forms, and promotion of content elsewhere in the paper. Technology has largely shaped this evolution. Better abilities to print images in the 19th and early 20th centuries allowed for more visuals. Offset printing improved print quality, and camera-ready pasteup let designers have more flexibility in organizing content. Computer-based design maximized flexibility and made design work more detailed, with multiple elements engaged rather than text.

Design Elements

Newspapers of all types use many of the same design elements to construct their pages. *Format* refers to the size of the page and the composition of the paper. *Headlines* and *typography* refer to the styling of the text on the page. *Photography* and *illustration* are uses of artwork to help tell a story and catch a reader's interest. *Alternative story forms* are informational graphics, charts, and other types of graphical reporting that either accompany traditional reporting or stand alone as stories. *Layout* and *hierarchy* define the structure of the page. Finally, *sections* are the groupings of pages used to organize content in broadsheet newspapers.

Format

Most newspapers worldwide tend to be printed in the broadsheet format, which typically is about 10–12 inches wide and 20–22 inches tall, though exact measurements vary widely. The width of broadsheet newspapers has contracted over the years as newspaper companies adjusted paper sizes to save money. Broadsheets are typically

printed with multiple sections, which are often designated by letters (e.g., Section A for news, B for sports). The section backs of broadsheet sections are sold as premium advertising space.

Tabloid newspapers are typically the size of broadsheet pages turned on their sides and, thus, tend to measure roughly in a 10-inch square, though most are slightly taller than they are wide. Tabloids are printed in a single section and are popular for reading on mass transit in large cities. Many newspapers in the alternative press use the tabloid size for their publications, as well.

Other newspaper formats came in and out of popularity in the early 21st century. The Berliner format is a bit more compact than a broadsheet, typically about 10 inches wide and 18 inches tall; it has limited usage in the United States and is popular in Europe and parts of Asia. The 3V format, which is about 10 inches wide and 15 inches tall, also had a moment of popularity but faded from use. Both of these formats also allow for sections, like typical broadsheets.

Sections

Broadsheet newspapers are typically organized into sections. The size of sections is determined by advertising sales, printing press configuration, and editorial decision. As the size of printed newspapers declines, so have the number of sections. For example, if newspapers have a possible configuration of 24 pages, they can be organized in two sections of 12, three sections of eight, or two sections of eight and two sections of four. Each decision comes with implications of cost and content.

Sections are typically organized by content. The front section, A, typically contains what is judged to be the most important news, as well as opinion writing. The second section is typically for sports, but papers with more than two sections might organize the structure differently. Other sections include business, local/metro/state, nation/world, lifestyles, entertainment, food, home, technology, travel, and other sections of local interest. Section front pages typically follow a similar format as the main front page, with color, lead stories, dominant art, and indexing. However, section fronts might also contain a column from a reporter, columnists, or the section editor offering opinion about a current issue relevant to that section.

As newspaper page counts have decreased, the use of interior section fronts has become a way to maintain the robust scope of content for newspapers. Publications often dedicate full pages within a section to certain topics. For example, the business “front” might be a page inside the A section with a business column and two business stories.

Columns

Newspaper pages are generally built on a column grid. The grid varies based on the format of the paper; further, newspapers can choose to use any grid structure, regardless of the format. Typically, broadsheet newspapers are laid out on six-column grids and tabloids are on five-column grids. Columns generally are a little more than 2 inches wide.

Columns offer their greatest utility in advertising. Ads are typically sold in a measurement of column by height; for example, a 4 × 10 ad would be four columns wide and 10 inches tall. The relatively consistent size of broadsheet newspapers and the widespread use of the six-column grid let advertisers create ads based on a fairly standard column size and use that same ad in multiple newspapers.

The column layout also allows for the stacking of ads on a newspaper page, when multiple ads are placed on a single page. Ads might be stacked in a triangular shape, with the shortest ads on the left side and the tallest on the right. Or they might be built as a pyramid, with the shortest ads on the left side of the left page, building toward a peak in the middle, and then descending to smaller ads on the bottom right of the right page. Ads of this type tend to be used on interior pages of the newspaper; ads on section fronts tend to be the full-page width or tucked into a standing ad placement, and ads on section backs tend to be full pages. Ad placement, then, directly relates to the design of the news pages, as news content is built around the advertisements.

Layout and Hierarchy

Much like the inverted pyramid style of writing, news design follows a top-to-bottom hierarchy for importance. The most important stories go at the front of the section, and the most important

stories go at the top of the page. Section fronts are organized with the main story at the top or top right, usually, with some type of photography or illustration being shown above the fold, which is the space on a broadsheet format where the paper is folded in half. The front page is designed so that the most important information faces the reader and can be seen when viewing printed copies at the newsstand or on a newspaper rack. Secondary section fronts and interior open pages are often designed in a similar style to the front page. Interior pages with advertising often might include one or two stories, and a small photograph.

Typography

More than any other design element, typography dominates newspapers. From body copy used for stories to headlines, cutlines, infographics, and more, type is used to convey information to readers. When Johannes Gutenberg's printing press was introduced in the 15th century, early type was in the style now known as *Blackletter* and was based on the writings of scribes. Roman type, based on the engravings in buildings in the Roman Empire, became the standard for Western news during the Renaissance. Sans serif typefaces, which emerged in the 19th century, were slow to catch on at newspapers but by the early 20th century were commonplace in headlines, cutlines, and more.

The first and most prominent use of type in newspapers is the branding of the newspaper itself. The nameplate, also known as the *flag*, is the name of the newspaper itself. (The nameplate is sometimes confused with the masthead, which is the listing of editors on the opinion page.) The nameplate of many U.S. newspapers was traditionally set in an Old English style of Blackletter, often to show prominence and credibility. However, conventions of the 21st century have shifted a majority of nameplates to serif styles. A minority of nationally prominent newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and regionally prominent newspapers of record such as the *Courier-Journal* in Louisville, Kentucky, or *The Dallas Morning News* in Texas, have kept with the Old English nameplate style; yet, similar newspapers of stature such as *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Tennessean* in Nashville have serif or sans serif styles.

Nameplates are typically used large across the top of the front page, often stretching edge to edge, though some reserve some space for promotions to inside content, advertisements, or the weather; these corner placements are referred to as *the ear of the page*. Nameplates are also often used on the editorial page to introduce the masthead and on section fronts, though the branding is much smaller in both places.

Headlines are used as titles of articles, columns, analysis, editorials, and other story forms. Typically headlines decrease in size from top to bottom of the page; for example, the top headline might be 72 points tall, while the second is 48, and others are 36 and 30. Interior pages typically use smaller headlines than are used on section fronts. Most newspapers use a bold, sans serif typeface for the largest headline on a section front, sometimes called a *lead* or *play headline*. Subsequent headlines on section fronts and interior pages are most often a serif typeface in either bold or plain styles. Individual newspaper stylings of headlines vary widely, however. Headlines for columns and editorials, both of which present opinion writing, typically are styled differently than traditional news articles, most often using italics.

News designers have a varied and inconsistent vocabulary for a variety of secondary headlines, often known as *subheads* or *decks*. This additional type appears in a variety of places surrounding the headline to a story or within the story itself. A small headline, typically in all capital letters over a story might be called a *label*, *kicker*, or *overline*. These headlines and type treatments are generally used to pull readers into a story or to inform readers who are only scanning through the news content. Other type treatments include bylines, which are the author's name; taglines, which give an author's affiliation, email address, phone number, and/or other means of contact; jump lines, which indicate that a story continues on another page; drop caps, which are an oversized initial letter of a story that descends into multiple lines of type; and pulled quotes, where a direct quote is oversized and placed in the story. Photographs receive a caption, called a *cutline*, and a credit to the photographer. Promotional references, called *promos* and *refers*, often take the styling of headlines and connect readers to content elsewhere in the newspaper or on the newspaper website.

The body copy itself makes up the bulk of newspaper type, being the words of stories themselves. Typically, body copy is sized at 9 or 10 points tall, with 100% to 110% leading, or space between lines of type. The advent of electronic type in the computer age has allowed type sizes to be scalable to any point size, as opposed to the solid lead forms of type used in letterpress printing. Body copy tends to be set in weights of Regular, Medium, or Book styles, with italic or oblique styles used for book titles and other emphasis, per the guidelines of Associated Press style for U.S. newspapers.

Legibility and readability are the highest concerns for setting body copy, and designers consider line length (the number of characters in a line), kerning or tracking (the space between characters), and alignment (whether type is aligned on the left side, right side, or both). Most often, newspapers set news stories using justified type, which is aligned to both sides, and use type only aligned to the left side for opinion content, including columns and editorials. In addition, the primary editorial is typically set in one or two points larger than the body copy to distinguish it from all other copies in the publication.

Photography

Photojournalism as a subfield of journalism dates to the mid to late 19th century, with the first photographs regularly appearing in newspapers in the early 1900s. In 1921, the Associated Press Wirephoto service made it possible for photojournalists to transmit photos over telegraph wires and then for those photos to be used in printing. Early photojournalism was reproduced using engravings, but halftones, images composed of a series of small dots, would become the norm throughout the 20th century. By the 1980s, most newspapers had switched to offset printing, which allowed for higher quality photo reproduction than in letterpress, where images were etched into printing plates. While color photography was long used in magazines, it was not until the 1980s that newspapers regularly used color photography on their pages. *The New York Times* was one of the last newspapers to switch to color photography and reproduction on the front page, in 1997.

In design, photojournalism serves multiple purposes. First, it provides a focal point for a layout.

Newspaper designers tend to run dominant photographs across three to five columns in a typical six-column layout. These large photographs set the tone for coverage in a story and position a story as the most relevant.

Illustration

The use of illustration in newspapers was once commonplace but has taken a backseat to photography for most publications. Illustrations began to appear in the 19th century to accompany stories, with styles evolving with contemporary art movements, including art deco, surrealism, and pop art. The use of illustration was common in advertisements, though it was used in editorial, as well.

Illustration is commonly seen for centerpiece portions of section fronts or other special placements. It also accompanies alternative story forms and can be done in the range of hyper realism to overly exaggerated, depending on the artist and the storytelling intent. Illustration can be done in analog means, with a pen, pencil, pastels, markers, charcoal, or other artistic implement; alternatively, illustration can be done with digital tools, including a stylus, illustration software, intense photo editing, or a combination of analog and digital artistry.

The most common inclusion of illustration in newspapers exists on the comics and editorial pages. Comics largely are supplied through syndicate services, with popular titles including *Peanuts*, *Garfield*, and *Blondie*. Comics generally are light in tone and humorous in nature, but some, such as *Mary Worth*, *Dick Tracy*, and *Apartment 3-G*, present a serialized story and others, such as *Mallard Fillmore* and *Doonesbury*, comment on politics and sometimes run on the editorial page. Further, editorial pages often feature editorial cartoons, which are also delivered through syndicate services, though some newspapers employ in-house editorial cartoonists. These illustrations tend to be more in a line art style with exaggerated, caricature-style forms and directly discuss politics and current events.

Alternative Story Forms

Newspapers have embraced a variety of storytelling techniques beyond the traditional news

article. The umbrella term of alternative story forms includes a range of forms. Photo essays include multiple photographs and extra-long cutlines to tell a complete story. Similarly, a stand-alone photo uses a single photo with a headline and long cutline to tell a story.

Question and answer style articles remove the storytelling element and are told in the pace of the interview. Infographics present direct, brief information and can either accompany a story or stand-alone. Graphics formats include a fast facts box, which lists highlights of a story; a bio box, which has several biographical facts about a person; a checklist providing steps for doing a complex process; timelines, which show an order of events; charts, including pie, bar, and fever charts that show present data points for comparison; and maps and diagrams, which locate or explain the location of places in a space.

Design Hubs

In the early 21st century, newspapers began consolidating design operations as a cost-saving measure. These design hubs began as ways to use designers to create multiple pages for multiple titles during a shift. Eventually, designs were unified to the same typefaces and layout conventions so content could be used for multiple titles. These design hubs gave way to corporation-wide designs as used by Gannett, McClatchy, Cox, Digital First Media, and other newspaper chains.

At the design hubs, which tend to be located at one of the chain's premiere locations or near a large printing facility, design and editing functions often are centralized. Stories come in from publications throughout the chain and are laid out onto pages, which are then sent electronically to a printing facility. The hubs often coordinate with a dozen or more newsrooms and a handful of printing facilities, as the trend is to print several newspapers on the same press.

A result of this consolidation is that visual journalists have moved out of most newsrooms, and thus, concerns about visual storytelling are more difficult to relay among reporter, editor, and designer. Further, the unique style of individual publications has been erased, as chain-wide designs have been adopted for the sake of ease of content sharing. So while every publication has

high-quality design, the unique style of each publication is lost.

Matthew J. Haught

See also Design and Layout, Magazine; Graphics; Photography; Photojournalism, Ethics of; Photojournalists; *USA Today*

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DEUTSCHE WELLE

Deutsche Welle (DW) is the public international broadcasting service of the Federal Republic of Germany. As such, it has played an important role in the history of European broadcast journalism. DW has headquarters in Bonn and maintains production facilities in Berlin. As an international broadcaster, it is strictly national in background and outlook but transnational in reach and is characterized by the dual function of rendering a

service to its home country as well as to audiences in its many target countries. DW produces media content in 30 different languages and, by its own account, reaches a global audience of around 197 million people per week. It is a member of the European Broadcasting Union. This entry gives an overview of DW's historic background and development as well as of its key properties as a major global news organization today.

Origins and History

DW, which translates to *German Wave*, is part of the ARD family of German public broadcasters. DW produces multimedia content (television, radio, and online) and operates English-, Arabic-, Spanish-, and German-language television channels as well as digital offerings in 30 languages. While targeting a global audience, including through its 24-hour English-language TV channel, its broadcast offerings are not available from within Germany. It has a presence in multiple target regions within which it cooperates with regional partners to tailor content to different audiences. DW came into being in 1953, when it started its first shortwave broadcast. When it began its broadcasting operation, DW was run on the basis of an informal agreement between the then-existing German public broadcasting stations (under the umbrella of ARD, a consortium of German public broadcasters). It was not until 1960 that legislation followed with the Federal Broadcasting Act (*Bundesrundfunkgesetz*), establishing DW as a public broadcasting institution in its own right and specifying its mission and organization. Based on public funding, DW was modeled after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and set up to be an autonomous operation, free from government influence. Yet, in contrast to the German public service broadcasters—notably ARD, ZDF, and Deutschlandradio—DW, as an organization representing Germany abroad, is subject to federal legislation and funded through taxes allocated by federal parliament (*Bundestag*), not through general license fees. In spite of its regulation through federal law, DW's organizational structure was modeled after that of the domestic German public service broadcasters from the start, a result of its initially being run by these very stations as well as its mission statement

being modeled after them later, in the Federal Broadcasting Act.

DW started out broadcasting in German only but soon added services in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and several Eastern European languages. By the mid-1990s, broadcasting services in 30 languages had been established. Some of these now operate on a 24-7 basis, while some are limited to a couple of broadcasting hours per day. Following a period of quick international expansion, DW also became one of the largest international broadcasters, with broadcasting operations in Rwanda, Portugal, Malta, Antigua, Montserrat, and Sri Lanka.

While DW started out as a strictly shortwave radio station, in 1993, RIAS-TV was merged into DW and became its television wing. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the television station of the United States "Radio in the American Sector" (RIAS), which had been established to broadcast Western programming from West Berlin into East Germany during the Cold War and thus had lost its original purpose at that time, was absorbed by DW. DW's television service, DW-TV, was created as a result and has expanded its foreign broadcast portfolio with television programs in English, German (both full-time), Spanish, and Arabic (both part-time). DW-TV's programming focuses on current-affairs news content as well as documentaries, features, and magazines.

DW started providing content online in 1994; *dw.com*, DW's online outlet, constitutes DW's third pillar next to DW-Radio and DW-TV. It offers public affairs and cultural information in 30 languages with a focus on German, English, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, and Spanish. The legal basis for the expansion into online content creation is enshrined in federal law, as described in what follows. After several decades of relative calm, DW developed quickly in the 1990s, mostly in response to a shifting geopolitical environment and technological and cultural change. As the German broadcasting landscape was being reshaped following German reunification in 1990, the *Bundestag* passed the *Deutsche-Welle-Gesetz* (*Deutsche Welle Act*) in 1997, which regulates the governance, organization, and sources of funding of DW until today. However, continued changes in DW's economic, cultural, and political environment saw the DW Act being amended shortly

thereafter in an effort to endow DW with a clearer mission and more explicit authority over its operations.

The amendment to the Deutsche-Welle-Gesetz was passed by the German Bundestag in October 2004 and became effective on January 1, 2005. It specified the scope of DW's operations (now covering so-called *tele media*, or online activities), a newly phrased mission statement, and detailed procedures for funding DW's operations. The amendment specifies that DW's core mission continues to provide audiences abroad with comprehensive information about Germany. The amended Deutsche-Welle-Gesetz also emphasizes a European frame of reference for DW's programming (§4). Importantly, it also expands DW's remit from the mere representation of German society, politics, and economy to serving as source of information *from* the countries in which it is received. The amended DW Act also codifies DW's role as what the German government described as "compensation and crisis radio" before the law was enacted: DW's expanded remit effectively transformed it into an alternative medium, a source of reliable information for the general population of target regions where freedom of the press and freedom of information are compromised or in crisis-ridden parts of the world where critical media infrastructure is missing. Finally, the revised mission statement for DW includes its duty to promote German and European values through its services.

Organization

DW's internal organization reflects broader similarities of the organization to Germany's domestic public service broadcasting stations: DW consists of three main bodies whose members are intended to reflect *societally relevant groups*. These groups, designated by the federal government, elect the majority of members of DW's two central supervisory bodies, the Rundfunkrat and Verwaltungsrat. Unlike for domestic public service broadcasters, some members are appointed directly by federal government, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat (the second chamber). At present, these groups include the Central Council of Jews in Germany, the Catholic and Protestant churches, the German Olympic Sports Confederation, labor unions, and

the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung (German Academy for Language and Poetry), for example. The Broadcasting Board (Rundfunkrat), charged with representing the interests of the general public, advising the Director-General in general programming matters and controlling compliance with DW's programming principles, consists of 17 members. The Administrative Board (*Verwaltungsrat*), charged with controlling the director-general's management beyond programming decisions, comprises seven members. Finally, the Director-General (*Intendant*) is responsible for DW's programming decisions and overall operations as well as representing DW externally. They are elected by the Broadcasting Board for 6-year terms.

A major project of DW started in early 2002, when a new German-language television Channel "German TV" was launched in the United States. This station, which was meant to unburden DW-TV from catering to German-speaking audiences, was expected to evolve into a freely distributed program receivable in most parts of the world. The station failed to attract viewers, however, and was shut down in early 2006 after the German federal parliament declined to roll forward its start-up funding for the channel. Although this was regarded as a setback for DW's management, DW announced that it would continue cooperation with domestic German public television stations ARD and ZDF.

In addition to its broadcast operations, DW has been engaged in international media development activities since 1965 through its DW Akademie. The academy since has steadily expanded its work in international media development, notably including the training of journalists and media managers from developing countries.

DW Today

As of 2018, DW has about 1,500 employees and 1,500 freelancers from 60 countries who work in its offices in Bonn and Berlin. The current director-general of DW is broadcast journalist Peter Limbourg (since 2013). After years of stagnant funding through the federal government since the 1990s, federal funding for DW has recently gone up again, along with a greater focus on the production of digital offerings and increases in global

audience reach. At the same time, DW has expanded its provision of live-streamed world news available via its website as well as video formats produced specifically for online platforms such as YouTube and various mobile devices and digital media players.

In recent years, DW has adopted a two-track strategy to service their audience in the years ahead, wherein it combines a global approach focused on disseminating information to a world-wide audience through the expansion of international television services in English, Spanish, Arabic, and German languages, with a regional approach focused on tailoring information to the needs of particular regions, primarily through the internet. At the same time, DW has shifted its targeting more toward international decision makers and democratic civil society actors in authoritarian regimes. The focus in DW's trimedial offerings further shifted from shortwave broadcasts (which continue mainly for Africa and parts of Asia) to television, online, and mobile services in the 2010s. DW News, its new 24-hour global English-language news and information channel, was established in summer 2015. Throughout such changes in strategy and outlook, a tension between DW's identity as an autonomous news organization and its political function as a federally funded public diplomacy operation has remained.

Eike Mark Rinke

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Europe; Germany; Video Journalism

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DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM

Development journalism involves creating journalism that helps societies to improve their standard of living, particularly in postcolonial developing nations. There are substantively different theories about how journalism can support development, which correlate with different philosophies about development more generally. There is agreement that development journalism involves evaluation and translation of development policies, processes, and outcomes in terms that can be understood by ordinary people. There are radical departures, however, in perspectives about whether development journalists should support nation-building projects, act as government partners, serve as watchdogs of government, or promote empowerment of community members and social change. Each approach to development journalism has limitations, which are often compounded by the economic conditions in developing countries. The spread of the Internet and social media has deepened some of those problems but also created new opportunities for development journalists to engage with communities and support development, social cohesion, and security. This entry discusses the different approaches to development journalism, historical influences on the practice, and challenges to and limitations of development journalism. Finally, it looks at how development journalism has been affected by the move to digital media.

Multiple Approaches to Development Journalism

The goal of development journalism is to use journalism to help develop prosperous, harmonious, and safe communities. Development journalism originated in the late 1960s at the Press Foundation of Asia in the Philippines, due to concerns that journalists were reporting on government media releases and promotional events without

sufficiently analyzing or explaining development projects, policies, and issues. At its simplest level, development journalism involves investigating issues that may affect development and translating these complex matters into clear terms that are meaningful to ordinary people. Rather than focus excessively on *breaking news* about events of the day, development journalists are process-focused, looking at patterns, trends, and issues that illuminate current circumstances and the options for action. They report not just on problems but also on potential solutions. This is thought to help communities to understand and respond appropriately to the conditions, challenges, and changes around them.

There is substantive disagreement, however, about three overlapping issues. The first is whether development journalism should support government strategies and programs or engage in watchdog-style scrutiny of government. The second is how much development journalism should promote government-led policy and action compared to the empowerment of community members. The third is whether development journalism should focus on tangible elements of development such as infrastructure, economic growth, and education levels or more ideological agendas such as social change, equity, and relationships of power.

Many advocates of development journalism take a nation-building approach. This type of journalism predominantly focuses on the policies of governments, expert advisors, and institutions that lead the development of infrastructure, education systems, and resources that support industrialization and modernization. News media reports educate and motivate audiences by informing them about processes, opportunities, challenges, and impacts for themselves and their communities. A variation of the nation-building approach depicts development journalists as government partners. Supporters of this approach recognize the complexity of leading economically unstable and socially fractured societies and that governments and democracy themselves are still developing as institutions. They argue that it is more constructive for journalists to promote government frameworks and strategies and to foster a shared direction around common goals than to undermine confidence with constant critique of government or policy limitations. This approach endorses some limitations on journalistic freedom

as necessary to maintain stability and to serve the broader public good.

An opposing perspective promotes development journalists as watchdogs and guardians of government transparency. Within this framework, development is dependent on governments being open to scrutiny to ensure that they are efficient, responsible, accountable, and receptive to public concerns. In this system, journalism that exposes misconduct, limitations, and failings is an important mechanism for ensuring that governments acknowledge and rectify mistakes.

Another approach to development journalism focuses on building participation, equity, and quality of life at the citizen and community level. Such an approach is often ethnographic. Journalists embed themselves in communities to learn about people's concerns, to help them define problems and solutions on their own terms, and to campaign for change. While this form of development journalism still provides top-down information from and about governments, it prioritizes the horizontal sharing of information between citizens and communities about their needs and issues. Community media also play an important role in building capacity in storytelling, strengthening community identity and awareness, enhancing networks and social capital, preserving languages and cultures, and educating community members.

These various forms of journalism have been adopted by both developing and developed nations under various other names. Chinese journalists engage in constructive journalism that combines the government-partnership model with a solutions-oriented approach. South Korea has been a leader of citizen journalism—ranging from the OhmyNews site that involves more than 80,000 citizen journalists to numerous popular citizen news podcasts—with citizen journalists commonly inspired by a mission to improve society. Western nations have initiated advocacy journalism, civic journalism, peace journalism, and solutions journalism, which fit characteristics of different models of development journalism. It is challenging to study development journalism due to the diversity of theories and practices that the term encompasses, and the fact that many journalists who engage in practices that could be defined as development journalism do not label their work as such.

Historical Influences on Development Journalism

The multiple approaches to development journalism have been shaped by a wide range of social and political theories and movements. These include philosophies about modernization, liberation, emancipation, cultural imperialism, a New World Information and Communication Order, Asian values, and political transparency.

Following the end of World War II, Western theorists and development agencies defined development primarily in terms of modernization, industrialization, and economic growth. They posited that growth in developing countries was hindered by feudalistic tendencies, lack of entrepreneurialism, and other internal deficiencies. The mass media were seen as providers of objective, impartial information to the masses that would promote systems of rationality, logic, and behaviors deemed necessary for upward mobility and economic takeoff. These philosophies strongly influenced the nation-building and government partner approaches to development journalism, which both focus on the government and other elites' leadership of the planned transformation process. Competing theories grew from the late 1960s that development was being hampered by Western monopolization of international trade, production resources, and the mass media. Supported by the UNESCO-sponsored *Many Voices, One World* report, also known as the *MacBride report*, many called for a New World Information and Communication Order that would replace the perceived cultural imperialism of the dominant Western news media with information that flowed within, between, and out of nations in the global South. In Asia, where support for development journalism has been strong historically, many political leaders progressed these ideas of strengthening regional identities through journalism. In the 1980s–1990s, they promoted a style of journalism that they claimed would sustain essential *Asian values*, such as deference to authority, respect for elders, consensus-seeking, and social harmony. These challenges to the West's purported cultural imperialism have influenced to some degree both the government-partner development journalism model that avoids strident, Western-style adversarial watchdog journalism and the

empowerment development journalism model that seeks to distribute power, decision-making, and resources to the disadvantaged and marginalized. Alternative philosophies of collective social welfare and bottom-up governance have emerged in many communities, inspired by figures as varied as India's Mahatma Gandhi and Brazil's Paulo Freire. The liberation and emancipation approaches aim to overturn systemic inequalities by working with deprived groups to regulate the actions of powerholders and to achieve bottom-up governance, self-reliance, and collective welfare. These principles form the foundations of the empowerment model of development journalism.

Since the mid-1990s, international development organizations have promoted the notion that transparency—the timely provision of reliable information about government—is critical to development. Journalists support transparency by investigating whether governments are run in an effective, efficient, and accountable manner. These concepts form the heart of the independent, investigative, watchdog development journalism model that is promoted by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations Development Program, and many other agencies. The ideas can also be seen in the empowerment model, as exemplified by the international news agency, Inter Press Service, which interrogates the behaviors of government as part of its charter to serve the marginalized, vulnerable, and voiceless.

Challenges to and Limitations of Development Journalism

Each model of development journalism has clear limitations. A nation-building development journalism approach may overlook issues of human development and inequality, given that increasing trade, services, and GDP do not guarantee improved quality of life. The government partnership model has often been derided as government say-so journalism. In socially fractured societies, watchdog journalists can be easily distracted by the constant critiques of different interest groups about their rivals' perceived failures, thus shifting public discourse away from attempts to consolidate leadership and agree on shared goals and plans about development. Empowerment journalists may become so engrossed in the detail of

specific community concerns that they miss big picture goals and thus may promote social change with only small-scale or short-term impacts. In unstable economies, development journalism can also be stymied by the difficulties for news organizations in earning sufficient revenue to operate optimally. Managers of financially insecure news organizations may be tempted to curry favor with government or business-funding sources, thus risking their independence and objectivity. Pressure to maximize audiences with popular *stories that sell* regularly reduces the incentive to publish nuanced stories about development without lower audience appeal. Such organizations may be unable to pay suitable remuneration to attract suitably skilled journalists or to pay for the staff hours required for extended research into intricate issues and processes that affect development and community well-being. Training is also generally a priority, given the many specialized and complex issues that development journalists must probe, but newsroom budgets and even external support from aid agencies or other sponsors may not match need. If the country has a weak rule of law and democratic systems, journalists also face legal and physical threats that inhibit robust reporting. It is also harder to research complex development issues and to craft engaging stories about such processes than to write about the more colorful conflict, crises, and chaos that form the bulk of breaking news. As a result, an ongoing challenge for development journalists operating with limited training, time, or resources is to avoid reportage that is well-meaning but unenlightening or dull.

Development Journalism in the Digital Media Age

The growth of Internet use since the mid-1990s and social media use since the early 2000s has created new opportunities and challenges. Digital media provide new channels for development journalists to engage with communities as consumers and creators of news and information that enhance personal, cultural, environmental, economic, political, and other forms of growth. By contrast, challenges faced by development journalists have deepened, as social media have disrupted the news media's income streams and

journalists' status as the preeminent definers of the *record of the day*. The spread of social media has also been accompanied by increasing spread of disinformation and misinformation, leading to new demands for development journalists to help counter the flows and impacts of untruthful or misleading information.

Opportunities Created by Digital Media

Digital media enable development journalists to provide services for, about, and with communities that were previously under-served. In most developing countries, newspapers are semielite media rather than true mass media, as they are far more accessible to affluent, educated residents of urban centers than to poorer, less educated people or residents of rural areas. Radio and television have wider reach, but ordinary people's access to development journalism through radio and television is affected by whether they can afford radio and television sets and have reliable electricity sources, the timing of broadcasts, the quality of transmission to their areas, use of local languages by broadcasters, and many other factors. The Internet and social media provide additional channels for development journalism across vast distances that can be sent at times and in a diversity of styles, formats, and languages that suit target communities. New media can also improve the development journalists' connections with sectors that have previously been underrepresented due to age, economic status, disability, gender, or other forms of social segmentation. They provide mainstream journalists with new tools to communicate with minority and marginalized communities about their issues and concerns. Citizen journalism has also flourished due to ways in which digital media have made it easier for individual community members and community/independent media to create and share journalism. An example is the Brazilian nonprofit organization *Viração*, which uses digital technologies to recruit and train teen and young adult journalists from the favelas (shantytowns) to the urban elite in the Federal District and 22 states. *Viração*'s young journalists use peer-to-peer networks to create a twice-yearly online magazine and online Youth Press Agency. The resulting journalism expresses the voice of youth on topics ranging from lifestyle to sexual

health, gender and sexuality, poverty, corruption, the environment, and human rights.

Responding to Digital Media's Negative Impacts

The financial instability of news media organizations in developing countries, as discussed earlier, has been intensified by the loss of audiences and income to the many competing sources of information and entertainment that have emerged in the digital media age. These additional threats to news media organizations' revenue have increased pressures to focus on boosting audiences, maintaining favor with funding sources, and engaging in practices that provide an easy and rapid flow of stories and other contents rather than the more resource-intensive task of liaising with community stakeholders and investigating and reporting on complex processes and issues. The increasing use of social media to circulate dis- and misinformation also creates challenges in developing countries because low levels of digital media literacy mean that false or manipulated claims are often accepted uncritically. Journalism in developing countries plays a significant role in supporting development and stability by correcting deceptive or distorted claims circulating through social media. As an example, Indonesia's CekFakta (Fact Check) online portal, which was established in 2018 and is operated by a collaboration of 22 major media organizations and five civil society organizations, publishes an average of 3.5 checks per day of contentious claims that have gone viral.

Dis- and misinformation circulated on social media regularly relate to sensitive topics of entrenched ethnic, religious, or other community differences and grievances. When unreliable information about these issues is given credence, it can provoke unrest, sometimes to the point of inciting riots, looting, and murders. Development journalists are trying to address this by taking a proactive approach in providing ongoing reports about economic, social, or other factors that underlie community disputes. The aim is that by prearming audiences with information about the context of frictions and conflicts, they are less likely to uncritically accept false or distorted claims on social media in relation to them. In the Asia

Pacific, the annual APAC Trusted Media Summits support this type of development journalism by training journalists to play a key role in preempting and protecting their societies from threats created by online information.

Angela Romano

See also Advocacy Journalism; Civic Journalism; Comparative Models of Journalism; Constructive Journalism; Free Flow of Information; Internet: Impact on the Media; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Peace Journalism; Solutions Journalism

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DIGITAL ADVERTISING

Digital advertising is the business of using computer-driven techniques and the Internet to distribute to audiences materials designed to promote products, people, or services. It takes place through sites (“publishers”) on a wide range of technologies, including mobile phone apps, outdoor boards, gaming devices, store signage, home smart speakers, car communication systems, and more. The eMarketer research firm estimated the amount of money marketers spent to promote themselves in digital spaces reached \$330 billion in 2019 and would hit \$500 billion in 2022. This entry places this profoundly influential business in historical perspective, surveys its shifting dynamics during a period of disruptive changes, and considers the social implications of digital advertising now and in its future manifestations. Finally, the entry notes the roles publics and governments are playing in trying to rein in problematic elements of this process and looks at potential changes that may be made to the industry in the future.

Digital advertising existed in nascent forms during the 1980s on platforms such as CompuServe, Prodigy, and Quantum Link (later called AOL), which Americans could access through modem-connected phones prior to the development of the World Wide Web in 1989. With the development of the web, which allowed the population at large to access the Internet, advertising became far more sophisticated and interactive. In 1994, Netscape’s web browser introduced the idea of a website, where photos, drawings, and ads could be seen immediately. (Previously, people who wanted to download pictures had to combine files in viewers such as LView.) Clicking on elements of a web page would activate hyperlinks to transport the user to other parts of the site or the web. The links represented a new way of accessing knowledge, including information from marketers.

But the real advance was the cookie. Created at Netscape in 1994, it would do more to shape digital advertising than any other invention apart from the browser itself. The cookie is a piece of text a company places in a computer’s browser. The cookie holds a code indicating that a particular computer has been to a particular site. It may also hold, or be connected to, data the company has learned about the person linked to the computer. First-party cookies are placed by the website owners (the publishers) to know what individuals do on their websites. Third-party cookies are placed in browsers by marketers, typically with the publishers’ permission and often when the marketers serve an ad to a publisher’s website.

A third-party cookie can determine whether the browser from which a person clicked on a hyperlinked ad at one site is the same browser (i.e., the same cookie ID) from which a person (possibly the same person) clicked on the company’s ad on another site. First-party cookies allow a website owner to note what web pages an individual clicked on (say, football stories on a newspaper site) and draw a profile based on that individual’s behavior (categorizing the individual as a football enthusiast), which in turn gives advertisers the ability to reach individuals in a particular category by placing ads only when these individuals are on the site. (Using tracking pixels with the cookies can indicate where on the page a person moved a mouse.) Companies using third-party cookies, for their part, could use them to create profiles of people based on their behaviors throughout the web.

The third-party capability spawned web advertising networks—companies that aggregate many websites and sell the ability to reach profiled individuals through whatever sites they viewed. The activity is called *online behavioral advertising* or *interest-based advertising*. Google from the late 1990s has used both first- and third-party cookies for this purpose. It draws huge numbers of people to its search engine, and through first-party cookies planted in their browsers can offer them to advertisers based on the kinds of topics they were searching.

Google also runs a widespread advertising network. Through sophisticated analysis of the content on its member websites, it offers marketers

the ability to serve ads based on the web page's content (an activity called *contextual advertising*) as well as based on many characteristics about individuals Google has learned by tracking their digital actions and by asking about their background. In addition to selling ads within their domains, Facebook and Amazon also run large ad networks that operate in similar ways, and there are many smaller networks.

Google makes most of its money via a pay-per-click (PPC) auction model: Advertisers bid on how much they will pay if a member of the specific audience profile they choose clicks on their ad. The percentage of people who click is very low (typically less than 1%), but the huge numbers of people using Google means that even that small percentage brings in huge amounts of money. Google also sells ads on a cost per thousand (cost per mille, or CPM) basis. Advertisers who buy ads on a CPM basis pay based on the number of times the ads show up—that is, the number of impressions they had regardless of whether the person clicked on the ad. CPM pricing is lower than PPC pricing on a per person basis because few people click but the ones who do are demonstrating interest in the product. While other ad networks follow the cost-per-click and CPM models, many individual publishers (such as digital newspapers) turn to the CPM approach because they do not reach enough people to make PPC a realistic money-maker. Even with CPM, digital newspapers struggle to profit from their digital ads.

“Programmatic marketplaces” have become the most common way for networks and individual publishers (including news outlets) to sell advertisers the right to target individuals who enter their websites or apps. The process is complex; its unfolding nature and examples of successes and failures are topics of coverage in trade publications and websites such as AdExchanger, Digiday, and Ad Age. The essential elements involve publishers who send cookie (or other tag) information about individuals to brokers called *supply-side platforms*. They help the publishers figure out the optimal price for reaching the individuals and then submit the offerings to one or more auction marketplaces. At the same time, advertisers, who are looking to purchase impressions, use demand-side platforms that help them refine their understanding of the audience they

want to reach and place bids for individuals matching those characteristics into the marketplaces. Advertisers with winning bids then can serve ads to those individuals at those sites. All this takes place in small fractions of a second.

This business framework has become the basis for increasingly complex digital advertising activities that take place on desktops, laptops, mobile phones, tablets, “smart” television sets, outdoor signs, and more. Many of these devices had applications (apps) that could not carry traditional cookies, so industry players created new types of trackers in order to follow what people were doing. At the same time, publishers and marketers developed ways to match people across cookies and app IDs in order to broaden their tracking of people. In addition, many retailers are accelerating their ability to track people's smartphone movements from their homes through out-of-home places and into the retailers' aisles. The technologies to do that include cellular, GPS, WiFi, Bluetooth Low Energy, sound impulses that interact with the phone's microphone, light systems that work with the phone's camera, and indoor mapping systems that work the phone's accelerometer. These tools are typically used to determine a device's indoor and outdoor location with the aim of sending a shopper messages about the retailer's goods, or personalized discount coupons. One way retailers can reach potential customers is to bid on reaching them when they are near their stores; the process is called *geofencing*.

Sometimes, the people targeted digitally remain anonymous, but increasingly companies turn to data providers who link cookies and other trackers to specific names, email addresses, or other personally identifiable information (PII). Firms such as Google, Facebook, Amazon, Target, and Walmart do not have to do the matching. In many cases, people log into their websites or apps, thereby identifying themselves in whatever technology they use. Those firms might not “sell” their information about individuals—one reason: the data are their crown jewels—but they often sell the right to reach people with increasingly specific behavioral, demographic, lifestyle, and psychographic characteristics based on directly accessible or purchased personal information.

The ability to track individuals across different sites as well as even different devices (e.g., laptops,

phones, tablets, and gaming machines) has led advertisers and publishers increasingly to target smaller and smaller population segments and even to personalize ad messages based on what they have learned about individuals. A challenge for Google, Facebook, Amazon, and other firms running advertising networks is to figure out whether and when the individuals' purchase journeys they track result in actual purchases. Using third-party cookies and similar trackers, they are trying to develop multi-touch attribution techniques (often using artificial intelligence) to link specific web behaviors to purchases. The biggest advertising networks even make deals with stores and credit card firms to help them figure out (often in aggregate) whether the targeted advertising they carried out resulted in purchases they could not track via cookies.

None of these activities is straightforward; tracking, profiling, and targeting are fraught with challenges for the entire digital ecosystem. Online advertisers must cope with click fraud, ad blocking, and third-party cookie/tag blocking. Click fraud takes place in PPC advertising when the owners of digital locales that post the ads are paid based on the number of visitors to those domains who click on the ads. An unscrupulous site or app owner will pay people or create automated scripts to click on ads simply to accumulate money deceptively. Ad blocking is the act of using a type of software (less commonly, computer hardware) to remove advertising content from a web page or app. Third-party cookie/tag blocking involves preventing such trackers from being installed in a person's browser or app. eMarketer estimated that in 2019, 26% of U.S. Internet users were blocking ads. While industry players debate the specific reasons for click fraud, cookie blocking, and ad blocking, they agree they cause substantial economic losses for the online advertising industry. One way some advertisers try to circumvent cookie blocking is by planting other tracking mechanisms (e.g., a type called *flash cookies*) in devices that people cannot erase by traditional means. In the United States—even under the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA), one of the nation's toughest general data privacy laws—trackers of all sorts are legal as long as their presence is revealed in the privacy policy. In the European Union, the General Data Protection

Regulation (GDPR) requires an affirmative opt in for all types of cookies and tags.

Efforts to Restrict Advertisers' Data Collection and Use

Many activists and policy makers see ad- and tracker-blocking as manifestations of people's discomfort with being targeted and followed virtually everywhere. Among other concerns, critics worry about marketers using and exchanging data with other marketers without people's permission. They further worry the data are used to categorize individuals and treat them in discriminatory ways (such as giving them different prices and showing them different items) based on the profiles they create. U.S. digital advertisers point to privacy policies as places users can turn to learn about the data publishers and advertisers use and share about them. They also point out that an industry program called the *Digital Advertising Alliance* instituted the AdChoices icon in 2010 to give receivers of digital advertising on Alliance member browsers and apps information to consumers when advertising data are being collected or used for targeting and to give them the opportunity to opt out of targeted ads.

Both of these activities have major flaws, however. Research has consistently shown that privacy policies are difficult to understand and often give little specific information about the firm's tracking and sharing of data. Moreover, surveys reveal consistently that more than half of the U.S. adult population believes, incorrectly, that the mere fact that a site has a privacy policy means the site will not share information without the person's permission. As for the AdChoices icon, when a person clicks on it (typically at the top right corner of a digital ad), the advertising company often tries to discourage the user from opting out by requiring a number of clicks to do it and by stating it will simply lead to the person receiving irrelevant ads.

Critics' sense of the failure of these sorts of self-regulatory activities along with heightened concerns about companies' collection of data in so many locations have led to laws that aim to give individuals more transparency and control over the data companies learn and use about them. The European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) which went into effect in 2018 is

the most prominent law requiring firms that collect information about individuals to inform them about what the firms collect, to get the individuals' OK for every data collecting firm's use of their information, to be accountable for handling people's personal information, to allow them to know what information they have about them, and to delete the information if people ask them to do it. In the United States, the CCPA (which went into effect in 2020) has important similarities with, and some divergences from, the GDPR. Other examples of escalating action against advertisers' surreptitious use of people's data are the European Union's ePrivacy Regulation (2018) and wrangling in the U.S. Congress about a proposed national privacy law. Critics of these laws complain they place too much onus on individuals agreeing or disagreeing to collection of data. The critics argue regulation should more fundamentally constrain the kinds of information that can be collected and used.

By 2020, the regulations (especially the GDPR) and debates had thrown the digital advertising industry into a broad state of concern about its practices. Google executives announced that by 2022, the company would no longer allow firms to place third-party trackers in its Chrome browser. (Apple's Safari browser, with less traffic, was already rejecting those cookies.) Google's actions, plus European Union pressures on the European advertising industry to adhere far more strictly than it had to GDPR rules of transparency and consent, led observers to predict the demise of third-party trackers and the programmatic marketplaces that offer them. Some large publishers consequently began to plan for a future in which their own first-party cookies would be the engine of their revenues. *The New York Times* in addition touted the usefulness of contextual advertising, what it called *motivation targeting*, on its site. The idea is to serve ads based on the topic of the article and the inferred interests a person might have in reading it.

At the same time, though, a movement has grown in the United States to create new tags to follow individuals around the Internet. Some companies, such as LiveRamp and BritePool, have already developed their own identifiers for use outside Google's world. The U.S.-based Interactive Advertising Bureau has also announced it is

working on a tracker that online advertisers could use to follow web and app users everywhere. But in the trade magazine *Digiday*, Tim Peterson (2020) cautioned that "the explosion in identifiers will create complications as ad buyers and sellers must reconcile different identifiers that may serve different means or ends." The article quoted an ad executive who said that "The real work is these IDs are going to need to be based on first-party identities like email addresses or phone numbers." Inevitably, the article suggested, companies wanting to use such PII for digital ad targeting will feel the need to get individuals' active consent through an opt-in mechanism, even in states that do not yet require it.

The digital advertising arena may well be entering an "explicit permission" era, where companies in the European Union, the United States, and elsewhere will claim they received explicit permission from individuals to use their data. Will they receive consent by, in effect, bribing targets with personalized discounts? Will people relinquish their data because they do not understand the implications? Will they be resigned that providing their data has become the way of the world to which they must accede? These and related questions will have to be asked about an ad landscape that is continually changing. For example, in addition to traditionally collected data about individuals—demographic, lifestyle, psychographic, location—marketers have been showing strong interest in inferring people's emotions, sentiments, and other details from their voices. In an era where companies are starting to use such biometric interpretations to discriminate among people, the surveillance and privacy regimes that emerge around digital advertising will be key indicators of a society's ethical nature and future.

Joseph Turow

See also Advertising; Advertising, Ethics in; Google; Privacy

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DIGITAL DESIGN

Digital design is the process of creating and implementing frictionless user experiences (UXs) on networked devices such as smartphones and personal computers. News organizations employ digital design to develop interfaces for their mobile applications, interactive graphics, and narratives as well as workflows that improve the newsgathering process. In comparison to analog design that is focused on the presentation of static information, digital design is intended to produce dynamic experiences based on data collected from a user’s interactions with a story or software application. Developing a seamless integration between content and form is essential to the design of digital experiences.

Digital design is an iterative, empirical process that draws from print design, product design, human–computer interaction, and psychology. Practitioners of digital design seek to understand an end user’s needs through research and testing in order to create emotionally enduring and culturally relevant interactions with computers. Creating meaningful digital experiences not only provides utility for end users but also provides technology and media companies a rich data trove to commoditize through advertising revenues.

Design plays an important role in normalizing the usage of networked devices and digital media to seek information, socialize, and share media. Well-designed interfaces of websites and mobile applications quickly garner the trust of users and seamlessly orient them through desired tasks such as reading a news story or sharing a photo. To achieve this, designers must develop a comprehensive UX and personalized user interface (UI) that dynamically changes with user inputs. In the context of digital journalism, news organizations are tasked with designing both compelling content and forms that provide personalized experiences for users. The focus on UX reflects a paradigm shift in journalistic practice that is distinctive to the design of digital news. This entry discusses the development and process of digital design and its relationship to journalism.

Development

In the early 1990s after the invention of the World Wide Web by Tim Berners-Lee, the design of websites was primarily text-based as web browsers did not support rich multimedia presentations. The creation of the style sheet language CSS in 1994 followed by the JavaScript code in 1995 allowed for the styling of websites and presentation of animation and video within web browsers. Another important technological advancement was the development of the web cookie in 1994 that allowed websites to track a user’s browser history.

The ability to study and target user behavior attracted advertisers and was pivotal in the emergence of the commercial web. Moreover, this created a need for artists and designers who could produce compelling banner advertisements that web users would click on. Although the concepts

of user-centered design, human-centered design, and design thinking had existed since the mid-1980s, during the mid-1990s, they found new meaning as web companies attempted to create compelling digital UXs. The need by technology companies to create UXs provided another pathway for designers to find work in the burgeoning digital economy. In the late 1990s, the Interactive Advertising Bureau and World Wide Web Consortium successfully implemented standards that were intended to optimize online advertising revenues while also making websites more user-friendly, respectively.

The creation of Web 2.0 or the read-write web in 1999 supported the development of wiki sites, forums, and content management systems such as WordPress and Blogger. The interactive web allowed for the rapid growth of user-generated content and expression. By 2005, the social networks Facebook and YouTube normalized the sharing of personal data and user-generated video, respectively. In the context of digital design, Facebook and YouTube employed simplified designs that made it easy for users to upload content and receive feedback on their postings through comments. This era also saw the emergence of print design aesthetics on the web such as grid systems, as a way to organize and curate disparate types of media and information.

Following the release of the iPhone in 2007, there was a need by technology and media companies to version their digital products across different devices and platforms. This led to the creation of responsive design in 2010, which allowed a website to be viewed on multiple devices and platforms. Additionally, in 2007 and 2009 respectively, technology companies Facebook and Apple opened up their platforms to third-party developers, which allowed for the creation of a wide range of digitally designed applications such as fitness tracking apps, mobile games, and messaging services. In short, digital design has become increasingly personalized and encourages user engagement that supports advertising revenues of media and technology companies.

Digital Design Process

It is imperative that digital designs offer a clear idea of how to use a website, a mobile application,

or an interactive graphic. Designers also work scrupulously to make UIs such as the Netflix or Hulu applications for Apple TV so intuitive that the design itself disappears. There are generally three broad roles in developing digital designs: UX design, UI design, and visual design. Design practitioners who focus on UX aim to understand the user of a digital product in order to create a holistic experience that meets their needs. A subset of UX design is the design of UIs, in which designers focus on creating an intuitive interface that clearly layouts necessary information that allows a user to navigate a device or software. *The Washington Post* home page and the HuffPost mobile application are interfaces that are intended to seamlessly lead users to news stories they are interested in. Visual or web designers employ graphic design principles to add necessary texture to an interface such as color and iconography which are necessary to understand how to navigate a website or social media platform.

There are four primary stages in the digital design process: research, prototyping, testing, and evaluation. In the research phase, a designer employs qualitative research methods such as participant observations, focus groups, and semistructured interviews to develop a strong understanding of people's needs. For example, if a designer is working for a news organization seeking to develop a new mobile application, they may study through what devices potential users access the news, the times of day they consume news, and why they are interested in the news.

By developing a strong understanding of a potential user's needs, designers can develop a broad UX layout that often begins with paper prototypes or wireframes. Designers then rapidly iterate upon the initial prototypes and may continually test each round of mockups with end users or fictional composites of potential users. Through continual iteration and testing, the low-fidelity mockups gradually become high-fidelity prototypes. This process allows for the design team to develop both a UX and an interface that will mediate between a user and the content they access through the application.

Visual design principles are crucial to the implementation of a UX and UI. Visual design asserts a product's personality and is integral to quickly garnering a user's trust. Additionally,

visual design should convey the inherent affordances of a digital interface. To achieve this, visual designers employ print and graphic design principles in the creation of digital designs. Designers employ color science, Gestalt principles, and scale to alert users to important information and to show similarity or difference between different elements within an interface. For example, a news website may use black text for its regular news headlines in contrast to blue headline text for its special investigations, as a means to draw distinction and importance.

Visual designers also employ culturally relevant iconography as metaphors for how users can use different aspects of an interface. For example, the magnifying glass icon on the National Public Radio website navigation bar signals to users that they can click the icon to search for archived stories. Similarly, the trash can icon on the right bottom corner of the Mac OSX operating system denotes to a user the location to drag and drop their unwanted files. Designers also employ other graphic design principles such as grid systems and typography to orient a user toward relevant information and to keep them engaged within an interface.

Design teams evaluate their digital products primarily through A/B testing. This quantitative research method allows design teams to test different versions of their website or mobile application on different groups of users to see which version is most effective. For example, a design team may compare the user engagement between a control group of users who continue to receive the current version of a photo streaming application versus three different groups who experience three unique new interface designs. Once a determination has been made, a firm can send out the most engaging version of their application to all of their users. The ability to track user behavior and make decisions based upon these data is an essential component of digital design.

Digital Design and Journalism

Beginning in the early 2010s, many legacy news organizations launched “digital first” and “mobile first” strategies, as people increasingly sought news and information online through their mobile phones. Digital news is designed to engage

audiences through personalized, interactive experiences and is optimized through design research of user data. Digital journalism is produced with an awareness that users will engage with stories on their own time, on multiple devices, and that a well-designed experience will encourage them to interact with stories. Additionally, news organizations create interactive products that are intended to be enjoyable for their audiences. For example, in 2015, Bloomberg published an interactive experience titled “What is Code?” that was designed to elicit user interaction in ways that explained the core concepts of software and algorithms. Similarly, in 2019, the *New York Times* published an interactive quiz titled “Are You Rich? Where Does Your Net Worth Rank in America?” that allowed users to input their income levels to determine whether they were comparatively wealthy.

In contrast to the top-down approach of 20th-century mass media, digital news recognizes the agency and proclivities of audiences as essential to the distribution of news. As compared to the design of other forms of media such as television and print news, digital news production is a collaborative process that often involves designers, developers, product managers, editors, and journalists. Additionally, diverse teams actively build customized digital experiences such as augmented reality and virtual reality stories that take advantage of the affordances inherent in smartphones and web protocols that allow for rich multimedia experiences.

The articulation of audiences as users is crucial to the design of digital news. Although designers at news organizations produce page layouts and static information graphics, these elements are carefully designed to optimize user engagement. In confluence with referencing existing design and web standards, designers at news organizations employ qualitative and quantitative data analysis to optimize user engagement with digital news platforms. Designers employ ethnographic methods such as semistructured interviews and participant observation to study how, when, and why a user engages with digital news. News organizations also employ quantitative analysis of user behavior patterns to understand what parts of their digital products necessitate improvements and how to deliver more relevant information to audiences. For example, the *New York Times’s*

Smarter Living section, which was launched in 2018, learns from user behavior to provide relevant life advice. Once a mobile news application or news website goes live, news design teams conduct A/B testing to fine-tune the UX.

News design teams may conduct A/B testing on the wording of headlines, the navigation experience, or a new page layout. In addition to conducting research to optimize a user's experience, teams at news organization also design algorithms that learn a user's story preferences and can tailor their experience with a digital news product. This is evidenced by how the *New York Times* developed a user-data-driven "For You" tab on their mobile app that populates news stories based on user preferences. Other examples of increasingly personalized news services are the News360 and National Public Radio's NPR One mobile applications.

Digital design not only shapes the construction of news platforms but also the design of stories themselves. Designers help journalists consider how a user will interact with the text, graphics, videos, and images of a story. Through this process, news design teams develop the meta-narrative of how a user will navigate a story rather than simply read or watch it. For example, when designing an augmented reality application, news design teams build contextual text in to the narrative to encourage specific behaviors of the user like turning their head during specific plot points. This is evidenced in the *New Yorker's* "Animate Objects" augmented reality experience, launched in 2019, that tells users to "turn up your audio" upon opening to convey that the experience is both visual and audible.

Many digital stories are published using existing templates within a news organization's content management system that allow journalists to publish print, video, and graphics directly to a news organization's distribution channels such as their website and mobile application. More immersive interactive stories are rapidly iterated upon from low-fidelity paper mock-ups to high-fidelity prototypes that are tested for bugs and potential weak points in navigation. Another crucial consideration for designing digital news, especially more immersive experiences such as the *New York Times's* 2012 story "Snowfall," teams must decide if they can create a story using the existing content management system such as

WordPress, or if a custom layout must be created. When creating more immersive stories, designers and developers employ open-source tools such as D3.js and RStudio as well as open-code repositories such as GitHub. These tools provide existing frameworks that news design teams can iterate upon to create graphics such as interactive maps. The open-source ethos is an important element of digital news design.

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See also Design and Layout, Newspaper; Graphics; Internet: Impact on the Media; Mobile Journalism

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DIGITAL DISTRIBUTION

For centuries, the dominant means of delivering the news was via print newspapers, magazines, or newsletters. While radio and then television made serious inroads during the 20th century, the

biggest challenge to the dominance of print came at the turn of the 21st century with a widespread move to online distribution. This entry discusses the origins of online distribution, its evolution and growth alongside the development of new technologies, and challenges to online distribution.

Origins

Inspired partly by European experiments with delivering textual information via telephone and television, several U.S. media companies flirted with electronic delivery of information in the late 1970s. These videotex and teletext services sent text and low-definition graphics to subscribers' television sets. The systems were costly and slow and found little reception among readers, though the Minitel system in France did see some level of success.

With the introduction of personal computers into the home starting in the 1980s, commercial dial-up services such as CompuServe, America Online, and Prodigy were developed, and some publishers experimented with delivering news over those services. But those experiments, such as proprietary services undertaken by *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, and Time Warner, failed to gain much traction in the marketplace. There were a number of obstacles, many of them economic: early PCs could cost \$3,000 or more, connection fees added another \$100 or more each month and long-distance charges, for those who did not have locally available Internet access, could add up to as much as \$1 a minute in many cases. Meanwhile, each service offered access to content from only a handful of news outlets.

Only in the mid-1990s did electronic news delivery begin to attract serious attention, with the dawn of the World Wide Web and graphical web browsers such as Netscape Navigator. In contrast with earlier attempts at delivering news electronically, this new platform offered much lower prices and a much wider range of news sources.

The World Wide Web

Initially, news offered on most websites was primarily text-based. Hypertext markup language (HTML), used to construct web pages, has always had the capability of including inline graphics as well as text. But slow (usually telephone-based)

connection speeds made web readers reluctant to wait for graphics to load. In addition, many publishers devoted little effort to preparing web content, merely reprinting news stories online in a practice that came to be known derisively as *shovelware*. Later technological breakthroughs and a change of mindset made it clear to news organizations that it was not good enough, and that a Web-first strategy was viable and competitive, with subsequent print and broadcast stories adding to and filling in the stories.

As HTML specifications evolved and Internet connection speeds increased, publishers began incorporating more graphics into their Internet news feeds. Some sites also tried offering audio and even video content, but it was not until the late 1990s that Real Networks developed a protocol that allowed audio and video content to be "streamed," with audio or video beginning to play while the rest of the content was still being sent. While that theoretically provided a solution to waiting for long periods to download an audio or video file, still modest download speeds meant that content suffered from low-fidelity audio with frequent pauses, or jerky low-resolution video. Nevertheless, some radio stations began streaming their programming and several television networks began offering limited video content, although it typically was the same as the broadcast content.

From the earliest days of using the web for news delivery, publishers sought to increase the frequency and duration of time that users spent interacting with their content. That effort was largely driven by publishers' desire to sell more advertising; the more people accessing the content and the longer they used it, the more advertising revenue could be generated. In 1996, the PointCast Network offered the first means of "pushing" content to users' computers. Coming in the form of a screensaver, PointCast sent live news; all users had to do was set up their personal preferences. Despite initial excitement, however, the software was not long-lived, as it could not be effectively delivered over home dial-up connections, and many businesses banned it for using too much Internet bandwidth.

Bandwidth was, in fact, the prime limiting factor that hindered multimedia news delivery for the first several years of the web. While some businesses and educational institutions enjoyed

connection speeds of as much as 1.5 Mbps (million bits per second), home connection speeds typically were around only 1% or 2% as fast, barely capable of delivering text at a reasonable rate. Even at their peak speeds of 56 Kbps (kilobits per second)—reached around 2000—accessing anything more than small graphics over dialup connections was still a slow process. It was not until the introduction of broadband technologies, a group that includes DSL (digital subscriber link, with a typical download speed of 768 Kbps), cable (1 to 6 Mbps), and fiber optic delivery (up to 5 Mbps) that delivering multimedia content became viable.

Broadband

Yet broadband service was slow to take off because of its high price and limited availability. Specifically, the United States historically has lagged in broadband penetration. In late 2018, for example, the U.S. broadband rate was about 14%, putting it in 16th place, long behind leader Switzerland with 47%. However, access to high-speed connections became much more common with the widespread adoption of smartphones starting in 2007. By one estimate, 96% of the global population had basic mobile cellular network coverage by 2018, and access to higher speed networks was increasing rapidly.

Widespread adoption of broadband access made it possible for content providers to deliver audio, video, and other multimedia material without asking users to endure long waits. It also helped blur the lines between traditional news media, speeding convergence. For example, *The Washington Post's* online division won the first Emmy award ever given for “outstanding achievement in content for non-traditional delivery platforms.” (Along with *The New York Times's* website, the *Post's* service managed to grab five of the seven nominations for the video award). Widespread broadband access also led CNN to offer its Pipeline video news service, offering both live and on-demand video.

Speeding delivery even further was the widespread adoption of Adobe's Flash technology in 2002 to compress multimedia files, allowing users to enjoy high-quality video and photo slide shows. In 2007, *The Washington Post* marked an important milestone with its onBeing video series, which

offered full-screen high-definition video. However, that same year marked the beginning of the end of Flash, as Apple introduced its first iPhone, which did not support the technology and forced publishers to find other solutions.

Alternative Formats

News sites also began experimenting with other means of delivering content online. Web logs—or blogs—gained notice as a tool for mainstream news delivery in 2002, but their use for news dates back to at least 1998. Video blogs (also called *vlogs*) attracted attention around 2005, and some (such as the one created by technology writer David Pogue, then of *The New York Times* and CNBC) proved extremely popular.

The launch of YouTube that same year markedly changed the game and increased the use of online video. Most major news publishers have created YouTube channels, each attracting millions of subscribers. And as creating and uploading videos became increasingly simplified and YouTube began offering payments to popular contributors, many upstarts joined the traditional media outlets in creating an immense variety of YouTube news channels.

In 2006, a 3-year-old platform named Facebook opened its service to anyone age 13 or older with a valid email address. What started as an online student directory would eventually metastasize into a meeting place for nearly 2.5 billion monthly active users—sure to draw the attention of news operations. Facebook welcomed articles from news sites, seeing a major source of free content. In return, news companies got the promise of widening their reach and attracting users to their sites. But instead, many users read the articles on Facebook and in some cases abandoned the news sites.

Over the years, Facebook launched several initiatives such as Instant Articles to help publishers derive income from journalism distributed via its platform. But such efforts were short-lived and, in the case of Facebook's pivot to video in the mid-2010s, even harmful as newsrooms diverted resources to a new technology that would not pay off. In late 2019, Facebook made another attempt to court publishers in announcing a News Tab feature that could eventually have 20 to 30

million users. The feature faced mixed reception, perhaps because of earlier unsuccessful offerings.

The same year that Facebook opened to the public, a platform known as *Twitter* made its debut. Designed to be used with mobile phones, Twitter allowed users to send brief messages of up to 140 characters. Interested parties could subscribe to individuals' Twitter feeds (known as *following a feed*). While at first largely used to convey the mundane details of personal life, Twitter soon came to be seen an effective tool for communicating during breaking news events. News organizations took notice, and Twitter soon became the go-to tool for journalists looking to report in real time, whether covering politics, sports, or court proceedings. Some news organizations also began using Twitter to deliver breaking headlines and links to stories. By the end of the decade, a study of Twitter discussions about immigration found that content from news outlets were the most-shared articles among Twitter users.

Other emerging social media platforms would also capture the attention of news organizations. Wanting to be where the audience's eyes were—and particularly the eyes of potential young audience members—journalists looked for ways to use image platforms Instagram and Snapchat, as well as the short-video platform TikTok.

Another new delivery option was the podcast, which offered users audio or video programming that could be downloaded to a portable music player or played on a personal computer. With roots going as far back as the 1980s, podcasts started to take off in the early 2000s as portable music players such as the iPod became popular. While initially embraced by the news media as an exciting tool for delivering content in a new way, enthusiasm waned fairly quickly and podcasts became used primarily as a mechanism for time-shifting radio and television content, designed to be accessed by users on the go. However, the success of the *Serial* podcast, which first aired in 2014, caught publishers' attention and reinvigorated the podcast movement. The first two seasons of *Serial*, a spinoff of the public radio program and podcast *This American Life*, were downloaded more than 250 million times, showing there was an audience eager for nonfiction audio storytelling.

As audiences moved away from desktop and laptop computers and began consuming much of

their news on smartphones and other mobile devices, many news organizations began offering news in formats appropriate for use on the new devices. At their simplest, these efforts involved text and email alerts. In addition, many news organizations offered access to top stories via special mobile websites or branded smartphone apps. Eventually, updates to HTML and CSS (cascading style sheet) specifications allowed publishers to build responsive sites that adapted to whatever screen size and type they were being viewed upon. But some apps still remained popular, such as the news aggregator Apple News, launched in 2015 for users of devices running Apple operating systems. In 2019, Apple News+ followed offering a subscription-based service featuring content from more than 300 magazines as well as newspapers including the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Star*, Canada's largest daily paper.

Another emerging platform was the email newsletter, which became increasingly popular in the 2010s with some large news organizations offering dozens of daily niche newsletters. Newsletters offer several advantages. They are quick and easy to assemble from already created content, offer a way to catch readers' attention every day, and help drive traffic to news organizations' websites. The latter point gained in importance as more newspapers put all or most of their content behind digital paywalls, hoping to convert non-regular readers into subscribers.

A perhaps unexpected platform emerged toward the end of the 2010s, with streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime Video adding news programs to their offerings. Given that both services rely on content that could stay fresh for a reasonable amount of time, offerings on both services tend more toward features than breaking news. Netflix began its move into news by producing a string of current affairs talk shows, signing up comedians to present programs that were significantly devoted to satirizing the news. In addition, in 2018, the company struck a deal with former President Barack Obama to produce a series of documentaries and historical films.

Challenges

Perhaps the greatest challenges and opportunities came in response to shifts in how people not

involved in the news media used electronic media to communicate. As more individuals, businesses, and organizations used digital and mobile technologies to produce and distribute news of importance to their own communities, news media looked for opportunities to become part of the phenomenon. Their actions trended in two directions: first, attempts to bring the audience into the process of distribution by encouraging audience members to comment on news stories and to submit their own photos and video, commonly referred to as user-generated content; and second, efforts to establish a presence in social networking communities such as Facebook (as well as in the early online virtual world Second Life), with the goal of drawing attention to their own content.

While the rise of online distribution was rapid, it was not without problems. The most persistent was lack of revenue. After initially putting content online for free, news providers found it nearly impossible to charge users. And with much of traditional media advertising migrating to nonmedia sites such as eBay and Craigslist, news organizations found it hard to generate the kind of revenue they were used to. The declining fortunes of traditional media—particularly daily newspapers—made many resort to cutbacks and layoffs to close some of the gap. The constant search for revenue also pushed some news sites toward emphasizing infotainment content to attract the most page views, a move critics said trivialized news content.

Online distribution continued to lag in at least two other areas as the second decade of the 21st century drew to a close. The first was making online products interactive. While news media had come a long way, for the most part they had made little headway in moving the news into an engaging experience. Aside from offering an occasional role-playing game or letting users upload photos or search databases, most news media offered little in the way of interactivity.

Similarly, after more than two decades of offering their content online, few news organizations took advantage of the Internet's ability to let users customize their sites, despite multiple attempts over the years. Still, despite those shortcomings it was apparent that online delivery quickly had become a dominant mode of getting news to users.

Users expect to have immediate access to the important news of the day virtually any time and anywhere.

Thom Lieb

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Facebook; Podcasting; Social Media; Streaming Media; Twitter; *Washington Post, The*; Twitter; User-Created Content

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DIGITAL JOURNALISM ETHICS

Journalism ethics is the responsible use of the freedom to publish. It is the study and application of ethical norms that should guide the social practice of journalism, in its many technological, cultural, and organizational forms. The norms are constructed with a practical purpose in mind: to help journalists respond thoughtfully and consistently to new or recurring problems in daily practice. These norms take many forms, from an individual journalist's set of values to a code of ethics for a professional newsroom. This entry discusses the origins of digital journalism ethics and ethical challenges that digital journalism poses. The entry closes with a brief overview of responses to these challenges.

Journalists have duties to perform and norms to honor because, as human beings, they fall under general ethical principles such as to tell the truth and minimize harm and because, as professionals, they have social power to influence public opinion. With power comes responsibility. However, what the term *responsible* means can vary from country to country, reflecting differences in culture, technology, and political structure.

Since the early 1900s, journalism ethics has belonged to the field of professional applied ethics, alongside ethics in law, medicine, and business. Since the turn of the 21st century, digital media have expanded journalism ethics beyond professional newsrooms.

Journalism ethics is an element of educational programs and is an academic discipline. It is taught and critiqued in journalism and communication schools, while theories of journalism and its ethics are developed by social scientists, philosophers, and ethicists. A large number of academic books and journals are devoted to ethical issues in journalism, media, and communication. In addition, there are journalism centers, societies,

and media monitoring groups devoted to advancing ethical media and to evaluating news coverage for accuracy and bias.

Digital journalism ethics is an increasingly important part of journalism ethics. It is the study and application of the norms of journalism in its use of digital means of communication, such as the Internet and online platforms from websites to social media. Digital journalism ethics includes the norms for using digital-based tools, from virtual reality cameras for telling stories to video-equipped drones for gathering news. Much of current journalism ethics revolves around new or controversial practices by digital journalists—practices that challenge traditional norms. More broadly, digital journalism ethics features debate about the role of journalists in a world dominated by digital, global, media. Journalists struggle to define their roles relative to a global public sphere increasingly polluted by disinformation and manipulative, intolerant voices.

Amid a media revolution, the field of journalism ethics today is active—a zone of controversy and fragmentation, where different kinds of journalists adopt different approaches to journalism. Traditional forms of journalism, such as objective news reporting, remain. But it is joined by online opinion journalism, fiercely partisan journalism, civic-minded engaged journalism, and social media journalism. A prior professional consensus on ethical principles has been weakened, prompting the articulation of new principles. These tensions within journalism ethics signal the decline of a tidy, pre-digital journalism ethics for professionals, established a century ago, and the birth of an untidy digital journalism ethics for almost everyone.

Origins

Digital journalism ethics is the latest development of journalism ethics, centuries after the creation of a non-digital news press. Western journalism is more than 600 years old. It began with printed newsbooks and one-page broadsides in major cities, such as London and Amsterdam, in late 16th century Europe, using Gutenberg's printing press. From the start, authorities questioned the ethics of this fledgling press: Was it reliable? Did it favor emerging social classes or did it support the status quo? Monarchs challenged its freedom to publish.

Journalism ethics would take two forms before digital journalism ethics would appear: First, journalism ethics would consist in broad philosophical views about the press's role in society. Across the 18th and 19th centuries, press philosophies would discuss the limits of press freedom, the press's role in enlightening the public, and the press's relationship with government authority. One such view has already been mentioned: the authoritarian view embraced by powerful monarchs, that publication is a privilege, not a right. The authoritarian view, at its height in the 17th century, would slowly fade as Western countries such as England, France, and the United States evolved into more liberal societies, as described by Stephen J. A. Ward in *The Invention of Journalism Ethics*. However, the authoritarian view continues to exist today in such countries as China, North Korea, and Iran.

In the 18th century, editors and political writers constructed a "public" ethic of journalism as the number, kinds, and power of newspapers grew enormously. Newspapers claimed to represent the public in the Enlightenment public sphere, acting not only as informer but also as a watchdog on government. In the 19th century, the public ethics evolved into the liberal (or libertarian) theory of the press, which stressed the need for a maximally free press to advance liberal reforms. The classic liberal argument was written by John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) in *On Liberty* of 1865. Mill's ideas reflected writings on the press by a long list of liberal-minded thinkers, from David Hume (1711–1776) and Condorcet (1743–1794) to journalists such as Walter Bagehot (1826–1877) and Thomas Paine (1737–1809).

As the 19th century came to a close, journalism ethics would take a second form: journalism ethics would become a practical, working guide for the growing number of journalists and news organizations. Journalists in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and beyond formed regional and national professional societies and created codes of ethics dedicated to serving the public. The codes contained principles, rules, and preferred ways of reporting on typical subjects. A dominant form of code, from the 1920s onward, expressed the need for reporters to cover events with a neutral attitude and to report "just the facts." This was the ideal of professional objective journalism.

It called for the elimination of a reporter's viewpoint from their story, as newspapers and then broadcasters separated news and opinion journalism. The model was in its heyday between the 1920s and 1960s, although the ideal was more popular in North America than in Europe. Despite a growing criticism of the professional objective model across the 1900s, the model did not perish and its norms still influence practice and discussions of journalism ethics.

At the turn of the 21st century, after a century of professional journalism ethics for non-digital media, a digital era in communications began to take root and change society. It would fundamentally transform journalism and its ethics.

Ethical Challenges

The challenges posed by digital journalism can be broken down into a number of categories. One category consists of questions about the future of journalism ethics when almost anyone can publish journalistic articles online. In the early years of the 21st century, many mainstream journalists resented the new online writers and refused to call them journalists. Many of the initial bloggers and online writers stated that they did not fall under established professional codes of ethic. They worked to their own, and different, standards. Others said that neutrality and independence are myths and it is better to be transparent: to state publicly one's biases and the groups that one supports. As a result, hardly a principle of professional journalism ethics has gone unchallenged.

Perhaps the largest category of tough questions concerns the proper relationship between speed of publication and the verification of facts. Should ethical journalists try to keep up with the breathless pace of rumors online, setting aside existing norms for prepublication verification? How or when should ethical journalists repeat information on social media, for example, a rumor that there is a shooter in a school? How can editors of mainstream news outlets, such as CNN or the BBC, confirm the authenticity of images on events provided by citizens from their smartphones?

Another category of questions deals with what ethical principles apply to emerging forms of digital journalism such as the civically engaged online journalist. If journalists create a news site funded

by citizens and philanthropic groups, what ethical rules protect such sites from the undue influence of its funders? What ethical ground rules govern what citizens say on sites devoted to the discussion of sensitive issues such as racism or human rights?

Another category deals with specific technological developments, that is, new digital tools for newsgathering. How should journalists use the powerful images of virtual reality to tell stories accurately without embellishing the story for visual affect? How should newsrooms use drones to cover a hostage taking or a police highway chase?

More recently, digital journalism ethics has struggled to deal with the use of online media by governments and intolerant groups to spread misinformation, “fake news,” and hate speech. What new norms are needed to guide news coverage of racist public figures or public meetings of intolerant groups? Quite suddenly, journalism ethics comes to include society-wide collaborative efforts by journalists, civic society, and government to identify fake news and the agents of disinformation.

Finally, journalism ethics confronts the fact that codes of journalism ethics need to be altered or extended to evaluate stories on global issues, such as immigration and climate change, or stories that may prompt a violent response in other cultures. Digitalization has created a media that is global in reach and impact. Historically, the codes have been parochial or non-global: they have been regarded, typically, as applying to journalists in a city, a region, or a nation. Not enough is said about how to evaluate reports that will circle the globe. Journalism ethics, it seems, needs to “go global.”

To summarize, here is a list of issues that dominate journalism ethics today:

- Questions of identity: If citizens and nonprofessional journalists report and analyze events around the world, who is a journalist?
- Questions about scope: If everyone is potentially a publisher, does journalism ethics apply to everyone?
- Questions about content: What are the most appropriate principles for digital journalism ethics? For example, is news objectivity still a valid ideal?
- Questions about new journalism: How can new forms of journalism, for example, nonprofit journalism or entrepreneurial journalism, maintain editorial independence?
- Questions about community engagement: What ethical norms should guide the use of citizen content and partnerships with external groups?
- Questions about global impact: Should journalists see themselves as global communicators? How do journalists reconcile their patriotism and their cosmopolitanism?
- Questions about the amplification of intolerant voices and fake news: How should journalists cover intolerant groups and fake news?

Responding to the Challenges

The stress so far on the problems of digital journalism ethics may sound like a counsel of despair—that there is no hope of resolving these thorny issues. This is not correct. In the past decade, there have been encouraging developments in terms of the invention of new principles, new best practices, new guidelines, plus reformulations of ideals. The shock of the media revolution which threatened to swamp journalism ethics has worn off. Journalists and ethicists are finding creative answers to what once appeared to be insolvable problems.

Large digital handbooks have appeared, tackling many of the issues just noted, such as *The Sage Handbook of Digital Journalism* (2016) edited by Tamara Witschge and others and *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies* (2017) edited by Bob Franklin and Scott Eldridge II. As well, ethicists have created guidelines for the use of social media, virtual reality, drones, artificial intelligence, and big data computer methods, as can be found in books such as *Ethics for Digital Journalists: Emerging Best Practices* (2015) edited by Lawrie Zion and David Craig. Journalists and ethicists are making progress on what seemed to be an insoluble problem: verification online. New work explains how to improve verification after posting by using the knowledge of the “crowd” online. Researchers such as Crag Silverman, in his *Verification Handbook* (2014), develop methods for quickly verifying online images and other materials in real time. Meanwhile, major news organizations from the

BBC to *The New York Times* have revised their codes of ethics to guide journalists on such problems as how personal they can be on their own web sites. The Canadian Association of Journalists has developed guidelines for picking up stories from social media.

Fake news has spurred the creation of dozens of fact-checking websites that check politicians' statements during elections. For example, at Harvard University, the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics, and Public Policy operates First Draft, a coalition against fake news. Civic society web sites, many of them in Europe, monitor religious hate speech online. Scholars and journalists have begun to construct a global media ethics, such as Stephen Ward's *Global Journalism Ethics* (2013) and the articles found in *The Handbook of Global Communication and Media Ethics* (2011) edited by Robert Fortner and Mark Fackler. New global media principles, often adapted from theories of human rights and human flourishing, redefine journalism as a globally responsible practice.

These scholarly and journalistic reinventions of the ever-evolving art of journalism show that journalism ethics can, and must, adapt to a new media world. Both journalists and members of the public can become ethically responsible digital citizens. The key question is not, "How do people protect a journalism ethics inherited from another media era?" The key questions are, "What new journalism ethics can people construct?" and "What should be the ethics of a digital, global media used by professionals and citizens?"

Stephen J. A. Ward

See also Digital Journalism Ethics; Ethics; Fake News; Objectivity; Social Media

Further Readings

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DIGITAL JOURNALISM TOOLS

Digital journalism strives for transparency while still including traditional journalism values. Digital tools can offer transparent storytelling by including more voices, sources, and documents in news content. These stories can increase audience engagement with real-time metrics and strategized social media posts while still holding up normative journalism values such as the need for experts, fact-checking, and timeliness. Converged newsrooms can use a combination of digital text, video, audio, and/or other multimedia products to deliver information in a timely manner to an audience. This can take the form of a Wordpress website/blog, podcast, and/or vlog/short form documentary via YouTube or other Internet products. Social media is still an emerging format that digital journalists can use to deliver information in a nontraditional format that focuses on smaller screens with shorter content, but can be just as effective in news delivery be it over Twitter, Instagram, or TikTok, among others. As the evolution of digital media and its tool use continue to change, fluctuate, regulate, deregulate, and expand, journalists face a daily disruptor in news delivery. This entry offers a brief overview of the history of digital journalism and discusses the digital content creation process, including ways in which researchers and journalists brainstorm, conduct research, add multimedia components to writing, edit, and publish work.

Digital Journalism History

When the Internet officially opened to the U.S. public in 1991 and became widespread in the

mid- to late-1990s, more media outlets started going online and experimenting with digital content delivery and using a variety of tools. However, even though online news distribution was not common in the early 1980s, many news outlets were ahead of their time with a failed digital news delivery experiment. According to The Poynter Institute for Media Studies, a journalism research organization, the CompuServe news distribution experiment helped create the first digitally accessible U.S. newspaper with a dial-up service. The Columbus Dispatch was the first to make the digital jump, with other large Associated Press (AP) papers joining shortly after. At that time, dial-up was very slow with a daily newspaper taking hours to download. This form of electronic journalism needed the distributor and the receiver of the information to have a dial-up service, a landline telephone, the latest IBM computer, and specialized software. The agreement between CompuServe and these AP papers ended in 1982. The agreement and service demise were mostly attributed to the cumbersome and expensive systems needed to access digital text in a timely manner to a mass audience.

Digital Journalism in 2021

Throughout the digital content creation process, journalists use a variety of digital tools to help them make content fit for a range of audiences. To create engaging multimedia content, they must first start with an idea. This can be seen as the first step in digital curation, the brainstorming step. Once a topic is chosen, a number of online nonprofit and government organizations can assist in the research process. At times, there might be a vast amount of data collected during this data gathering stage, and the Internet provides a multitude of arenas to analyze and find this data. Then comes the task of making this research engaging to the audience through images, video, and audio pieces. Many sites can assist with content editing and formatting, making it accessible to a wide digital audience. Finally, the publishing process allows the journalist to find just the right medium to host and distribute the content, with social media increasingly becoming an avenue of publishing and/or promotion of this material.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming allows the researcher to look at documents and data for story inspiration or to further examine a topic of interest. For instance, at the federal level, looking into publicly available government data, such as an online vault of FISA orders, can be found at the Electronic Privacy Information Center. This site provides statistics organized by year on surveillance orders given by the U.S. government. A resource for finance information is USA Spending database, which enables citizens, researchers, and the media the ability to visualize yearly tax data and track how taxpayer funds are used. Data.gov provides easy-to-access PDFs and raw data on credit card information, government Small Business Administration loans, among others, for the public to download and use. The Center for Public Integrity, a nonprofit, investigates government corruption and distributes information to various media outlets about current investigations.

Local websites through the city, county, and state can also provide fast and sometimes free data on population, health, and economic statistics that could lead to a story as well. Nonprofits can also provide local data on marginalized communities and social issues that mainstream media may overlook. One way to keep in touch with these local state and nonprofit institutions is by signing up for their media email lists that can alert news organizations to social issues such as changing local housing ordinances or natural disaster alerts in the area.

Universities and news organizations also have brainstorming tools. A *.edu* or *.gov* at the end of a web address helps researchers verify the site. The University of Georgetown's Free Speech Project has an interactive political news map that lists recent free speech cases across many institutions and divides these into different categories such as Hate Speech or National Security. The Washington Post has resources for junior digital journalists in its various video series *How to be a Journalist* and teaches journalists how to research topics in *Fact Checker*.

Research

The next phase of digital writing is utilizing online research tools. Federal resources include The

Library of Congress, which can offer a vast number of digitized documents, rare audio recordings, scanned books, and news archives. Most government-funded museums have digital archives that have easy to use websites such as The National Archives Museum for historical U.S. documents and the National Archives Online Exhibits for veterans' service records. Each of these archives has its own set of copyright and publishing guidelines that one should read and understand before extracting and publishing.

At the state level, the State Digital Resources page lists online accessible digital archives for all 50 states. Investigations needing historical local economics and grant funding can use ProPublica's stimulus data registry per U.S. county. The Census Reporter visualizes local and state data into easy-to-understand graphics for readers. The Sunlight Foundation, which advocates for government transparency, is a nonprofit that provides a variety of training tools for those in need of accessing and analyzing data quickly through online sources and its video series.

Journalism nonprofits can assist in the research phase if journalists need federal government documents for investigative pieces. The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists provides a database of offshore organization information as well as a medical device database. ProPublica offers a quick search database of nonprofit Form 990 tax reports. The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) allows journalists to request government documents. Assistance with FOIA requests can be found through FOIA Wiki as well as the National Security Archive. The National Security Archive, hosted at George Washington University, also has a database of previous FOIA requests, declassified information, and the document archive is free and open to use. The FOIA Project lists which FOIA requests are in dispute in U.S. courts. The Student Press Law Center hosts a FOIA public records letter generator that creates a quick government document request.

Easy-to-search Amazon Web Services houses a collection of public data sets provided by organizations such as Facebook, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the Internal Revenue Service. Global open access data are also

provided by The World Bank Open showcasing graphs and data collections on international development information such as income, poverty, and pandemic data. Google Public Data is another depository of information from organizations such as the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the U.S. Census Bureau.

Fact-checking data tools are available online through the Google News Initiative, which provides various training tools and Google products such as Google Fact Check where one can verify people, places, and topics. One can access charity verification through the Federal Trade Commission page *Before Giving to a Charity* as well as Charity Navigator, GuideStar, and Charity Watch. To verify the location of an image, image metadata extractors can be a fast way to pull geological coordinates from images to find their origin. That can also be done manually looking at the metadata of the individual image and entering the coordinates directly into a Google Maps search bar.

Multimedia

Images, video, and audio content added in digital pieces need to be curated and checked for copyright. Copyright permission is critical for published content, especially if that content is not being used in a classroom. Copyright owners have sole discretion on how their content is shared, purchased, and/or transformed. Some content can be required to have attribution (recognition of author) even if the content license has no required fee. Since copyright is a strict liability tort, it is the sole responsibility of the publisher to make sure that copyright permission or ownership is properly procured.

Images

Image use in digital journalism projects is common and useful for multimedia pieces to help readers connect to the stories and click-through thumbnails. Several online federal resources such as the National Gallery of Art can be a source for historical images and are useful in some research and embedded slideshows. However, copyright permission is not a given for any image in the archives, and individuals must do their due

diligence before publication. Another federal resource is the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which has some archival and updated content of space images, weather science data, graphics, Earth photos, maps, and climate change information available in the public domain (requiring no permission to use). However, its logo is federally regulated. Google's image search allows journalists to reverse search an image if looking for image copyright or information.

In terms of image design, Canva has free and paid stock images and vector graphics available to create photos in multiple formats. For image editing, Pixlr provides free online photo editing software. Adobe Spark offers free and sign-in required photo editing services online. Gifs are able to provide some multimedia content to more entertainment-based journalism projects and can be created with a free online account at Giphy. For juxtaposed images, the Knight Lab has a free upload-and-download JuxtaposeJS service. Flickr Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons, and Unsplash provide easy-to-search public domain images to use in any capacity. And Creative Commons image search offers access to multitudes of nonprofits, museums, and organizations that give options to license out images for nonprofit, educational, and/or commercial use for free or for a fee, or just requiring attribution.

Videos

Creating video projects for multimedia journalism projects can be completed quickly with the help of YouTube to upload and host video content. Free editing software is available at Google's YouTube Creator Academy. Its user agreement for audio and editing is clear cut and content can be quickly embedded with a copy and paste of its editable HTML code for blogs or websites. Shorter links from uploaded videos can be created for fast social media shares.

For shorter form content, as of 2021, TikTok and Snapchat are popular platforms for videos ranging from 30 seconds to 1 minute of run time. Effects and editing software within these mobile apps are free to use. Traditional news organizations are just starting to understand how to utilize these. Campus news organizations are already seeing success in engaging their younger audiences

using short form and social media video news content. However, just as Vine disappeared while still very popular, these can too. If so, a short form social video provider will most likely pop-up in another app.

Popular brands offer some low-cost or free video editing services. Apple has iMovie and Final Cut Pro for laptop and desktop video editing. Clips can work for a quick editing of multiple clips on Apple's iPhone and mobile-based products. Adobe Spark is a free online-based video editor, and Vimeo Basic has ad-free video hosting services.

One can find public domain clips for longer video projects at government websites such as the Grand Canyon National Park Service for aerial shots on the Colorado River or other American vistas. Vimeo has a public domain channel with videos such as subway b-roll or pigeons in a park. The Internet Archive hosts many vintage U.S. government public service announcements and news reels, as well as public library archives. It is important to do an independent investigation on the public domain status of all material downloaded.

Audio

Audio editing is available from many popular brands, such as Adobe Audition, one of the top products for audio recording, manipulation, and editing. Audacity is an example of free, commonly used software for multitrack audio editing.

Sound effects and music can be integral to telling a good story over video or podcast. YouTube has a vast amount of free-to-use music and sound effects in its Audio Library. Soundcloud has a Creative Commons tag option that can allow for commercial use of music tracks. Through an advanced search, these types of files can be a good source for background music in documentary projects. For hosting audio files, Soundcloud has some free and paid options. Podbean and Buzzsprout are for podcasting.

Without a studio, recording a quality phone call in .wav or .mp3 file can be difficult. However, there are mobile apps that can assist with creating usable audio files to embed in a webpage or audio piece. A quick app store search brings up a list of easy-to-use tools for recording phone audio. One should check state law before recording phone conversations.

Editing and Publishing

Once the digital journalist is ready to publish, choosing the right platform can be a task in itself. It is important to consider the audience, searchability, and appeal of the content being published. Blogs, social media platforms, or traditional websites are often the method of delivery. Web design tools can range from the more complex HTML and CSS coding to more user-friendly site builders such as Adobe Dreamweaver CC, Wix, and Wordpress.

Search Engine Optimization is considered a best practice for publishing content online. Answer the Public can help publishers understand online trends. Google Trends is another Search Engine Optimization data resource used to see what segmented audiences are searching for online.

Google News Initiative was created specifically for journalists in digital media. Journalists can publish source documents to the Google Doc cloud and link or embed them in online articles to allow for greater story transparency. Other Google products such as Google Alerts can help with staying up-to-date on specific topics, places, or events. Google Scholar is an easy-to-use search tool for scholarly articles and citations. Embedding polls in digital stories is easy to do with Google Surveys. In partnership with ProPublica, the Google News Initiative has the Election Databot that organizes political stories by location and topic and provides graphics and topic maps. Overall, the Google News Initiative is a useful source for the latest digital hacks and tool use inspiration.

Social media analytics and publishing tools can come in handy when working on multiple accounts, keeping up with a communication calendar, and promoting stories on a daily basis. Depending on need, most social media digital managers look at scheduling and analytics websites such as Hootsuite, Sprout Social, Sales Force, Tweet Deck, or Sendible. Most social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, also have their own scheduling and analytic interface.

Digital Life

These digital journalism tools as well as website addresses are constantly changing. It is important to verify the website through research and digital

referrals from other reputable websites before using these for stories and/or investigative pieces. Digital scams and/or very expensive software marketing can occur, and it is best to research all digital tools before engaging. Starting with the Society of Professional Journalists's Journalist's Toolbox is one way to stay up-to-date with the latest multimedia tools as it is updated frequently as of 2021.

Angelica Kalika

See also Audio and Video News Services; Audio Journalism; Data Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Digital Design; Digital Distribution; Digital Journalism Ethics; Entrepreneurial Journalism; Mobile Journalism

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Websites

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Electronic Privacy Information Center: <https://epic.org>

Journalist's Toolbox, Society of Professional Journalists:
<https://www.journaliststoolbox.org/>

The Center for Public Integrity: <https://publicintegrity.org/>

The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>

University of Georgetown's Free Speech Project: <https://freespeechproject.georgetown.edu/>

USA Spending: <https://www.usaspending.gov>

DIGITAL SOUND

Digital sound enables journalists to record natural sounds, interviews, and speeches, and to combine and edit those sounds for newscasts, podcasts, and other content formats. Technological advances in digital recording make it possible for news reporters to collect professional quality sound elements of news events, such as natural sounds, sound bites, voice-over and narration, news packages, and program length productions.

“Digital sound” refers to numerical audio techniques used to capture, manipulate, store, and distribute sound. The word *digital* describes a binary numerical encoding process used to represent sound vibrations. “Sound” is an air pressure wave that is described by frequency (pitch), amplitude (loudness), and velocity (speed). “Audio” refers to either analog or digital processes for converting acoustical sound into a corresponding energy form (analog) or numerical representation (digital). Although “digital sound” is used to refer to this process, the term *digital audio* more accurately describes this numerical technology. This entry first discusses the origins and technical specifications of digital sound. It then looks at how digital sound is used by the news media and how it is distributed.

Origins

Digital sound builds on the fundamentals of analog audio technology, including the phonograph, gramophone, photographic sound on film, magnetic tape, and microphone, loudspeaker, telephone, and radio. These early technologies made

it possible to record, mix, balance, edit, process (alter sonic characteristics), and disseminate in monophonic (single channel), stereo (two channel), and multi-channel (four or more) audio.

Digital audio systems convert analog sound vibrations into discrete numerical values using a binary coding system of zeros and ones to represent numerical values as electronic pulses. Telegraph Morse Code, developed by Samuel F. B. Morse (1830s), was an early binary device that used electrical pulses (dots, dashes) to represent letters and numbers. Harry Nyquist (1929), a Bell Telephone Laboratories physicist, is credited with the idea for binary coding. His “Nyquist Theorem” states that the sampling rate in a binary system must be at least twice the frequency of an original analog signal. In 1937, pulse-code modulation (PCM), a system for encoding the quantities of a digital signal, was invented by Alec Reeves, an International Telephone & Telegraph scientist.

In 1967, NHK in Japan developed the first digital PCM audio recorder and pioneered much of the early work in their design. Denon recording engineer Takeaki Anazawa used a variation of this recorder to produce the world's first commercial digital recordings in 1971, “The World of Stomu Yamashita” by Japanese percussionist and composer Stomu Yamashita, and “Something” by American jazz saxophonist Steve Marcus. However, while these recordings and others were digitally mastered, analog media such as vinyl records were used for another decade for mass market consumption. The joint release of the audio compact disc by Sony and Phillips in 1982 would change this—enabling the distribution of up to 74 minutes of uncompressed digital audio including two channels of stereo bitstreams encoded with linear pulse-code modulation (LCPM).

How It Works

In digital audio, the waveform of a sound is partitioned into discrete units called *samples*. The number of samples taken each second, measured in kilohertz (thousands of times per second), varies according to the digital system. Fidelity is determined by three variables: *sampling rate*, frequency measured in kHz; *bit-depth*, a measure of amplitude; and *bit rate*, bits per second transmitted during playback or streaming. All things being equal,

the greater the sampling rate and bit-depth, the greater the overall sound quality.

An analog-to-digital converter is used to record, store, and transmit an encoded signal. Each audio sample, measured as electrical voltage, is represented using a binary digit system. This “coding” process is the “digital” part of digital audio. During playback, a digital-to-analog converter is used to change the digital signal back to an electrical signal and then to acoustical vibrations, which may be heard using headphones or a loudspeaker. The resulting sound is a facsimile of the original sound represented by a digital system.

The *Red Book* standard established for audio compact disk set the consumer audio sampling rate at 44.1 kHz with a 16-bit bit depth. A slightly higher sample rate and bit depth of 48 kHz/16-bit is recommended for digital video and HDTV applications. Higher sampling rates ranging from 96 kHz to 192 kHz are usually combined with a 24-bit bit depth for professional mastering applications.

Digital audio may be represented and stored using a variety of devices, including linear magnetic tape, optical and solid-state media, such as digital audio recorders, cellular telephones, and computers. These devices can store vast amounts of digital audio information. Today, most audio recorders intended for professionals or prosumers (those who both produce and consume media) utilize *secure digital* or SD cards, an international file-based standard released in 1999 by the SD Association, a consortium started by Panasonic Corporation, SanDisk LLC, and Toshiba Corporation.

In file-based recording, codecs and container formats are used to encode and “wrap” digital audio bitstreams. A *codec* (short for coder-decoder) is a mathematical algorithm used to arrange the underlying bits (zeros and ones) to conform to a particular standard. In decoding, a digital device or software application must be compatible with a given codec to accurately reproduce it as audio during playback. A *container* or *wrapper* format holds related audio bitstreams. For example, in a digital stereo recording, the left and right channel audio streams are encoded using a designated codec, and then bundled together in a single container file for processing or distribution.

Pulse-code modulation is an example of a digital audio codec. A variation of the PCM codec

called *linear pulse-code modulation* (LPCM) eventually became the international standard. LPCM is most often associated with the ubiquitous container formats AIFF (developed and released by Apple in 1988) and WAV (developed and released by Microsoft in 1991). Technically speaking, AIFF and WAV are audio wrapper formats used for bundling LPCM encoded bitstreams in a single data file. In terms of the codec, they are virtually identical. Only the wrapper is different, making them interchangeable formats for editing on a Windows OS or MacOS computer or device.

To save space, compression algorithms have been devised to reduce file size and the amount of space required for storage and data transmission. Digital compression is achieved by reducing the amount of redundant information in the underlying file data. In 1988, the ISO/IEC established a working group called the *Moving Picture Experts Group* (MPEG) to develop open standards for digital audio and video encoding. The first set of standards were published in 1993 under the name MPEG-1 and included technical specifications for the MP3 audio compression format. MP3 compression, which used lossy compression to reduce the size of an uncompressed WAV or AIF file by a ratio of 10:1, quickly became the worldwide standard.

Released in 1996, MPEG-2 introduced Advanced Audio Coding (AAC), a codec that extended the two-channel stereo capabilities of MP3 to multi-channel surround sound, such as Dolby Digital 5.1 and 7.1 (AC3). In response to the limitations of MP3, Apple used AAC encoding to create a proprietary variation of the standard called M4A. The M4A codec offered smaller file sizes with higher quality and became their primary format for music purchased through iTunes and used with other Apple products. It is also used for encoding the audio bitstreams in the popular MP4 video container format. The process of converting a file from one format (or codec) to another, such as in WAV to MP3 conversion, is called *transcoding*.

Digital Sound and the News Media

Between 1970 and 2000, digital recording devices appeared in radio newsrooms. These devices included stationary (reel-to-reel) and rotary magnetic head digital audio recorders; digital tape cartridge (“cart”); Digital Audio Tape (DAT), a

linear cassette tape format; the shirt-size portable MiniDisc, recordable and rewritable compact disc, and hard disk and solid-state recording devices. These devices, proprietary digital audio “workstations,” and audio software programs and systems (e.g., Avid ProTools, Adobe Audition, Audacity), were readily adopted by broadcast journalists for recording speeches and interviews, to record and playback actualities (sound bites) and organize and manipulate audio elements during newscasts.

Mobile technologies, including smartphones, Wi-Fi (wireless fidelity) and cellular networks, tablets, and a host of social media platforms and audio recording and editing apps, created opportunities for a new type of professional newsgathering known as *mobile journalism*. Since then, digital devices have been used to record both audio and video content of news events, such as the Iraqi War and the Madrid and London bombings in the early 2000s, although this represented a very small part of coverage from user-generated (eyewitness) content, citizen journalists, and professional journalists.

Distribution of Digital Sound

Digital audio is transmitted and received using over-the-air radio and television, wired and fiber-optic cable, and satellite technology. HD radio (high-definition radio) provides digital quality digital audio over existing AM and FM radio frequencies. Subscription satellite radio services, such as SiriusXM, beam digital audio directly to automobiles and portable receivers. More recently, streaming and webcasting have made it possible to receive uninterrupted digital signals. Computer technology also makes it possible to download digital audio in nonstreaming formats, which has led to podcasts, which are typically spoken word programs produced as series to download and listen to on digital devices. By the early 21st century, consumers regularly used their smartphones to access a variety of digital audio content.

Don A. Grady and Vic Costello

See also Digital Sound; Mobile Journalism; Podcasting; Recording; Satellite Newsgathering; Streaming Media

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DISCUSSION BOARDS

Discussion boards, also known as *electronic bulletin boards* or *message boards*, are used to host Internet forums in which participants with shared interests exchange messages on a wide range of topics—from politics, the environment, education, and religion, to sports, fashion, video gaming, and parenting.

As one of the earliest formats for fostering virtual communities over the Internet, discussion boards were extensively used in the movement toward enhancing a deliberative democracy—by providing the means for facilitating the exchange of online messages with users sharing experiences and ideas. News organizations were early adopters of the technology, hoping to increase the economic value of their online presence by generating traffic and providing a source of entertainment. However, as social media and other new technologies arose during the early years of the 21st century, the number and importance of discussion boards dropped precipitously. This entry discusses the origins of discussion boards, their functions, and their implications for the news industry.

Origins

A precursor to Internet-based discussion boards was the dial-up bulletin board system, or BBS, which is a computer system with software that allows its operator to download and archive data

files and software programs. The first BBS was the Computerized Bulletin Board System in Chicago, created by Ward Christensen and Randy Suess; it launched on February 16, 1978. It was not long before other BBSs were appearing across the country.

Users could connect via a modem and phone line to the system to access the archive and exchange electronic messages with other users. BBSs grew in popularity, reaching their peak in the mid-1990s with over 60,000 in the United States alone. BBSs were seen as an ideal environment for online socializing and virtual-community building—from international social movements, such as PeaceNet and its work on international relations and human rights, to individuals communicating about health and parenting issues.

With the explosion of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s, bulletin boards shifted to web-based applications to connect users and facilitate the exchange of messages. However, where there is limited access to the Internet, primarily outside the United States, dial-up BBSs continue to provide a venue for exchanging messages.

A notable example of an early BBS, the Whole Earth 'Electronic Link (WELL) began in 1985 as one of the first virtual communities. While the WELL was one of the original dial-up BBSs, it became an early web-based community when the Internet opened to commercial business in the early 1990s. The WELL has a rich history as a meeting place for Grateful Dead fans and as the originator of ideas that shaped the online ads site Craigslist. The community also quickly caught the attention of journalists, who became some of its early members, bringing media attention to the deliberative potential of virtual communities. The WELL was such an important space that it was bought by the online media company Salon in 1999. But as its user base shrunk (from a high of as many as 10,000 users to a fraction of that) and other online meeting places emerged, the WELL became less important. Salon put it up for sale in 2005 but had to wait until 2012 to find a buyer: The WELL Group (a group of 11 investors and community participants) which bought it for a reported \$400,000.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, journalists began to adopt electronic discussion

boards as one early stage of online journalism. The Albuquerque Tribune's electronic newspaper, the Electronic Trib, The Charlotte Observer's online site, the Observer, and The Spokesman-Review's site, Minerva, are early examples of the use of discussion boards in journalism. Engaging citizens by fostering deliberation and community building was seen to fit nicely with journalism's mission and role in a democracy. During the 1990s, news organizations practicing what became known as *public* or *civic journalism*, a reform movement to improve news practices and fulfill the democratic potential of journalism, were early adopters of discussion boards. Newspapers, with circulation increasingly in decline, saw their online sites and use of Internet forums as a way to attract and engage news consumers and maintain economic viability.

Functions

However, the Internet and these new virtual formats have presented a major challenge to the traditional model of disseminating news. Prior to the Internet, journalism was based on a one-way communication model, with information flowing from the news organization to a wide and largely passive audience. The power to decide what is news was in the hands of news professionals.

Along with rapid innovation of web-based technologies came the means by which users can interact with a news organization and each other about shared interests. As a fundamental feature of online news, interactivity means that users are able to more actively participate in the production of news. Ordinary citizens now have the opportunity to participate in a number of communication activities, ranging from simply engaging in discussions with others around shared interests to actively deliberating solutions to common problems.

This multidirectional, interactive model of journalism, however, was seen by some journalists as a threat to their professional domain. With online users more actively engaged in the news production process, often acting as sources of news, journalists had to grapple with ways to embrace this interactive format with its new definitions and practices of what "news" is.

As an Internet forum for hosting online discussions and posting information, discussion boards are part of a larger category of online types of user-generated content (UGC). It is, thus, important to understand the specific structure and functions of discussion boards that set them apart from other modes of Internet-based communication (email lists, Usenet, newsgroups, Internet relay chat) and types of GGC (blogs, wikis, social networking sites), where ordinary citizens are given the means to publish content for public consumption.

To begin, email lists represent a specialized mailing list organized around specific topics, with new messages posted to the list by members and transmitted to all subscribers via email accounts. They can either be edited or not by a moderator. Discussion boards, on the other hand, are created by organizations to host ongoing discussions on a range of topics of interest to registered users of their online sites. Unlike email lists, discussion boards require users to actively seek out the host site to join the discussions. However, discussion board moderators have the option of using email to invite users to visit the site by notifying them of new posts or encouraging them to post a topic of their own.

While similar in function to newsgroups, in which users post messages on a wide range of topics, discussion boards use different technology. Usenet newsgroups are hosted by a network of servers to store and forward messages; they require a special software program on a user's computer, called a *newsreader*, to participate in discussion. Discussion boards, on the other hand, require only a web browser for participation. (The distinction between discussion boards and Usenet newsgroups, however, has diminished since Google's 2001 acquisition of DejaNews Research Service, a Usenet message archive. With its web interface, the Google Groups service offers users the ability to access, post, and search the archive without a newsreader.)

The speed of communication provides another important distinction between various types of virtual communication strategies. Internet relay chat (IRC), in which messages are exchanged in real time, is a type of synchronous communication that occurs at a speed fast enough to simulate a face-to-face conversation. Discussion boards, on the other hand, provide the means for asynchronous

communication, in which messages can be posted and retrieved at different times.

With asynchronous communication comes the need to organize messages and ease the process of following online discussions. Software applications help users read online discussions by applying specific organizing strategies. One method is to display messages in a flat, linear fashion organized by date and time in chronological order. Another method is to group messages hierarchically by topic in a threaded discussion, or "threads." Threads are effective because they help users grasp the structure of a particular discussion, especially a long and complex one, and identify participants to whom they want to respond.

Membership in Internet forums can range from anonymity to full disclosure of identity through a registration process. Forum moderators, usually either the webmaster or a select group of users, perform as gatekeepers by eliminating content considered illegal, abusive, disrespectful, insulting, obscene, or completely irrelevant to the discussion topic. While rules may vary between sites, moderators assure that users follow the forum's rules of etiquette, or netiquette.

While not as prevalent in journalism as they once were, electronic discussion boards are still found on some news sites. The Washington Post's critically acclaimed online site, through its live discussion feature, serves as an example of how mainstream news media continue to take advantage of discussion boards to give readers a chance to communicate with writers, editors, and subjects of stories.

While news sites mostly gave up on discussion boards, they can still be found as dedicated sites catering to niche audiences. For example, GitHub is a popular social networking site for programmers, and also a code sharing and publishing service. Stack Overflow is the largest online community for developers to learn and share programming knowledge and build their careers. GameFAQs, launched in the mid-1990s and bought by CNET Networks in 2003, hosts more than 200,000 message boards focusing on every aspect of videogames.

While niche sites are important, the best-known discussion boards as of the start of the 2020s were far from niche: Reddit and Quora. Reddit, launched

in 2005 and with 330 million active users in 2019, is a hybrid: part social news aggregation, part web content rating, and part discussion website. Reddit was the fifth most visited website in the United States in 2019. Quora, launched in 2009 and with 300 million active users in 2019, is a question-and-answer website where questions are asked, answered, and edited by Internet users.

Ultimately, much of the online socializing that was the heart of discussion boards has shifted to alternatives such as Facebook Groups and Twitter. But as an early software system that paved the way for the shift from a traditional one-way model of journalism to the current interactive model, discussion boards were a vital step to allowing citizens to exchange ideas, engage in conversation, build community, and participate in the production of news.

Thom Lieb and Sandra L. Nichols

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Distribution; Podcasting

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DISTRIBUTION

Newspaper distribution has evolved over time with the growth of urban centers and improvements in transportation. Millennia ago, *Acta Diurna*, the reports of the Roman Senate, were proclaimed in the Forum and delivered by courier to the homes of senators, then by horse and ship to officials throughout the empire. During Venice's war against Dalmatian pirates, scribes in the Kingdom of St. Mark (Venice) wrote news accounts that were posted on walls and sold in piazzas; a few individual copies were sold for a *gazetta*, the smallest coin.

In the 21st century, newspaper distribution faces additional challenges inasmuch as newspapers and their distribution are energy and resource intensive. Except in smaller towns, youth carriers have faded into history, and increased reliance on telephone sales and heavy subscription discounts have not generated comparable sales success. The newspaper distribution system, dependent as it is upon readership levels and the appeal of a hard-copy newspaper, seems likely to continue its evolution, especially in major metropolitan areas.

Development

Johannes Gutenberg's printing press of the 1450s increased the number of copies produced in a day, allowing and encouraging wider distribution at lower cost. In 1611, Nathaniel Butter hired buxom "Mercurie women" to attract buyers for his paper on street corners. Street kiosks, booksellers, and postal systems became common methods. Ships brought European newspapers to American colonies and carried colonial newspapers back to Europe.

Benjamin Franklin, who began as a printer's devil and newspaper carrier for his brother's *New-England Courant*, became a newspaper publisher and postmaster for the colonies. His reforms of the Royal Post improved newspaper distribution by cutting delivery times in half and by allowing newspapers to move between post offices at no charge. President George Washington authorized construction of all-weather "Great Post Roads" from Maine to Georgia and New York to Kentucky to unite the country by assuring speedy delivery of mail and newspapers. The reluctance of subscribers to pay for their newspapers forced publishers to beg postal carriers to

collect the fees. As the first U.S. postmaster, Franklin added another reform: postal carriers paid publishers in advance for every subscription, and then had to collect from subscribers.

In 1833, Benjamin Day introduced the most significant changes in American newspaper distribution with his daily *New York Sun*, the first “penny paper.” Day copied a London distribution method suited to a working-class readership. Newsboys bought the *Sun* at wholesale rates (66 cents for 100 papers) and sold the papers for one penny. Enterprising newsboys sold the *Sun* on street corners and built routes of subscribers. By letting newsboys profit from distribution, Day enabled them to earn more than adult laborers.

Day’s model (made possible because advertisers paid 80 percent of his production cost) spawned dozens of imitators. Philadelphia merchants insisted on knowing the names of a newspaper’s subscribers before buying advertising space, so Philadelphia publishers required carriers to provide a current subscriber list. Adults, drawn by the potential profits to be made, began selling papers. Some became brokers, buying papers from every

publisher and reselling them to newsboys and retailers. By 1850, such brokers controlled newspaper distribution in every major city, even negotiating wholesale rates with publishers and setting profit margins for carriers and retailers.

By the 1840s, railroads moved newspapers for both publishers and brokers, and newsboys began selling papers on commuter trains. As railroads pushed west, Horace Greeley introduced a *Weekly Tribune* distributed through the Midwest to the Rocky Mountains. A. S. Tuttle, the largest New York broker, had his own railroad cars to serve dealers. His company grew into American News Company, which owned or controlled over 20,000 newspaper distribution agencies across the United States. Publisher James G. Bennett challenged the brokers’ control by hiring his own distribution force and cutting the paper’s price in half, but failed to break their dominance. Brokers controlled distribution until 1922, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that they illegally constrained trade. Major newspapers regained control over their distribution and contracted with local brokers for distribution in other towns.



Man buys a copy of the *Evening Star* from a newsboy in Washington, DC, during World War I. The paper’s headline reads “U.S. at War With Germany; President Signs Resolution.”

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Newsboys, Social Changes, and Distribution Wars

After the Civil War, rapid growth of cities and the rise of labor unions prompted publishers to create the position of circulation manager. By 1875, the distribution process included newsboys and youth carriers, adult carriers, newsstands, booksellers and other retailers, railroads, and post offices. Distribution issues included understanding postal rates and regulations, setting press schedules to railroad timetables, building subscription drives, and negotiating annually with wholesalers, teamsters and other unions. The International Circulation Managers Association (ICMA), established in 1898, offered training and updates and lobbied Congress for favorable newspaper postal rates and regulations.

Social reformers periodically focused on newsboys in their campaigns against child labor. Newspapers defended their reliance on youth, but also solicited donations of winter clothing for newsboys and hosted summer picnics. Scripps newspapers required youth carriers to maintain passing grades in school and employed tutors. Newspapers pointed out that they taught their “Little Merchants” the fundamentals of business: buy wholesale, sell at retail, and serve customers. State legislatures responded in the early twentieth century by setting a minimum age for youth carriers, typically 10 or 11.

Because weeklies, including religious and non-English-language immigrant newspapers, largely were distributed by mail and retailers, they shared few of the distribution problems of dailies. Publishers of all newspapers considered circulation figures a trade secret until the U.S. Postal Act of 1912 required an annual circulation statement from every publication delivered through the postal system. In 1913, the Audit Bureau of Circulations was formed to provide standardized and audited figures. Even for weeklies, distribution now included careful accounting of each day’s net paid circulation by subtracting from total circulation the unsold papers and those sold at less than half price.

By the early twentieth century, circulation competition became a war for survival. Improved printing presses pushed daily capacity beyond 100,000 copies. Advertisers preferred to place ad support with the newspaper with the largest circulation simply because it was more efficient. Subscription campaigns sent youth carriers door-to-door several times each year. New subscribers were offered

silverware, china, life insurance, and hundreds of other gifts. To increase circulation, metro newspapers used trucks as well as trains to expand distribution into adjacent counties and states, competing with small daily and weekly newspapers. In Chicago, the circulation war turned violent when circulation managers hired thugs to disrupt their competitors’ distribution. Trucks and newspaper bundles were stolen, newsstands set ablaze, dealers beaten up, and at least one youth carrier was shot (1916-20). Chicago American circulation manager Moe Annenberg was said to practice his distribution techniques in the newspaper’s basement shooting range.

By 1932, “shopper” newspapers began to threaten dailies with a radically new distribution method. Shoppers were delivered free to every household in a defined geographic area. Advertisers gladly paid the low ad rates in return for 100 percent distribution. Daily publishers petitioned city councils for anti-littering ordinances limiting distribution of newspapers only to people who requested them. The ICMA successfully lobbied Congress for a postal regulation limiting the use of mailboxes to items delivered by postal carriers. As a result, the shoppers quickly disappeared. Many metro dailies opened radio stations in the 1920s to boost sales, but in 1933, the “Press-Radio War” broke out because publishers were upset by declining newspaper advertising. The newspapers quickly ended the confrontation when advertising failed to increase.

Mergers increased as publishers bought struggling competitors, consolidating printing and distribution. To increase profits, newspapers used their carrier force to deliver magazines such as *Saturday Evening Post*. Still, nearly 400 daily newspapers closed during the Great Depression, and another 200 dailies went bankrupt during America’s involvement in World War II (1941-45) despite the freeze on circulation imposed by newsprint rationing.

Social changes after World War II brought serious new distribution problems. Foremost was the rapid growth of suburbs coupled with the rise of television. By 1955, television was the dominant entertainment medium, displacing both film and general magazines. Television news, however, grew more slowly. Live coverage of the aftermath of John F. Kennedy’s 1963 assassination and funeral made it clear newspapers faced a serious competitor.

Suburbanization, Migration, and the End of the “Little Merchant”

Low mortgage rates for veterans combined with mass construction techniques created vast tracts of suburban homes on formerly rural land. Metro newspapers worked feverishly to build efficient distribution networks to reach and cover the suburbs; local weeklies and small town dailies had thousands of potential new readers to serve. The 1956 Interstate and Defense Highway Act authorized a freeway system that promised speedy distribution to suburbs and outlying towns, as well as among cities. Over the next two decades as they tore up and divided inner cities, freeways encouraged families to move farther from the central city and to commute by auto. Growing traffic congestion steadily diminished the ability of afternoon papers to provide timely distribution. As suburban commuters abandoned mass transit for automobiles, afternoon metro editions slowly faded into oblivion. Living in another county distant from the central city, suburbanites needed only a single daily newspaper to complement television and drive time news. Suburban growth allowed publishers to create newspaper “rings” surrounding big cities in the late 1960s. Distributed exclusively in suburbs through the postal system and retailers, the rings comprised weeklies in previously rural towns and new weeklies where needed. Metro newspapers responded by reworking distribution to ensure delivery of new suburban news sections to the appropriate carriers and news dealers.

ICMA’s Newspaper in Education program begun in the 1960s by several major dailies, sought to build present and future readership among schoolchildren. Teachers were paid to attend a summer training program on newspapers as a classroom supplement. Class sets of newspapers were delivered at wholesale rates, and experienced teachers were hired to teach new participants.

The Wall Street Journal began using space technology in the 1970s to provide timely delivery to its national readership. Page layouts were transmitted by satellite to regional printers who then distributed newspapers. Newly developed offset printing plants saved hundreds of weeklies from bankruptcy in the 1960s by creating jointly owned offset printing plants that could take advantage of cheap in-county postal rates.

A series of problems forced massive distribution changes among metro dailies in the 1970s. The elimination of daily transcontinental train service forced some to abandon distant subscribers. Disaster struck in 1974. Gasoline prices quadrupled almost overnight; shortages were common. The postal system substantially increased its rates. Skyrocketing costs forced newspapers to limit distribution to primary readers and eliminate distant “ego” circulation.

Youth carrier shortages became a crisis in the early 1980s. As family size declined with birth control, legal abortion, and dual income households, many families refused to complicate family life with a daily newspaper route. At first, girl carriers eased the shortage, but many parents refused to let their daughters deliver in predawn hours, particularly after a highly publicized kidnapping in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1980. The shortage of youth also crippled door-to-door sales campaigns because youth doubled as a potent sales force. Telephone sales efforts increased, but they could not match the effectiveness of youth carrier begging subscriptions at the front door. Reluctantly, even small city newspapers converted youth routes to motor routes run by independent contractors or contract delivery agents.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, factory closings in the industrial Northeast and upper Midwest (the “rust belt”) coupled with construction of new factories in the South, created a massive migration of laborers to warm weather states (the “sun belt”) where they joined retirees. This aggravated the flight of white subscribers to the suburbs spurred by, urban race riots (1965-69). Inner cities became concentrations of poor and unskilled laborers living around abandoned factories and railroad yards—and rarely reading newspapers.

Rust belt metro newspapers restructured delivery routes for their declining number of inner-city subscribers while simultaneously trying to follow their subscribers to the suburbs. Rising inner-city crime rates made carrier safety a priority. To prevent robbery, newspapers abandoned carrier collection, requiring prepayment by credit card or check. Steadily, motor routes replaced inner-city youth carriers.

Sunbelt newspapers raced to build distribution networks for sprawling tract developments and planned communities of retirees. In Florida, the

“Snowbirds,” Northerners who moved there for the winter months, required special delivery routes and subscription packages. Dallas, for example, grew into a major financial center with large numbers of business professionals whose work took them out of the city from Monday through Friday. Special weekend home delivery subscriptions became part of the distribution for the *Times* and *Morning News*.

Late-Twentieth-Century Challenges

An array of problems arose from the changing pattern of urban life as gentrification replaced urban blight in the 1980s. High-security apartments, which attracted middle-class tenants, denied carriers access for delivery. Gyms, shopping malls, television, and evening recreation consumed free time formerly given to newspapers. Increasing numbers of single-copy boxes seemed the only reliable solution. Three Sigma, a major research study, found in 1983 that one in three readers had not seen the previous day's newspaper, nor were they likely to see the paper of the next day. Young single males, the least frequent readers of weekday newspapers, were the most frequent readers of weekend editions. Every daily newspaper sought solutions to these problems.

In the late 1970s, afternoon metro newspapers had begun shifting to morning distribution; others began disappearing through bankruptcy or merger. The *Philadelphia Bulletin*, which had pioneered the use of delivery trucks in 1898, found rush-hour traffic made it impossible to guarantee home delivery to suburban subscribers by 6:30 p.m.; it closed in 1982. In the Sunbelt, afternoon distribution proved futile, because readers preferred outdoor recreation and other activities. Afternoon distribution remained successful only in small cities and towns.

USA Today devised another distribution strategy in the early 1980s: offer bundles to hotels and airlines at a huge discount and flood cities with single-copy boxes shaped like television sets. Created for business people, travelers, and occasional newspaper readers, it quickly became a staple in retail outlets. The paper promoted its total circulation, rejecting the Audit Bureau of Circulation's formula for paid circulation, a much more conservative figure. Like *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today* relied on a regional distribution system built around printers who received page layouts by satellite.

Shopper newspapers returned in the 1980s with a new distribution strategy. In cities, they gave away copies through single-copy boxes. In rural areas, they placed their own delivery boxes next to rural mailboxes for motor route delivery. By guaranteeing 99 percent household penetration, shoppers competed for classified legal advertising and advertising inserts. Courts upheld shoppers' right to compete for legal classifieds because of their extensive distribution. Loss of advertising revenue forced dailies to build competitive distribution routes; many created a weekly edition delivered to nonsubscribers and rural boxes. The shopper model was mirrored in a host of free special interest and neighborhood newspapers delivered to homes, to open racks, and were left by the bundle in lobbies, skywalks, restaurants, and coffee shops. Metro newspapers devised methods for precise delivery of local sections to the neighborhood route level.

Around San Francisco Bay, weeklies and dailies experimented with distribution techniques to attract the affluent readers advertisers sought. In the “den mother” system, women trained and managed youth carriers who were paid to deliver to every home. These mothers trained carriers to put the paper on every porch in a prescribed fashion, spot-checked their performance weekly, and taught carriers how to go door-to-door seeking voluntary payment for the paper. Others saturated defined areas with free newspapers thrown on the driveways. Rows of single-copy boxes and open racks of free papers lined sidewalks wherever people congregated—in shopping centers and near restaurants, for example. Free copies were pressed into the hands of people attending events or returning to their cars in mall parking lots.

As newspaper readership declined in the late twentieth century, executives turned to marketing experts. Advertisers sophisticated in target marketing demanded specifics about readers and subscribers. Newspapers restructured to combine advertising and circulation in a marketing unit. As a sign of the times, in 1992 ICMA merged with six other trade groups (American Newspaper Publishers Association, Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Association of Classified Advertising Managers, International Newspaper Advertising and Marketing Executives, Newspaper Advertising Co-op Network, and Newspaper Research Council) to

create the Newspaper Association of America, now the News Media Alliance.

Low readership among young adults led metro publishers to create special tabloid newspapers delivered free on subways, in open racks, and even home delivered in targeted neighborhoods. Written in the style and language of young adults, papers like the *Chicago Tribune's RedEye* attract an audience reluctant to seek traditional newspapers.

William J. Thorn

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Digital Distribution; Free Daily Newspapers; Tabloid Newspapers; Weekly Newspapers

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roles effectively constantly update their knowledge about the various groups that make up a society. However, sometimes they fall short in doing so.

The failure of many U.S. journalists and news organizations to report fairly on various peoples and cultures within the United States is generally attributed to a variety of factors that can be summarized into two categories: (1) lack of diversity in newsroom employment or among the people who comprise the journalist workforce; and (2) the lack of diversity in how news about racial and ethnic minorities is reported. This entry discusses these two issues along with possible strategies to improve diversity in journalism. Throughout this entry, two terms and the variations of these terms are used interchangeably to refer to the racial designation of non-white persons in the United States: *marginalized*, and *person of color*.

Diversity in Newsroom Employment

Over the years, news media have been accused of presenting biased news reports about non-white people. The 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the *Kerner Commission*, concluded that the media fell short in reporting accurately on the life of racial and ethnic minorities and poor people in the United States. The Kerner Commission also found that the journalism profession had been “shockingly backward in seeking out, hiring, training and promoting Negroes” at the time their report was released (p. 211).

In the decades since the Kerner Report was released, a number of U.S. professional news organizations have attempted to address problems associated with reporting on Black people and other racial minorities. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) created a Minorities Committee in 1977 and pledged that it would work to achieve racial and gender representation in newsrooms equal to that in the total population before the year 2000. A decade later, and after realizing it would not meet the 2000 goal, the board set a new goal to reach parity by 2025 or sooner and recommended that 3-year benchmarks be used to better track progress. Starting in 1997, ASNE launched the Newsroom Employment Diversity Survey (previously known as the

DIVERSITY IN JOURNALISM

Journalists have the responsibility to verify facts and report accurately on the people and events they cover. Journalists who desire to execute these

Newsroom Employment Census). Conducted annually, this tool measures the organization's success toward its goal of having racial and gender representation in newsrooms nationwide match that in the nation's population by 2025.

A total of 429 news organizations participated in the 2019 ASNE survey. Of this total, 267 were newspapers, and 65 were online-only news sites, comprising a 22.8% response rate, which was an increase from a historic low of 17% for the 2018 survey. Although the annual survey is still a trusted source for documenting statistical information about newsroom employment, it is noted that news organizations participate in this survey on a volunteer basis. As such, the data cannot be used to generalize about the state of minority employment in U.S. newsrooms.

Salaried Newsroom Employees

Results for the 2019 survey revealed that people of color represented 21.9% of the salaried newsroom workforce. The percentage of women in the journalism workforce was 41.8%, nearly identical to the previous year's numbers. Women also made up 50.1% of salaried employees at online-only organizations, up from 47.8% the year before.

ASNE also reached out to gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender journalists in 2019 and found that of the 200 who replied, most identified as white, 7.5% identified as African American or Black, 7.5% identified as biracial or multiracial, and almost 3% identified as Asian.

Online-Only Newsroom Employees

The 2019 survey also revealed that journalists of color comprised almost one third of the journalists who held full-time jobs at online-only news organizations. This represented an increase over the previous year in which people of color comprised 25.6% of journalists employed in online-only newsrooms.

Television and Radio Newsroom Employees

By June 2019, the percentage of women and people of color in television newsrooms reached record highs for the second year in a row, according to the Radio Television Digital News

Association 2019 Annual Newsroom Survey. In addition, the number of general managers of color was up for the second year in a row, and there were more women in the local television and radio news workforce and in leadership roles than ever. The local radio workforce of color also experienced peaks by reaching the highest it had been in more than 20 years, including the percentage of radio news directors of color peaking at its highest level in five years.

Retention and Advancement

While diversity of employment in a newsroom can be an effective method for incorporating a wider range of views into news coverage, it is not the only way to diversify coverage and voices. Journalists themselves have worked to create new programs, training, and pipelines leading to diversity in journalism. For example, investigative reporting is one of the most important activities that journalists do in a democracy, and these positions are filled mostly by white journalists, particularly those who have received the level of mentoring and training that is needed to flourish in these jobs, observes Farai Chideya, journalist and program officer for Creativity and Free Expression at the Ford Foundation. This type of disadvantage is what inspired *New York Times* investigative reporter Nikole Hannah-Jones to cofound the Ida B. Wells Society for Investigative Reporting in 2016. Its mission is to increase the hiring and retention of investigative reporters and editors of color and to educate news organizations about the role of diversity in enhancing the impact of investigative journalism.

The late Steve Buttry, former director of Student Media at Louisiana State University, writes that while some managers hire based on quotas, others prefer to avoid this strategy. Instead, they use aggressive recruiting approaches such as establishing internship or leadership programs that heavily target talent from underrepresented groups. In addition to diversifying job candidate pools, Buttry offers additional suggestions on what managers can do to diversify the newsrooms they oversee. He suggests avoiding placing too much value on experience, for doing so can repeat past discrimination. After all, if white males have traditionally had an advantage in newsroom

hiring, overcoming racial and gender bias cannot eliminate this type of advantage. Instead, he writes, diversity in life and familiarity with issues in communities that have been overlooked in coverage should be emphasized. He also encourages newsroom managers to just give minorities chances to progress that are similar to the ones he and his fellow white male colleagues received along the way. Specifically, he notes that many white males were given chances to move into supervisory positions in their early 20s. Similarly, he writes, employees from underrepresented groups could very well possess the same potential and promise that will enable them to be successful if they were promoted to supervisory and leadership roles early in their careers. Buttry also suggests that when an editor succeeds in removing barriers that allow outstanding racial and gender minority employees to advance, they should refrain from associating the move with the person's race or gender. Admitting they were the right choice for the job is sufficient enough.

Racial and gender minority newsroom employees also should be consulted about what makes them uncomfortable on the job, according to Buttry, as doing so might help improve diversity in retention as well. Specifically, he recommends editors and managers think beyond race and gender diversity. A lack of knowledge about religion, sexual orientation, and invisible disabilities could possibly lead to exclusion in hiring and in news coverage. In these cases, being open to learning about all aspects of diversity can reveal any unconscious biases one might harbor, which, in turn, could lead to the exclusion of potential newsroom hiring "fits."

Expanding sources is another strategy Buttry offers. This would require periodic audits of news coverage that explore whether most of the experts are white men. For example, an audit might reveal that whites tend to be interviewed for stories that emphasize academic accomplishment. If left unchecked, he writes, these repeated patterns of sourcing can result in an increase of positive stereotyping for one group and a decrease for another group.

In addition, Buttry suggests editors seek out regularly the advice of staff members who are not white males, and not just for matters of race or gender. Here again, this effort would require

getting to know these fellow staffers better as well as learning more about what interests them.

Diversity in News Coverage

In addition to working toward the goal of reaching newsroom racial parity by a certain date, journalism professionals and scholars have turned their focus to improving upon the Kerner Report's other conclusion: the news media's failure to analyze and report adequately on racial problems in the United States. This focus has been expanded to include reporting on domestic racial groups such as Asian Americans and Native Americans, and citizens who are members of the Hispanic and Latinx population. In addition, journalists are challenged with reporting accurately on issues unique to other marginalized groups including, but not limited to, women, citizens with disabilities, and those who identify as members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender population, to name a few.

Rachele Kanigel, a professor of journalism at San Francisco State University, writes that while some may see attention to diversity issues in journalism as "political correctness," responsible journalists increasingly see such efforts as a way to serve their audiences. This is particularly true, she writes, in that the demographics of the United States are becoming more diverse each year, and the U.S. Census Bureau projects that by 2044 more than half of all adults in the United States will belong to a racial or ethnic group other than Caucasian.

How Lack of Diversity Can Affect News Coverage

A diverse newsroom can bring both profound and subtle impacts on the stories that are told. One example that is often discussed is how some news organizations tend to focus on the criminal backgrounds of police shooting victims. This practice can feed into stereotypes of the image that Black men are criminals, which suggests to some they had to have played a role in causing their demise. Having journalists of color in the newsroom might prompt discussions about why the victim's background is emphasized more than the police's decision to shoot the victim. Another

example is gentrification or the process of changing the value of a neighborhood by bringing in more affluent residents and businesses. In many cases, the resulting hike in property taxes forces poorer property owners into selling and relocating to more affordable neighborhoods. On one hand, a journalist who cannot identify with the plight of the original residents might see the new construction as a good thing for the city. On the other hand, a journalist who is familiar with the life experiences of the displaced property owners might be able to spot the overlooked story of how the new construction affects the less affluent residents.

In some instances, cultural understanding is necessary in ensuring stories reach the public. Consider the example of Oakland, CA, when in 2002 the number of homicides reached triple digits for the first time since 1996. David Yarnold, former editor of *The Mercury News* in nearby San Jose, CA, tells the story of how editors gathered to discuss how to report the rise in violence. The story quickly turned to what several editors called “black-on-black crime” because, as they pointed out, many of the deceased and perpetrators were African American. However, a Latina assistant city editor objected, along with an African American photo editor, who argued that the real story was not about race. Instead, it was about people killing people. Had the rise in violence happened in an affluent, predominantly white city, they asked, would they call it “white-on-white” crime? As a result of this input, the story ultimately ran as one that examined how young Oakland residents who live in the toughest communities were coping with the rise in violence.

Implicit Bias in Journalism

Implicit bias involves one’s immediate or unconscious response to associate certain characteristics with particular groups. All people, including journalists, possess these thoughts or responses consisting of deeply rooted stereotypes that can affect one’s actions in an unconscious manner. Issac Bailey, a journalist and author, has observed this happening in coverage of female politicians who are treated differently from male politicians in news coverage. With women candidates running for office, the focus is often about character traits and

less often about issues. Other examples include Blacks being unfairly associated with crime, and people from the Middle East with terrorism.

Sally Lehrman and Venise Wagner, both journalism scholars, write that a number of things can be done to minimize the influence of implicit bias. First, they suggest that reporters try seeing things from the perspective of a person with an identity different from their own. Doing so requires actively looking for people and ideas that run counter to their assumptions. They also recommend that journalists question their first response to a story or event and accept that gray details and other information might pertain to a story. That said, they advise that it is wise to check the reality one thinks they have seen and consider whether there is an alternative way of interpreting the information at hand. When this is done, cultural interpretations that were not considered might turn up. In addition, they write that getting to know all of the representative stakeholders in the area one is assigned to cover is important too, which includes getting to know people from a variety of racial and ethnic groups. Reading about different communities, watching documentaries about them, as well as working to build individual relationships with them can help in this regard.

Lehrman and Wagner also suggest journalists try gravitating less toward people with whom they perceive as being friendly or comfortable enough to be around. Instead, they challenge journalists to develop more relationships with people whom they feel uncomfortable being around. Specifically, when covering mundane stories, they suggest doing some background research on the event or issue to explore how the coverage might impact various constituent groups. This approach helps to guard against assuming one size fits all. They also write that when reporting on a story that impacts a community, one should work hard to be inclusive in reporting effects. Again, this calls for building relationships with people in different racial and ethnic communities.

Diversity Within Diverse Groups

Terms used to refer to ethnic and racial groups continue to evolve. While some changes are a result of personal preference, sometimes adjustments are needed because designations become

outdated over time and may carry negative connotations. When describing underrepresented groups, it is wise to be specific and sensitive to these issues. Following are a few guidelines to consider to help reduce bias in reporting about underrepresented groups.

Native People

A question many journalists often ask when covering Native issues is whether the term *American Indian* or *Native American* is appropriate. Cristina Azocar, chair of the Journalism Department at San Francisco State, writes that neither is correct. Instead, she explains that it is best to use the name of a tribe or the name of a nation: Lakota, Choctaw, Cherokee, Navajo, and so on. She points out that there's no agreed-upon name for the original peoples of North America, and many times, the terms that are used often elicit strong reactions from sources and readers. Azocar adds that Michael Yellow Bird, a professor of sociology and director of Indigenous Tribal Studies at North Dakota State University, considers the terms *American Indian* and *Native American* to be "oppressive, 'counterfeit identities.'" He prefers the terms "Indigenous peoples" or "First Nations" peoples. Azocar suggests that whenever possible, journalists should ask their sources which terms they prefer and proceed with identifying individuals by their tribe or nation.

Hispanics and Latinos

Similarly, it should be noted that diversity exists within the Hispanic and Latino populations in the United States. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, these two groups had reached 18.3% of the U.S. population in 2019, making them the largest ethnic minority. Still, the U.S. government does not consider Hispanic or Latino a race, albeit many Latinos do. Specifically, the U.S. Census Bureau indicates that Hispanic origin and race are two separate concepts, and people who identify as Latino or Hispanic can belong to any race, with most tracing their lineage to Mexico.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Kanigel writes that while many people of Asian descent embrace the term *Asian American*, others see it as an overgeneralization, thus forcing the

blurring of lines among people who trace their roots to very different countries and cultures. In fact, most Asian Americans trace their roots to one or more of 21 Asian countries, with the majority indicating their lineage traces back to China.

Hyphenation is another issue many Asian groups challenge. Kanigel writes that some Asian Americans, as well as people from other dual identity groups, take issue with the hyphen, as it makes them feel marginalized. Some just say it is incorrect or divisive. Authors of the *Conscious Style Guide* write

to many of us in the trade . . . many of the people we write about, those hyphens serve to divide even as they are meant to connect. Their use in racial and ethnic identities can connote an otherness, a sense that people of color are somehow not full citizens or full American: part American, sure, but also something not American. 'Hyphenated Americans' is one derogatory result of such usage.

Middle Easterners and North Africans

Diversity also exists among people living in the United States and who have originated from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Neheda Barakat, an Australian journalist with *The Guardian*, writes that it is common for journalists, politicians and others to mistakenly use the terms *Arab* and *Arab world* when referring to people from MENA. This trend began as early as the 1800s and has evolved as speakers continue to mash-up countries, ethnicities, religions, cultures, and languages associated with the MENA group. "To describe everyone who is Muslim or speaks Arabic as Arab is incorrect. Religiosity is not ethnicity and nor are they interchangeable," Barakat writes. Instead, Barakat recommends a more inclusive term such as people from the Arabic-speaking world.

Joe Grimm, a former editor with the *Detroit Press*, and Osama Siblani, founder and publisher of *The Arab American News* in Dearborn, Michigan, write that most Muslims in the world are not Arabs, and about 60% of the world's Muslim population lives in Asia. Arabic-speaking Americans and Muslim Americans are two distinct groups, but their communities do overlap. These experts note that it is important to understand that "Arab" is not a race, nor is it a nationality or

religion. It is a cultural or ethnic designation, and Arabic is the language of more than 20 countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Also, the nations and regions of the Arab world are not alike, and they do not all get along. Conflicts exist within the Arab world, just as they exist in other places.

Black Americans

Although Blacks living in the United States have histories tracing back to roots in Africa, not all Blacks in the United States share the same lineage and life experiences. Also known as *African Americans*, and once the largest racial minority in the United States, individuals in this group consist not only of the American descendants of slavery, but of Blacks who immigrated from countries in Central America, the Caribbean Islands as well as from the continent of Africa itself, among other places. For this reason, it is noted that African Americans born into families who have lived in the United States for centuries might hold views about issues such as racism that differ from Blacks who immigrated to the United States within the last half century or so.

Sexuality and Gender Identity

One of the biggest issues surrounding how the LGBTQ community should be covered is what it should be called. Traditionally, this group has used the term *LGBT*, which stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, writes Kanigel. However, in recent years, she writes, they have begun to use *LGBTQIA*, as it is more inclusive of the “Q” for “questioning” or “queer.” The “I” represents “intersex,” for a person whose anatomy is not exclusively male or female, while “A” can stand for “ally,” which recognizes a friend of the cause, “asexual,” for someone who is not interested in or does not desire sexual activity, or “agender” for a person who does not identify as male or female. In addition, sometimes a + symbol is added at the end to represent inclusivity of all other possible sexualities and genders. As a minimum, Kanigel suggests journalists consider using the abbreviation *LGBTQ*, as this is the acronym the Association of LGBTQ Journalists uses.

People With Disabilities

Not all people with disabilities have disabilities that are visible or recognizable. As such, there are some recommendations on words and phrases to consider when reporting on this group, writes Kristin Gilger, director of the National Center on Disability and Journalism at the Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University. First, she writes, journalists should avoid using terms for conditions that have not been medically diagnosed, and they should be as specific as possible about the nature of the disability. For example, while Alzheimer’s disease is the most common form of dementia, other forms exist. Kilger also explains that it is not necessary to mention a person’s disability when the story has nothing to do with disability. Specifically, and whenever possible, she suggests journalists allow people who have first-hand experience with a disability to speak for themselves instead of assuming doctors, teachers, public officials, and the like are the best source for a story. People with disabilities are the experts on their lives, she writes, and other officials should be consulted only if the story calls for it.

Mental Illness, Suicide, and Substance Abuse

Mental illness, suicide, and substance abuse stories appear in the news daily, though most journalists who have to cover them have little training in counseling, or diseases of the mind, writes Kanigel. She suggests that when covering mental-health-related stories, journalists should start by asking three questions. First, they should ask whether mental illness is relevant to the story. If this is not the case, then there is no need to mention it. Second, they should determine whether there is a source for the mental illness diagnosis. If a person’s mental health condition is relevant, effort should be made to verify with certainty the person’s diagnosis. Third, once it is determined that the mental condition is relevant to the story, journalists should avoid using derogatory words, and be as specific as possible when describing a person living with a mental illness, as this will prevent advancing stereotypes.

Kanigel writes that similar precautions should be taken when reporting on substance abuse and

suicides. For example, when writing about drug abuse, journalists would benefit by understanding that addiction, like mental illness, is a disease and should not be used to label people. In addition, when writing about suicides, journalists should not go into detail about methods used. In 2015, *The Associated Press Stylebook* began listing guidelines for reporting on suicide, stating that they do not recommend covering suicides or suicide attempts unless the person involved is a well-known figure or the circumstances are particularly unusual or publicly disruptive.

Lillie M. Fears

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Bias; Ethnic Press; Latino News Media; LGBTQ Journalism; Native American News Media; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Religious News Media

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DOCUMENTARIES

Documentaries are complex visual or audio storytelling forms that apply creative treatments to actuality, in the words of documentary pioneer John Grierson. Sometimes this definition has had a slightly different wording: “the creative interpretation of actuality.” The slight difference gives some sense of how elusive defining documentary can be. Despite the challenge, the consideration of how documentary can be defined both clarifies how we make sense of any single instance that bears the term *documentary* and advances how seeking a definition has provoked talented creators and interpreters of documentary stories to defy the definition and, in the process, rebuild it.

Documentaries can be very short or very long, they can be silent film or digital images, they can be images accompanied by different kinds of sound, and they can be just audio. To begin to

build a definition that clarifies the form, several conventional practices can be discussed, and following that, the form can be considered for all the ways the conventional practices are manipulated or confronted in a way that enhances the experience of the viewer.

Documentary Practices and Uses

As a starting point, documentary is a media form that observes, manipulates, and then redistributes stories about the world around us, within us, and beyond our sensory experience at micro and macro levels. Its origins are rooted in media that recorded things in the world, capturing images and/or sounds, and making them available in different times and spaces. Its ancestry can be split into the fields of observation like history, journalism, geography, and anthropology that used words and images to gather “facts” together and write them down for diverse distant audiences. Documentary has been used as well to consolidate and share accumulated knowledge from both hard and soft sciences, from the study of the natural world, to the investigation of psychological and sociological questions, to the historical exploration of politics, war, social movements, and to the lives of individuals, cultural groups, and their experiences in the arts, religion, and meaning. Along with these intellectual ancestors, documentary is a product of changes in technologies that can be used to record and preserve, from descriptive language and images, to photographic and audio technologies that fixed images and sounds into different media, to the distribution systems of radio, phonograph records, television, film theaters, and a wide range of digital distribution channels.

For most creators and audiences, documentaries tell stories that assert a notion of what is true or make an argument for the “truth” of a specific perspective or experience. Documentaries are stories featuring people pretending to be themselves. Creators make recordings of things in the world that they are either not making up or that are being made up for the purposes of audio and visual demonstration. The recordings of things in the world, and the constructions that illustrate things in the world, are then edited together into story forms that are influenced by related media

practices. For example, early film technologies were trying to find better ways to make moving photographs of things in the world in order to share how they look to audiences not actually present.

Origins in Motion Studies and Actualities

One of the most well-known of these predecessors to documentary are the motion studies of Eadweard Muybridge, who in 1872 took sequential photographs of a horse named Occident running in order to analyze how a horse ran. The pictures were commissioned by Leland Stanford, who also started Leland Stanford Junior University, or what is now known as *Stanford University*. Muybridge was doing observation science and was not concerned about the definition of “documentary” as we think about it. But seeing the way these motion experiments worked fundamentally changed notions of space and time.

These experiments in recording sequences of still photos that create the illusion of motion recorded are the foundation for the earliest documentaries. In France, the Lumière brothers made short documentary films, starting when they photographed workers leaving their factory in March 1895. Hand-cranked through a projector, the film was about 50 seconds long. Not much to tell a story, but revolutionary in what it suggested: that an incident in one place could be recorded, fixed in a medium, and transported for people to see in another place. The French factory workers on film were seen at a screening in Egypt in 1896. These early films were referred to as *actualités*. The complexity of moving and setting up equipment made the logical next move—to recording news events—more complicated, though prescheduled events were an early frequent subject. For other events, recreations were shot, suggesting that ideas of authenticity were not yet seen in documentary as clearly defined, and in many contexts that challenge of deciding the “authenticity” of a reconstructed actuality is still controversial.

A particular actuality document suggests a disturbing potential of documentary. On January 4, 1903, the elephant Topsy was electrocuted on Coney Island in New York City, after the animal killed a drunk spectator who burned the elephant

with a cigar. The electrocution was filmed by Thomas Edison's company. The 74-second film was released January 17, 1903, on coin-operated kinetoscopes owned by Edison. This single incident of actuality exemplifies an issue that haunts documentary: Does the power to record and share things mean that the form always *should*?

Origins of the Term Documentary and Early Works

The origins of the term and the conception of documentary is credited to John Grierson's writing about Robert Flaherty. Flaherty made the film *Nanook of the North* in 1922, which is frequently cited as the start of English-language documentary. *Nanook* was quite successful, and told the story of an Inuk man and his family, who were living in the Canadian Arctic. Since the distinction between documentary and fiction film were not yet widely used, *Nanook* is seen as problematic. It consists of staged recreations of a native lifestyle that had already been abandoned to the past, though they were an important part of Inuk history. Flaherty was interested in sharing what he had learned as a prospector who became familiar with these native populations, and originally shot footage in 1914–1915, though he ended up having to reshoot in 1920–1921 after the initial footage caught fire (legend says Flaherty dropped a cigarette on the camera negative). On the reshoot, Flaherty decided on an approach that was more ethnographic reconstruction than the original travelogue approach.

Building on this success, Flaherty made *Moana* (1926). Shot in Samoa in 1923–1924, Flaherty used the same approach of ethnographic reconstruction to document life, what French and European scholars now call “docu-fiction,” which becomes important to documentary when it comes to filmed or recorded recreations. Flaherty's film *Moana* was reviewed by John Grierson for *The New York Sun*, in which he wrote “Of course, *Moana* being a visual account of events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth and his family, has documentary value.” Grierson was noting how documents have an important and central value to historians, scholars, and lawyers for their value as primary sources that reflect a factual and authentic record. The same applies to journalists, whose

work is fundamentally grounded in fact and authenticity verified through documentation.

Audiences come to understand documentary as viewers build experience with the visual and audio languages the films use, the conventional choices that producers make, the unconventional experiments that they may undertake, and the contexts that give them cultural meaning. Questions of form are also questions of technology, since the machinery used to record actualities, interviews, visual, or audio events, and the treatment of these materials in postproduction play a central role in how the form of documentary is experienced and understood.

Silent era documentaries included several “city symphony” films that portrayed urban life in ways that reflected the connection between film and art. Paul Strand's *Manhatta* (1921) and *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927) by Walter Ruttmann are two examples, though Dziga Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929) is often cited as the greatest documentary ever made. These films featured innovative techniques, experiments in style, and a poetic storytelling voice.

Connections to Persuasion and Propaganda

While documentary was developing as a mode of storytelling, its complex historical link to persuasion and propaganda grew. In the 1920s for example, both documentary pioneer Grierson and John Reith, who was the director-general of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) when it was chartered in 1927, spent time in the United States learning about the uses of mass persuasion by big business as well as by the U.S. government. Documentary's power as a persuasive form was championed by Grierson, who saw the potential of film manipulation—creative treatment of actuality, in his words—that could express ideas that were possible with the way the world was observed and recorded could be treated or interpreted.

In the middle of the 20th century, with the rise in the use and potential of radio, film, and later television to create documentary, the tension between “creative treatment” and “actuality” became significant. Luis Buñuel's film *Land Without Bread* (1933) remains controversial when discussed as documentary. The film displays Buñuel's influences from both ethnography and

surrealism. The exaggerated narration contrasts with the conditions of misery experienced by the inhabitants of this mountainous region of Spain. It was banned for a period of years after its release. *Triumph of the Will* (1935) is a Nazi propaganda film made by Leni Riefenstahl which presents a document of a 1934 Nazi Party congress.

The controversy over how to think about documentary as a persuasive approach continues to challenge scholars, as is the case with the propaganda films made for the U.S. government by Pare Lorentz during the Roosevelt administration (*The Plow That Broke the Plains* in 1936 and *The River* in 1938) as well as the Frank Capra-directed *Why We Fight* films during World War II (1942–1944). And in the United Kingdom, documentary moved from a persuasive form to depictions of imperial economics, from the years under the Empire Marketing Board in the 1920s and early 1930s, to the General Post Office Film Unit through most of the 1930s, and later to the propaganda work of the Ministry of Information at the outbreak of World War II. A standout film from the pre-war era, *Night Mail* (1936) displayed the nationalistic pride that came from the complex efficiency of the mail delivery system across the United Kingdom. Participants in the film included arts luminaries like W. H. Auden's verse commentary, set to music composed by Benjamin Britten. In terms of the authenticity of the production, *Night Mail* combined actual train footage with material shot on elaborate set constructions intercut together.

Radio and Television Documentary

Radio documentary, a form using edited sound to create nonfiction storytelling, has its origins in the late 1930s. Seen as documentaries produced for entertainment purposes, Allen Funt's original radio program *Candid Microphone* started in June 1947 and can arguably be seen as the origin point for what later became reality television (via Funt's own *Candid Camera*, variably airing between 1948 and 2014). More journalistic work was being done by the CBS Documentary Unit in the late 1940s. The era saw a culture interested in audio programs that combined journalistic authenticity with dramatic storytelling techniques. The expansion of this kind of material was also

enabled by audio recording equipment becoming more portable, allowing for practical ways to gather authentic sound.

In coming to understand journalistic documentary as a historical movement, the work of Edward R. Murrow and his colleagues, which gained prominence through radio journalism during the war, turned into a powerful documentary production unit. Early audio documentary work is highlighted by the phonograph records produced through the collaboration of Murrow and producer Fred Friendly in 1948, released as a series of 78 RPM records in a box set called *I Can Hear It Now 1933–1945*. The records combined sound actualities with narration, and two follow-up albums were released in 1949 and 1950. This led to the development of the radio program *Hear It Now* (1950–1951), a magazine format nonfiction radio program that features pieces of sound actuality, frequently described as hearing history in the making.

Completing the journey from phonograph-based documentary audio to radio-based programming, *Hear It Now* moved to television when the radio program jumped to television, turning into *See It Now*. Working with producer Friendly, Murrow used the news documentary form to investigate political issues. In 1954, it famously documented an investigation into alleged communist infiltration of the U.S. government conducted by U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, accusing him of turning the congressional investigation into persecution, and exposing the tactics of accusation that, Murrow argued, tried to turn dissent into disloyalty.

The last of *See It Now* in 1958 was followed by the documentary series *CBS Reports*, which ran from 1959 through the 1990s. The great potential of this form of journalistic documentary can be seen early on in the episode *Harvest of Shame* (1960). Broadcast on the day after Thanksgiving 1960, it documented the experiences of the migrant workers whose living and working conditions were deplorable and exploitive. The program's importance to documentary is partially based on how the program provoked an argument about the relationship between observation and interpretation, since it clearly advocates for political change and increased critical consciousness to argue for change in these working conditions.

Verité and Direct Cinema

The technology of filmmaking went through a dramatic change in the 1950s and 1960s, through the development of lighter and much more portable cameras, crystal-based sync sound equipment that enabled double system recording (visuals and audio on two different machines), better battery systems, and faster film stocks that required less light to produce sufficiently high-quality images. For documentary, these changes led to a wide-ranging change in the possibilities of film production, since the filming and recording could move into the world so much more easily, and the subjects could be followed in action. Other factors are also significant contributors to the implementation of change. The desire for change in the United States was also driven by the TV journalist's stylistic need to get past illustrated narrated lectures; and in France, the desire for change was grounded in the way ethnographic work was incorporating actuality documentary into its discipline.

The film *Primary* (1960) became a critical landmark in the juncture between journalism, documentary, technology, and style. The film was produced by Robert Drew with a collection of documentary makers who were then or later significant to the form: Richard Leacock, Don Pennebaker, Albert Maysles, and his brother David Maysles. The style of the film was made possible by the portable equipment, but it was the style of fluid movement with characters and synchronized sound that made the film stand out. Its portrayal of John F. Kennedy's primary campaign in Wisconsin had a style that captured the energy of the moment.

Interestingly, Drew was motivated by a desire for journalism to capture life in a more authentic way than had been done. Drew criticized Murrow's *See It Now* work as being too much of an illustrated lecture. But he also saw some observational film segments in the program, a couple of pieces by film photographer Bill McClure, that captured a kind of real-life energy that would later become the groundbreaking journalistic documentary style of *Primary*. However, the networks refused to air the documentary, and it ran on four stations owned by Time Inc., Drew's employer at the time.

The style was adopted by other filmmakers as well. Direct cinema was the name applied to the

movement of documentary that took advantage of these technological changes and adopted some version of the style, especially in Canada and the United States. In France, *cinéma vérité*, like direct cinema, aimed to capture sound-synchronized film of life as lived. But where direct cinema was observing (*fly on the wall*) *cinéma vérité* was participating (*fly in the soup*). Filmmakers' work acknowledged the presence of cameras and filmmakers as part of the film, rather than disguising or hiding their presence. The question is, which has a better grasp on observing the world: camera footage that does not involve or directly acknowledge the camera, or camera footage that is admittedly conscious of the role of the camera in the world it observes? Can the camera unobtrusively record the world, or is its very presence transformative? And how does this difference affect the way we think about "truth" in relation to documentary?

The issues of authenticity in documentary were also in play, perhaps as a reaction to the persuasive politics of documentary of the previous decades. Arguably, the new generation of documentary filmmakers could benefit from these improved technologies, but they were also quite aware of the challenges posed by persuasive forms (propaganda or not). Also, in several places, the importance of film as a communication and educational medium led to public sector efforts to be more involved in supporting documentary filmmaking.

Rise of the Filmmaker

The BBC, which became a public service (and publicly funded) broadcast service in 1925, focused on radio developments in television as a primary distribution means for documentary led to the creation of *Special Enquiry*, the BBC's earliest documentary series (1952–1957). The investigative journalism documentary series *Panorama* started in 1953 and remains on the air. While public sector and corporate radio and television had places where documentary flourished, in the world of film production and distribution, a spirit of independent documentary moved forward as its own art form.

In *Night and Fog* (1956), Alain Resnais combined graphic archival and (then) contemporary footage of victims of the Holocaust to consider

the meaning of Nazi concentration camps, and the question of responsibility. Frederick Wiseman made his films using a direct cinema approach to examine a variety of institutions, often provoking controversy when the observed depiction reflected poorly on an institution; *Titicut Follies* (1967) recorded the way an institution's staff treated patients or inmates with mental problems; *High School* (1968) showed how faculty and staff work to reproduce mainstream values in high school students in ways that are simultaneously demeaning, comical, and problematic. Errol Morris is best known for his film *The Thin Blue Line* (1988), which argued that a man on death row was actually innocent of the murder for which he was convicted. Morris played with the relationship between how people tell their stories and the way one can document truths and lies.

Women and Documentary

The conditions that have privileged the voices of white males in communication forms carry into documentary as well. However, often documentary has become a way for women to enter filmmaking.

Alice Guy, later known as Alice Guy Blanche, was a French film industry pioneer in both nonfiction and fictional film. The catalog of the company she ran (she was a pioneer film company owner as well as a filmmaker) lists several actuality shorts produced in 1906–1907. Early Russian filmmakers included Esfir Shub, who directed the first “found footage” documentary, *The Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* (1927), and Yelizaveta Svilova, who worked with her partner Dziga Vertov on *Man With a Movie Camera*, and also made post-War World II documentaries *The Fall of Berlin* (1945) and *Nuremberg Trials* (1946).

In the 1930s, Mary Field worked with F. Percy Smith on a pioneering wildlife series called *Secrets of Nature*, which began in 1922. In that series, Field directed *The World in a Wineglass* in 1931. She was involved in early educational film production, as well as natural history filmmaking. She directed *The Mystery of Marriage* (1932), a nature documentary about gender roles, and *They Made the Land* (1938) about Scottish land reclamation. She also supervised the series *The Secrets of Life* (1934–1950).

Agnès Varda had worked with *Night and Fog* director Alain Resnais on a fictional film of hers,

but that was soon followed by documentary work like her 16-minute film *L'opéra-mouffe* (1958), which was released in the United States under the title *Diary of a Pregnant Woman*. Varda's later documentary work included participation in the multisection documentary *Far From Vietnam* (1967) with fellow documentary makers Resnais, Chris Marker, and Joris Ivens; *Mur Murs* (1981) about the murals in Los Angeles; and *The Gleaners and I* (2000). Her style has traces of experimentalism reflective of the French New Wave film movement.

Many contemporary women documentary makers present complex pictures of culture and politics. In 1954, Nancy Hamilton made *Hellen Keller in Her Story*, and became the first woman to win the Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature in 1955. The second was Sara Kernochan, who codirected the 1972 documentary *Marjoe*. A significant documentary directed by singer Judy Collins and Jill Godmilow in 1974, *Antonia: A Portrait of the Woman*, was nominated for Best Documentary Feature.

One of the most important women documentary makers is Barbara Kopple. Using many of the cinema verité traditions, Kopple's work brings to life parts of American culture that bring unique perspectives to the viewer, like her documentary about striking coal miners, *Harlan County USA* (1976), and her many documentaries about artists, such as her portrait of the musical group The Dixie Chicks and their controversial comments in *Shut Up and Sing* (2006), or the portrait of a singer struggling against many kinds of marginalization in *Miss Sharon Jones!* (2015).

Some of the greatest insights into the world of women and documentary comes through the film *Cameraperson* (2016). Kirsten Johnson uses footage she has shot over her career as a documentary cinematographer to explore the power of images and the ethics of documentary filmmaking. In the recent past, she has been working with Laura Poitras, who makes documentaries that construct complex investigations into abuses of power and corporate excess, including the Emmy-nominated film *Flag Wars* (2003), about gentrification in Ohio, and *Citizenfour* (2014), about Edward Snowden, which won the 2014 Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. In a 2019 interview for *IndieWire*, Poitras identified the significance of documentary in an environment where

journalism may not be enough to shed light on the darkness: “I think documentaries do a lot of the investigating that the ecosystem for newspapers has been able to support. So many newspapers are closing and documentaries have been able to do essential work in terms of holding power to account, creating critical analysis of the historical moment while having a lasting impact. It’s not just about a 24-hour news cycle” (Kohn, 2019).

LGBTQI+ and Documentary

Documentarians from the LGBTQI+ community have also been active in documentary production and represent a growing movement. The Jack Smith film *Flaming Creatures* (1963), which bridges experimental and documentary, was championed by experimental film pioneer Jonas Mekas, but was seized by the New York Police Department on obscenity charges, due to its frank depiction of gay culture and sexuality. The history of lesbian and gay documentary witnessed a growing interest in alternative documentary making that comes to light in the later 1970s, with Arthur Bressan Jr.’s *Gay USA* (1977), about the gay rights movement, and the film produced by the Mariposa Film Group, *Word Is Out: Stories of Some of Our Lives* (1977). In 1985, *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) directed by Rob Epstein won the Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature.

Documentaries from and about the LGBTQI+ community have experienced significant growth since 1985, as queer community political movements redefined identity and politics in relation to public spaces, community, and the nation. Because the situations and subjects that these works sought to document and (re)imagine are fluid, at risk, and in flux, most of them mix documentary modes. This mix of modes included an examination of the constructed ways of representation found in (auto)biography, ethnography, and the way audiences acclimate to these reflexive modes of discourse.

A bridge between queer cinema and documentarians of color can be found in the work of Marlon Riggs. His examination of caricatures of Black people in *Ethnic Notions* (1986) uses documentary to raise the question of representation as a set of social practices, against an argument about what the hypothetical effect of such images might be. As has been the case throughout the history of

documentary, questions of the mode of speaking, as well as the authority to speak, are fundamentally complex. Riggs’s 1989 experimental documentary *Tongues Untied* can be viewed as an interrogation of the ability of documentary to move through a world full of different media, offering startling observations about how the role of the author—the notion of authority—raises questions about the roles of objectivity and subjectivity, since its depiction of Black gay life is both personal and performed for the camera.

African Americans and Documentary

The significance of African American documentary filmmaking reaches back to the silent era, though surviving material underscores the marginalized position of such work. Most of the knowledge historians of documentary have been able to assemble about early African American documentary comes through diary entries, newspaper accounts, and similar kinds of sources. For example, information about a 1909 film called *A Trip To Tuskegee*, made by George Broome working in conjunction with Booker T. Washington, is compiled from such sources. The film depicted exteriors of the Tuskegee Institute, footage of Washington, and scenes of students involved in road construction and agricultural work, as a way of presenting the work of the institute. The screenings of this film in New York City contributed to the debate between Washington’s camp, who sought a kind of gradual improvement in the lives of Blacks through industrial education programs, and those aligning with W. E. B. Du Bois, who sought a kind of education aspiring toward leadership, which came through a liberal arts education steeped in literature, the arts, and intellectual development.

Many of the African American documentaries that have been lost were reported to focus on Black soldiering in both World Wars. Carlton Moss was involved as the script writer for *The Negro Soldier* in 1944 (with a directing credit to Frank Capra). Moss followed this with another film on Black soldiers (*Teamwork*, 1946), but turned his producing work to films documenting the role of Black arts and cultural innovation through the 1970s, and then becoming a teacher of film production. The newsreel work of William Alexander, and the pioneering television work of

William Greaves, such as the public television program *Black Journal* (1968–1977) contributed to a legacy of African American documentary. Greaves went on to make the cinema verité-styled *Emergency Ward* (1959) while he spent time working in Canada's National Film Board. He was commissioned by the U.S. Information Agency to make *Wealth of a Nation* in 1964, which discussed freedom of speech and expression in art among African Americans, and *From These Roots* (1974), about the Harlem Renaissance.

In addition to the important work of Marlon Riggs, there were a small number of documentaries by Black directors in the 1980s and 1990s, but after 2000 the number of films becomes much more significant. In 2010, Roger Ross Williams was the cowinner of the Best Documentary, Short Subjects Academy Award for *Music By Prudence* about Zimbabwean vocalist Prudence Mabhena.

The documentary series *Eyes on the Prize* was a landmark 14-part series depicting the history of the American civil rights movement. It was produced in two sets of episodes that ran on PBS in 1987 and 1990. The sixth episode of the first set, "Bridge to Freedom" (1965), was codirected by Callie Crossley and James DeVinney. In 1988, Crossley became the first Black director to receive an Academy Award nomination. This series used a combination of extensive, deeply researched archival footage combined with contemporary witness interviews to tell the story of civil rights. Other significant Black documentary directors who received Academy Awards include T. J. Martin (*Undeclared*, 2011), and Ezra Edelman (*O. J.: Made in America*, 2016). While *Undeclared* benefited from Hollywood financing and producer participation from rapper and record producer Sean Combs, *O.J.: Made in America* was produced through ESPN Films.

Documentary Exhibition and Distribution

Issues of financing and distribution have been a challenge throughout the history of documentary. Since the shift from film to video, and with the advance of the quality and light sensitivity of cameras, microphones, and lenses, independent documentaries have benefited from lower costs,

especially since the introduction of the Canon 5D Mark II in 2008. Small DSLR cameras were combined with reasonably cheap and powerful editing software like Avid, Final Cut, and Premiere, to make documentary production tools available to a much larger number of filmmakers.

But it is perhaps in distribution and exhibition that documentary's role in culture has experienced the most change. Seeing a documentary in a theatrical setting goes back to the silent film days. Radio documentary became notable in the 1950s, at the same time that television became a significant way for people to see documentaries. Commercial television network documentaries were typically produced through news divisions, and maintained a journalistic style, perhaps most clearly seen in the new magazine format of *60 Minutes*, which first aired in 1968. At the same time, the public television system offered several series for both journalistic and independent documentaries. The *Frontline* investigative journalism series has been airing since 1983, while the series *POV* began airing independently produced documentaries in 1988, and *Independent Lens* has been on PBS since 1999.

A further expansion of television outlets came with the growth of cable television services, which greatly expanded the amount of visual programming available to American households. Documentary benefited from this expansion, perhaps most notably with the expansion into documentary of Home Box Office, commonly known as HBO. The company started as a channel that programmed theatrical fiction films in 1972, but as it grew it expanded into documentary in 1979, most notably with the series *Time Was*, hosted by Dick Cavett, which offered an archival footage-based portrait of decades starting with the 1920s. The HBO documentary series *America Undercover* started airing in 1983, under the supervision of Sheila Nevins. Since it was a pay TV service, and outside the normal standards and practices of the networks, many of the documentary subjects were the kind that would never appear on broadcast television, and only rarely on the public TV airwaves. HBO offered a combination of hard-hitting investigative documentaries, depictions of crime and sex, and films that represented significant nonfiction storytelling.

Documentary in Digital Space

A new era of distribution and access to documentary has developed with the Internet. Podcasting is a rapidly growing arena for the development of a wide variety of documentary storytelling, most visibly exemplified by the significant success of the series *Serial*, which first aired in 2014. Major non-fiction podcast genres include true crime, history, art and music documentaries, and explorations of technology and culture.

Increasing Internet speeds and wide access mean that visual documentary can take advantage of open access to free platforms like YouTube, Vimeo, SnagFilms, Documentary Wire, and the public domain and creative commons repositories in the Internet Archive, especially the Prelinger Archive. Traditional organizations like PBS also offers many documentaries online for free viewing, while pay-to-view services include the Documentary Channel, Netflix, iTunes, and Amazon. Public libraries have also moved from offering documentary titles on tape or disc that can be borrowed to shared library streaming services like Kanopy and Hoopla. With the continuing expansion and competition of streaming services, documentaries have enjoyed a significant increase in audience since the days of limited theatrical screenings and “appointment” network television.

As the reorganization of documentary as intellectual property continues, the opportunities to watch may well outstrip the time people have to pay attention. For the sake of a deeper cultural literacy about documentary, perhaps it would be worthwhile to hope that its history will not be lost, and that the conventions documentary has established and continues to explore will lead to a wider variety of documentary voices and a deeper audience understanding of how documentary works.

Ralph Beliveau

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; CBS News; Ethics; Feminist News Media; Internet: Impact on the Media; LGBTQ Issues, Coverage of; Media Literacy; Objectivity; Television Newsmagazines

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DOUGLASS, FREDERICK

One of the most prolific and well-respected political journalists in U.S. history, Frederick Douglass was an African American writer and orator who helped lead the fight for abolition in the United States during the 19th century. He was enslaved for 12 years before escaping in 1838, after which he founded and edited several newspapers, becoming highly influential and developing ties with political leaders, including President Abraham Lincoln. This entry chronicles Douglass's early life, then discusses the start of his journalism career and the founding of his first newspaper, *The North Star*, which covered the abolition movement in the United States and related international events. It then discusses the newspapers he subsequently founded or took over and his work with Ida B. Wells-Barnett.

Early Life

Given the birth name of Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, Douglass was born into slavery in Talbot County, Maryland, along Tuckahoe

Creek in 1818. Douglass's birthday is not known, but he would fix it as February 14. Douglass, who would change his name after escaping from slavery, was separated from his mother, Harriett Bailey, in infancy. Douglass would live with his enslaved maternal grandmother, Betsy Bailey, and free grandfather, Isaac. In general, he knew very little about his parents, and he noted in *My Bondage and My Freedom*, "Genealogical trees do not flourish among slaves" (as quoted in Blight, 2018, p. 28).

Young Douglass would be forced away from his grandparents by the time he was 6 years old. While a youngster, he witnessed the brutal lashing of his aunt Hester by Aaron Anthony. Two years later, he was moved to the Fells Point neighborhood of Baltimore, Maryland, where he grew up with the Hugh Auld family (brother of his master, Thomas Auld) and worked on loan as a house servant whose main responsibility was being a companion to the Auld's young son. The mother, Sophia Auld, began to teach Douglass how to read and write (Douglass had expressed curiosity after hearing Sophia read aloud from the Book of Job from the Bible), but her husband, Hugh Auld, forbade the teaching of a slave, fearing Douglass would learn to crave his liberty and would then want to escape. Auld told his wife that literacy obtained from the Bible would make slaves "disconsolate and unhappy," thus spreading disaffection (Dilbeck, 2018, p. 23). The talk that Auld gave to his wife about advancing Black literacy stayed with Douglass for the remainder of his life.

Accordingly, Sophia Auld backed off on teaching Douglass, but he kept reading secretly. This included a strong appetite for reading any newspaper upon which he could lay his hands, as well as *The Columbian Orator* by Caleb Bingham—a collection of poems, essays, and dialogues used in schoolhouses in the first half of the 19th century. Later, working on the William Freeland farm, Douglass would teach other enslaved people how to read, using the New Testament and *The Columbian Orator* as his text. His first great cause, then, was spreading literacy among his fellow slaves. Douglass would later credit these days teaching his fellow slaves how to read and write as the beginning of his oratory career.

While in Baltimore, Douglass heard a Methodist preacher. This, along with his meeting a lay preacher named Charles Johnson and coming

under the spell of Bethel AME Church member Charles Lawson, spurred him into a conversion to Christianity. Lawson continually advised Douglass that he would find his freedom from slavery through God and that he would become a servant of some sort who would be “a useful man” (Dilbeck, 2018, p. 30). In 1834, Auld rented out Douglass to work on the farm of Edward Covey. While serving under Covey, Douglass faced severe lashings. According to historian David W. Blight, the time on Covey’s farm represented a transformative experience for Douglass (2018, p. 60):

Covey’s savagery is forever cloaked in some of his [Douglass’s] most beguiling and lyrical prose . . . Douglass’s great gift, and the reason we know of him today, is that he found ways to convert the scars Covey left on his body into words that might change the world.

Start of Journalism Career

After returning to work for Auld in Baltimore, at the age of 17, Douglass met his future wife Anna Murray, a free Black woman. In September 1838, Douglass escaped to freedom in Philadelphia and eventually moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, a sanctuary for former slaves. His name change to Douglass was primarily a way to keep bounty hunters off his trail. In New Bedford, he began subscribing to William Lloyd Garrison’s *The Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper. The newspaper argued against slavery on moral grounds, and Garrison focused on persuasion via the press rather than political or even violent means to upend the slavery order in the United States. This influence was critical for Douglass, who had seen firsthand how violent slave masters could be. The idea that the campaign to end slavery would be as much about communication as anything else was decisive. Words would be the means for converting those who did not see the truth about slavery.

On August 11, 1841, he spoke at an antislavery conference in Nantucket about his time as a slave. His life was his text, and while he was nervous speaking in front of a large gathering, his words had a strong effect on the audience. Garrison and Wendell Phillips were among the notables in the crowd that evening. After Douglass spoke, Garrison was up next, and he asked the crowd if a man

who had lived the life Douglass had lived should be allowed to be taken away from Massachusetts and back into slavery. The answer from the assembled was an emphatic no. That first public speech was so compelling that it led to Douglass’s appointment as an agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and he became a regular speaker in opposition to slavery. Accordingly, Douglass quit his Bedford job, moved his family to Lynn, Massachusetts, and became a full-time communicator for emancipation. For the rest of his life, he would make money off words, both spoken and printed.

Douglass began his journalism career writing letters that Garrison published in *The Liberator* and then in 1845 published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself*. It was based on his stump speech and sold more than 30,000 copies in the United States and Great Britain in the 5 years after publication. *Narrative* was translated into French, German, and Dutch. The success of *Narrative* and Douglass’s increased prominence put him at greater risk he would be captured and returned to his Maryland master. Garrison and Douglass also frequently face other forms of hostility, including the throwing of vegetables and other missiles at them during their speech-making. Douglass also faced more violent acts against him, including an assault in Indiana that left him with a broken hand that never fully healed.

Garrison and others suggested that Douglass take a tour of Great Britain to let things cool down. During a 19-month tour, Douglass earned money speaking to abolitionist organizations in England, Ireland, and Scotland. There even was an attempt to raise money to pay off his master and win his complete freedom. Garrison opposed such a gambit because it, in his mind, legitimized slavery and essentially was an accommodating position not in keeping with abolitionist strategy.

Douglass also wrote a regular column for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* newspaper and was a regular in *The Ram’s Horn*. In his first piece in the *Standard*, he looked back on the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies after the British officially ended slavery in its empire in 1838, and the freeing of the Caribbean slaves gave hope that one day slaves in the United States would “rejoice over the downfall of slavery in our own land” (*Standard*, 1847). In another letter for the

Standard, he wrote about how while audiences were quite receptive to the content of his tour speeches, restaurants and churches would not admit him. Similarly, steamboats would simply serve no food if he or another free Black person was on board. Douglass was briefly an editor for *The Ram's Horn*, along with Thomas Van Rensselaer.

The North Star

Douglass started his own newspaper, *The North Star*, in December 1847, after the speaking tour in Great Britain and the short stint writing for the *Standard*. The tour raised \$2,175 for Douglass, but also for a printing press, and he decided to start his own newspaper back in the United States. During his stay in Britain, he went on the offensive against churches there that took donations from the Southern Christians who owned slaves, stating that slavery was incompatible with Christianity.

Garrison was not happy about Douglass deciding to make his own newspaper, and the two grew apart. Douglass, who had relocated to Rochester, New York, hired Martin Delany to be the co-editor of *The North Star*. A second hire was William Cooper Nell to serve as publisher, and a third was Scotsman John Dick to serve as printer. Dick was in charge of the day-to-day operations of the newspaper and also wrote articles.

At first, Douglass published *The North Star* from the basement of Rochester's Memorial AME Zion Church and later moved it to the Talman Building at 25 Buffalo Street (there also was an antislavery reading room in the building). At the same time, he and his wife Martha also participated in the Underground Railroad, providing lodging and provisions for hundreds of escaping slaves. The newspaper was a four-page weekly with seven columns of type across each page. *The North Star* had an annual subscription rate of \$2 if paid in advance and \$2.50 if paid 6 months after opening a subscription. Douglass emphasized that *The North Star* would be attached to no political party and that he would be completely independent of thought. He would advocate for enslaved people and for the end of slavery.

The front page usually consisted of current events involving the abolitionist movement, news

about fugitive slaves, or news from other states (one such touted Georgia for focusing on progress by increasing its population and building a vast rail network, while South Carolina only increased its slave population and developed its own military). The second page, as was common in the middle of the 19th century, featured Douglass's editorials as well as clipped articles from other newspapers, including *The Liberator* and *The National Era*, an abolitionist journal published in Washington, DC. The newspaper also printed a list of recent subscribers on the third page. Douglass wrote that *The North Star* was "a journal devoted to the cause of liberty and progress" and to "impress my sable brothers in this country with the conviction that . . . progress is yet possible, and bright skies shall yet shine upon their pathway" (Douglass, 1987, pp. 247–248). The newspaper's motto was "RIGHT IS OF NO SEX—TRUTH IS OF NO COLOR—GOD IS THE FATHER OF US ALL, AND ALL WE ARE BRETHERN" (*North Star*, 1848).

The split with Garrison also came over doctrine. Douglass changed his view on whether the U.S. Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Listening to arguments by abolitionist and Liberty Party presidential candidate Gerrit Smith, Douglass came to see that the Constitution could be seen as potentially antislavery, especially in its preamble where both justice and liberty were emphasized for all of its citizens and future generations of Americans. For Douglass, the Constitution was similar to the Bible, which he also read as inherently antislavery, at least in what might be called the *spirit of the text* (Dilbeck, 2018, p. 79).

Douglass chose to pay attention to events beyond the shores of the United States and was proud of the international scope of *The North Star*. The start-up funding had come from British supporters, so he also might have felt an obligation to make the newspaper more international in scope than most American journals. In its first year, half of the more than 400 subscribers of *The North Star* were British. There also had been a tradition of circulating Black newspapers published in the United States beyond its borders, particularly to the Caribbean and Europe.

One key set of events in the early days of *The North Star* was the revolutionary fervor in Europe in 1848. Douglass seized on the revolutions there,

especially the one in France where the provisional government stated its intent to abolish slavery in its colonies. He hoped the French government's statement would shame the United States into ending slavery. Look to Europe, he wrote, to see how freedom should be. Globally, Douglass saw freedom as a response to oppression, and opinion abroad would ultimately make change inevitable domestically. Douglass was able to cover more current international news because of two technologies: the telegraph and the steamship. The latter would roar across the Atlantic, and then telegraph operators in Boston and New York would push the news of the revolutions along the lines east and west, north, and south.

On the 10th anniversary of his escape from slavery, the journalist published an open letter to his master, Thomas Auld. Titled "To My Old Man" and running on the second page of *The North Star*, the letter says that Douglass had long been troubled as a youth about why he was a slave and how a just God could permit slavery. "When I saw the slave-driver whip a slave woman," he wrote, "cut the blood out of her neck, and heard her piteous cries, I went away to the corner of the fence, wept and pondered over this mystery." Then Douglass tells Auld that both men are made by God, adding "we are distinct persons, equal persons . . . I am not by nature bound to you, or you to me." He criticizes Auld for keeping his kin ignorant and illiterate. Douglass then asks Auld how he would feel if Douglass kidnapped Auld's daughter Amanda, to proclaim her property, make her work without wages, "feed her coarsely—clothe her scantily, and whip her on the back occasionally" (*North Star*, 1848). The main intents of the letter included rallying Northern free Blacks to read his newspaper, letting Southerners know that what was then referred to as their peculiar institution had no moral ground on which to rest, and to send a scathing message to Auld.

Frederick Douglass' Paper and Douglass' Monthly

Smith and Douglass continued their close association and would combine forces to create *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1851. Also published from the Talman Building in Rochester, it spanned seven columns and was published weekly. The first

column on the first page was devoted to news. One column would be titled "Anti-Slavery Movement" and featured stories about abolition on both sides of the Atlantic. Sometimes, Douglass put his own pieces on the front page, such as his "The Heroic Slave" on March 18, 1853. In that same edition, on the second page, Douglass published an article titled "The Black Law of Illinois," condemning the state for prohibiting entry into the state of any Black person for the purpose of settling there and providing extradition of any fugitive slaves. He wrote: "What kind of people are the people of Illinois? Were they born and nursed of women as other people are? Or are they the offspring of wolves and tigers, and only taught to prey upon all flesh pleasing to their bloody taste?" (*Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 1853).

In 1858, Douglass began his third publication, *Douglass' Monthly*, while he was on tour in the Midwest. James McCune Smith edited the *Monthly*, which had problems with staying afloat financially, despite Douglass's consistent appeals to his British supporters. One approach Douglass had to the *Monthly* was constantly plying the British readers with positive news about slaves escaping to freedom. The 16-page newspaper would only last 5 years, but it is a crucial piece of the Douglass archives in that it shows his intellect and journalistic acumen during the Civil War. The newspaper documents how Douglass rejected the idea that once freed from slavery, Black people should go to live in colonies in Africa. He jubilantly reported of contrabands flowing into Illinois in the days leading up to the Emancipation Proclamation taking effect on January 1, 1863. He praised President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation as a "moral bombshell," and yet would hold Lincoln's feet to the fire over equal pay for Black Union soldiers and sailors, as well as not giving free Black men the right to vote.

New National Era and Work With Ida B. Wells-Barnett

Douglass would end the monthly newspaper because he had been asked by the Lincoln administration to tour the conquered portions of the South and recruit ex-slaves to join the Union cause. However, Douglass complained that he never received a commission and thus decided not

to tour. After the war and Lincoln's assassination, his last newspaper would be the weekly *New National Era* (formerly Gamaliel Bailey's *National Era*), which Douglass ran from 1870 to 1872. It supported Ulysses S. Grant for president and focused on fighting the political backsliding and violence against Black people in the South during Reconstruction.

Douglass spent much of the last three decades of his life, prior to his death in 1895, as a public speaker rather than a journalist. Late in life, however he supported the work of another trailblazing Black journalist, Ida B. Wells-Barnett. Wells-Barnett used her newspaper, the *Memphis Free Speech*, as an advocacy tool to combat racism and especially lynchings in the South. Douglass wrote the introduction to Wells-Barnett's 1893 book *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*. In it, Douglass said he wished he could tell non-Americans that Americans had made strides in morality to match their material gains, but that he could not. Douglass also wrote the introduction to Wells-Barnett's book *The Red Record*, published in 1895, calling lynching an abomination.

David W. Bulla

See also African American News Media; Human Rights and Journalism; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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DOW JONES

Dow Jones & Co. is a New York-based media company that operates business news organizations *The Wall Street Journal*, *Barron's*, *MarketWatch*, *Mansion Global*, *Financial News*, and the Dow Jones Newswire. The company also sells news and information to corporations through businesses such as Factiva, VentureSource, and Risk & Compliance. *The Wall Street Journal*, the largest and most influential operation within the company, has become the largest U.S. newspaper in terms of paid print and digital circulation, according to the Alliance for Audited Media, and as of 2020 had won 37 Pulitzer Prizes during its 130-year history. The newspaper also operates 12 different websites around the world in six different languages. The company, which was acquired by News Corp. in 2007, is also well known for creating the first well-known stock market index. This entry provides an overview and history of Dow Jones & Co., from its founding in New York in the late 19th century to its acquisition by News Corp. It concludes with an assessment of its current operations and the challenges it faces.

The founders of the company—Charles Dow, Edward Jones, and Charles Bergstresser—worked together at the Kiernan News Agency. They left there to begin a wire service—the precursor to the Dow Jones Newswire—in 1882 that delivered news to investment companies in the Wall Street area of New York. Bergstresser was the main financial backer of the new company. A year later, they began publishing a business newspaper called *Customers' Afternoon Letter* and in 1884 published its first stock average of nine railroad companies and two industrial companies. The first office was at 15 Wall Street, next door to the New York Stock Exchange and in the same building as their former employer.

The newspaper was renamed *The Wall Street Journal* in July 1889, taking the name of another publication that had closed, and the first issue included a chart on the front page showing the average movement of stock prices. Subscribers paid \$5 a year for the newspaper, or 2 cents for one issue. In 1896, *The Journal* published the first industrial stock average of 12 stocks, including

General Electric Co. and American Tobacco Co. The list was expanded to 20 stocks in 1916 and 30 stocks—where it remained as of early 2020—in 1928.

Clarence Barron's Purchase

Dow started writing a front-page column called *Review and Outlook* in 1899 that assessed market performance. Jones sold his interest in the company during that year, and Dow died in 1902. Bergstresser retired in 1903. The newspaper and its ticker operations were sold to its Boston correspondent, Charles Barron, who combined it with the wire service operation he ran in his hometown. Barron also owned a Philadelphia newspaper called the *Financial Journal*. Combined, the newspapers grew from a circulation of 7,000 to 18,750 in 1920 and to 52,000 in 1928 shortly before Barron's death. He added correspondents in every major American city, and *The Journal* printed morning and afternoon editions. In 1921, he also launched the weekly publication *Barron's*. In a foreword Barron wrote in the May 9, 1921 edition, he said the new publication was devoted to providing information "on which the thoughtful investor may plan to get a purchase with this dollar level in a worth-while effort to budge the world of wealth."

The October 1929 stock market crash that began the Great Depression hurt Dow Jones & Co., as the newspaper and wire service were pro-business and pro-Wall Street. Its slogan since 1903 had been "The newspaper for the investor." In addition, an investigation disclosed that some of its reporters had accepted money before the crash to promote specific stocks in the newspaper. The Dow Jones stock ticker provided jokes in the following years to compensate for the lack of news affecting stocks during the early 1930s. The Barron's family considered closing the paper because of its losses during the Depression.

The Journal and Dow Jones were saved by Barney Kilgore, a journalist who joined the company shortly before the crash. His reporting gained recognition because he compared the earnings banks reported in press releases to what was reported in audited statements and noticed discrepancies. In 1935, he was assigned to run the Washington

bureau and developed "The Washington Wire" feature on the front page. By 1941, he returned to New York as managing editor, and his plan to make the paper the first delivered across the country was accepted by Barron's descendants.

Kilgore broadened the paper's content to include general news, and he changed the business news content to show how it affected readers. He successfully argued that business news affected everyone's life, and that consumers in Portland, Maine, were interested in the same news as consumers in Portland, Oregon. When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, *The Journal's* front-page story the next day began with "War with Japan means industrial revolution in the United States." Details of the attack were relegated to the "What's News" column as Kilgore reasoned that its readers would already know what had happened.

WSJ Rises Under Kilgore

Kilgore was named general manager of Dow Jones during World War II and later became president and general manager of the company. When he died in 1967, the newspaper's circulation had grown to more than 1.1 million, up from 41,000 when he took over in 1941. And the company's profit topped \$13 million, up from \$200,000 in 1941. *The Journal* started a Southwest edition in 1948 and added a Washington edition in 1955. In 1951, Dow Jones purchased the Chicago-based *Journal of Commerce* and turned it into the newspaper's Midwest edition. The newspaper dropped its Saturday edition in 1953 after the New York Stock Exchange stopped weekend trading but did not suffer a decline in circulation. Kilgore's lone failure was *The National Observer*, a weekly newspaper that the company started in 1962 but closed in 1977 because of a lack of advertising.

The Journal introduced many innovations to journalism under Kilgore's leadership. Its front page started including feature stories known as an A-hed for the shape of the headline. These stories might have little or nothing to do with business news, but they drew readers into the paper by providing a unique focus. On each side of the A-hed were longer, analytical stories that explained

the significance of breaking news. Kilgore reasoned that the newspaper's readers would already know about the news and would look to *The Journal* to explain how it impacted them. The front page also contained regular briefs columns about specific topics. On Tuesdays, it was news briefs about labor and the workplace. On Wednesdays, it was tax news. On Fridays, it was "The Washington Wire."

In addition, *The Journal* gained a reputation for harder-hitting journalism. In 1954, for example, it ran stories about plans for new models at General Motors, which caused the automaker to withdraw advertising from the paper because it felt the news hurt sales of existing cars. *The Journal* refused to back down from its exclusives. Its 1953 reporting also caused the resignation of one company's management after it purchased another company from Howard Hughes. *The Journal* reporters exposed connections between management and the Mafia.

The company sold stock to the public in the early 1970s, but Barron's descendants maintained a controlling interest in the company. Business journalism expanded in the 1970s due to a recession and the Arab oil embargo, and other daily newspapers began adding business news sections to their publications, with *The New York Times* starting a business news section in 1978. *Investor's Business Daily* began in 1984, and the *Financial Times*, a British newspaper, began circulating in the United States.

1980s Expansion

To address the competition, Dow Jones expanded *The Journal* into two sections in 1980 with the addition of "Marketplace" and added a third section called *Money & Investing* in 1988. It also began expanding internationally, with *The Asian Wall Street Journal* starting in 1976 and a European edition rolling out in 1983. The company also expanded in other ways, adding a chain of small newspapers, a book publisher, and a joint venture with the Associated Press to transmit business and economics news in other countries. The print international editions folded in 2017, although the company has websites that cater to those markets.

Dow Jones faced its biggest credibility issue since the 1929 market crash in 1985 when one of

its reporters, R. Foster Winans, was arrested and convicted of securities fraud for tipping off traders to what he was writing in the "Heard on the Street" column a day before it was published. In 1991, Paul Steiger became managing editor of *The Journal*, and he led the paper through one of its strongest periods as it won 16 Pulitzer Prizes during his 16-year tenure. The paper unveiled its website in 1996, becoming one of the first newspapers to charge for its content online.

The company expanded its financial data operations in the 1980s by investing in Telerate Inc. Dow Jones CEO Warren Phillips saw financial data as a strategy to compete more effectively with rival Reuters. It upped its ownership to 56% of Telerate in 1987 and 67% in 1988. Dow Jones acquired the remaining portion of Telerate in 1990. The acquisition of Telerate, however, proved to be a bad deal for Dow Jones & Co. after Bloomberg LP began offering its financial data services. In 1998, the company sold Telerate to Bridge Information Services, recording a loss of \$1 billion.

Other acquisitions proved more successful. In 2004, Dow Jones acquired CBS MarketWatch Inc. for \$520 million, boosting its revenue from online advertising. Now called *MarketWatch*, the site has more than 30 million monthly page views. And Dow Jones continued to expand its largest business, *The Journal*, by adding a Saturday edition in 2005. The company also struck a deal with CNBC where its journalists began appearing on the business news channel, expanding its brand name recognition.

Acquisition by News Corp.

Dow Jones & Co. was acquired by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. in 2007 for \$5 billion. The descendants of Clarence Barron, the Bancroft family, had become disappointed with the financial performance of the company, although none of them had been involved in the running of Dow Jones. (The company had historically been run by a journalist who had worked at *The Journal* until Richard Zannino took over as CEO in 2006. Zannino had previously worked at Liz Claiborne and Saks Fifth Avenue before joining Dow Jones as chief financial officer in 2001.)

Murdoch offered a 76% premium to what Dow Jones' stock had been trading, convincing

various Bancroft family members who owned stock to sell. Many Dow Jones employees, including *The Journal* reporters and editors, actively resisted the deal, fearing that Murdoch's ownership would damage the paper's reputation. As part of the deal, a five-person special committee was created. It is an independent body charged with safeguarding the editorial independence of *The Journal* and Dow Jones as well as monitoring their adherence to high ethical and professional standards. *The Journal's* editorial page remains staunchly conservative and continues to portray events in a way that runs counter to what the newspaper's newsroom is reporting, but that dichotomy existed long before Murdoch's acquisition. Murdoch did push the paper to launch a new section of New York-based news to compete with *The New York Times*, but that section was reduced in 2016.

Soon after the deal closed, Murdoch replaced the editor of *The Journal* with his handpicked person, Robert Thomson, and Thomson later became the chief executive officer of Dow Jones parent News Corp. Matthew Murray, a longtime company employee who started at *The Journal* long before Murdoch's acquisition, became editor in chief in 2018. He took over a newsroom disgruntled about former editor Gerard Baker's stance toward President Donald Trump and his aloof management style, which caused some reporters and editors to leave for other media organizations. Murray has encouraged *The Journal's* expansion into more digital products and more aggressive journalism. By 2019, nearly 70%, or 1.8 million, of *The Journal's* subscribers were online only. Overall, Dow Jones surpassed 3 million subscribers in 2018.

The company has also explored new delivery formats and new consumer markets. It has launched Wall Street Journal Pro, which targets business professionals in specific fields such as accounting, bankruptcy, and artificial intelligence. In 2019, it struck a deal with Apple to provide news stories on Apple News. Its content is also on Facebook's news page as well as being available through Bloomberg LP's terminals, a system that provides financial market data and news on markets, economies, and businesses.

The company has narrowed its editorial focus, closing The Wall Street Journal Radio Network in

2014. That same year, it also closed its operation that provided personal finance content to daily newspapers across the country for its Sunday editions. In 2010, it sold a 90% stake in its index business to the parent company of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange for \$607.5 million. In 2012, it stopped publishing personal finance magazine *SmartMoney*, merging its content into MarketWatch.

Dow Jones has separated its non-*The Journal* publications—*Barron's*, MarketWatch, Mansion Global, and *Financial News*—into a separate operating unit called *Barron's Group*. *Financial News* operates in London, while Mansion Global, which started in 2015, covers upscale real estate news. *Barron's* has expanded into China, while MarketWatch has an irregular print publication. The company has also expanded its video content and in 2019 partnered with PBS show "Frontline" on a documentary. In 2018, Baker began hosting a regular show called *WSJ at Large with Gerry Baker* on Fox Business Network, which is also owned by Murdoch.

Although Dow Jones lost its battle with Reuters and Bloomberg in the financial data market, it remains a major competitor in the business journalism field, and *The Journal* is still considered the premier business news publication. It has focused on becoming a digital-first news organization, slowly moving away from its legacy print publications. In 2019, more than 50% of the company's revenue came from digital. The company is also looking to expand internationally—only 12% of its subscribers are outside the United States.

Chris Roush

See also Bloomberg; Business Journalism; News Corporation; Reuters; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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EDITING, ONLINE AND DIGITAL

Ensuring the accuracy, clarity, and continuity of online media is an added layer of complexity to the traditional news editing job. Factors include the speed of publication and the variety of publishing platforms that journalists serve, including websites, podcasts, video distribution, and social media. Editing in the online or digital space is often about creating workflows to prevent errors while also trying to fulfill the expanding role of multimedia storytelling. This pressure is there for traditional print or broadcast newsrooms serving digital platforms, and for exclusively digital organizations. This entry first discusses how news organizations have approached editing as the online platforms used to distribute news content have evolved. It then looks at the expanded roles of online editors as a result of layoffs and consolidation in the news industry.

Editing for Distribution to Multiple Platforms

The demands of online editing have shifted from the 1990s, when most news organizations made their first concerted efforts to move content to websites. While there were early experiments in distribution through teletext as early as the 1970s, most consumers found their first online news experience through Prodigy or America Online homepages with headlines and short text stories. That shifted when much of the American

workforce got a computer at work or home connected to a web browser in the late 1990s.

At first, news websites were text-heavy and used what was created by the existing newsroom. The majority of newspapers and magazines were publishing stories to their websites that were nearly identical to their printed counterparts, and often on a similar schedule. Broadcast television and radio newsrooms frequently published scripts to their website without editing. These were derided as “shovelware,” meaning the publication was not creating content specifically tailored to the web experience, but shoveling what it had onto the site. But, it was also the first taste of hour-to-hour publication for newspapers and longevity of information for broadcasters. News sites started to compete on breaking news, and by 2000, the audience might choose CNN, *The New York Times*, or NPR from the work desktop for a midday update.

Online staffs started out small, often just one or two employees charged with getting stories published, advertisements placed, and keeping the site from crashing. In 1999, the Online News Association was founded, in part to establish the professionalism of these workers. Stories were generally handed off to the online editor after they had gone through the existing newsroom workflow, including multiple editors. The content management system that hosted the database of content to be displayed for the audience was often difficult to manage and required specialized knowledge to publish a story. This process was slow but was

seen as necessary to ensure the quality that professional journalists associated with their craft.

Curation and Crowdsourcing

During this time, blogs emerged as a cultural force that upended the formal tones and rules of publishing. The World Wide Web had meant that anyone could become a publisher and didn't need a printing press to reach a mass audience, but blogs made that level of mass media accessible without any technical skills. Anyone could start publishing information and opinions with character and speed. Some newsrooms accepted the medium as a way to circumvent the multilayered editing process without changing their approach to the main content. Blogs sprung up in newspaper newsrooms by the hundreds, providing reporters a direct line to readers and the possibility to serve niche audiences. Some argued that this new method of content publication did not require the oversight of editors, especially multiple editors, while other organizations required the same review as all other copy.

Many news organizations opted to allow community members to publish their own blog alongside the journalists. While this was hotly debated, it led to a wave of citizen journalism both within and outside of traditional news organizations. Online editors had to make difficult decisions about their role as publishers and what was acceptable to publish from nonprofessional sources. Citizen journalists often did not adhere to the strict ethics that journalists were used to following. The opportunity to fill web pages with more text, and therefore generate more pageviews, was a strong motivator for many publications that were already cutting back newsroom staff. This was quickly followed by a trend of curation by publications that hired only editors, to source stories from the public and summarize stories from other outlets.

More Complex Storytelling

Between 2000 and 2010, the wide adoption of Adobe Flash allowed websites to display videos and present interaction, instead of just text and images. Streaming video meant that files did not have to be downloaded to the end user's computer

to be viewed. The possibilities for storytelling outside the limits of traditional media were evident. Online editors were evangelists for experimentation and teams expanded to have their own storytellers. Legacy print newsrooms hired programmers and videographers to straddle the lines between digital editors and reporters. This complicated the workflows and editing structures at many organizations.

Starting around 2007 with YouTube, many previously complex tasks of web publishing became a matter of copying and pasting an embed code (a snippet of code that can move a digital element onto a new website). Improvements in content management systems made them more intuitive. For some organizations, this resulted in a shift of the responsibility for publishing on the website, from a specialized web team to the other newsroom editors or even reporters. This burden fell most heavily on copy editors. Web editors then took over telling larger and more interactive stories. Newsrooms created jobs for high-level editors who worked with reporters early in the assignment phase of reporting to consider how a story could best be told and displayed online. Any type of newsroom might produce video, audio, animation, photos, text, polls, graphics, and a host of emerging technologies. It has become the digital editor's job to know the strengths of each modality, support the production, and then review content to ensure it meets standards for quality and accuracy.

Beyond Websites: Social Media and New Platforms

Much like blogging, Twitter changed how newsrooms understood what it meant to publish. Editors act as gatekeepers who manage the flow of what gets published. Suddenly there was a firehose of information flowing from millions of users around the world. Reporters needed to join the conversation to stay relevant, but doing this does not fit well with a chain-of-command editing structure. Character limits on tweets often precluded the use of AP style and source attribution that journalists would employ in a news story. Reporters generally have their own social media accounts and publish without editing, but most organizations have robust guidelines on what is

appropriate. Specialized editors rework stories for the main social media accounts for news outlets. This work requires the editor to understand the conventions of the platform and the audience's expectations.

A story now has to have a plan for how it will be told online, through social media and potentially through a legacy print or broadcast channel. But more platforms for publication continue to emerge. Podcasting is one that has become a part of daily life for many Americans and is now a regular part of the story publication options for many large newsrooms.

Shrinking Editing Staff and Expanding Roles

Just as digital publishing work was being moved into the general newsroom, cuts were happening throughout the industry. Since 2010 copy editing jobs have been the hardest hit by layoffs and consolidation by large chains of newspapers or broadcasters. Copy editors, the staff who work primarily with a print production team as a last line of defense for errors and clarity, added digital production to their tasks. Those editors writing headlines must include search engine optimization techniques for web headlines so the story can be found by Google or other search platforms. Many digitally savvy publications even test multiple headlines for a single story to see which gets the most clicks. The speed of publication switched from daily to hourly in often just minutes.

At the same time, there is a demand for expanded journalistic skills and editor proficiency. Numeracy is more important than ever with increasing production of data journalism. These stories are often produced with visualizations and graphics and need close editing. Fact-checking has become a genre of journalism on its own, but every editor must be well-versed in verification techniques. The role of editing for digital and online is more complex than ever and increasingly vital for every news organization.

Gretchen Macchiarella

See also Convergence; Digital Design; Digital Journalism Ethics; Digital Journalism Tools; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; New Media; Social Media

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EDITING, PRINT MEDIA

Editing encompasses a broad range of activities through the print production process. At the beginning, editors decide what to publish and what form the information should take. During the reporting and writing process, editors guide writers in terms of structure and content. When an article is finished, editors prepare it for publication. Editing is crucial across all print media; for journalism, this includes newspapers, magazines and books, and websites.

Editors deal with both large issues and small details. These details include creating a vision for a publication; assigning articles and visual components; evaluating articles for proper organization, tone, and readability; managing and motivating staff; checking facts and sources; correcting grammar, word usage, and other writing mechanics; writing display type such as headlines and summaries; and often designing print pages, as well.

While the editing process is generally invisible to readers, editors shape everything readers ultimately encounter. Editors need to see a publication more broadly than other staff members, serving as gatekeepers of information and protectors of a publication's integrity through adherence to its mission and its standards of ethics and quality.

Many other specialty areas of editing exist aside from journalism. In fields like finance, law, and medicine, technical editors handle specialized

books, journals, pamphlets, reports, and training material. Editors oversee newsletters, advertising, press releases, video scripts, product documentation, and online help pages. Nearly any type of published material moves through the hands of editors.

This entry discusses print media editing as a profession and the impact technology has had on editing and the editing profession.

Evolution of Editing

The word “editor,” first meaning the publisher of a book, originated in the 1600s and over the next 200 years took on the journalistic meaning ascribed to it today. Editing as a profession began to take shape as the number of newspapers, magazines, and books increased, and as publications grew in both size and readership. The first editors were printers who reprinted articles from other publications (often from abroad) and sometimes added their own commentary. Printers took their role as editors seriously, however, even if they didn’t call what they did editing. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), for instance, published “An Apology for Printers” in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1731, saying, “Printers do continually discourage the Printing of great Numbers of bad things, and stifle them in the Birth” (quoted in Pickett, 1977, p. 30). He asserted his right to print controversial material, though, much as editors have done in the nearly three centuries since. That function eventually became known as gatekeeping, with editors deciding what to publish or not to publish, free of government control or outside influences.

Magazine editing was primarily a part-time job until the late 19th century, with clergymen or professors often doing such work in addition to their primary employment. Top editors at American newspapers were often (or worked closely with) politicians or civic figures. Publications retained their political or religious ties and editorial identities for years even as editing grew into a full-time occupation. Gradually, publications began actively reporting news rather than waiting for information to trickle in from outsiders and other publications. This broader role increased the importance of editors, who directed the coverage.

These changes took place as rising literacy rates in the 19th century helped create more demand for reading material, improved printing technology allowed newspapers and magazines to easily print thousands of copies, and improved transportation allowed for wider, quicker distribution. By late in the century, circulations soared into the hundreds of thousands among big city newspapers and some national magazines. Many of the architects of these mass circulation publications, like Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) of the *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) of the *New York Journal*, served as both publishers and editors, guiding both the business and news operations. Others, like Cyrus H. K. Curtis (1850–1933), hired editors like Edward Bok (1863–1930; editor of *Ladies’ Home Journal*) and George Horace Lorimer (1867–1937; editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*) and allowed them to shape their publications as they saw fit. A gap developed, though, between editors who ran large publications and those who ran smaller ones. On one hand, those in cities saw themselves as outsiders, of sorts, observers whose detachment allowed them to get closer to the truth. Small-town editors, on the other hand, saw their role as voices for their communities. Hodding Carter (1907–1972), editor of the *Delta Democrat-Times* in Greenville, Mississippi, said in 1961 that an editor should be “the community’s chronicler, commentator, and general hell-raiser,” but also a citizen fully participating in the life of the community.

As print journalism expanded into the digital space, so did editing. Instant feedback through social media and detailed digital analytics have helped editors become far more aware of their audiences and the importance of engaging them. Print editors also use or assign digital-only storytelling tools such as interactive graphics, data visualizations and video, since most print media have websites, apps, and social media through which they distribute and publish content. Marty Baron, editor of *The Washington Post*, said in 2016 that the changes in how people communicate and get their news brought on by the digital environment meant that the *Post* needs to understand and be part of that digital environment.

Divisions of Labor

Differing philosophies of editing developed not only because of the size of the communities but also because of the growing size of the publications. At smaller publications, a single editor often does much of the work, including the writing, photography, and design. Newspapers in metropolitan areas and mass circulation magazines contain larger volumes of information and need larger staffs with specialized editing roles. Top editors set the direction and policy for a publication and still do hands-on work with articles. Other editors, though, oversee content areas such as world news, sports or entertainment, and opinion pages. Below those editors are assigning editors who work closely with reporters and freelancers in deciding what articles to pursue. All editors use their sense of audience to pare down thousands of potential topics and articles into the relatively few that make it into publication. Editing of all kinds is linked to this gatekeeping function, as all editors have at least some control over what readers see.

At newspapers, managing editors oversee newsroom operations, including staffing, budgeting, and news coverage. Section editors guide coverage, assign stories, and manage reporters for sections such as news, business, sports, and features. Photo editors oversee photographers much as assigning editors oversee reporters. Wire editors choose articles from the Associated Press and other wire services, which provide thousands of articles from around the world.

Copy editors, sometimes called *subeditors*, focus on the mechanics of articles, including proper grammar, spelling, and structure. At newspapers, these editors also write headlines, design pages, and see everything through to production. Because they usually have no part in assigning an article, they can examine the writing and reporting with a fresh eye, seeing problems that those close to the reporting may have missed. Copy editors are usually the last to look over an article before publication, inspecting the article again on a proof, or copy of a page, a process known as *proofreading*. These editors are often referred to as the “last line of defense”—spotting and fixing problems before publication—but also as the

“first reader,” meaning that they serve as an advocate for the audience, ensuring clarity, relevance, and credibility. The editing system was set up as a means of quality control. At many publications, articles make their way through at least two editors, sometimes more for a particularly complicated or controversial article. Staff cuts have forced changes in that approach, though, and many articles are reviewed by only one editor, and sometimes by none at all.

Magazines have a structure much like that of newspapers, though the duties often differ. The top editor, often called the *editorial director* or *editor in chief*, sets the overall vision for the publication, working closely with the publisher, the advertising department, and even the marketing department. A managing editor or executive editor oversees day-to-day operations, including deadlines, hiring, and production. The managing editor may also fill in for other staff members, writing, designing, and taking on any job that needs to be done. At smaller magazines, which may have only a few staff members, the managing editor does all these things routinely. At larger magazines, many other specialized or associate editors work beneath the managing editor, overseeing a magazine’s many departments. As at newspapers, copy editors check the language and clarity of an article, though magazines often have separate fact-checkers, a job that falls to copy editors at newspapers. Some magazines also have what are called contributing editors, who are freelance writers with expertise in specific areas.

At nearly all publications, an editor’s duties frequently change from day to day, depending on a publication’s needs. So even though editing involves many specialized skills, the best editors are generalists who can adapt easily to different tasks or different roles. Ben Hibbs (1901–1975), then editor of the weekly *Saturday Evening Post*, said in 1959 that magazine editing had become a team job, “simply because the volume of work is so vastly greater and also because no one man can even hope to possess a sufficiently all-embracing knowledge of this complex world to do the job alone.” Much about editing has changed since then, but the complexity and the need for many people to create a publication persists.

A Move Toward Professionalism

Editing, like many other jobs inside and outside journalism, became increasingly professionalized at the turn of the 20th century. Organizations like Sigma Delta Chi (now the Society of Professional Journalists), American Business Media, and the Associated Press Managing Editors established professional and ethical guidelines, and industry publications like *Editor & Publisher* and *Quill* helped editors further define their mission and their responsibilities. Universities created journalism programs, helping enhance journalists' education and reinforcing the idea of editing and reporting as professions with standards of quality, ethics, and judgment.

Over the course of the 20th century, many other organizations have formed, allowing editors to share ideas, solve common problems, and make their jobs more visible. Magazine editors, features editors, opinion page editors, photo editors, and designers all formed organizations. Copy editors and metropolitan editors formed separate groups. These organizations have focused on such issues as training, maintaining quality with smaller staffs, and using digital platforms. This proliferation of organizations solidified the specialized roles and functions of editors within journalism.

As part of this move toward professionalism, editors concentrated more on providing information free from the influence of advertisers, political parties, or religion. This idea of reporting and editing with a seemingly neutral viewpoint became known as objectivity. It developed in the late 1800s and grew into a central tenet of journalism, although some in the field have questioned its relevance. Even journalists who don't subscribe to the idea of true objectivity work to uphold standards of fairness and ethics, two crucial functions of editing.

Technology Reshapes a Profession

Technology had already begun to change editors' jobs enormously in the late 20th century. Computers allowed publications to be assembled much more quickly and with fewer people. Editing once done on paper could be done more easily with computers. Emphasis on visual communication increased, attracting a new type of editor whose

job focused more on creativity and design than on content. Computerized page layout increased the workload of copy editors and news editors substantially as they took on technical work once handled by compositors and typesetters.

As information became more widely distributed through online platforms and available to much broader audiences in the early 21st century, digital-only journalism startups moved from the margins to the mainstream. Many of these organizations adopted some of the structural characteristics of traditional newsrooms, including editors at various levels; at the same time, many legacy news organizations altered their structures to become more streamlined. Top editors have become more involved in the business aspects of their companies, rather than focusing solely on content.

During the first two decades of the 21st century, print media were decimated. The pervasiveness of the internet, the rise of social media, and the Great Recession resulted in plummeting print circulation, the closure of hundreds of newspapers and magazines, and the loss of thousands of print media jobs. Editing jobs were among those cut most substantially and have been the slowest to recover. As the number of employees shrank and the number of platforms expanded, the editorial hierarchy flattened and the editing timeline contracted. Most publications reduced the number of editors who "touch" a story, with print copy editors often getting a story that had already been published online with little to no editing. Many editors have questioned the logic of that approach, arguing that it compromises credibility and reliability. Online journalism also forces editors to make decisions more quickly, much as a wire service does, balancing timeliness with the need to check accuracy, especially as rumors and disinformation spread through social media.

Such changes have caused anxiety among editors but have also created opportunity. Online readership has been rising, and many editors see the digital sphere as the future of journalism, with print publications still playing an important, though smaller, role. The skills of print editors transfer easily to the Internet. A report by the Online News Association said that word skills remain at the heart of digital editing, along with

news judgment, attention to detail, knowledge of style and grammar, communication skills, and the ability to work under time pressure. Online editors, sometimes called *producers*, need computer-related skills, as well: a grasp of coding, audio and video production, and software to create graphical elements. The report concluded that much of what online journalists would be doing was traditional copy editing, so they should be trained for that work.

Technology has brought about other changes. Computers have allowed journalists to create graphics much more quickly, leading to a proliferation of charts, maps, and other types of illustrations. As a result, some publications have created the position of graphics editor, keeping in the tradition of editing as a specialized function; other publications have created design desks. Some publications have appointed editors to oversee digital operations, while others have pushed print editors to gain skills in publishing material online. The advent of digital analytics in the 2010s provided far more specific and detailed insights into what readers choose to read, how much they read, and what they do after they have finished reading. This information has removed much of the guesswork about audience preferences and thus influences the choices editors make related to coverage, presentation, and even headlines. In a sense, this has turned readers into editors, giving them a hand in the gatekeeping function that was once the sole purview of editors.

The importance of editing is likely to grow as the role of an editor evolves. Editors' savvy in assigning, preparing, and presenting information has for decades allowed many publications to thrive. As digital platforms become increasingly important as a source of information, editors must adapt their skills to a multimedia world even as they maintain the core language and visual skills that have served them well for decades. As the guardians of credibility and as gatekeepers for information, editors play a role that could make or break a publication, though editing itself is likely to remain in the background. Audiences see little of the editing process even as editors make an enormous mark on journalism.

Mary Elizabeth (Lisa) McLendon and
Douglas B. Ward

See also Agenda Setting; Bias; Broadsheet Newspapers; Credibility; Digital Journalism Tools; Editing, Online and Digital; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; Framing; Gatekeeping; News Values; Objectivity; Printing; Trust in Journalism

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EDITORIALS

The most notable difference in the modern-day newspaper editorial as of 2021 is its decline, mirroring the disappearance of many daily and weekly newspapers and the overall regression of the industry. However, opinionated commentary thrives in nontraditional formats and platforms that include blogs, partisan cable television hosts and pundits, and a host of web news sites. This entry examines editorial influence and readership, as well as dueling editorialists. The entry closes with a discussion of editorial competition.

Since the first widely published newspaper editorial penned in the United States actually appeared—in Benjamin Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*—before the United States existed, during the colonial era, on May 9, 1754, the newspaper editorial and the editorial page have undergone drastic evolutionary change—in content and in style. Those first editorials—defined as the official policy, agenda setting, and framing voice of a news operation—often were signed by the publisher, invoking the “we” or “I” editorial voice and addressing various issues. The range of these topics included commentary from pro- and anti-royalty to nationalism, support of or opposition to slavery and entry or neutrality during war as the nation’s political history evolved. Editorials have waned in influence and frequency as the newspaper industry has declined in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. But some newspapers, including such historically notable publications as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Los Angeles Times*, have carried on the historical watchdog and democratic maintenance function of the newspaper editorial in the present day. Candidates for elective office continue to actively seek editorial endorsement from these and other newspapers; but some publications no longer editorialize at all, while others have decreased their activism from the crusading editorials of the penny press and muckraking era to bland commentary on weather and community boosterism. Blogs and partisan online publications have replaced much of the traditional role of the editorial and have maintained a strong editorial

presence, but without the support of the detailed reporting and factual information that bolstered the traditional editorial page. And, as newspaper circulations have diminished, particularly during and following the era of joint operating agreements, cautious commentary for the most part has replaced the vehement, partisan arguments of op-ed columnists in favor of diverse opinion featuring both conservative and more liberal viewpoints to curry favor from a broader, diverse audience.

A *Pennsylvania Gazette* editorial played a significant role in unifying the colonies and supplying the motto “Join or Die” of the American Revolution two decades later. And in its argument against French efforts to expand the American holdings—in which Franklin argued that the French had violated treaties and attacked colonial traders and murdered farmers while seizing property—it established a prototype of the newspaper editorial’s watchdog function.

What newspaper historians identify as the first modern-day style of editorial, published on October 28, 1783, by George Goodwin and Barzillai Hudson in the Connecticut *Courant*, became the paradigm of the newspaper commentary’s political discourse. Titled “Hartford,” the editorial scolded Connecticut’s General Assembly for its opposition to the proposal in the U.S. Congress to offer full pay for 5 years of service to officers of the former Continental Army. When a people, the authors argued in language representative of the ornate, expressive writing style of the era,

so much enlightened as the inhabitants of this State, suffer themselves to be duped out of their senses by the foes of our independence and British emissaries, who are scattering the seeds of discord in the regions of tranquility, it seems the design of heaven to punish their blindness by some fatal catastrophe, and harden them, like Pharaoh of old, till they plunge themselves into an ocean of difficulties. (As cited in Sloan et al., 1997, p. 41–42)

Such ornamental writing would mark the work of many ensuing editorialists as they strived to make their literary mark on the nation’s political institutions and history. Indeed,

the newspaper editorial, which is the institutional voice of the newspaper publisher and is typically unsigned, is the one place in the publication that makes no pretense of balance or objectivity, serving as the newspaper's—and by extension, the community's—conscience. This is where the publisher most strongly sets the newspaper's agenda by putting forth arguments on behalf of political stances and policy issues. As former journalism professor A. Gayle Waldrop argued in his 1967 book *Editor and Editorial Writer*, the editorial page helps clarify the complex day's events, battles on behalf of the citizens, helps clear the fog of myths and demagoguery, nurtures public opinion, and encourages community dialogue, thus lending a hand to a democracy. The editorial page, Waldrop asserted, lent personality and conviction to the newspaper, invoking a sense of community and wise guidance.

Editorial Influence

Academic research on the influence of editorials—beyond a wealth of studies on effects on elections of endorsement editorials, indicating strong correlation between these editorials and voter behavior—is relatively sparse. But a few notable instances of the power of the written commentary can be found sprinkled through this nation's history. A little-known instance of such effect occurred in May of 1921 when, according to published accounts, an editorial in the May 31 *Tulsa Tribune*, titled “To Lynch a Negro Tonight,” played a role in prompting a riot following the (wrongful) arrest of a young Black man on suspicion of attempted rape. Six years later, after a Black man had been flogged at a country church in Alabama, the editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*, Grover C. Hall, carried out a 4-month editorial campaign publicizing Ku Klux Klan activities that led to criminal convictions of numerous Klansmen and a decrease in floggings throughout the state. In the 1920s, a series of anti-lynching editorials written by *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* editor Louis Isaac Jaffe persuaded the governor to put forth anti-lynching legislation, adopted in 1928. The editorials, said Governor Harry Flood Byrd, were primarily responsible for his decision to recommend passage of an anti-lynching law.

An editorial by Jaffe that same year has been credited with creating interest in a federal anti-lynching law.

But not all persuasive editorials focused on political or social issues. Following World War II, a couple of Michigan congressmen, responding to a 1949 editorial in the *Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot* by Carl M. Saunders, urging establishment of a national day of prayer in response to increased international tensions during the Cold War, introduced a joint resolution that earned unanimous approval and a proclamation by President Harry Truman designating Memorial Day as a day of prayer. Some editorials find their way into the Congressional Record. In 1953, Don Murray of *The Boston Herald* wrote a series of more than a hundred editorials on national defense—based largely on reporting and interviews with congressional and military leaders—that were cited in congressional debate on defense spending. Two years later, a *Des Moines Register* editorialist wrote a commentary aimed at Soviet Union Premier Nikita Krushchev inviting Soviet representatives to visit Iowa to observe U.S. agricultural techniques and practices, which helped thaw diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Editorial Readership

Few academic studies have been conducted of newspaper editorial readership—the primary focus of this section, as broadcast editorials have been relatively rare—or demographics. But anecdotal evidence suggests that political and social elites—including elected representatives, policy makers, captains of business, industry executives, academics and scholars, and religious leaders—are reliable and steady editorial page readers. One of the stronger confirmations of this notion came from the urging by *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley during the Civil War that President Abraham Lincoln declare slavery's end. Lamenting the president's slowness in making such a proclamation, Greeley urged in an 1862 open letter to Lincoln that the president uphold the Confiscation Act. Lincoln read Greeley's editorial page, and this particular commentary has been credited with prompting Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation.

Dueling Editorialists

Greeley was one of several editors plying their trade during the Penny Press era, which followed the pre-1830s era of the Partisan Press, when newspapers were published by political parties. It was a journalistic age that saw a rise not only in sensationalistic news coverage and an expansion of daily newspaper reading into the middle classes. It also witnessed the broadening of editorial topics, mirroring the extension of story subjects, into the arenas of entertainment, sports, and high society. These journalistic phenomena prompted fierce competition for readers and for the advertising dollars that had replaced political patronage in financially supporting newspapers.

It was an era of dueling journalists that lasted well into the 20th and current centuries. At least one of those duels became physical when, on October 7, 1835, James Gordon Bennett, publisher and editor of the *New York Herald*, was accosted on Wall Street by Dr. Peter S. Townsend, associate editor of the *New York Evening Star*. In an anti-immigration tirade, Townsend told the crowd that had gathered that Bennett was a foreigner of dubious quality and that he, Townsend, would not permit Bennett to walk the street. Of course, such physicality was not the normal manner of expressing political and philosophical differences in the penny press newspapers, nor of the partisan press era or of the so-called Golden Age of journalism newspapers of William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, E.W. Scripps, and Henry Raymond of the yellow journalism period—a time that saw the newspaper editorial relegated to a particular section of the daily newspaper, the editorial page. All these organs flourished in a journalistic environment in which cities had more than one daily newspaper. These competing journals offered readers a vast menu of different opinions, ideas, and reportage, offering what media analysts have identified as a marketplace of ideas, derived from John Milton's *Areopagitica*, written in 1644, in which he put forth the notion that truth would arise from a mass of competing, varying opinions and ideas.

Vigorous editorial debate among newspapers dates back to the post-Revolutionary War period. After the young nation won its independence from Britain, these partisan newspapers participated in

heated debate over the writing and adoption of a constitution, including the 85 essays comprising the Federalist Papers and published in three New York newspapers. Following the constitutional convention and the signing of the document in 1787, a heated editorial debate ensued over ratification. Two competing Boston newspapers published opposing arguments, with the Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel* maligning the antifederalists as ignorant and short-sighted with ignoble intentions. The antifederalist *American Herald* countered with an argument that Boston trade should be transferred to Philadelphia and religion abolished.

The advent of the penny press prompted an increase in dissonant editorial voices, particularly in New York City, which had become by the 1830s the center of journalistic enterprise. Benjamin Day's *New York Sun*, and his competitors, including Bennett, Mordecai Noah's *Evening Star*, James Watson Webb's *New York Courier and Enquirer*, and Greeley's *Tribune* carried on a daily newspaper war, disagreeing over matters of minor and major importance that included frequent derogatory references, by name and publication, to their rivals.

The Civil War and the politically divisive years leading up to it predictably fomented considerable editorial debate. Following the secession from the union of South Carolina, followed by six other states in 1860 and 1861, *The New York Times* pushed for compromise but then chastised the newly elected President Lincoln for what *Times* owner Henry Raymond saw as a weak response to the secessions. Greeley's *Tribune*, though, argued that the states should be allowed to depart.

One more example, this one involving regional, rather than local, editorial differences offers evidence of the sort of vigorous debate in which newspapers have engaged on their editorial pages. On the morning of September 15, 1963, a Sunday, a terrorist bomb attack at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killed four young African-American girls, blinded another, and injured 22 worshippers. The governor of the state at the time was George Wallace, an avowed segregationist who famously had stood in the doorway at the University of Alabama in June of that same year to block

entry of two African-American students and who worked vigorously to oppose desegregation of Alabama public schools, in defiance of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision desegregating public schools. His campaign and inaugural slogan was “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.” As they had during various civil-rights era events, including the freedom rides, diner sit-ins, and the Selma marches, the Northern and Southern newspapers entered into vigorous editorial debate concerning this bombing. But they focused on different aspects, with the Northern newspapers highly critical of the governor and the Southern segregationist press framing the tragedy in a false-equivalency light.

The New York Times, the nation’s newspaper of record, strongly criticized Wallace, who had expressed an emotion of sadness by all Alabamians over the crime, for his use of state resources to shutter Birmingham schools. The newspaper praised the African-American leadership for helping to avert violence.

Rather than blaming the governor, a prominent Southern newspaper, the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Courier* spread the blame among everyone but Wallace—from organized labor to the federal government and civil-rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Terrorism, the newspaper argued, was not unique to racial tension. As evidence, the editorial author cited labor union activists tossing bombs in Tampa, the recent bombing of a Chicago city councilman’s home, and the violence of muggers in the streets of big cities. At the same time, the editorial argued, the federal government, in applying pressure to the states and Martin Luther King, Jr., played a role in encouraging violent activism. *The Birmingham Post-Herald* blamed the African-American community, arguing that while the perpetrators must be captured and punished, the African Americans who had stoned police cars should be arrested and severely punished.

A Continuing Phenomenon

Such editorial competition, whether local or regional and which remained energetic through most of the 20th century and into modern times, continues somewhat at the national level as of

2021, but at a considerably lessened pace. Newspapers that include *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times*—all enjoying a national audience—continue to offer distinctively differing opinions on political and social subjects of a national character. But most major U.S. cities now have only one printed daily newspaper, if any at all, as newspaper ownership has become more concentrated, numerous daily newspapers have gone out of business, and the Internet and social media have gobbled up the advertising revenues that once were the primary revenue source for vigorous and vital smaller market newspapers. The result has been a shrinkage of the marketplace of ideas, particularly at the local, community level, that once was considered vital to a vigorous, thriving democracy.

To be sure, newspaper editorials continue to play a vital role in the American political conversation, especially in those cities that still have a strong newspaper presence. These include Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Atlanta, Washington, DC, Seattle, Miami, and Dallas—each of which has at least one daily newspaper. Politicians still covet editorial endorsements from these organs. But other news and information sources are drowning out these print editorial commentaries with opinion diatribes that lack institutional heft and blur the lines that once were so clearly demarcated between the media’s editorial and straight news content. Internet bloggers, radio call-in programs hosted by celebrity commentators, cable news outlet punditry found on outlets ranging from the ultraconservative FOX News to the more liberal MSNBC and moderate CNN, all offer opinions of politicians, program hosts, analysts, and guest newspaper columnists in a potpourri of right and left commentary reminiscent of the days of the Partisan Press. More and more, these voices, rather than offering a vigorous marketplace of ideas, serve as echo chambers, commenting upon and arguing viewpoints to an audience seeking affirmation rather than informed, truthful insight. Thus, newspaper commentary has experienced diminished esteem and influence. Newspapers’ traditional role as respected voices of authority independent of government and policy makers has waned due to their diminished use

of the editorial page to set a vibrant social or political agenda.

One aspect shared by newspaper editorials from the colonial days to the 21st century is their adherence to the basic capitalistic and democratic principles of the United States. Critical media scholars have identified this phenomenon as the influence of overriding (traditional) liberal, democratic ideals that permeate the arguments and logic of newspaper editorials of all political flavors. These scholars have identified ideology as the dominant influence of media content. Indeed, newspapers as ideologically opposed as *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* agreed editorially in their support of the decision by the administration of President George W. Bush to invade Iraq in 2003 and of the buildup to that military action. The editorials agreed on the underlying goals, on behalf of freedom and anti-terrorism, in arguments supportive of the military action.

Bloggers, newspapers, cable television channels, online news sites, and commentators—most of these organizations, other than newspapers, do not have editorials or editorial writers but instead rely on partisan pundits. This faithfulness to democratic ideals of liberty and freedom does not waver. Whether the discussion is about tax or foreign policy, gun control, immigration or a pandemic, constitutional ideals consistently are cited as sacred, regardless of political or partisan interpretation of these precepts.

Steven Hallock

See also Editing, Online and Digital; Editing, Print Media; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities

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EDITORS, ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The word *editor* has many meanings across newspaper, magazine, broadcast, and digital journalism platforms. How it is used in job titles can vary with the size and ownership of a news organization, as well as across national boundaries. As a result, editors' roles and responsibilities also vary by platform, news outlet size, corporate structure, and traditions in specific newsrooms. This entry examines editing roles in U.S. journalism, beginning with print media, the oldest of the platforms.

Newspapers

The highest ranking news manager at a newspaper was, for decades, called simply *the editor*, a title that designated ultimate control over journalistic content. In the late 19th century, as newspapers grew and needed multiple editors in charge of different types of news, some newspapers began using the term *editor in chief* for the person in charge of editorial content. In the last quarter of the 20th century, as newsrooms began to adopt more management techniques from the world of business, *executive editor* became popular for the top news manager. During the first quarter of the 21st century, as legacy newspaper companies emphasized online news and reduced print publication frequency, some began to adopt titles for top newsroom managers that emphasized content, such as *content director* or *vice president of content*—especially if those editors oversaw more than one newsroom or content across media platforms.

Whatever the title, the top manager in a newspaper newsroom generally holds a variety of administrative responsibilities, for content, people, and finances. An executive editor or top content director may do little or no actual editing of articles but does set the tone for coverage by making final decisions on where, broadly, to focus news coverage resources. The editor also generally plays a key role in hiring, choosing among candidates, though within a budget set by the publisher or a corporate newspaper chain's financial officers. In that role, editors can have an important indirect effect on news content, both by hiring knowledgeable workers and by paying attention to the gender, race, and ethnicity of new hires, as diverse newsrooms find sources and stories, and make connections with audiences that homogeneous newsrooms are blind to. Editors are also often the public face of a newspaper. If someone needs to represent the newsroom at a civic function or explain a newsroom decision to the public, the top editor often takes on that role.

Helping the editor in this work at many newspapers is the managing editor, who, as the title suggests, manages the day-to-day business of operating a newspaper and its website. The managing editor is generally more directly involved with content than the executive editor and may review and suggest changes in the biggest or most important articles, as well as help determine which articles get the most prominent play on a newspaper's online homepage and front page. In addition, a managing editor often has some responsibilities related to budgeting, hiring, and innovation. Large newspapers may also have deputy managing editors, assistant managing editors (often referred to by the abbreviation for their title: a.m.e.), or both, newsroom leaders who are responsible for particular areas of news coverage or production. In fall 2020, for example, *The New York Times* had, in addition to an executive editor and managing editor, three deputy managing editors (one for news, one for enterprise and investigative reporting, and one for visualization and multimedia), an associate managing editor for standards, and eight assistant managing editors (overseeing daily online and print coverage; international news; reporting from Washington, DC; culture and lifestyles coverage; audio, film, and

television work; technology and innovation projects; digital tool development; and recruiting journalists).

At the next level down in the newsroom hierarchy, section editors oversee the reporting and writing of news for one section of the website or print newspaper. For example, a city editor, metro editor, or local editor usually supervises reporters covering local news; a business editor supervises the reporters covering business and finance; the sports editor leads the sports reporters; and a features or lifestyle editor supervises the reporters covering culture, entertainment, food, the home, travel, and lifestyle trends. Most mid-sized to large newspapers would have at least those four editors, corresponding to sections of the newspaper's website that likely would be updated daily and sections of the print paper that appeared daily in an era when newspapers published 6 or 7 days a week. (Some formerly daily newspapers now publish in print only 3 or 4 times a week.) The largest newspapers might also have editors for national/international news, political news, state news, science news, food news, health news, and/or travel news, who might oversee reporting on articles for a weekly standalone section or inclusion in other sections. At larger newspapers, some section editors have assistants, such as an assistant city editor, who often leads the department on weekends or at night.

Section editors have traditionally played an important and sometimes overlooked role in the shaping of news. They either assign reporters articles to report and write articles or incorporate reporters' ideas for articles into the "budget" of news coverage for the day. Reporters turn in articles they have written to a section editor or assistant section editor, who reviews them for problems related to facts, sourcing, organization, and legal or ethical issues. For example, a section editor or assistant section editor reading an article about plans to rezone a residential neighborhood for high-rise condo buildings might notice that the reporter talked only to the developers and opponents. The editor might send the reporter to speak to education officials who could address how an influx of new residents might affect already overcrowded schools; to low-income renters who might be displaced by development; or to

transportation experts about whether public transit or roads could handle increased numbers of commuters.

As section editors are studying reporters' work, other editors are thinking about how those articles will be played online and in print. At small newspapers, the editor, managing editor, or even a section editor may design the print pages and move articles into a predesigned online format. Larger newspapers, however, generally have a newsroom leader—sometimes called the *design editor*, design director, visual editor, or art director—whose sole job is to think about how news is displayed. This manager may draw on the expertise of a variety of editors whose work is connected to news production, including graphics editors, who oversee news artists putting together charts, graphs, maps, and artistic illustrations, and photo/video editors, who oversee photojournalists and videographers.

In the past, once a section editor was confident that a reporter had put all the needed information into an article, that editor passed the article to the copy desk. There, a collection of editors, called *copy editors* in the United States and *subeditors* or *subs* in the United Kingdom, reviewed articles for errors of fact, spelling, grammar, punctuation, and style and also considered whether there were legal or ethical issues that had been overlooked by section editors. Copy editors also wrote headlines for articles and captions or *cutlines* for photographs. In some cases, they also determined how pages would look, with a *layout editor* or *makeup editor* designing pages (though that work moved to a design desk in most large newsrooms during the 1980s and 1990s). Copy editors' work was reviewed and approved by the supervisor of the copy desk—called the *copy desk chief* or *slot* because in the first half of the 20th century, that editor generally sat in the center or slot of a U-shaped desk.

In the second decade of the 21st century, however, many newspapers eliminated or consolidated copy desks to save money, as advertising and subscription revenues plummeted. Some newspaper companies created centralized editing and/or design hubs that provided copy editing and/or design for multiple newspapers owned by the same company. Other newspapers outsourced copy editing and design to outside hubs. Still others, including *The New York Times*, decided they

could put more resources into reporting if they did away with some copy desk jobs. *The Times* eliminated most copy editors in 2017 and shifted much of their work onto *backfield editors*, whose responsibilities for reviewing stories had been somewhat like those of assistant section editors at other newspapers. The newspaper retained a small Print Hub to take articles published online by backfield editors and shape them to fit in the print newspaper. Changes of these types saved salary costs but resulted in some spectacular gaffes at newspapers around the country. For example, in April 2018, the *Denver Post*, which was designed remotely, published a guide to the Colorado Rockies baseball season that mistakenly featured, on its cover, a large photograph of the Philadelphia Phillies' ballpark. And the need for checking facts did not go away. Less than a year after *The New York Times* eliminated copy editors' jobs, it profiled a fact-checker and *fact-check reporter* hired in the Washington bureau. In June 2020, when controversy erupted in the *Times* newsroom over an opinion essay by U.S. Sen. Tom Cotton, which the newspaper concluded it should not have published, top editors said they would be expanding their fact-checking operation.

Magazines

To some extent, the roles and responsibilities of magazine editors parallel those of newspaper editors, though there are some key differences. But editors' work can differ within the magazine industry, depending on whether they are putting out a small monthly trade publication, a quarterly university public relations magazine, a city magazine backed by business interests, a national magazine covering serious news and politics, or a fashion magazine with multiple international editions. In fact, journalists John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw have observed that magazines are so diverse in their business models, the size of their publishers, and the media they use that there is no single magazine industry but, rather, several magazine industries.

Still, all magazines have a top editor, sometimes referred to as the *editor in chief*, who oversees content, people, and budgets—just as the top editor at a newspaper does. Because print magazines generally are published monthly or quarterly—or

at least no more often than weekly—editors and managing editors are able to scrutinize content to a greater extent than daily newspaper top editors. They often read sensitive articles, pay particular attention to covers, review final proofs of an edition, and take note of which articles are drawing interest online. In addition, at least at national consumer magazines, editors are responsible for building the publication's brand. Ruth Reichl, former editor of *Gourmet*, a food magazine founded in 1941, has said that at the beginning of her tenure in 1999, much of her job was creating a magazine with a point of view that both readers and advertisers liked and then joining the publisher in selling the magazine, by persuading companies to purchase advertising in it. By 2009, the year publisher Conde Nast closed *Gourmet*, her job had changed dramatically, to using social media to promote the magazine and build anticipation among potential subscribers about upcoming issues as well as producing products (a website, a cookbook club, a book about cookies) designed to extend the magazine's brand. Her work, focused on long-term planning, had little to do, she said, with actually editing a magazine. Ten years later, in 2019, *Teen Vogue* editor Lindsay Peoples-Wagner echoed those sentiments, saying that important parts of her work involved rebranding the magazine, which closed its print edition and went fully online in 2017, hiring new staff members, and planning for an event the magazine produced, the Vogue Teen Summit.

Broadcast News Media

The title *editor* is less frequently used in broadcast newsrooms. A variety of television news journalists, however, do jobs that are similar to those of print editors, in that they sift information to create timely, interesting, and accurate news reports. The journalists in the typical local television newsroom can be divided into two groups: people who gather and/or deliver the news on air (anchors, reporters, and videographers) and people who produce the news behind the scenes (news directors, producers, assignment editors, video editors). It is this second group whose roles are most like those of print editors.

In the typical local television newsroom, the top manager is the news director, whose

responsibilities are similar to those of the executive editor of a newspaper or editor in chief of a magazine. The news director often oversees a budget for newsgathering worked out by the station's general manager, who oversees all aspects of its operation, as a newspaper or magazine publisher does. The news director also hires newsroom employees and sets the tone for the operation's approach to journalism. At larger stations, the news director may be helped by an assistant news director, who may review scripts or online articles as well as help supervise newsroom employees.

Those employees include producers, who act, in a sense like section editors at newspapers, overseeing particular news shows, such as the morning news, the noon news, or the 10/11 p.m. news. (Some television newsrooms have an executive producer who oversees all the local daily news.) The show producers are responsible for working with reporters covering stories to build the “rundown” for the show, a list of the stories that will appear in the broadcast, in the order they will air, and adjusting that rundown as news breaks or stories fall through. Producers review scripts written by reporters, and anchors rewrite as needed. They also write story “teases,” text that lets viewers know what's coming up next, and monitor the newsgathering of reporters and crews working on stories for their newscast.

Two television newsroom employees whose titles do contain the word *editor* have very different roles and responsibilities. The assignment editor is a newsroom manager who oversees the assignment desk, which keeps track of news releases and the timing of events that require coverage, such as news conferences or trials. In addition, the assignment editor monitors where news crews are during the day, in case they need to be rerouted to cover breaking news. The videotape editor, in contrast, is not a manager and is often viewed almost as a technician, responsible for taking raw video from a broadcast photojournalist and joining shots together to form the visuals for a news package.

Digital News

Editors' roles, responsibilities, and job titles on digital news sites are much less standardized, for three reasons. First, online news media are still

relatively young, with less than 25 years of history, and simply have not had time to develop a common vocabulary and set of routines. Second, digital news encompasses a broad range of outlets, from local independent online news sites (LIONS), largely funded by foundations and operating with relatively few staff members, to large operations such as HuffPost. Third, many digital news sites are offshoots of print or broadcast news media and either is largely produced in those legacy newsrooms or rely on an inherited organizational structure. In a 2011 study, for example, that asked U.S. daily newspaper managing editors to give the title of the senior decision-maker for their newspaper's website, 144 respondents gave 73 different titles.

Some online-only news websites, however, have an organizational structure that at least draws on that of newspapers. For example, in fall 2020, BuzzFeed News had an editor in chief (who used to work for the *Wall Street Journal*, a newspaper); executive editors for strategy, technology and society, and culture; a deputy editor in chief; a managing editor; and editors, a bit like newspaper section editors, in charge of coverage of such topics as politics, science, government, and inequality.

Susan Keith

See also Editing, Online and Digital; Editing, Print Media; Editorials

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EDUCATION, COVERAGE OF

Media coverage of education largely revolves around a broad swath of K–12 issues related to students and teachers and to a lesser extent higher education. Coverage generally focuses on curriculum, test scores, teacher competency, and graduation rates at the public school level. Higher education coverage centers primarily on the cost of and accessibility to colleges and universities by middle-class and minority students. This entry opens with a brief overview of early education coverage and then examines the role of the federal government in education coverage. The entry also discusses criticism of education news and trends in education reporting, as well as coverage of higher education and the impact of the Internet on education news.

Much of the coverage since the 1960s has largely been framed by policies and regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Education, which became an independent cabinet-level agency in 1979 during the administration of President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) after decades of operating as part of the former U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Education's new department status gave federal education policy more gravitas, with federal regulations and laws increasingly anchoring coverage of schools. National media often emphasize federal policy issues, while smaller media outlets tend to devote more coverage to school boards and the politics that often engulf them. Since the 1980s, however, the trend toward broader coverage of schools and the issues that affect them, such as poverty or homelessness, has appeared prominently in all media outlets, as K–12 issues and access to higher education are increasingly framed as significant domestic issues. And since 2000, stories about education on the Internet, the burgeoning cost of higher education, and a seeming resegregation of some K–12 schools have increasingly been produced by national media.

Early Education Coverage

At the turn of the last century, coverage was sporadic, with schools rarely providing the anchor for stories about education. Coverage instead focused

on issues affecting children more generally, such as child labor, a significant issue of the day. Only occasionally did journalists address the impact of lost educational opportunities for working children and youth. A leading voice in the campaign to halt child labor—and to expand a child's educational opportunities—belonged to a New York City schoolteacher, Lewis Wickes Hine. In an article representative of the era's coverage, with education as a secondary theme, a 1911 report in the *San Francisco Call* bemoaned the thousands of children and young people roaming the streets, as child labor laws resulting from Hine's campaign barred children from working. The pursuit of education is rarely mentioned, but the heightened attention to issues affecting children did ultimately result in school reform. The high levels of truancy, and coverage of the problem in newspapers and magazines, prompted many states to pass compulsory school laws and forced states with such laws to enforce them more vigorously.

In the years that followed, education news was often absent from newspapers, magazines, and radio. But in 1944, *The New York Times* established a standard for education coverage with its Pulitzer Prize-winning series by Benjamin Fine, who reported that high school and college students did not know basic facts about U.S. history. The *Times's* series was the first notable reportage examining the quality of education in American classrooms, and it prompted a campaign by schools, colleges, and universities to upgrade instruction. In 1947, the National Education Writers Association was established by Fine and other journalists from the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York World-Herald*, among other publications, to improve the quality of education reporting by emphasizing news from inside the classroom.

Despite the success of the *Times* in making education a relevant subject of news coverage and the creation of the education writers' group, coverage of schools was inconsistent through much of the mid-20th century. Journalists often wrote about schools only after being prodded by events outside the classroom. A case in point is the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* (1954) overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine that had kept schools segregated by race. The volume of education coverage

improved significantly in the years before, during, and immediately after the Brown decision, and journalists applied broad strokes as never before in reporting the case, explaining that single-race schools were often the result of segregated neighborhoods created by discriminatory deed restrictions and redlining that kept whites and Blacks in separate communities. But the coverage was largely framed by discussions about race, not schools. The broader reporting provided context, but it also served to consistently cast education as a secondary theme in subsequent coverage, such as the 1957 launch of the Soviet Union's (and the world's) first satellite, Sputnik. That event generated hundreds of stories about the nascent space race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Journalists wrote about national defense and the United States' own aspirations about space exploration before coverage eventually settled on the need to beef up public education in training future scientists and engineers through the federal 1958 National Defense Education Act, the first legislation by Congress designed to upgrade K–12 curriculum, specifically in math and science, and to provide for the first time student loans for higher education to raise the percentage of Americans with college degrees.

Journalists criticized schools and teachers for providing weak instruction in science, math, and other core subject areas. At the center of most news coverage about education during this era were teachers themselves. Often praised by news media as community servants at the turn of the 20th century, educators by the 1950s, particularly after Sputnik's success, were increasingly portrayed as weak links in the education process. Teacher training at colleges and universities was eventually scrutinized by journalists and universities themselves, which linked the poor caliber of teachers not only to deficient college training but also to low pay that prompted young people to seek employment in more lucrative fields.

Growing Federal Role

During the Lyndon Johnson administration (1963–1969), the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) provided a steady source of education news. Journalists covered schools and education with more balance,

providing deeper explanations about how race and class affected urban schools with schools themselves the anchor for coverage. President Johnson's collection of education programs through his Great Society and War on Poverty initiatives provided a strong framework that helped focus and sustain news coverage. Early childhood education, for example, became a staple of education news for the first time as a result of Head Start, one of the Johnson administration's programs for disadvantaged preschool children.

In 1979, President Carter created the U.S. Department of Education, and a year later, the department opened for operation. In 1983, the department's seminal report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, provided an expansive yet focused frame for education coverage, much like Johnson's education programs supplied two decades earlier. The more focused coverage of educational issues in the 1980s produced the first sustained examinations in the widening gap in academic achievement between whites in their affluent suburban schools and minorities in the poorly financed urban schools they attended. The department also increasingly serves as a clearinghouse through its National Center for Education Statistics for a variety of education data gathered annually, and these data have helped inject more uniformity and precision in education coverage in areas of student learning and achievement, teacher certification, and dropout rates.

While the department often provides the impetus for stories, it is also often the object of criticism. The 2001 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, proposed by the department as the central domestic program of President George W. Bush's administration (2001–2009) and later approved by Congress, is widely disparaged by education reporters as deeply flawed legislation that places unrealistic expectations on public schools and their teachers. Investigative reports into NCLB found its flagship reading program ineffective. The Bush administration vigorously defended its \$1 billion a year "Reading First" curriculum designed to enhance skills of elementary school students against critical media reports, but the program was eventually also deemed ineffective by a study conducted by the education department itself.

Complaints About Coverage

Despite the tighter framing for education news supplied by the Department of Education, coverage of schools over the years often has been criticized as simplistic and incomplete. The uneven quality can be explained in part by the stature of education reporters themselves. In many newsrooms, the education “beat” is considered the domain of beginning journalists. But critics maintain that the growing complexity of the topic requires journalists to cover test scores, school finance cases, collective bargaining negotiations, agreements between school boards and teachers, and curriculum issues, all topics critics and studies assert are covered unevenly. The most seasoned journalists, critics argue, should cover schools because lawmakers and the judiciary depend on media coverage to help guide them in their decisions.

In news coverage of *Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District* (1973), for example, plaintiffs in the Texas case over inequities in state funding of public schools complained that journalists offered an inaccurate and unsophisticated analysis of how the funding disparity created inequities in the quality of public schools. It is unclear whether stronger reporting would have made a difference in the Supreme Court’s 5-4 decision against the parents who brought the suit. But their complaints about education coverage are not uncommon.

Unlike the experienced Washington press corps, or the foreign reporting staffs of elite news organizations, the nation’s education reporters exhibit a range of experience, and they serve disparate audiences. Smaller media organizations, such as community dailies or weeklies or small radio stations, tend to cover school board meetings much more closely than do larger outlets. They typically report every vote in stories that often run on the front page. Because school districts are one of the largest employers in smaller communities, education is also covered as a business by smaller media outlets, with the annual school budget and school taxes demanding much attention. By comparison, the larger news organizations write more extensively about education as federal policy, report more often about trends in the classrooms, and interpret the gains and declines of test scores.

And in both large and small media outlets, education stories often are positioned as political stories, with fights over control of school boards between conservative interests and more liberal ones. Critics have bemoaned the framing of education stories as mere meeting coverage, or business or political stories, all of which they say ignore substantive stories about learning and teaching. But in recent years, reporting has once again shifted to more stories on more significant issues. Sophisticated examinations of school violence, and its root causes, for example, have become more commonplace, as experienced journalists assume the education beat, even at smaller media outlets. Of the 1,500 members of the Education Writers Association, only a third in 2006 were considered beginning journalists (those with five years on the job or less), a number that has declined over the last several years.

Trends in Education Reporting

The evolution in education reporting is widely evident in the early 21st century. Broad, contextual reporting, once the domain of publications such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Time* magazine, is now present more often in regional and smaller media outlets. Despite continuing criticism about uneven coverage, education reporters have produced stories on a wider variety of societal issues and their relationship to and impact on education, with schools consistently serving as the central subject in stories.

The broad sweep and scope increasingly applied to education coverage reflect a growing acknowledgment by editors, producers, and reporters that to write about education in the 21st century also means writing about homelessness, poverty, crime, violence, hunger, and other social ills that have long affected schools but have consistently been, until recently, absent from the coverage. In 2005, for example, *The Dallas Morning News* produced a multipart series about South Dallas, a collection of largely minority neighborhoods in decline for decades. Central to the series was an examination of the area’s failing schools, but the series also explained how the low achievement of students was the result of the area’s low tax base, the thin employment market, and poverty and high crime.

In subsequent months, the newspaper has returned to South Dallas to offer readers updates about reforms and improvements in schools and the neighborhoods that support them.

Investigative and computer-assisted reporting also play a more prominent role in contemporary coverage of schools. In 2008, the *Los Angeles Times* examined plans by the Los Angeles Unified School District to build dozens of new schools across the city. The newspaper, however, reported that many schools were operating at levels well below enrollment caps and that enrollment declines were expected to continue. Because of criticisms by taxpayers in response to the story, the district canceled some building plans but planned to continue the construction of some new schools, arguing that the projects were too far along the planning stages.

In recent years, coverage of both higher education and primary and secondary education also has embraced more of a consumer bent. Media outlets increasingly offer readers, listeners, and viewers news about the best colleges and universities for the money, how to finance a college education, and how to apply for college. In an example of how coverage is more consumer-oriented, *The Boston Globe* offered readers in a prominently displayed Sunday article information on how to shop for a quality preschool and how to determine whether the curriculum is effective.

As the 21st century unfolded, there were rising concerns about a seemingly growing resegregation of public schools. Major school systems across the country—many of them released from U.S. Department of Justice desegregation orders in the 1990s—saw their schools resegregated at levels seen during the *Brown v. Board of Education* era, according to Civil Rights Project at UCLA.

Higher Education

Coverage of colleges and universities has long been overshadowed by K–12 news. In 2008, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* bemoaned the lack of coverage given to higher education by the news media and the implication of that missing news for readers. While sporadic in nature, the caliber of higher education coverage, when offered, has often been more substantive than that of public schools. In the 1990s, media coverage analyzed

tuition rate increases that outstripped the rate of inflation at both public and private colleges and universities; in many cases, journalists reported that proceeds from the tuition increases often supported expanding salaries of university presidents and their administrations instead of funding more scholarships to improve access. Journalists also applied investigative resources in examining shoddy accounting practices by colleges and universities in administering millions of dollars in federal research grants. The controversies prompted Harvard Medical School, among other institutions, to return grant money to the government and resulted in the resignation of Stanford University's president.

In the first decade of the 21st century, coverage focused on access to colleges and universities by minority students and increasingly by those from the middle class. In an example of coverage that explores historical reasons for lack of representation by students of color but that also offers success stories, the *Los Angeles Times* in 2008 produced a report about African American students from disadvantaged backgrounds who graduated from college. The report demonstrated one increasingly common element of coverage: use of the Internet's multimedia platform, which allowed the newspaper to produce a slideshow that featured the students graduating from Grinnell College. Rising tuition costs, too, were often the subject of news reports, the increases outstripping the rate of inflation and student loan debt a theme in the 2020 presidential campaign. But universities responded aggressively between 2010 and onward by guaranteeing free tuition for families earning below specified annual incomes. Stanford University and the University of Texas at Austin were among the growing number of institutions that pledged free tuition to poor and first-generation college students to ensure their enrollments are racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse.

The Internet

The advent of the Internet has helped improve coverage at media outlets of every size. More media outlets posttest scores of public schools, helping parents select the best school for their children, while other publications and broadcast

outlets list tuition rates at colleges and universities in their states. Meanwhile, colleges and universities, as required by federal law, post campus crime reports on their web pages, helping consumer-savvy parents and their children make more informed decisions about selecting a college.

Colleges and universities themselves entered online education in the early 2000s, their presence growing exponentially in the years that followed, as a way to boost enrollment for people working and unable to enroll in a traditional degree program. In 2017, the most recent year available, the number of U.S. college students who enrolled in at least one online, or distance learning, course grew for the 14th consecutive year, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. The growth was not without problems. For-profit online institutions failed to deliver academic or professional training, resulting in shuttered campuses and students being left with loan debt.

These stories, among others, were increasingly produced for online platforms, as newspapers and magazines declined financially in the early 2000s and onward, a result of declining advertising revenue. Journalists have turned to the Internet to write more extensively about local, state, and national education issues in blogs, allowing readers to react more easily by posting comments. The Internet also allows journalists to report a range of continuing challenges surrounding schools with a fresh eye, using slideshows, video, and interactive graphics to frame stories in more compelling ways. Stories about drive-by shootings and murders in urban neighborhoods and the impact on schools and students, for example, took on new meaning in award-winning coverage by *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 2005 when the newspaper videotaped middle school students talking about their experiences in witnessing and experiencing death.

Though still criticized as incomplete, and often providing uneven coverage of important issues such as immigrants' impact on public schools, contemporary coverage of education is much improved compared with previous decades. It offers consumers important information on which to base a variety of decisions about education from K–12 to higher education.

William Celis

See also Civic Journalism; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Immigration, Coverage of; Investigative Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism

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ELECTION COVERAGE

This entry looks at media election coverage to highlight the advantages of an international perspective, looking across a number of European contexts. It draws attention to a number of common themes and challenges in the relationship between journalism and the political process. These include journalism's self-image as public watchdog, compelled by a shared expectation that media will occupy the center of the political public sphere. Another factor is the persistent influence

of public service media—frequently, though not always, assumed to establish professional standards for political events such as elections—and the extension of public service-oriented aspirations to neutrality into dynamic commercial news environments.

The entry then looks to the various qualities of election coverage across national settings. There is, first, the extensive use of a competitive frame to structure election coverage, including the widespread use of sporting metaphors and a discourse of political contest. These are most noticeable in newspaper coverage of the fortunes of parties and candidates, and the visuals and narrative structure of election night coverage online and on television. By presenting politicians as players in a competitive field, it is suggested that elections are reduced to the expressive field of a race, encouraging a focus on individual politicians over political parties, institutions, and alliances.

The use of public opinion also emerges as an important component of contemporary election coverage. The regularity of references to public sentiments reflects the claimed heritage of journalism as guardians of a shared interest. However, most notably in periods of political populism or economic crisis, formations of public opinion can occupy a place of particular prominence. Representations of *ordinary voters* can be deployed to outsource and lend weight to preferred interpretations of the election and surrounding events. This foregrounding of discourses of the public and their potential for misuse is presented to show how social media and its integration into the main election news text can challenge conventions of journalistic judgment and professional autonomy.

Election Coverage in an International Context

There are particular advantages to the study of media elections, according to Jesper Strömbäck and Lynda Lee Kaid (2008). First, the governmental and material consequences of elections sharpen and accelerate communicative innovation on the part of those seeking office, revealing emergent practices in political communications. Second, the organization of elections as periodic events produces defined data sets for comparative studies across contexts and over time, enabling vertical

and horizontal analysis. Third, the significance of elections as an elemental ritual of democracy weighs on journalists as well as politicians, producing competitiveness among media institutions to host the most iconic election coverage. In recent elections, this has propelled digital visualization and interactivity in broadcast coverage, as well as the tightening of the embrace around participatory media. Fourth, and essential to this entry, the study of election coverage can offer informed comparisons across national, political, and media cultures that serve to identify best and worst practices. The benefits of effecting cross-state comparisons extend even beyond the relationship between journalism and politics to contribute to our understanding of state and culture more generally, assisting a renewed international-comparative perspective on citizenship and media participation.

Regulating the Political Responsibilities of Journalism

The historical responsibilities invested in the institutions of journalism are most apparent at election time, and journalists themselves have political agency. In many national settings, including the United Kingdom, the print journalism sector comprises networks of informal alignment between political institutions and newspapers, delivering positive news and unyielding support to favored parties and candidates. Where regulation is less stringent, cable and online news is also routinely accused of exercising unchecked bias in election coverage, although studies from Taiwan emphasize the latitude enjoyed by cable news can give more space to the political opposition than in state-approved media.

Looking to the conduct of broadcast media internationally, a number of countries are influenced by the public service media arrangement of the type established by the BBC in the United Kingdom. This *dual system* of public service and commercial media prevails across much of Europe as well as in Canada, Australia, and Japan. In contrast with the state-controlled media associated with totalitarian regimes, the relationship between the state and public service media is one of consent, with some measure of regulatory accountability to provide an agreed-upon level of service,

normally measured in terms of the quality and composition of content and the adequate representation of diversity.

However, at election time, in particular, there are instances where stricter public service-related restrictions are imposed across both public service and commercial broadcast media. Occasionally, such as in Sweden, election coverage limits its day-to-day demands to the continued, scrupulous application of public service conventions of balance and fairness. However, a more stringent framework exists in the United Kingdom, where a list of enforceable election guidelines for broadcast are enforced through the Office of Communication (Ofcom), created in 2003. Extending into entertainment genres as well as factual coverage, additional demands come into force at the dissolution of parliament or an equivalent point and remain until the formal close of voting. Obligations include giving appropriate weight to all parties and candidates as well as the representation of all significant views and perspectives. In practice, this means that when one candidate or party receives coverage, so should opposing candidates. Even though these standards are applied assiduously by broadcasters, Ofcom published details of 69 complaints of alleged regulatory breaches in the BBC's coverage of the 2019 UK General Election.

In addition, in a manner that applies equally across all media platforms, a significant number of countries have forbidden the release of exit polls on the day of an election from the opening of the polling station until after voting has stopped, including the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy. With an eye to such practices as U.S. news networks *calling* elections, this is intended to remove the power of major broadcast organizations and social media clusters to use seemingly emphatic polling data to declare electoral results in advance of their official conclusion or to influence voting behavior.

In emphasizing the variety across national contexts, study of the regimes described in this section can produce telling comparisons across different settings and political traditions. A particular area in which international differences endure is in the variety of commitment to impartiality and its measurement as a means of idealizing and governing the contribution of the institutions of journalism

and determining the responsibility journalism bears toward the quality of public discourse and fairness of political outcome at election time.

The Election and the Mediated Public Sphere

In the context of the communicative and instrumental power described earlier, elections are when the mediated public sphere exercises its greatest power over the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas defines this as the symbolic space in which discussion of matters of shared importance takes place, and public opinion is formed. In the context of the contemporary democracy with its vast number of dispersed interlocutors, John B. Thompson (1995) and others argue that any contemporary public sphere operates primarily through mass media, in parallel now with social media platforms. Indeed, Thompson suggests that the expectations of *mediated publicness* have become an obligation rather than an available strategy for political actors and institutions.

However, in understanding the limits of the public sphere's relationship with international journalism in particular, it is necessary to remain attentive to the particular jurisdictions within which elections occur, be those regions, states, foreign nations, or international unions or federations such as the European Union. Even at the nation level, elections are routinely subdivided into smaller regional divisions, such as parliamentary constituencies in the United Kingdom and cantons in Switzerland. In navigating this environment, news coverage will tend to be guided by the relationship between the expected audience and the election, in terms of participation or interest.

A 2006 content analysis by Michael Higgins shows how these differences in journalistic treatment of elections are manifest in the substate context of Scotland. The first is an obvious point on quantities of coverage, while consequential foreign elections will feature subject to the terms of such news values as *elite nations* and *cultural proximity*, journalists see the greater relevance for them and their audience in domestic elections and will provide more and detailed content. In addition, domestic political election coverage retains an exclusively *bardic* role in advising an audience able to act upon information and

advice through democratic participation. In practical terms, this means that media coverage within an electoral jurisdiction will see a significantly greater weight of concentration of coverage in the lead up to the vote than coverage outside. That is, while domestic media will certainly join with those from outside in reporting and analyzing results, what characterizes media coverage within electoral boundaries is an emphasis on updating and informing an interested electorate on how best to use their vote in advance of the ballot. Across a number of national contexts—including the United Kingdom and France—the celebration of this advisory capability contributes to the abandonment of impartiality in print media in particular, in favor of partisan alignment with election candidates and parties. In Austria, Martin Haselmayer and colleagues (2017) report that newspapers' enthusiasm to report favorable information for their chosen side determines which election stories are selected for coverage.

There is a side effect to this structural emphasis on the nation, which is that political circumstances in which electoral boundaries are complex or contested have tended to produce less journalistic engagement. Specific examples include the coverage of elections to the European Union, where Philip Schlesinger and John Erik Fossum (2007) acknowledge a disconnect between the nation-based media institutions and the cross-national parliament, confounding aspirations to cultivate a more *cosmopolitan* political media for an international age. In elections, as at other times, journalism that is routinely attuned to a national agenda is less adapted to an international news frequency. For this reason among others, the nonprofessional actors of social media and online-based media organizations often emerge as more engaged with debates and political activities above the national level.

Election Coverage and Mediatization

This section covers some of the influences that media exerts over the conduct of elections. Although a highly contested term, the principles of *mediatization* are useful in capturing how the imperatives of media coverage shape the priorities of those political actors and institutions

professionally motivated to maximize the quality of their representation.

Personalization

One of the areas in which the politician establishment is said to have internalized the *media logic* of elections is in personalization. Research in the United States has revealed a shift in political coverage from the legislature to the president, and similar moves toward personalization have been found in the election of coverage of countries such as Finland, the United Kingdom, and Sweden. Even at the local level, studies of public service broadcasting in South Africa, for example, show how election coverage emphasizes personalization and conflict over differences in issues and policy.

Personalization played a significant part in the media coverage of the 2019 UK General Election. The Conservative Party leader—and election victor—was routinely designated by the given name “Boris” in place of the more conventional “Boris Johnson” or formalized “Mr. Johnson.” Such conspicuous informality, which was more marked in print and social than broadcast media, was also apparent in the language used in newspapers to discuss the election and convey results. In its iconic results-day front page, the *Daily Mail* newspaper led with a declarative in their headline “REJOICE! BORIS SURGES TO LANDSLIDE WIN,” whereas the *Sun* newspaper invoked an item of popular slang with “THE DOG’S BOLLOX” (a mildly taboo colloquial term invoking a male dog’s testicles as markers of excellence).

This use of informality is consistent with an additional factor running in parallel with mediatization in the increase of personalization in election coverage: the rise of populist politics. Populism engenders a media logic that acclaims the individual *political outsider* as representing the interests of ordinary people against the political elites and their conventional party structures. Indeed, studies of Israeli elections show how a breakdown and sense of disillusionment in the conventional party system encourages an emphasis on the charisma of the renegade antipolitical outsider. Yet, in introducing this dynamic between political populism and media logic, it is apparent that even at election time, journalistic expression submits to

prevailing public sentiments, even while seeking to influence them.

Citing what Pippa Norris (2000) calls the *virtuous cycle*, it may be that the attractiveness of personality politics can be exploited by both politicians and journalists in order to maximize interest. While exceptions such as Donald Trump in the United States and Silvio Berlusconi in Italy occasionally emerge, other impediments to compelling international election coverage, such as the disalignment with conventional state boundaries, are only partiality resolved by personalization. For example, and drawing again upon the difficulties of covering elections to the European Union, research has found that an increased emphasis on personalization will only enliven coverage when offered in parallel with a coherent set of political programs, combined with the clear prospects for the substantial leadership normally associated with presidential or national elections.

The Contest

A second aspect of the mediatization of election coverage is an undue emphasis placed on its status as a competition, and the metaphors that are mobilized to do this. This manner of placing stress on the competitive element of the election is an example of what discourse analysts call *intertextuality*, where election coverage draws upon concepts and tropes associated with other linguistic fields. The terrain from which these metaphorical tropes emerge is that of the competitive game, with all the associations of distraction and winning-for-its-own-sake this invokes. The assumption that politics is a contest also emphasizes the fortunes and machinations of the individual, which enables the form of election personalization identified in the previous subsection.

However, there are implications for the view of politics as contest, beyond an emphasis on the individuals involved. The contest metaphor most associated with election coverage is that of the *horse-race* (Patterson, 2016). The horse-race metaphor reduces the complex endeavors of politics and government to immediate success, narrated in the lexicon of pace and stamina, with finishing lines producing straightforward divisions between winners and

losers. The dominance of the horse-race frame varies across national settings, although it has broadly increased in incidence over recent decades. For example, Stephen Cushion and Richard Thomas (2018) describe a sustained use of horse-race metaphors in Danish election coverage and identify a marked increase in its incidence in Germany. Even Sweden, which makes less use of the horse-race metaphor than the United States, was still found to use this and related competitive tropes in more than half the programs surveyed.

The broadcast spectacle of election night itself also fully incorporates these discourses of competition. Studying election night programming across Germany and the United Kingdom as well as the United States, Rut Scheithauer (2007) reports the rich use of metaphors of contest, extending beyond sports into the language of conflict and warfare. As a television event, election night routinely foregrounds the innovative use of visuals, latterly digitally generated, with the anticipation of ongoing results nourished by moveable displays such as the UK BBC's "Swingometer" (a graphic device for visualizing emerging results first used in an analogue form in 1955). The election night production heightens its sense of topicality and urgency by exploiting recognizable genres from current affairs, talent contests, and game shows. Raimund Schieß (2007) writes that the visual presentation of election night broadcasts combine nods to popular culture with playful self-reference, allied with the transition rituals, interactive audience address styles, and the energizing chaos of the unscripted live broadcast.

Yet, in common with personalization, political conditions that intensify the use of a competitive frame can be identified. A large-scale study by Susan Banducci and Chris Hanretty (2014) compared print and broadcast outlets across Europe and suggested that the competitive element would tend to be a more prominent component of the election coverage when the main party or individual protagonists were ideologically polarized. Other factors that increase the likelihood of a sustained use of the competitive frame include an uncertainty of outcome that can be used to generate suspense as well as the broader context of an established, resource-rich, and internally competitive news industry.

The Misuse and Opportunities of The Public Voice

A final common resource for election coverage across national contexts is the validating rhetoric of *the public voice*. Research by Cushion into the 2017 UK General Election reveals that such voices are beginning to occupy more broadcast time than the words of politicians. Moreover, the editorial construction of these public contributions reflects the “preconceived narratives of journalists” rather than providing an unsullied reflection of ordinary sentiment (Cushion, 2018). An increasing mediation of election coverage through vox pops, public participation segments, and routine references to “the attitude of the public” (Higgins, 2018) across national boundaries seems to add weight to Strömbäck’s (2009) dismissal of the media’s use of election-related polls as more *vox media* than *vox populi*.

The input of social media has quickened the relationship between media and public opinion in election coverage and occasioned a “subjective turn” in much election coverage. The capriciousness of individual reactions among the watching audience can offer the spice of unpredictability to a political discussion and has been harnessed to most vivid effect in the use of a live graphic representation to plot the developing responses of a chosen panel of voters in broadcast election debates. This *reactor* or *worm* graphic was first used in the 1993 election debates in Australia, and the controversy that accompanies its comparatively rare appearance across several national contexts since then reveals deep misgivings about whether the emotive symbolism of public input should be moderated by journalists who have the responsibility to gate-keep and interpret.

As matters stand, the impetus to include more public voices is driven by the shift of broadcast and print to less formal, elite-driven content, and the participatory essence of social media. In terms of setting the terms of campaign agendas and the tone of coverage, the importance of online *opinion leaders* has become an orthodoxy and is allied with social media’s prominence in providing election coverage with an ongoing stream of public comment. At the same time, digital spaces extend the international scope of election coverage by usurping the conventional state boundaries within

which elections continue to be contested, enabling both professionals and the public access to democratize and internationalize production and consumption.

Final Thoughts

In looking, therefore, to how the role of journalists is evolving in elections, it has become apparent that developments in election coverage will increasingly harness advances in technological affordance and use these to participate in broader shifts toward visible audience engagement. A fuller understanding of these professional practices worldwide will enable journalists to make informed decisions on the available means to popularize content and the consequences of these choices for democratic culture: assisting in the construction of a personality politics informed by such traits as individual integrity, mobilizing a language of mutual dialogue alongside one of contest, using public input to diversify and vitalize election coverage. The further consequence of these developments is that the boundaries within which elections are contested as a democratic ritual occupy a decreasing space within the election’s greater communicative realm. While it remains crucial that journalists sustain a bardic tradition of offering actionable advice in the public sphere, there are emerging imperatives to situate election coverage within this international dimension; positioning localized issues within an international environment and developing the journalistic voice to infuse the local with a concern for the global.

Michael Higgins

See also Bias; Objectivity; Political Reporters; Polls and Public Opinions; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Vox Pop

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ELECTION COVERAGE, U.S.

Journalism in the United States is frequently discussed in terms of its relationship with democracy. This presumes a particular role for the press in the democratic process, principally the idea (or ideal) that journalism helps citizens navigate their way through a complex world and gives them the information they need to make informed decisions at the ballot box. This democratic role, then, finds its most literal expression in an election, where journalists are called to cover the democratic process in action. This entry discusses the expectations the public has of journalists regarding election coverage (i.e., what journalists *ought* to do) and some of the problems that have been identified in that coverage (i.e., what journalists *do*). It also looks at possible explanations for why there appears to be a gap between expectation and practice.

Why Election Coverage Matters

It is no overstatement to say that it would be effectively impossible to imagine a representative democracy without news media. Journalists connect citizen to citizen and elector to elected. The public become aware of the behaviors of their elected officials, and politicians become aware of the preferences of their electors.

Campaign coverage is important because it is the most literal manifestation of journalism's democratic role. Although democracy is about more than just electoral outcomes, the processes that lead to citizens' expressions of political preference are at its essence. Political decision-making does not occur in a vacuum, for there must be mechanisms that connect the citizen to the world beyond his or her direct experience. This is where journalism plays an essential connective role, providing the means for citizens to learn about the different candidates and their platforms and to debate issues with one another. The theory of agenda setting holds that journalism is effective at setting the public agenda—that is, while journalism might not shape what citizens think, it can shape what they think about. This kind of priority-setting means that journalism's role in elections and campaigns warrants discussion.

Of course, journalism is not the only intermediary between the citizen and the wider society. Family, faith groups, civic and labor organizations, and workplaces may also play a role. Social media also provides members of the public with the tools to connect with the world beyond direct experience (though research also suggests it confines them to ideological silos rather than connecting them to ideological diversity). There has been ample research and commentary that has testified to the decline of traditional journalism's gatekeeping power—that is, the ability to set the public agenda. The positives of these changes—the access that citizens have to multitudes of information at their fingertips—are balanced against (and, some would argue, outweighed by) the growing role of misinformation in the information ecosystem.

Nonetheless, journalism retains a major role in these processes. Moreover, because of the longstanding expectations of the work journalists do in a democracy, it invites ample “ought” questions about how exactly journalists ought to go about covering elections and campaigns. It prompts us to ask questions about how journalists ought to serve citizens in the context of an election and how well, in fact, they perform that service.

The Public's Expectations

Perhaps surprisingly, there is little work done on the expectations of journalists in election coverage specifically. There is, however, a much larger body of work on journalism's role in democracy generally, from which specific expectations can be derived.

Journalism and democracy can be said to be partners in a social contract where press freedom and the independence of media from the state are guaranteed in return for the fulfilment of democratic needs like the free flow of information and a watchdog that can summon attention to abuses of power. For their part of this social contract, journalists ensure that citizens are able to self-govern. Their indispensable place at the heart of the political process grants journalists the legitimacy to cast themselves in the role of arbiter of what is true and factual.

Journalism's Democratic Functions

In his 2008 book *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*, historian and sociologist Michael Schudson identifies seven core functions that journalists fulfill in service of democracy. His list is an ideal place to begin this discussion and apply general democracy-serving obligations to the particulars of election coverage.

First, Schudson says that journalists *provide information*. This is the essence of journalistic work, answering the “who,” “what,” “when,” “where,” and “how” questions pertaining to a given topic. In the context of election coverage, journalists provide the information that citizens need to make prudent political choices and the information about the process, such as where and when voting will be held. Journalists play an important vetting role in ensuring that the information that reaches the public is factual and verifiable.

Second, journalists *investigate*. If a public figure could be abusing their position for their own ends, we would expect journalists to ferret out such wrongdoing. In theory, the exposure allows the democratic process to self-correct as citizens remove malfeasant officials and replace them with ethical ones. This is the essence of journalism as a watchdog, and like the literal watchdog, journalists serve democracy not only by rooting out problems when they happen but also by surveilling the landscape for future threats. Thus, the potential of exposure ought to serve as a deterrent for future wayward candidates.

Third, journalists *analyze*. What might be the implications for the public for a candidate's tax policy? This aspect of journalism provides the wider context behind the headlines. The genre of explanatory journalism, pioneered by digital news organizations like *Vox*, is dedicated to this type of journalistic work, but it has long been a staple of traditional journalism in the form of features and columns.

Fourth, journalists *provide the means for social empathy*. Here, journalism serves a bridging function connecting one part of a community, particularly in the context of connecting the advantaged with the disadvantaged. In this fashion, journalists connect private lives to public issues, through profiles of struggle and hardship. In an electoral context, such journalism emphasizes the human

element of the issues at stake. Drug policy is thus transformed from an abstract issue into a concrete matter of human concern. A candidate's stance on Social Security is covered through the lens of its material impact on the well-being of senior citizens.

Fifth, journalists *facilitate a public forum*. Best illustrated by the opinion section of a newspaper, this function obliges journalism to serve as a common carrier for all manner of perspectives on all manner of issues, such that they provide fodder for public discussion on issues of importance. This emphasizes that journalism doesn't just provide the news but perspectives on the news (traditionally and ideally, the two are kept separate). Such journalism demonstrates the need for interaction and conversation among members of the public and gives them the tools to do so.

Sixth, journalists *mobilize political actors*. In this context, journalists provide the means for partisans to engage motivated communities. Journalism thus helps rally members of the public to take up issues in the electoral process. This function is most commonly associated with the partisan (that is, nonobjective) press, in magazines like *National Review* and the *American Conservative* (on the right) and the *New Republic* and *Jacobin* (on the left). Although its norms are often quite different to the journalistic mainstream, such journalism fulfills an important role.

Finally, Schudson says that journalists are called to *publicize the values of liberal democracy*. This casts journalists as guardians of the democratic process more generally and the norms that uphold it. It may oblige journalists to speak out if those norms are not upheld or if there is a threat to speech or press freedoms on the horizon.

It is important to note that the aforementioned list is not presented in dichotomous fashion. A single work of journalism may fulfill multiple functions. A typical newspaper or magazine may contain content that meets many. The main takeaway from this is that journalism has several, varied responsibilities to the democratic process.

Models of Democracy and Their Demands on Journalism

Another way of thinking about journalism's electoral responsibilities is to reflect on what is

meant by democracy itself. There are, of course, common features to any definition of democracy—free and fair elections, full adult enfranchisement where every vote is counted and equal, the guarantee of speech and press freedoms, for instance—but precise definitions of democracy can vary. Put another way, if you were asked what constitutes a *good* democracy, what would you say? One where elections are competitive with a range of choices, emphasizing the clash of ideas and visions? One where citizens participate in public life? One where citizens can deliberate thoughtfully and have high-quality dialogue?

Such discussions proceed from the assumption that when one cries foul that journalists have done something to damage democracy, one rarely specifies the standard that journalists are alleged to have fallen short of. As political theorists have emphasized, there is no single model of democracy but rather multiple models that place emphasis on different democratic *goods*. It follows that these differing models impose differing expectations on journalism toward their realization.

In his 2005 essay, "In search of a standard: Four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism," the political communication scholar Jesper Strömbäck identifies four principal models of democracy, each with their own set of *oughts* for journalism—that is, the obligations journalists are called to bear in service of that vision of democracy:

Procedural democracy emphasizes the role of free and fair elections and the respect for democratic procedures (e.g., the protection of civil liberties). It calls for a journalism that respects those procedures and serves as a watchdog to prevent those procedures from being breached.

Competitive democracy emphasizes the clash of ideas in a contest for votes, calling for a journalism that can explore and compare the various candidates' platforms and allow voters to make informed and thoughtful choices about who should hold elective office.

Participatory democracy affords great importance to civic participation and the investment of citizens in public life. A robust and high-quality democracy, for advocates of this model, is one where citizens are politically motivated and participate in public life both outside and within political parties. This vision

of democracy calls for a journalism that mobilizes citizens to participate in public life, giving them the tools to engage with the issues at hand in their community.

Deliberative democracy emphasizes the importance of thoughtful, intellectually honest dialogue in the search for political consensus. It calls for a citizenry that is motivated toward understanding and compromise and a journalism that fosters discussions that are rational, impartial, and intellectually honest.

These are not the only models of democracy mapped out by political theorists, but they do illustrate the different ways that journalism serves the democratic process. The point here is not to overcomplicate matters but simply to emphasize that journalism's obligations in the context of elections are manifold. Proceeding from the assumption that journalism serves democracy in multiple and intersecting ways, and thus ought to be held to high standards, the extent to which journalists meet those standards is the subject of the next section.

Journalism and the Public's Expectations

A prevailing concern about election coverage is the predominance of the *game frame* or *horse race* style of reporting. This mode of journalism emphasizes the strategies of the different campaigns at the expense of substantive coverage of the issues at stake in a given election. It is centered on process and personality and their inevitable result: polls. According to political scientist Thomas E. Patterson and others, campaign coverage shifted away from a traditional issue-based approach to a more game-oriented approach in the second half of the 20th century, a change he attributes to the growing professionalization of politics and political messaging and, in tandem, the rise of television and its emphasis on visual storytelling.

Polls and Pundits

The use of polls has grown exponentially since at least the 1980s, with no apparent sign of letting up. Indeed, the ever-growing prominence of polls may be the defining characteristic of late 20th-century political coverage. Although polls have a long history, both their exhaustive use and the

sheer number of polls and polling companies is a much newer phenomenon. A doubly problematic trend is the use of polls for forecasting, putting journalists into a predictive role that traditionally they have not occupied and lack the specialized knowledge to perform. The accuracy of polls in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections has been called into question, though it might be more apt to lay the blame on a failure of interpretation on the part of news organizations.

Polls are an important reflection of public opinion, and one of the roles that journalism fulfills, as noted earlier, is to provide that reflection so that those who hold or seek elected office can be aware of the sentiments of their electorate. The problem is chiefly one of proportion (i.e., the sheer number of polls and their bearing on the overall composition of campaign coverage) and of interpretation (i.e., the efficacy with which they can be analyzed, explained, and weighted against other evidence).

Who is up and down in the polls represents the convergence of journalism with entertainment, through the use of a dramatic narrative about who may ultimately claim victory and their setbacks on that path. Small changes in polls that may lie within the margin of error are reported as though they possess earth-shattering ramifications.

The rise of cable news has also allowed for pundit-driven coverage, where substantive issue coverage (i.e., actual reporting) is replaced by panel discussions among partisans. If the various models of democracy discussed earlier call for a journalism that generates light (the deliberative model particularly), pundit-driven news fails that test and instead generates only heat. It is difficult to sustain the argument that such journalism, if indeed it can be called that, serves the public interest. This is not to say that opinion and analysis ought to play no role—indeed, the participatory and deliberative models of democracy and Schudson's analytical and public forum functions of journalism may *demand* such journalism—but rather note that this kind of coverage does not help citizens engage with the issues. Thoughtful discourse that illuminates partisan distinctions ought to be welcome in campaign coverage but talk for talk's sake (or, worse, conflict for conflict's sake) should not be.

Consequences

Overall, these tendencies treat politics as a game, as sport, or as spectacle rather than a serious process affecting the lives of the polity. The predictable and regrettable consequence of this means that issue and policy coverage tends to draw the short straw as more time and space is afforded to coverage of the game itself and its various personalities. Democracy is reduced to who crosses the finish line rather than the consequences for the wider public. Fitness for office becomes secondary to the ability to win. Issue coverage is dwarfed by the game frame.

These tendencies have been linked to growing cynicism among members of the electorate toward the political process, facilitating their disengagement from politics—manifested most literally (and perhaps consequentially) in declining voter turnout at elections. Other scholarship has emphasized the role of process and personality in mobilizing political engagement and bringing less politically engaged people into the conversation due to the excitement generated by coverage. The relationship between game-framing and political participation has, then, yielded mixed results in the research.

Debates

Questions have also been asked about the role of the news media in the candidate debates that have become a centerpiece of election coverage. What candidates are and are not invited, how much time each candidate gets to speak, and what kinds of questions they are asked have all provided much discussion fodder. There have also been more fundamental questions asked about the role of the journalist in these processes. Are they to serve as a moderator and allow candidates to fact-check one another, or are they there to serve as a journalist and provide real-time fact-checking for the viewing audience? CNN's former chief political correspondent Candy Crowley was the subject of controversy in 2012 when she corrected former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney's assertion that President Barack Obama did not refer to the 2012 attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, Libya as an *act of terror*. Because the ethical responsibilities of debate moderators have

been insufficiently mapped out, it remains an open question as to how interventionist journalists should be in these roles.

The Gap Between Ideals and Realities

Journalism is not produced in a vacuum; a hierarchy of influences from the social system to the characteristics of the individual journalist ultimately shapes journalistic output, to varying degrees. This means that the convenient fiction of the lone, autonomous, and empowered journalist needs to be set aside in favor of a more complex understanding of the forces that shape news production, some of which wrest agency away from the journalist.

Horse-race reporting and its attendant ills prevail because it is cheap and easy to produce. It does not require time-consuming and expensive investigation or any specialized knowledge to be brought to bear toward analysis. Research indicates that journalists perceive it is of interest to news consumers, though we should not confuse the public interest with what the public may be interested in and, more fundamentally, should not fall into the trap of thinking that demand determines supply—audiences can only choose from the options made available to them and tastes are cultivated over time.

It is also important to note that these problems persist because they allow journalists to present themselves as *above the fray* and thus adhere to the objectivity norm. Issue-based coverage that might illuminate facets of a candidate's platform that they would rather not be the focus of substantive coverage can leave a reporter prone to accusations of partiality. Far easier and safer, then, to focus on the game itself. This is a perhaps cynical read of journalistic intention, and it would be inapt to say that journalists are motivated by fear in this regard. It does, however, speak to the purchase that objectivity possesses as a central journalistic norm in the United States. In this regard, objectivity is used as a shield to ward off criticisms of subjectivity. Polls, with their social scientific basis, are a convenient tool in this effort.

Also to be noted here is the role of *pack journalism*, which refers to a herd mentality among journalists reproducing one another's norms and routines on the campaign trail. Journalists

spending time with other journalists may develop shared expectations about what their journalism ought to look like. This mutually reinforcing relationship (both among journalists and between journalists and those they are covering) was famously documented by *Rolling Stone* reporter Timothy Crouse's coverage of the Nixon and McGovern campaigns in the 1972 presidential election, reporting that ultimately became his book *The Boys on the Bus*.

Looking beyond journalists themselves, we should also look at the commercial logic underpinning U.S. journalism. Unlike many other democracies whose media systems are characterized by substantial funding of journalism from the public purse, journalism in the United States resides almost entirely in the commercial sector, sustained by advertising. Researchers have documented the grievous consequences of commercial logics applied to journalism, as what may attract eyeballs (and thus advertiser dollars) is not necessarily material that will enrich public understanding. It also bears noting that the slow collapse of the advertising-based revenue model means that journalists are increasingly having to do more with less, which feeds the vicious cycle above where horse race coverage becomes the cheap default.

There is also the role of technology. From television to cable to social media, successive technological innovations have altered the chemistry of the media landscape and increasingly accelerated the pace of news delivery and the need to fill content. Television allowed for a more interpretive style of journalism to emerge and placed greater emphasis on the visuals of political theater. The Internet has allowed for an explosion of new voices into the marketplace of ideas, while social media sites like Twitter allow for a completely elastic news cycle untethered to traditional production schedules (e.g., the printed edition of the newspaper or the nightly television newscast) and contemporaneous to the news itself.

Journalists are aware of the problems with their election coverage. In a study of journalistic self-critique following the 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 presidential elections, Elizabeth Bent, Kimberly Kelling, and Ryan J. Thomas demonstrated how the same postelection recurs conversation in press criticism about overreliance

on polling, failing to represent critical segments of the electorate, or relying on the coverage of other news organizations. That this conversation recurs indicates that there is awareness of the problems but the inability or unwillingness to resolve them.

Contemporary Challenges

The difficult role that journalists play in elections is compounded by the sheer amount of misinformation and disinformation—or *fake news*, as it has come to be dubbed—circulating online. Journalism's waning economic foundation and hold over the gatekeeping process have come at an acutely inopportune time, given the ability for bad actors (from individuals to states) to pollute the information ecosystem with unreliable information that could ultimately have electoral consequences. Each model of democracy has, at bottom, the necessity of an informed electorate (they differ in the demands they place on citizens about the constancy of that informed state). A misinformed electorate, then, has dangerous democratic consequences. Although U.S. politics has long been awash with conspiracy theories—the historian Richard J. Hofstadter's 1964 essay "The Paranoid Style in American Politics" comes to mind—the danger now lies in the sheer scale of misinformation enabled by social media.

On the topic of misinformation, it is also worth noting the difficulties journalists have encountered in covering then-candidate and ultimately President Donald J. Trump. Fact-checking as a distinct genre of journalism—where a specific claim is checked and its facticity scored (e.g., *The Washington Post* is famous for its use of Pinocchio)—emerged in the early 21st century as a novel way of testing the veracity of candidate statements. The sheer amount of misinformation pumped out by Trump has made it difficult for journalists to keep up, raising the question of its potency in activating public concern. The journalistic tendency in election coverage to endeavor to balance one's output (i.e., a critique of one candidate must be balanced by a critique of their opponent) works against the public interest when there is a demonstrably clear imbalance in truthfulness across candidates.

This is fueled by yet another challenge to journalism's electoral role—growing political polarization and distrust of the news media as an institution. Realizing the journalistic functions that Schudson enumerates and meeting the journalistic obligations imposed by the models of democracy Strömbäck identifies is a difficult task when substantial portions of the electorate do not trust what journalists have to say and thus do not rely on them to inform their political choices. Partisan media has abetted this. Although trust surveys should not be dismissed outright, they can be approached with the understanding that the declining trust in journalism is not uniquely journalism's fault, nor is it uniquely journalism's problem to resolve.

Ryan J. Thomas

See also Agenda Setting; Democracy and the Media; Election Coverage; Ethics; Objectivity; Political Reporters; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of

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EMBEDDED REPORTERS

Media–military relations in America have been fraught since the Revolutionary War. The symbiotic relationship that defines the press–government relationship generally applies to the battlefield, with journalists needing access to stories of combat for commercial and professional reasons, and policymakers and military officials needing favorable coverage to marshal public opinion in support of war and counter enemy misinformation. The post–9/11 invasions of Afghanistan and, especially, Iraq introduced a new model of media management from the Pentagon known as *embedding*, in which reporters were assigned to specific units on the condition that they adhered to a code of conduct that outlined the parameters of what could and could not be included in stories. As the wars in those countries turned into occupations and counterinsurgencies, embedding evolved into more of an ad hoc system in which journalists would request to accompany units on a mission-by-mission basis, though still operating under a code that itself went through several controversial modifications reflecting growing tensions between the military and the media. The story of embedded reporters is one grounded in American principles of freedom of the press, mythological narratives about its past victories and defeats, unique challenges brought on by the wars against terrorist groups and their allies, and the ever-present

tension between a media trying to inform and a military waging information warfare. This entry describes and analyzes the embedding program as it evolved over 20 years of warfare, with an eye toward what this evolution in conflict journalism can tell people about media–military relations and the role and function of the media in wartime.

History of Reporting in U.S. Wars

In one form or another, reporters were embedded with troops on the front lines through the Vietnam War in what can be termed a *post-censorship* media management model. In this system, the military allows journalists on the battlefield but reviews and edits their stories. From World War I through the Korean War, this often took the form of propagandistic revisions, excising any information deemed overly critical or which did not support the myth of fearless, super-hero GIs outfitted with the best equipment. During the two World Wars, it also meant a near total ban on images of dead Americans. America's defeat in the Vietnam War—a “living room war” broadcast in vivid color on the nightly news and reported by correspondents able to hop on military helicopters to the front at virtually any time—led some in the military and government to believe that an unrestricted media played a major role in the United States losing the war by destroying public morale and sapping policymakers of the political will to do what it took to win the war. This opinion was based largely on several myths that studies show were unfounded (e.g., that coverage was always critical and casualty-laden, neither of which were true), yet this conventional wisdom in military circles made many look for ways to better control the media during wartime.

The 1982 British war against Argentina in the Falkland Islands introduced a new, *pre-censorship* model of press management. In an unprecedented move, the British only allowed a few journalists to accompany the invasion, relegating the rest of the reporters to military press conferences held on the ships. American military planners duplicated this approach when a Marxist coup occurred on the Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983. Military spokespeople during the invasion made it look like a stunning, unmitigated success story, yet later Congressional hearings revealed that in fact these

press briefings had included misinformation and falsehoods. The Pentagon employed this more restrictive model of media control on a massive scale during the Persian Gulf War, instituting a pool system in which a rotating handful of reporters would be allowed to accompany troops on carefully choreographed outings, while the rest would be stuck covering press briefings from hotels in Saudi Arabia. News organizations complained that they were being censored. When critics blamed the press for presenting a sanitized, casualty-free view of the war, journalists would defend themselves by saying they were not allowed enough access to show those stories and images. In the end, though, pre-censorship led to glowing coverage and a public relations victory for the Pentagon.

Following the Persian Gulf War, government and military officials made noises about adopting new guidelines. The 1997 *Army Field Manual's* section on public affairs encouraged officers to offer journalists the opportunity to spend concentrated time with military units during operations, governed by a set of ground rules whose only restrictions on coverage would involve matters of operational security. Yet whatever the media and others thought of the various pre-censorship models, they had been an unqualified success from the government and military perspectives in terms of message control. Furthermore, there had not been any blowback from the public, which ate up the highly managed, patriotic stories coming out of easy victories in Grenada, Panama, and Kuwait. For the military, pre-censorship worked.

Post-9/11 Wars and the Birth of the Embedding Program

Following 9/11, the United States found itself in the unprecedented situation of fighting two wars simultaneously. Many assumed the military would revert to the pool system it had used successfully, if controversially, in Kuwait. Three senior Pentagon officials—Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Bryan Whitman, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Victoria Clarke—thought otherwise. They decided it would be better if audiences back home had a front-row seat to the war and knew that Americans would

be riveted by these stories. They also recognized that early in a conflict, reporters could be expected to produce largely positive stories, as they had at the beginning of every previous American war. Embedding reporters with units would also make it easy to generate human interest stories about brave GIs, stories that were certainly legitimate news, but also great public relations.

Officials also saw the embedding program as the best way to ensure the safety of the journalists themselves. This was not Vietnam, where reporters could head down to the base's airfield and hitch a ride on a helicopter heading to the front. Reporters driving on their own risked getting lost, or worse, being killed at long range by U.S. troops unsure of whether the cars approaching them were friendly or hostile.

But perhaps the most important reason Pentagon officials needed the embedding program, even if they would only partially admit to it, involved the United States' weakened position globally in waging information warfare against Saddam Hussein. Officials knew based on the experience of the Persian Gulf War that Saddam and his spokespeople would spread misinformation about how Iraq was winning the war. Indeed, when he announced the embedding program in October 2002, Rumsfeld pointed out that in Afghanistan the Taliban and al Qaeda had also been effective at managing the news environment. In normal times, the United States would not need to worry about a he said-she said confrontation with a brutal dictator such as Saddam. Yet these were not normal times. Most of the good will and credibility that the United States had built up globally following the 9/11 attacks had disappeared with the plan to invade Iraq, which strong majorities in virtually every major country thought was illegal and imperialistic. Even Americans were divided about the invasion. Embedding, however, allowed for independent journalists to report the truth instead of taking U.S. officials' word. In another smart stroke of strategic thinking, the Pentagon opened 25% of the embedding slots to reporters from around the world, including countries and media seen as hostile to the American invasion, such as French news organizations and Al Jazeera. Embedding became a way of saying, "We have nothing to hide."

The Department of Defense ended up making more than 900 embed positions available to news organizations. About 775 reporters from more than 250 media organizations were submitted. Ten percent of the spots were made available to local news outlets in communities with large military concentrations. Numbers vary, but between 550 and about 700 reporters ended up being embedded during the invasion.

Embedded reporters would be assigned to a unit and agree ahead of time to ground rules concerning media and military responsibilities (e.g., the military would protect reporters, news organizations would purchase their own protective equipment), and coverage. These guidelines, outlined in the Department of Defense's *Embedment Manual*, explicitly stated that media access would be minimally restrictive, that commanders would allow journalists to observe combat operations, and that all interviews with service members were assumed to be on the record. Perhaps most importantly, given the history of the military's propagandistic editing of media stories in past wars, the policy stated, "there is no general review process for media products" (Katovsky & Carlson, 2003, p. 407). In other words, no censorship. In case this was not clear enough, the policy said explicitly, "These ground rules recognize the right of the media to cover military operations and are in no way intended to prevent release of derogatory, embarrassing, negative, or uncomplimentary information" (p. 408). At the same time, the rules went into great detail about what could *not* be included in stories, but these restrictions revolved entirely around operational security concerns.

Embedding Evolves

Although the embed program marked a welcome change from the pre-censorship era of wartime media management, it was no panacea and faced many criticisms, challenges, and controversies. First among these involved complaints by many journalists and critics that by embedding reporters in a tightly controlled context that restricted their view and access to the larger war, the program essentially left the media "in bed" with, or too close to be objective about, the military, rather than independent from it. Media organizations

and reporters were not required to participate in the embed program, and many chose not to.

Perhaps the most obvious challenge to the embed program itself involved the security of the journalists, and by extension, the troops tasked with keeping them safe in the middle of battle. Over the course of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, several embedded reporters have been injured and some killed.

One outcome of the rapid decline in the security situations in Afghanistan and Iraq was the return of a variation on embedding. Every war is unique, but one of the novel, defining characteristics of the post-9/11 wars is that journalists themselves have often been targets, with many kidnapped and, in several highly publicized instances, executed on camera. In the 21st century, a press pass is no longer a protective shield.

Hence, following a few halcyon months of unfettered access and reporting, embedding returned as a means for reporters to safely visit the front lines, accompany troops on operations, and in the most dangerous environments find safe living conditions on military bases and protected “green zones.” This coincided, though, with more negative coverage that reflected the rising insurgencies, government corruption, and general hopelessness in each theater. This change in media tone resurfaced long-held frictions with many in the military who were predisposed to seeing reporters as biased against them. As a result, in some cases, embedding ground rules, which had been left largely up to local commanders, became more restrictive and more censorious.

In 2007, for instance, the Pentagon began requiring that reporters planning on going on an embed get signatures or consent from troops before using their images or voices in pictures, video, or audio recordings. Journalists complained that these new restrictions were simply attempts to block negative reporting.

In 2009, the U.S. regional command in eastern Afghanistan went a step further and banned the publication of any videotape or photograph of soldiers killed in action. This despite already agreed-upon rules going back decades that no identifying information would be used about a seriously wounded or killed GI until their family had been notified. This followed a controversy over the Associated Press publishing a series of

pictures that showed a Marine who had been mortally wounded by a rocket-propelled grenade in Afghanistan. The Marine’s family had already been notified of his death, but many still found the picture distasteful, including Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who called it appalling.

Around the same time, stories revealed that the Pentagon had hired an outside consulting group to vet reporters applying for embedding assignments in terms of whether their past work was positive, neutral, or negative. Some journalists claimed that they were denied embeds based on the ratings.

In 2015, the Pentagon released a revised *Law of War Manual* that took a much more aggressive stance toward embeds, saying that some journalists might be treated as *unprivileged belligerents*, a term that legally means one is below a civilian in terms of rights and protections. This raised the specter of reporters being detained as possible spies or even having their personal safety put at risk. Critics in the media and elsewhere expressed concern that the new guidelines would empower local commanders to punish, perhaps even with imprisonment, reporters whose stories they did not like.

Views From the Military, Media, and Scholars

Military reviews of the program (most from the early years of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq) have been largely positive. Many point to the program’s ability to give audiences at home, including military families, a view of the war and those fighting in it they would otherwise not have. At least at first, it was seen as improving military-media relations, though surveys showed a lingering distrust among military respondents of journalists’ motivations and biases. The 2008 *Army Field Manual* 3.0 described the embedding program as a “force multiplier,” capable of building morale among troops and home audiences. In particular, embedding has been described by the Pentagon as a key tactic in information warfare, especially in countering disinformation and misinformation from the enemy. In sum, the program is seen by many in the military as one of the most important tools for increasing public support for the military and the war, while simultaneously

countering enemy propaganda and controlling the information environment.

The view from the media, as one might imagine, is more nuanced. Some embeds have said that at least early on they did not feel restricted in what they could cover or how they could cover it, and felt military officials provided more help than hindrance. Certainly, as the security situations in each country deteriorated, the program became an essential means for covering the wars. As discussed, however, many journalists rejected the program in its inception on principle, and continued to complain that embedded reporting produced myopic, even propagandistic stories. Many felt that reporters became too close to the troops they covered, some even accusing them of succumbing to Stockholm Syndrome, which refers to the psychological phenomenon whereby hostages and kidnap victims sometimes develop sympathy for their captors. Perhaps the most common objection was that embedded reporters missed out on local stories, especially during the invasion phases of the wars, or when they were limited to living in secure zones.

Scholars have examined these issues in several studies of embedded coverage, most of them looking at the invasion period of the Iraq War. For the most part, these studies have shown that coverage by embeds did, in fact, have a narrow, military-centric focus, especially compared to coverage from unilaterals, who ran more stories about local concerns and life. Research also generally confirms the assumption that embedded coverage is largely positive, with a tendency to focus on battle and soldier-specific human interest stories, and reflecting the frames and perspectives of military officials. One study found that embedded reporters were about twice as likely to adopt a tone supportive of the military than were unilaterals. Another found that about nine in 10 embedded reporters' stories featured a quote from a soldier as a source, about twice as frequently as in unembedded reporters' stories. Studies also show that despite no military restrictions on coverage (at least until 2009 and even then not everywhere), the American press almost entirely shied away from showing dead and seriously wounded American GIs. For instance, the *New York Times* reported in 2008 that only about a half

dozen graphic photographs of dead American soldiers had run in news stories.

The relationship between the media and the military in wartime has always been both symbiotic and tense. Journalists' desire for good stories and truth sometimes overlaps with the Pentagon's need for good stories about brave soldiers achieving victory on the battlefield; but at other times defeats, setbacks, and even criminal behavior and mismanagement can put the news at odds with the military's desire for positive news. In the post-9/11 environment, Pentagon officials eschewed the earlier, restrictive pre-censorship model of media control and adopted the embedding program in an effort to allow journalists from around the world to tell the story of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan through independent eyes. These officials were not naive: They understood that embedding would likely lead to human interest and military-centric stories that would be positive and even patriotic, producing the kind of public morale-boosting effects they sought. They also hoped that journalists' stories would be the most credible means of countering enemy propaganda, and thus would be a key weapon in information warfare. Studies show that on all counts, especially during the early stages of the Iraq War, they were correct. Coverage from embedded reporters, which represented at least two thirds of all reporters in the field early on, reflected military frames and perspectives, focused on GIs and their bravery, countered fanciful attempts at disinformation by enemy propagandists such as Iraq's Minister of Information Mohammed "Baghdad Bob" Saeed al-Sahhaf, and ran mostly positive stories. These biases become all the more evident when comparing the coverage of embeds to that of independent, unilateral reporters untethered to military units, though it is important to note that those reporters' stories were also mostly positive and casualty-free, even if less so.

Following the withdrawal of most U.S. troops from Iraq in 2011 as part of the status of forces agreement between the two countries signed in 2008, the embedding program essentially became retired there. It continued in Afghanistan, though the rules there varied even more than they did within the U.S. military, due to the international nature of the coalition. Importantly, however, in both Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military

presence became increasingly focused on special forces. This trend has had important implications for news coverage of military operations because journalists very rarely are allowed to accompany these operations. Indeed, the growing reliance on waging war using means out of the public view, from special operations to drones, has not only made embedding less relevant, it has made accountability journalism itself more difficult. In some ways, then, one is seeing a return to a de facto form of pre-censorship, in which journalists and the public must rely on the good graces and candor of military and government officials for reliable information.

Sean Aday

See also Censorship; Military and the Media; News Values; Objectivity; Propaganda; Terrorism, Coverage of; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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ÉMIGRÉ NEWS MEDIA

Newsgathering and distribution are considered key functions of the mass media responding to the human need for awareness of surrounding events. This need is further intensified in the course of migration, as immigrants reach a new and unfamiliar environment. Information about events in

the host country indeed flows regularly from media in the host language, but most immigrants cannot avail themselves of it because they have not mastered this language and therefore require their own news sources. Furthermore, the language barrier itself is not the only reason for intensification of the immigrants' need for news in their own language. Another factor derives from the tendency among mainstream news sources to ignore topics that could interest immigrants or at most to provide partial and often distorted coverage of events in their homeland. Accordingly, in most societies hosting massive immigration waves there is seen a flourishing of news media in immigrants' mother tongues aimed at fulfilling their immediate need for orientation regarding the host society as well as satisfying their need to follow updates regarding the country of origin. This entry discusses the principal aspects associated with émigré news media, including their major functions, audience, journalistic practices and working conditions, and the role of these media in the global refugee crisis.

Émigré Media Functions

According to a seminal work of K. Viswanath and Pamela Arora (2000), émigré news media fulfill five main functions that are especially relevant for the newcomers and that might have different consequences regarding immigrants' social and cultural integration versus maintenance of their original ethnic identity and ties with the homeland:

1. *Transmission of the homeland culture* function includes covering news of immigrant community events, such as reports about cultural and religious celebrations, communal meetings, and visits of politicians, artists, and other prominent figures from the homeland.
2. *Informational* function is fulfilled by news items providing information about events occurring in the immigrants' homeland and in the communities of their coethnics dispersed all over the globe.
3. *Community sentinel* is a protective function of émigré news media also known as a *watchdog role*. As immigrants are potentially vulnerable to discrimination, this function is

especially important and is fulfilled by news reports on immigrants' civil rights violations, changes in immigration laws, and crime against immigrants, for example.

4. *Community booster* function can be found in news items that present the immigrant community in a positive light, projecting an image of success, achievement and contribution to the host society or to the native land.
5. *Assimilatory* function facilitates newcomers' social and cultural adaptation by covering news on immigrants' involvement in local politics, and promotion of positive connections between the homeland and the host country.

Furthermore, as noted by Dan Caspi and Nelly Elias (2011) when analyzing émigré news media functions, it is crucial to distinguish between media *for* immigrants (i.e., media established and owned by the hosts) versus media *by* immigrants (i.e., media initiated and owned by the immigrants themselves). Although both types of media use the immigrants' mother tongue, they have different objectives and serve different interests, projecting on the content and the framing of their news reports (see Table 1).

According to Caspi and Elias (2011), this distinction is especially important to analyze the quality of news produced by the immigrants' news sources. First, media-*by* would present their own alternative to the host majority agenda, just as media-*for* would

tend to adopt the host agenda and worldviews and transmit them to the immigrants as well. Second, on one hand, media-*by* would provide an easier access of the immigrant community members to the news production, thus compensating them for the lack of such access to the host media. On the other hand, media-*for* may be more selective in terms of the immigrants' access to the medium, so that preference would be accorded to those community members who do not endanger the host majority's dominance. Finally, media-*by* and media-*for* would differ also in the quality of coverage of the immigrant community's events and way of life. Even though one may expect that both media types aim to compensate the immigrants for their distorted coverage and underrepresentation in the host news sources, it is not uncommon that a paternalistic and one-sided view of the immigrant community would prevail in the media-*for*, as their workers often lack the sensitivity and first-hand familiarity with the immigrants and their culture.

Émigré News Media Audience

As information needs are intensified during the first stages of immigrants' adaptation to the new surroundings, immigrants tend to seek news extensively and are characterized by a high rate of news consumption. Besides news covering events in the homeland, immigrants seek news addressing their immigrant experience in the host country. As such

Table 1 Media-*by* Versus Media-*for*

	<i>Media-for</i>	<i>Media-by</i>
Principal objective	Mostly help immigrants adjust to the host society	Mostly help immigrants preserve their original identity and ties with the homeland
Immigrants' access to the medium	Controlled and limited towards immigrants	Relatively free towards immigrants but limited toward majority
Agenda	Attempt to dictate immigrant community agenda	Attempt to reflect immigrant community agenda
Homeland news coverage	Limited and generally critical	Extensive and generally supportive
Host society news coverage	Extensive and generally supportive	Limited and generally critical

Source: Based on Caspi, D., & Elias, N. (2011). Don't patronize me: Media *by* and *for* minorities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(1), 62–82, reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd, <http://www.tandfonline.com>.

items can be rarely found in the host media and are often presented in a biased and distorted way, immigrants perceive themselves as excluded from the flow of national news and criticize their depiction therein. This situation often leads to the proliferation of émigré news media aimed at compensating their audience for the perceived injustice. Émigré news media are thus not only an important source of information but also a means of self-expression and alternative representation.

In this regard, the rise in popularity and use of contemporary information and communication technologies (ICTs) has created a new angle for understanding immigrants' information needs. Contemporary media technologies propose new opportunities for migrants, since they serve as a source of alternative information regarding the host society, a tool for social empowerment, and an amplifier for their muted and often unattended voice.

In general, there is a positive association between consumption of news in the immigrants' mother tongue oriented toward the host country and the newcomers' social and cultural adjustment. On the other hand, however, émigré news media may also have an opposite effect if immigrants depend on news sources in their mother tongue for too long. Overemphasis of home country news at the expense of host society events also tends to jeopardize the integration role of émigré news media.

Journalist Practices and Working Conditions of the Émigré News Media

Immigrant journalists employed in the émigré news media may face several major predicaments. These media largely rely on an extremely weak financial infrastructure that dictates their modest professional standards, low wages, small staffs, and poor working conditions. Limited finances and training opportunities often preclude long-term goals, engender understaffing and mandate extensive volunteer work. The smaller dimensions of émigré news media, in turn, entail less division of labor and consequent imposition of diverse functions on each employee.

The combination of staff shortages and a heavy load of journalistic duties typical of émigré news media also results in low professional standards,

as immigrant journalists are mostly tied to the newsroom and use the telephone and online resources rather than engaging in investigative field reporting. Similarly, financial considerations render it difficult for these media to establish their own information gathering sources. Hence, there is a clear preference for "recycled" information acquired from the host news media, even at the expense of timeliness or commitment to the immigrant community's issues. Furthermore, immigrant journalists often lack professional training and proficiency in the host language. The former shortcoming may affect quality of reporting adversely, while the latter engenders an apparent problem with translation from the host language to the immigrants' mother tongue. Finally, the position of immigrant journalists within their own ethnic community may also be precarious. Although émigré news media derive their strength from close contact with their communities, their professional ethics may be compromised by flawed source dependencies and a low professional status.

Émigré News Media and the Global Refugee Crisis

Adaptation and integration of refugees require the ability to access and utilize vital information, much of which is provided over ICTs. Accordingly, Dana Diminescu (2008) suggested the concept of the "connected migrant" to demonstrate the convergence of recent developments in the social, digital, and communicative realms. This concept gains a special power in light of the current global refugee crisis, as millions of victims of genocide, civil wars, and authoritarian regimes—mostly from the Middle East and Africa—seek refuge and shelter in various countries throughout the world.

In this regard, the unique qualities of contemporary ICTs—such as their ability to offer abundant amounts of information; to enable users to design and transform their media environments; and to express themselves using varied creative means—might be especially important for the well-being and place making of forced migrants. It is not surprising, therefore, that current refugees have been defined in the popular media discourse as "Facebook refugees," for whom a

smartphone is the most crucial item they carry during their journey.

Recent studies aimed at examining forced migrants' media uses point to different roles fulfilled by the different media in the refugees' search for a new home and imply that these uses change throughout their resettlement. Saskia Witteborn (2012), for example, found that news searching activities and Facebooking were the main digital practices used by asylum seekers in Germany, which contributed to the forced migrants' well-being and served as a source of hope. Furthermore, Houssein Charmarkeh (2013) found that Somali refugees in France ascribe different roles fulfilled by different media in their search for a new home and imply that these uses change throughout their resettlement. More specifically, Charmarkeh found that social media were strongly linked to refugees' mobility and were mostly used for the purpose of finding a safe refuge, while traditional media (e.g., television, newspapers) served as a window into France and French culture. At the same time while being connected to a contemporary media ecosystem, forced immigrants' access to news as well as to personal information is insecure, unstable, and undependable, leading to potential threats to their well-being.

Nelly Elias

See also Access to Media; Ethnic Press; Immigration, Coverage of; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

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EMOTION IN JOURNALISM

The relationship between journalism and emotion has always been fraught and never more so than in today's social media environment of fake news and polarized opinion. On the one hand, deeply embedded normative values of Anglo-American journalism that can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century dictate an ideal of detachment, fact-based journalism, and impartiality, concepts often grouped together as an objectivity paradigm. On the other hand, journalism is a contest for attention, and every reporter and editor knows that without raw emotion, readers and viewers will find their stories boring. This is the fundamental tension between journalism and emotion that lies at the heart of the profession.

For much of the 20th century, the objectivity paradigm prevailed and withstood challenges from diverse forms of journalism that tried to push emotion to the fore. But with the advent of social media, the floodgates have been opened and today's journalism is increasingly infused by emotion. The discourse of journalism often still endorses the normative values of detachment and fact-based journalism, and age-old disciplines such as verification have taken on new salience in an age of fake news. But the public now expects to witness the feelings and personalities of journalists and to be able to converse with them on social media platforms. In addition, the incorporation of user-generated content (UGC) into mainstream reporting has become an essential tool for news outlets to engage their audiences and creates a hybrid news file that is perceived to be more authentic than the formulaic approach of old. This hybrid product takes on some of the

characteristics of social media platforms where experiences can be shared, blurring the lines between news and entertainment.

This entry traces how emotion was at first sidelined in the development of journalistic norms and became perceived as a marker of “bad” or sensationalist journalism. It explores the challenges to the objectivity paradigm and how over the first two decades of the 21st-century news has progressively become more openly emotional. It examines the cultural, social, and technological reasons behind this rise and the challenges this poses to today’s journalism.

As this entry explores, emotion has in fact always been central to journalism, but until recently, it has rarely been the topic of discussion among journalists or the subject of detailed academic study. It has tended to be a taboo subject hardly mentioned in the open for fear of being seen to undermine principles of objectivity. Only recently, in the light of today’s social media environment and the overt increase in emotionality, has there begun to be a focus on the subject. Today, the term “emotional turn” is being applied in journalism studies and a growing volume of work can be found exploring the phenomenon. Terms such as “emotional labor,” “emotional intelligence,” and “emotional literacy” are used liberally, together with discussion of issues related to trauma and posttraumatic stress disorder.

Many scholars make a clear distinction between “affect” and “emotion,” although the terms are often contested and sometimes used interchangeably. While there are many different theories of affect, dating back to the “affective turn” in social and cultural studies during the 1990s, it is generally defined as an experience that can be described as noncognitive, nonconscious, nonrepresentational, and immaterial. By contrast, emotion can be seen as the sociological expression of feelings or the interpretation of an affective experience. As such, affect is an umbrella term and a zone of potential emotions before they have been assessed or related to a specific subject or source.

How Emotion Was Sidelined and Derided as Bad Journalism

The suppression of emotion in the discourse surrounding journalism can be traced back to the

mid-to-late 19th century when normative values around objectivity emerged in the news media in the United States and Britain. The exact reasons are contested and have been the subject of extensive scholarly debate, but it is generally seen as resulting from a series of parallel developments in the two countries. This was the age of Charles Darwin, positivism, the primacy of reason over the senses and a growing belief in scientific facts. The founding of news agencies such as the Associated Press and Reuters in the middle of the century coincided with the invention of the telegraph and the emergence of a terse, fact-based news style based on the “Five Ws” (who, what, when, why, where). One of the reasons for this was intensely practical. If the telegraph broke down, the chances were that the most important part of the story, at the top, would arrive intact. The style of the inverted pyramid story became enshrined as an ideal format and one that is taught in journalism schools to this day.

As the new technology of mass printing allowed newspaper barons to increase their circulation and, by extension, potential profits, so stories became politically less partisan to appeal to a wider readership. By the turn of the 20th century, journalists were determined to establish their role as a profession and, crucially, as one that differentiated itself from the emerging discipline of public relations. The growth of propaganda during World War I and the rise of fascism in Europe in the 1930s made journalists even more determined to set themselves apart from those who aimed to manipulate public opinion through the use of emotion. By the 1930s, normative values of journalism comprised detachment, impartiality, balance, and a reliance on facts, an objectivity canon that extended beyond the borders of just the United States and Britain. These values were seen as a marker of the professional journalist, a detached observer who witnessed events. Conversely, emotion was derided and often regarded as synonymous with “bad” or sensationalist journalism. The view can still be heard today in discussion about how media is “dumbing down” or undermining the role of the public sphere to foster rationale debate.

That is not to say that journalists did not and do not use emotion to capture their audiences’ attention. Instinctively, journalists have traditionally employed a “workaround” to ensure they engage

readers and viewers through relaying the feelings of the protagonists and sources that feature in their stories. This technique, known as the “outsourcing” of emotion, allows the journalist to create lively, emotionally rich stories while at the same time upholding the objectivity paradigm—it is not the emotions of the journalist that are used but those of the people caught up in events. This type of story often reworks the inverted pyramid format, starting with what is sometimes known as a “delayed drop” or anecdotal lead to the story in which the audience is drawn into a human-interest narrative. While the world of journalism has tacitly recognized and used this technique for 150 years, it is only in the recent past that it began to be openly discussed and acknowledged.

Throughout the 20th century, repeated attempts were made to undermine or redefine the objectivity paradigm in favor of a greater role for emotion. Few of them made a lasting impact, not least because journalism had positioned itself as an elite profession with clear boundaries it instinctively defended against outsiders. One of the fiercest challenges came from the New Journalism of the 1960s and 1970s as authors such as Tom Wolfe, Norman Mailer, Hunter S. Thompson, and Joan Didion sought to combine traditional reporting with elements of fiction. But the movement, which sought to highlight feeling and subjectivity, failed to be adopted by mainstream journalism.

In Europe, coverage of the Balkan wars during the 1990s posed another challenge with the emergence of what was called the “journalism of attachment” in which the BBC correspondent Martin Bell argued for “journalism that cares as well as knows.” By doing so, he was questioning deeply entrenched values of impartiality and balance, but the BBC closed ranks and once again normative standards of journalism prevailed (in much the same way as “peace journalism” has gained little traction). Countless other challenges came and went, although some, such as the emergence of the outspoken Fox News network following deregulation of U.S. broadcasting, would foreshadow the more emotional and opinionated journalism of today.

How the Taboo Was Broken

The “turn to affect” of the 1990s saw scholars question traditional ideas about representation

and draw on theories of feeling and experience to better understand, among other disciplines such as literature and art, media. Today, we live in a therapy culture, where citizens post their life stories on social media for everyone to share and where they curate their identity on a daily basis. Amid a crisis of trust in traditional forms of news media, newspapers and broadcast news bulletins are perceived by younger generations to be formulaic, stale, and lacking in emotional engagement. And in what has become an increasingly visual society, images delivered by citizens witnessing news events, sometimes referred to as UGC, can appear to be more real and more authentic than images taken by professional news photographers.

Journalism has been sucked into this heady postmodern mix of cultural, societal, and technological change. Journalists are expected to share their experiences and feelings on social media instead of simply outsourcing emotion to the figures who populate their stories. The journalist who was once detached from his or her audience and hidden behind the scenes is under pressure to develop a personal brand and post on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Emotion in journalism has finally broken cover. This was not the product of one watershed moment but can be traced through a series of key news stories which pointed the way.

The September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, DC, in 2001 represented an emotionally laden story during which large segments of the U.S. media suspended any pretense of objectivity. In December 2004, dramatic footage of the tsunami that wrought havoc across Indonesia was captured by holidaymakers caught up in the disaster; in 2005, survivors of the July 7 bombing of the London transport network sent 1,000 mobile phone pictures and pieces of video to the BBC, which, in turn, decided it was time to set up a special desk to monitor UGC and social media. Within a few years, UGC became an essential component of news reporting and a key factor in driving the new visibility of emotion of journalism.

The ability to draw on such material has benefited “legacy” news organizations in their struggle to retain and win new audiences as social media platforms erode traditional advertising revenues. Still images and video shot by people caught up in events—from terror and natural disasters to

traffic accidents and street brawls—allow readers and viewers to share experiences, blurring the boundaries between news and social media. We now witness in near real-time news stories as they break, from the struggle to prevent a terror attack on London Bridge (captured on mobile phones by passengers in a passing bus) to the killing of 51 people at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand (captured by the gunman himself and streamed live through a helmet camera). This new visibility makes for compelling news coverage and engages audiences through often unedited, emotionally intense images. But it also poses ethical dilemmas for journalists. These are not necessarily new dilemmas, but the speed of transmission calls for split-second editorial judgments. Some mainstream news outlets posted raw footage from the Christchurch gunman as part of their online coverage before taking it down and apologizing in the face of widespread outrage. Footage sent into a newsroom or posted online may seem compelling, but the question has to be asked whether it is genuine or an attempt to manipulate the media and public opinion. Verification has always been a key marker of professional journalism and is as crucial as ever in the social media environment.

Stephen Jukes

See also Citizen Journalism; Ethics; Fake News; New Journalism; Objectivity; Peace Journalism; Social Media; User-Created Content

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EMPLOYMENT

Modern journalists include editors, editorial assistants, publishing copyeditor/proofreaders, reporters, news columnists, investigative reporters, content writers, news writers, news correspondents, announcers, anchors, producers, directors, photojournalists, broadcast news analysts, videographers, cartoonists, magazine journalists, political risk analysts, writers, digital producers, podcasters, social media managers, web content managers, and others involved in selecting the news that is shared through print, broadcast, and the Internet.

A journalist's primary allegiance lies with the public. This contrasts with information disseminators such as public relations specialists and press agents, who may hold allegiance to stockholders, companies, or officials. In the United States and other democracies, a key role for journalists is providing verified, actionable information, thereby allowing citizens to make informed decisions in self-governance. This entry discusses the demographic characteristics of those employed as journalists in the United States, the work they do, and the skills they use while doing their work. It then looks at factors that have led to cutbacks in journalism jobs, describes the job search process and the types of available employment for prospective journalists, and potential jobs for those with journalistic skills who decide to switch occupations.

Diversity and Demographics

National data indicate that of journalists employed in the United States in 2010 or later, nearly three-quarters worked full time while the other fourth

worked part time or freelanced for multiple clients with fluctuating income levels. Compared to U.S. workers overall, newsroom employees are more likely to be white and male, according to the Pew Research Center.

The 2019 American Society of News Editors Newsroom Diversity Survey found journalists of color comprised nearly a third of full-time employees at online-only news organizations at the end of 2018. Women made up 50% of online-only news organization employees and nearly 42% of all newsroom workers. People of color represented nearly 22% of the salaried workforce in the survey, which relied on organizations that agreed to participate and cannot be generalized to the U.S. journalism industry as a whole. Among the news organizations responding to the survey, more than a quarter (26.4%) had at least one non-white person in one of three top newsroom leadership roles. The percentage of newsrooms with print and digital operations that had a non-white person in a top leadership role was slightly lower, at 25.6%, and slightly higher in online-only newsrooms, at 29%.

The Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA) reported that 27% of those working in local TV news in the United States in 2020 were people of color, which represented a record high, although still below their 39% share of the general population in the United States. People of color made up 15% of the local radio news workforce in 2020, the highest percentage since 1998, according to RTDNA. There was also a slight gain in 2020 in the percentage of news directors leading TV newsrooms. Local TV stations in the South and West showed the most diversity, easily ahead of those in the Northeast with the Midwest lagging significantly behind.

Although people of color represented the highest level of the local radio news workforce in more than 20 years, less than 25% of local radio newsrooms in the United States featured at least one person of color as of 2020. Men also tend to be overrepresented in local radio newsrooms, with women making up nearly 40% of the workforce.

The Work of Journalists

Either through assignment or enterprise ideas, journalists cover a range of activities and events,

including governmental and educational meetings, catastrophes, sports, and entertainment. Journalists need to contact sources and have a basic understanding of media law.

In many news organizations, teams of journalists once went out to cover the news. One person would interview sources and write the story. Another would take photographs. For broadcast, a reporter and a videographer would team to produce spot news. In recent years, it has become increasingly likely for a journalist to work individually researching and gathering content. Where journalists once gathered content for a specific platform, today's journalist must produce content that can be applied to multiple platforms. Multimedia journalists may be responsible for telling a story in text, photos, audio, and/or video. They may need to capture natural sound or background footage as well as recording one or more interviews to tell a story.

Modern broadcast stations hire content producers to produce the 30-minute newscast as well as keep the websites filled with content to provide additional depth to stories. The move to a converged newsroom (i.e., a newsroom featuring aspects of print, radio, and television news) led to the elimination of jobs as an individual journalist with a smartphone could produce work that once required a team of two to three individuals. The modern journalist practices convergence by mixing skills formerly used exclusively in print or broadcast.

Journalists gather information from multiple sources, finding news through focusing on news values of timeliness, currency, impact, unusualness, conflict, prominence, and proximity. They verify information from sources before publication. Many journalists work beats, or specialized coverage areas, that often involve explaining governmental decisions in a way that the average person can understand. In a media environment saturated with choices, journalists must also be good storytellers to capture the consumer's attention.

In producing journalism for the online audience, journalists practice content management and web design while providing links in news articles to vetted materials that provide additional information. Narrative journalism that combines audio, text, and video has become increasingly popular,

as have podcasts that allow listeners to hear the stories behind a news story. Podcasts and social media can also serve as ways to enhance a journalist's reputation and build their following. Although social media has disrupted the news industry, it has also become an indispensable tool for many journalists. Editors play a variety of roles in news organizations, from assigning stories to reviewing them for clarity and correcting grammatical, stylistic, and factual errors.

Useful characteristics and skills for journalists to have include critical thinking, active listening, self-management, time management, resourcefulness, interpersonal skills, critical analysis, data analysis, digital marketing, leadership, flexibility, and independence. The ability to meet deadlines, work productively in group projects, and clearly and effectively communicate information are also key. Some enter journalism with specialized knowledge in economics, health, politics, science, and technology, while other journalists develop this knowledge through their work covering these topics.

To increase the odds of gaining employment, many journalists now keep an online portfolio that provides the opportunity to showcase their skills. The portfolio features their resume highlighting relevant experience along with their best work. Journalists can also network through state, regional, and national press associations, guilds, and societies to find mentors, job opportunities, and help with legal matters. LinkedIn and other social media platforms allow journalists to network online.

The Media Landscape

For most of the 20th century, U.S. journalists primarily worked for family-owned enterprises. In part due to changes in federal laws regulating media ownership, there has been increased media conglomeration since the late 20th century. Ownership of multiple outlets fueled position redundancies. The growing reliance of consumers on online sources of news also has had profound implications for the business model of news organizations, particularly newspapers.

As advertising shifted online, newspapers suffered a dramatic loss in advertising revenue. The rise of online media also resulted in lost

subscription revenue as readers increasingly relied on free online sources of news. Many traditional media outlets initially provided their online content for free, helping to change expectations around paying for news. In a 2019 study by the Knight Foundation and Gallup, 86% of the U.S. adults surveyed said local news should be available to everyone whether they pay or not. Thirty percent of those surveyed said they were paying for a monthly or annual subscription to a news source, while 19% donated to public radio, public television, and/or other nonprofit sources of journalism. A survey by Pew Research Center found even less willingness to pay for news: Only 14% of Americans surveyed by Pew in 2018 said they paid for local news in the previous year through subscription, donation, or membership. The top reason for not paying for news, cited by 49%, was the widespread availability of free content.

The economic problems in the news industry were worsened by the 2008 to 2009 recession. An estimated one fourth of all daily and weekly newspapers in the United States folded between 2004 and 2019, with some communities losing news coverage completely as a result. A 2018 University of North Carolina study found that about 1,300 communities no longer have local news coverage from any source. At least 200 U.S. counties have no newspaper at all, according to a 2019 report from PEN America.

The closures, and cutbacks in the newsrooms that remain, have had severe consequences for many U.S. journalists. From 1990 to 2018, 60% of workers in the U.S. newspaper industry lost their jobs. Across all types of news organizations, nearly a quarter of newsroom journalists lost their jobs from 2008 to 2018. The greatest decline occurred at newspapers, which saw nearly half of their jobs disappear. A third of the largest newspapers in the United States reported layoffs between January 2017 and April 2018. While the number of digital-native newsrooms went up by 82% between 2008 and 2018, a quarter of digital-native news sites reported layoffs in 2018.

The number of people who lost media jobs in the United States in 2019 alone has been estimated to be as high as 7,800. Those losing their jobs included editors, fact checkers, administrators, artists, foreign correspondents, bloggers, videographers, layout and design employees,

writers in daily news, fashion, finance, health, national security, opinion, politics, sports, and other specialists who previously worked for small newspapers, alt-weeklies, and media conglomerates.

The early 21st century also has seen heightened concern over audiences' ability to distinguish credible news sources from less trustworthy ones. Those who consume news from a variety of sources online take on the task of filtering relevant information, which was previously handled by media gatekeepers who verified information before passing it along to the public. Many now rely on social media and search engines to find news online, which can expose them to diverse sources of information. At the same time, the rise of social media has allowed for the rapid dissemination of misinformation, some of it created deliberately by unscrupulous actors for partisan reasons, monetary gain, or a mix of both. The rise of "fake news" was a major topic of discussion as the second decade of the 21st century came to a close, as was concern over declining trust in traditional news media sources. While surveys have shown a decline in trust in the news media since the 1990s, concern intensified due in part to attacks on the news media by Donald Trump, who repeatedly called the news media the *enemy of the people* during his presidency.

The Job Search

Most entry-level journalism jobs require media experience and a bachelor's degree, most typically in journalism, communication, mass communication, or a degree in the arts and humanities. Pew Research Center notes newsroom employees are more than twice as likely as other U.S. workers to be college graduates, but they make less money than college-educated workers as a whole. Students wishing to gain experience while working on their degree can often work for student publications including newspapers, television news, radio, and online-only news outlets.

While job opportunities can be found via networking, potential journalists also use the Internet and research skills to locate opportunities. They send potential employers email inquiries featuring links to their portfolios. They typically provide references upon request once certain that the

potential reference would be willing to give a positive review of their performance.

The following median annual wages were reported in May 2018 to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The median wage is one for which an equal number of salaries were reported above and below the wage; it does not represent the average wage someone in the position might earn. In many cases, there is overlap in the categories between journalists and those working in fields requiring similar skills, such as book publishing.

- Multimedia artists and animators, \$72,520.
- Producers and directors, \$71,680.
- Writers and authors, \$62,170.
- Editors, \$59,480.
- Film and video editors and camera operators, \$58,990.
- Reporters, correspondents, and broadcast news analysts, \$43,490.
- Photographers, \$34,000.
- Announcers, \$31,990.

Certain newer journalism roles, such as digital producers or podcasters, may not be captured in the data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is one factor making it difficult to quantify how many industry jobs have been lost in the early 21st century, as some journalists may be working in roles that did not exist previously. In its annual salary survey, RTDNA reported in 2020 that after accounting for inflation, local TV news salaries fell in 2019 compared to the previous year, the first such drop since 2012. Local radio news salaries rose above inflation, however.

Salary can be a significant factor for those entering the field in deciding whether to take a job offer, particularly when factoring in the cost of living in a new location and any student debt the new journalist may have incurred. Online cost of living comparisons and salary relocation calculators can help provide information to make an informed decision.

Potential journalists must be prepared to contend for positions with the recently unemployed as well as recent college graduates. While some news outlets provide paid internships for college students and recent graduates, it is still common for companies to use college labor with minimal or no pay, although in some cases course credit is

awarded toward degree requirements. Interns also can build a portfolio from work produced during the internship and develop professional relationships that might lead to a job offer.

Organizations hiring journalists typically include local, regional, and national newspapers; radio and television stations; magazines; digital media companies; and other media and broadcast companies. Initiatives such as Report for America, NewsMatch, LION Publishers, and the American Journalism Project are providing support for journalists to cover areas that lost local coverage.

Although it is unclear whether the numbers include new job titles for those traditionally labeled as reporters or correspondents, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics provided the following outlook for 2018 to 2028:

- a 3% decline in editors;
- a 5% decline in announcers;
- a 6% decline in photographers;
- a 10% decline in reporters, correspondents, and broadcast news analysts;
- a 4% increase in multimedia artists and animators;
- a 5% increase in producers and directors;
- an 11% increase in film and video editors and camera operators; and
- a 13% increase in web developers.

Where once it was said freedom of the press belongs to those who have one, now anyone can have a press using platforms like WordPress or even Facebook. Individuals are becoming their own editors and publishers to fill the vacuum left by disappearing local news outlets, in some cases attracting advertising once they build a following.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics does not provide an occupational outlook for online publishers. Additionally, many state press associations do not count online publishers as media outlets even if they are providing the only news within a community. Until such an accounting is made, the numbers of jobs lost in the transfer to new media cannot accurately be identified.

Transferring Skills

The variety of skills that journalists possess often allows them to find work in other industries.

Although the media industry as a whole appears to have shrunk since the late 20th century, with the Bureau of Labor Statistics finding a 4% decline in media jobs from 1990 (1.28 million) to 2016 (1.23 million), new job categories have arisen in social media and other forms of online media. When combined, the four LinkedIn categories of journalism, public relations, content, and social made up a larger share of all hires that LinkedIn tracks in 2018 than they did in 2004, according to Vox.

Knowing how to write well crosses many business sectors. Communicators can use their journalistic skills as multimedia specialists, public relations consultants, newsletter writers, digital and advertising copywriters, market researchers, science writers, book authors, and translators. Among the employers valuing journalistic skills include many corporate communication agencies, nongovernmental organizations, advertising and marketing companies, and higher education institutions. Former journalists may also find opportunities in law, public administration, management, and politics.

Ronald W. Sitton

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Editing, Online and Digital; Editing, Print Media; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; Fake News; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Interviewing; Media Conglomerates; New Media; Podcasting; Self-Publishing

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ENGAGED JOURNALISM

Engaged journalism is an umbrella term referring to practices and principles that seek to build relationships between journalists and the public. There is not one universally agreed-upon definition of engaged journalism, and there have been tensions between those who prioritize the engagement of consumers in pursuit of financial sustainability versus the engagement of the public for civic participation. However, most researchers and practitioners who use the term refer to approaches that seek to interact with their audience or larger communities in some way to assess and respond to their information needs and interests and to involve them to varying degrees in the journalistic process.

Proponents of engaged journalism argue that by building stronger relationships with audiences and communities, engaged journalism has the potential to build trust. Implicit in engaged journalism is a critique of traditional models of journalism where professional editors and reporters are the sole arbiters of newsworthiness. It challenges journalists not to assume that they alone have the judgment needed to decide what stories are important and how they should be told. Because of the range of interpretations of engaged journalism, its practices can take a wide range of forms, for example, soliciting ideas for stories online, holding open "office hours" for reporters at a library or café, or sharing stories through

participatory theater performances. This entry offers an overview of the origins of engaged journalism, conceptualizations of types of engaged journalism, examples, and some key debates and critiques.

Origins and Influences

Defining *engaged journalism* is complicated in part due to the path by which the term evolved. In the 2000s, as journalists experimented with the affordances of the Internet and then social media, a number of avenues emerged for members of the public to participate in the process of making and disseminating news. This included activities such as commenting on stories and liking or sharing stories. But it also included opportunities to create and circulate user-generated content, an activity closely aligned with citizen journalism and participatory journalism. While many experimental projects came and went, one can view these streams of activity as progenitors of two related pathways: audience engagement and engaged journalism.

Audience engagement has largely followed a marketing logic, prioritizing people as consumers or at least members of an audience, tracking how they behave through actions such as page views or the number of followers or re-tweets generated, and developing strategies to increase these metrics. Engaged journalism, however, focuses on people as members of communities or publics, who may or may not already be part of an audience. Its practices center on encouraging greater participation and trust in media as a means to an end of more inclusive civic dialogue. The lines between audience engagement and engaged journalism are often blurred. Some news organizations have endeavored both, and as a result, *engagement* is sometimes used to refer to either set of practices.

The ethos behind engaged journalism predates the emergence of Internet technologies. The concept resonates with early 20th-century philosopher John Dewey's idea of a public sphere where media coverage could help engage people in public dialogue about civic life. Dewey's view of media's potential influenced the more recent reform movement of public or civic journalism. This movement, which peaked in the 1990s, sought to encourage people to actively participate in civic

dialogue and to prioritize the inclusion of nonelite sources. By the time interactive Internet technologies became widespread, public journalism had largely faded from mainstream discussions. But engaged journalism initiatives have adapted many of the ideas underpinning the movement. Indeed, some of the lead proponents of public journalism, for example, New York University Professor Jay Rosen, have in recent years been active in engaged journalism initiatives.

Engaged journalism practices intersect with practices common within citizen journalism, community journalism, and international media development. Many grassroots programs have long offered training for community members and youth to share their stories through community radio, television, and newspapers—and more recently through their digital equivalents. Likewise, many of the practices now associated with engaged journalism, for example, community discussions, have long been practiced on an ad hoc basis by a number of news organizations, particularly in the public media realm. Fields and skills outside journalism, notably community organizing and facilitation or mediation skills, have also influenced engaged journalism.

The term *engaged journalism* became more widely adopted following a combination of publications, conferences, and interest among the philanthropic community. These included Jake Batsell's 2015 book *Engaged Journalism: Connecting with Digitally Empowered News Audiences*, as well as a number of online posts outlining the philosophy and practice. A number of key convenings brought together practitioners and educators including the "Experience Engagement" unconference hosted by the Agora Journalism Center and Journalism That Matters in 2015, and the People Powered Publishing Conference held annually from 2016 to 2019. These gatherings also connected practitioners working on engaged journalism with philanthropic funders who would prove pivotal to the wider adoption of engaged journalism—particularly Democracy Fund, the Knight Foundation, and the News Integrity Initiative.

A Spectrum of Engagement

As mentioned, engaged journalism practices and projects can take a range of forms. Practitioners

and scholars observing engaged journalism have noted several axes along which engaged journalism practices can be charted to examine the depth of engagement and where the engagement falls in the journalism process.

Andrew DeVigal, who directs the Agora Journalism Center and its engaged journalism focused project Gather, argues that one can view engaged journalism as a continuum from transactional to relational engagement. Transactional engagement includes activities centered on learning, following, and endorsing—many of the activities associated with audience engagement through social media. Relational activities include participating, collaborating, and leading—and focus more on building relationships with the public in pursuit of civic engagement.

This continuum of engagement complements a number of frameworks developed by scholars exploring engaged journalism initiatives. This includes Regina Lawrence, Damian Radcliffe, and Thomas Schmidt's continuum from thin to thicker engagement, where "thin" practices include tracking audience metrics, and "thicker" approaches include face-to-face meetings and events. A related framework offered by Andrea Wenzel, community-centered journalism, looks at the degree projects center and share power with community stakeholders as opposed to newsrooms, and how activities affect relationships between community groups, residents, and local journalists. Finally, Lindsay Green-Barber and Eric Garcia McKinley suggest one can assess different types of activities within projects for characteristics of trust (authenticity, transparency, positivity, diversity, consistency, and shared mission) to potentially predict the degree they may build trust with audiences. Each of these models suggest that deeper, more relational, engagement more effectively builds trust between journalists and communities or publics.

In addition to looking at the depth of engagement, observers of engaged journalism have also noted the importance of *when* engagement interventions take place within the news production process. In a traditional newsroom structure, the public plays a relatively passive role as a potential audience, at most commenting on stories after they have been distributed. Engaged journalism often tries to intervene at various points along this traditional production and dissemination cycle.

Jennifer Brandel, who founded the trailblazing engaged journalism company Hearken, offered an alternative model of "public-powered journalism" that sought to involve the public throughout the cycle of a story. Hearken's online tool, which newsrooms can embed on their websites, invites users to ask questions they want reporters to follow up on. Brandel suggested this ideally gave people an opportunity to participate from the pitch (by asking questions), to assignment (voting on their favorite questions), to reporting (accompanying the reporter), and finally to feedback. Studies of how newsrooms use Hearken, however, have found that many have been more apt to involve audiences early in the cycle (particularly to generate story ideas) than at later stages. This challenge is not exclusive to Hearken, as many engaged journalism tools and projects have focused more on earlier phases of the production process. Indeed, there are very few examples of projects that consistently engage with the public through all stages of the development and dissemination of news and information.

Engaged Journalism Cases

Looking across these spectrums of engaged journalism projects, there are some notable functions that a number of projects focus on. These include listening, co-creating news and information, distributing information as a service, seeking feedback and accountability, convening, and organizing. Some projects focus on one of these elements, while others incorporate many of them. What follows are some brief examples to illustrate these engagement goals, focusing on projects on the more relational side of the engagement spectrum. While these examples draw from the United States, people practice engaged journalism in multiple countries.

Listening: The aptly named Listening Post Collective offers resources and consulting to support community-centered projects taken on by local news outlets around the United States. The initiative emphasizes the value of information needs assessments (which they often do through basic surveys) to determine what information communities need and want and where they go to exchange it. Many of the projects have followed assessments with more opportunities for listening

by establishing audio recording stations or “listening posts” in the community for people to share views and experiences, as well as other interactive platforms such as the text messaging service GroundSource.

Co-creating news and information: Among the many innovative projects run by the nonprofit civic journalism lab City Bureau, the Documenters project offers training and pay for community members to attend and document public governance meetings. The project compiles databases of civic data that can be searched by professional journalists or any interested citizen and challenges the idea that gathering and recording information should exclusively be the work of journalists, as opposed to the work of citizens.

Distributing information as a service: Outlier Media began with the aim of serving the information needs of low-income communities in Detroit, where housing and utilities are two of the biggest issues. The project buys lists of cell phone numbers and texts people, inviting them to reply if they want information (replies are then shared automatically by syncing to city and county databases) or want to ask a journalist questions. By reimagining the concept of service and accountability journalism, the project provides actionable information directly to residents, rather than reporting *about* them.

Creating accountability by convening and organizing: Free Press News Voices champions the use of community organizing strategies to increase the power of residents to make local journalism more accountable and inclusive. Through projects around the United States, they act as connectors, often facilitating convenings between community stakeholders and local news organizations. Through this work, they seek to strengthen local news ecosystems in a way that centers racial equity and community-driven solutions.

Controversies and Critiques

As with any reform-oriented subfield, engaged journalism has its critics and controversies. Like public journalism or citizen journalism, engaged journalism has faced concerns from some within the journalism establishment who worry people may perceive these practices as advocacy. For some, engaging with communities calls into

question norms around journalistic independence or “objectivity.” Some proponents of engaged journalism counter that journalistic “objectivity” has always been problematic and contradictory—encouraging reporters to develop close ties with elite or government sources but being suspicious of similar ties with community organizations.

Another point of contention within the engaged journalism sphere that highlights the blurred lines between audience engagement and engaged journalism is over whether these practices lead directly to revenue. Some proponents have argued that engagement is a way to encourage audience loyalty and increase the likelihood of membership or subscriptions. However, as scholars such as Jacob Nelson have pointed out, more research is needed to demonstrate whether improving the quality of work through engagement leads to measurable increases in revenue.

Finally, as with all journalism, a lack of diversity within newsrooms poses problems for engaged journalism. It is particularly challenging when efforts attempting to include communities are centered in majority white newsrooms attempting to reach out to Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) communities. In such situations, coverage is more likely to be *about* BIPOC communities than *of* and *for* them. This dynamic has also led to concerns that engaged journalism may be siloed into the responsibilities of one or two people with engagement in their titles, rather than being woven into processes across newsrooms and simply being seen as “good journalism.”

Andrea Wenzel

See also Audiences; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Participatory Journalism

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ENGLISH ROOTS OF THE FREE PRESS

The origins of journalism are similar across Europe. The newspaper grows out of the time-honored twin impulses to report significant political and economic events or sensational, curious, or trivial ones. These impulses long predate the introduction of moveable type so the arrival of the printing press in the mid-15th century was not in itself a necessary cause for the development of the modern newspaper.

European Background

The printed newspaper, in the form of an unbound, sequentially issued, independently edited publication using the same title but differentially dated does not appear until about a century and a half after European printing began—in other words, around 1600. During that delay, intermittently printed prose newsbooks on major individual events, as well as occasional digests of news, would be produced featuring stories real or imagined (e.g., battles and royal progresses as well as miracles, disasters, crimes, and celestial phenomena). The fictional as well as the factual would all be sold as “true.” These proto-news journals—referred to as *mercuries*, *relations*, *gazettes*, or *avisos*—were of a piece with the printers’ other ephemera, such as woodcuts or ballads on contemporary topics, both serious and sensational.

The most economically and politically significant news enterprise was the regular exchange of information between kingdoms through their

ambassadorial system or by merchants at periodic great fairs or in reports from their factors in distant cities. These communications, however, did not appear in print. They remained handwritten and secret, as they had always been throughout the middle ages. Some were regular enough to be “newsletters” issued to limited readership (a bank’s main clients, for example) in multiple handwritten copies. They continued to be produced by hand well into the 17th century. The news they contained was seen as potentially damaging if published because it could be revealing of state secrets or could possibly jeopardize commercial advantage.

Making this information—known as *intelligences*—more public was a fraught enterprise. Medieval merchants had not much desire to share market intelligence at all. Authorities were also fearful but were more confused as to how to deal with the issue of press control. The problem was that, from the time of the introduction of the press, they had sought to exploit print’s potential as a means of information dissemination for their own purposes. Yet they felt threatened by private presses. In response, states and the church licensed the physical machines and organized printers into monopolistic guilds. They proscribed works and authors, vetted proposals, registered titles, and, as a last resort, banned any work that got through the net, but printing itself remained a necessity. The result was a censorship regime less effective than construed. Policing was rudimentary. Authorities were willing to license publications (inflammatory blasphemous pamphlets, for example) for export that they would not countenance for domestic distribution. Ownership and operation of presses was difficult to control because they were small enough to be loaded on a handcart or concealed in any room.

Despite this somewhat confused official approach, what emerged in the 16th century was an ever-increasing need to distribute commercial intelligence. During the long period of print media incubation, feudalism was collapsing and mercantile capitalism was emerging as the basis of economic organization. To work, the new system needed not secrecy but informed participation. It was these realizations that finally “caused” independent printed news in its modern form to emerge, despite its destabilizing potential as far as

the authorities were concerned. By the start of the 17th century, the pressure mercantilists brought to bear—because they needed a constant flow of information to conduct their businesses—had transformed the role of the press. No longer was knowledge deemed to be only of value to princes or banking houses. Couple this development to the established popular taste for the sensational and the foundation of modern journalism was laid. As the towns of Europe grew, so did the merchant class and the numbers of those who wrote, printed, and published newsbooks and a range of newssheets.

Especially in the German-speaking cities, printers (*mercurists* rather than *journalists* at this stage) were licensed to produce regular *corantos*, instead of occasional newsbooks and mercuries. In 1605, Abraham Verhoeven started a *coranto*, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, in the Netherlands. By 1617, he was publishing weekly and eventually, in the 1620s, these *New Tidings* came out as often as three times a week. By then journalism had one very big and long running story to cover. What was to become the Thirty Years' War—a paroxysm more than a century in the making as the tensions produced by the Protestant Reformation were transformed into a bloody and interminable conflict—had begun in 1618. Nearly a third of the population of the German-speaking lands was to die in these decades mainly by disease and famine as the Catholic Church fought Protestant princes.

Censorship in the Netherlands, a republic established in provinces recently independent of Spain, was less draconian than elsewhere. Dutch printers, taking advantage of this, published in many languages including English.

English Press Controls

English printers were less fortunate than their Dutch counterparts, and strict controls via a licensing system were exercised though the Stationers' Company. As a medieval guild of those responsible for the production of manuscript editions originally, the Company had a monopoly over print as well. In 16th-century England, the printing of news took the same form as on the Continent with the appearance of occasional newsbooks. Sensation, however, sold as well as politics and was less liable to cause offense so

English printers did not include the political content that the Dutch and German *corantos* did in the early 1600s. Nevertheless, in 1620, the first *coranto* written and printed in English was imported from the Netherlands without official action being taken against it. Essentially, the English authorities were permissive because the news it contained focused on the Continental war. However, in August 1621, when a London printer, Thomas Archer, started his own publication with the same Continental content—but unlicensed by the Stationers' Company—he was quickly imprisoned.

The authorities did allow two other printers, Nathaniel Bourne and Nathaniel Butter, to emulate Archer the next month. Butter had been a freeman (member) of the Stationers' Company since 1604 so their *Corante, or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine and France . . . Out of the Hie Dutch Coppy printed at Franckford . . .* was licensed and therefore allowed. The countries named in the title changed with each edition, functioning much like a headline. Bourne and Butter sought no news of their own but merely translated and reprinted coverage of the Continental conflict from Dutch and German *corantos*. They were, therefore, dependent on the flow of publications across the English Channel and their printing schedule was dictated by the arrival of the packet boats. Sometimes *The Courante*, which settled as a quarto publication of between 8 and 24 pages, failed to appear for more than a week; at others, three editions might be printed within a 7-day period.

Their success was emulated by other licensed publications; but all the printers knew that their situation was fraught with potential danger, and by the early 1630s, even reporting the European war was getting more difficult. Any coverage of domestic English events, of course, was avoided, as it would bring instant sanctions. Despite this caution taken by printers, in 1632, the king's Court of the Star Chamber banned the *corantos*. England and Scotland, recently united under a single crown but uninvolved in the Continental fighting, were Protestant realms fearful of Catholic intrigues and interventions. The protracted conflict had simply become too sensitive a political topic for public debate. That Bourne and Butter alone printed 500 copies of every *coranto* they

issued was no recommendation in the eyes of the authorities. The printers did not willingly forego this business and, in 1638, they successfully petitioned to have the publication licensed again and subsequently sold under the learned name of *Mercurius Britannicus*.

English Civil War and the Press

The *Mercurius* continued as it had before with its diet of Continental news but soon a bigger story would sweep away the ban on domestic coverage. As the King and Parliament headed toward armed confrontation, the Star Chamber, the main organ of overt press suppression, was abolished by Parliament in June 1641. A new form of journal, the weekly *diurnal* appeared: *The Diurnall: Or, The Heads of All the Proceedings in Parliament* began that December. Parliament tried to maintain the old licensing system by banning unlicensed news publications but, with the distractions of the coming conflict, this had little effect, and the diurnals proliferated. In August 1642, the first fighting in the English Civil War began. The war was to act as midwife to what was to become and remain Europe's most outspoken press.

In the fog of war, English printers made a breakthrough that was to condition all subsequent developments. Throughout the long period of press incubation on the Continent, there had been a flood of pamphlets arguing, more often than not hysterically, either the Protestant or Catholic cause. These organs formed a tradition of propaganda and opinion quite distinct from that of news publications. However sensational and mendacious these last were on occasion, they were "true" in ways that the pamphlets were not. These two journalistic streams come together for the first time in the English news publications of the Civil War period (the 1640s).

Early News

On the one hand was the sobriety of the diurnals. Take this report of the most traumatic event of the war:

Tuesday January 30. This day the king was beheaded, over against the Banqueting house by White-Hall. The manner of Execution, and what

passed before his death take thus. He was brought from Saint James about ten in the morning . . . After which the King, stooping down, laid his necke upon the blocke, and after a very little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

This is on page three (because it was a Tuesday and the publication began with the events of the Sunday) of Samuel Pecke's *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament* for the first week of February 1649. Pecke, despite a refusal to sensationalize his reports, was printing 3,000 copies a week.

On the other hand, Marchmont Nedham—the Parliament's and later the republican leader Oliver Cromwell's main apologist—and his Royalist rival, Sir John Birkenhead, inserted into their mercuries a tone which had only previously been found in pamphlets. Take one example from the *Mercurius Britannicus*, *Communicating the affaires of Great Britaine for the better Information of the People: From Monday the 28. Of July, to Monday the 4. Of August, 1645*. Nedham wrote:

Where is King Charles? What's become of him? . . . If any man can bring tale or tiding of a wilfull King, which hath gone astray these foure years from his Parliament, with a guilty Conscience, bloody Hands, a Heart full of broken Vowes and Protestations . . . Then give notice to Britannicus, and you shall be well paid for your paines: So God save the Parliament. (quoted in Clarke, 21)

This enthusiasm, partisanship, and wit came to condition the English newspaper: a unique mix of the coranto's sober reporting tradition and the argumentative dynamism of the pamphlet.

Journalism in England was now infected with a different spirit from that on the Continent. Dr. Theophraste Renaudot, Marchmont Nedham's French counterpart, who started the *Gazette de France* for Louis XIV, wrote: "Was it for me to examine the deeds of the government? My pen was only the grafting tool." Nedham's position was very different: "I tooke up my pen for disabusing his Majesty, and for disbishing and disposing his good subjects, and for taking off vizards and vailes and disguises . . ." (quoted in

Smith, 130). Crucially, of course, Louis's position was very different from Charles'. He had defeated a revolt of his nobles while Charles lost his head.

In the midst of this social upheaval, the English press became a veritable engine of liberty. When in August 1643 the poet John Milton published an unlicensed anonymous pamphlet in favor of divorce, which was then an illegal proceeding, Parliament summoned him. His defense there not only provided the burgeoning news publications with a theoretical basis for the exercise of a free press but it also produced, the following year, in the (again, deliberately) unlicensed form of a pamphlet, a first, great printed public affirmation of that principle in English. He called the pamphlet *Areopagitica*, after the hill where the ancient Athenian high court met. It was subtitled "A speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of VNLICENC'D PRINTING, to the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND": "Give me the liberty to know to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties." It was, he claimed, "as good almost kill a man as kill a good book."

In one sense Milton was merely extending a concept that lay at the heart of Protestantism itself—liberty of conscience—to embrace the secular world of politics as well. His liberality, though, should not be overstated. He wrote the divorce and his concept of unlicensed printing did not in fact run to allowing Catholic texts, for example. In fact, for a time he was to act as Cromwell's censor. Nevertheless, there was something new and crucial in his stand, a *de facto* justification of Nedham's and Birkenhead's feisty editorial attitudes. Libel, blasphemy, and sedition would still constrain publication but the fail-safe position, as it were, was that publication should be unlicensed; and therefore, at least in theory, free.

The Restoration Press

This move toward press freedom would have counted for little, however, if, after the Restoration of the crown in 1660, the old controls had been effectively re-imposed; but, despite what was to become centuries of effort on the part of British authorities, they never quite were. In 1662, Charles II had passed a new act for the licensing of the press but the crown's power was now so weakened that it was only a temporary measure. In

1695, this Printing Act was again up for renewal when Edward Clarke, a member of Parliament, successfully persuaded the House of Commons that the weight of existing laws "makes this or any other Act for the restraint of printing very needless" (quoted in Sutherland, 25). The act was not renewed. Clarke was influenced by his friend, the philosopher John Locke, who had argued that, contrary to the assumptions of a divine right of kings, there was a right of resistance if the crown forfeited through its actions a claim on the loyalty of its subjects. Nedham, according to Locke's argument, had a right to write as he did. Religious reform and political theory had joined hands in arguing for a level of personal freedom that would slowly embrace, with struggle, the concept of a free press.

Yet 1695 cannot be said to mark the start of this freedom any more than did the *Areopagitica*. The existing laws were still vigorously applied with the backing of a special police force known as the *Kings' Messengers*, who had the powers of a "General Warrant." This warrant allowed for the search of any premises for unlicensed presses; and soon, special taxes on newspapers (a term that had first appeared in the 1670s) were imposed. Nevertheless, because of the Civil War and English radical thinking, the English newspaper flourished.

The English now caught up with the one daily newspaper, which had first appeared in Leipzig in 1650. In 1702, Samuel Buckley brought out the London *Daily Courant*, a single sheet printed on one side but very much, as its name suggests, an echo of the old corantos; that is, a digest of translated foreign news.

The 18th-Century Press

Despite the taxes and authorities being ever quick to bring offending journalists to court—even to the gallows if accused of treason and sedition—the early 18th-century London press attracted "giants to write for it" including Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Joseph Addison, and Richard Steele. Journalism flourished during this time. In effect, the state was now constrained by an assumption that the British people and their press were free to impart and receive information. The idea of a free press could not be extirpated:

“Freedom of speech,” wrote the London journalists John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon under the pen-name “Cato” in 1720, “is the right of everyman, as far as by it he does not hurt or control the right of another; and this is the only check which it ought to suffer, the only bounds it ought to know.” By the 1760s, this was assumed to be Common Law. William Blackstone, the great jurist whose *Commentaries on the Laws of England* was in the baggage of every English lawyer emigrating to the American colonies in the late 18th century, held that “The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no previous restraints on publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published.” The press was not to be above the law but neither could it be censored—controlled by prior restraint. This was not quite the positive “liberty . . . to utter” for which Milton and the other radicals had argued; but it was a “right to hear.”

In 1763, as Blackstone was formulating this concept of “no prior constraint,” John Wilkes, a famous and radical member of Parliament, was charged with publishing, in his paper *The North Briton*, an “infamous and seditious libel tending to influence the minds and alienate the affections of the people from His Majesty and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against his political opponent whom he accused of prostituting the crown. He, of course, claimed Parliamentary immunity and Chief Justice Parry agreed; but what was important was that Parry also held that the General Warrant under which Wilkes had been arrested, a hangover from the 17th century, was now illegal under English Common Law.

All that remained of the old censorship apparatus was the unique rule that in press libel cases juries only determined the fact of “publication,” not of the libel itself, as the latter was the judge’s determination to make. In 1769, in another case involving an anonymous journalist, “Junius” (who has never been identified), the judge upheld the libel but the jury, absurdly, held it had not been “published” despite being printed and the known publishers (now named in ordinary warrants) being before the court. The law, in other words, had been made a fool of. With this precedent, it was to become increasingly difficult to prosecute newspapers. Juries would not convict, often

against the background noise of public protests outside the courthouse.

Elsewhere the positive principle of “the right . . . to utter” (not merely the concession of “no prior constraint”) was incorporated into statute for the first time, albeit on what turned out to be a temporary basis, in Denmark (1761) and in Sweden (1776) and, for a few weeks short of three years, in revolutionary France starting in 1789. Press freedom had become one of the Enlightenment’s *Droits de l’homme*: “The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man.” Two years after this Article XI of the French revolutionary constitution, the first U.S. Congress caught up with the French (and the constitutions of some American states) to pass the most long-lived of these 18th-century statutes, the First Amendment. But in Great Britain, homeland of the concept, the slow erosion of formal state controls continued without any enactment of a free press right.

Direct attack on the press via the law, though, was no longer a possibility. To control the press, the British state had only the tools of taxation and bribery. Robert Walpole, the first man who could be said to hold the post of Prime Minister, was accused of spending 50,007 pounds of public money, some of which had been obviously raised by the taxes on print and the bribing of newswriters, printers, and publishers in the 1730s. The last recorded governmental bribe occurred in 1820.

The Stamp Act, a tax levied on all newspaper copies, persisted but also became increasingly difficult to sustain. In 1822, Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel ordered that tax-dodging publishers should not be prosecuted as this too often led to public disorder; however, the lowly distributors, often women, remained at some risk. A decade later, the unstamped press was estimated as having a readership of 2 million, more than did the legally stamped papers. A campaign for the brilliantly branded “Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge” eventually resulted in a series of abolitions—of the duties on advertisements in 1853, on newspapers in 1855 and, finally, on newsprint itself in 1861.

The press at last was “free” but there was still no statutory “liberty . . . to utter.” It was not until the Human Rights Act of 1998 that the “freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public

authority” became part of British statutory law. By then, however, the time was long past when a radical newswriter could sell discombobulating journalism printed on a little flatbed press. Newspapers were big business. The British press was “free,” but it was also, perhaps more importantly, “safe.”

Brian Winston

See also British Broadcasting Regulation; Censorship; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Libel

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ENTERTAINMENT JOURNALISM

In the first decades of the 21st century, new forms and delivery systems for arts and entertainment were accompanied by shifts in how the public consumed news and comment on all aspects of entertainment. The rise of blogs and other Internet-based avenues for sharing information helped democratize entertainment journalism by throwing it open to amateurs and semi-professionals. At the same time, some see a decline in serious criticism by trained professionals, resulting in a trivia-obsessed public and a reduced market for serious reviews of traditional art forms.

The parameters of entertainment journalism can be difficult to identify. Journalism *about* entertainers can lose definition when many journalists appear to have *become* entertainers. The practice of mixing news with entertainment is not new; it dates at least as far back as the medieval period, when traveling troubadours and theater troupes in a preliterate age shared gossip and events from towns they had recently visited. But

such light content has increasingly dominated what is being called a *postliterate age*.

When Neil Postman wrote his landmark treatise *Amusing Ourselves to Death* in 1985—before the rise of the Internet and its incarnations of news lite—he was primarily concerned with the dumbing down of the United States and the world in a postliterate age. He saw this phenomenon as the result of people gorging on the eye candy of television in preference to the more intellectually demanding medium of print. Postman had no objection to entertainment, even of the mindless variety; what he feared was a citizenry that could no longer tell the difference. This entry discusses changes in journalism on the arts and entertainment in the United States from the early 20th century to the present and some of the factors in these changes.

Split Focus

The split focus of entertainment journalism is aptly conveyed by considering two textbooks: *The New York Times Reader: Arts & Culture* (2011), edited by Don McCleese, which offers advice and examples of how to write arts reviews, profiles, and commentary, and Ben Falk's *Entertainment Journalism: Making It Your Career* (2018), which includes some advice on writing traditional reviews but moves well beyond it to cover the ins and outs of working with public relations representatives to generate celebrity tidbits for blogs and social media. To be sure, the public appetite for celebrity is nothing new—figures such as Rudolph Valentino and even Marie Antoinette come to mind as examples of public figures who drew outsized attention. Today, online venues such as TMZ—as well as more traditional platforms that have gradually shifted their focus—compete for attention on the same devices that may hold novels, classic poetry, spiritual texts, and full-length opera recordings. The sublime and the profane are but a click away from each other.

Electronic content blooms eternally without benefit of critical journalistic attention. Users upload a reported 500 hours of video content to YouTube every minute (as of 2019). This, the second most popular website, was purchased by the most popular, Google. YouTube posters who gain

a following can receive a cut of the advertising in this \$15-billion-a-year business.

All of this is quite challenging to traditional journalism. Legacy media must maintain a presence in social media and on YouTube, balancing the competing risks of cannibalizing their core business by giving it away free versus achieving irrelevance by hiding content behind a paywall that few may be willing to cross. Algorithms continually recommend new videos based on those already viewed, replacing the function previously held by critics and word of mouth.

Decline of Trust in Expertise

All forms of journalism have suffered from an observed decline of public trust in expertise. Consumers who rely on aggregate ratings of apps such as Yelp may be less likely to become loyal followers of individual critics. With the distrust in expertise comes skepticism about anyone who would attempt to assert moral authority. And yet there is no lack of voices doing just that.

Entertainment journalism at the end of the second decade of the 21st century is marked by a growing conundrum: We have fewer critics of the arts than we did 100 years ago. Yet at the same time, we have far more of them.

In the early 20th century, when magazines were the only national medium in the United States and newspapers were at their most plentiful, a major city like Chicago would have roughly a dozen daily newspapers, each with its own theater, music, and art critics. A hundred years later, Chicago had a few suburban papers and two major downtown dailies, only one of which, the *Chicago Tribune*, dominated those zip codes that were home to most patrons of the arts. Other cities followed the same pattern.

While the proliferation of blogs and websites has increased the raw number of critics writing, most communities find that for a play or exhibit to succeed financially—to draw enough customers to support the organization that produced it—it must gain a positive review from the critic who works for the dominant (or, in an increasing number of venues, the only) newspaper.

This proved true even in New York, widely acknowledged to be the cultural capital of the United States. Although the city has supported

three viable daily newspapers into the 21st century, *The New York Times* had an outsized influence on the success or failure of performing arts organizations. It was a rare show that could succeed without a positive review from the *Times*. When it came to books, that influence was nationally felt.

Media mergers, even when they did not result in a reduction of the number of newspapers, sometimes led to a reduction in force of arts and entertainment journalists. For example, various San Francisco Bay area newspapers that merged under the umbrella of the *San Jose Mercury News* saw the replacement of separate arts critics with one critic whose reviews and features appeared in multiple newspapers. The nation's traditional arts establishment found itself in an environment where a hundred blogs by unknown writers could not counteract the influence of the one remaining (and thus more powerful) newspaper critic.

These developments affected the performing arts (theater, dance, and live music including opera and symphonies as well as rock and roll and other popular genres) and museum arts (painting, sculpture, and performance art) more profoundly than they did recorded and broadcast arts, such as motion pictures, recorded music, music videos, and video games. But even these electronic arts were affected: Fewer newspapers meant fewer critics. As remaining newspapers felt the pinch of decreased revenue, they often dropped critics of nonlocal art forms. It became an unnecessary luxury to carry a local movie critic when reviews were available from syndicated sources and readers could access reviews in national publications online.

Changes in Reviewing

In the early 20th century, when a dozen local critics would review the same performance, a public that bought more than one newspaper might take disagreements among critics as a cue to apply their own critical thinking to any given work of art. A review might be seen as less a verdict and more an invitation to consider and discuss the meanings and artistry of the work in question. A hundred years later, the critic for *The New York Times*—or the critic for any city's dominant newspaper—could not help but feel the weight of his

or her review. Given the increasing price of performing arts events—even after accounting for inflation—the main function of each review seemed to have devolved into a monetary one: Should the reader buy this product or pass it by? The arts had always been subject to commercialization. Now they had fallen under the spell of commodification, the idea that as the monetary value of something increased, its intrinsic value decreased.

That trend was exacerbated by the transformation of culture from something that occurred live and in person to something that was downloaded or streamed on personal computers or smartphones. As art became a slickly packaged product to hold in one's hand, journalism about art increasingly took on the mantle of consumer guide. The essential question in these types of articles shifted from "Is it good art?" to "Is it worth the price?"

In some ways, the rise of the Internet hurried these trends. For example, websites such as Craigslist seriously undercut newspapers' ability to make money with classified advertising, leading to cost cutting on the editorial side. And the Internet itself became a one-stop marketplace where one could sample, share, pay for, and consume free snippets and full-length downloads or streams of artistic products.

On the other hand, the Internet also carried the possibility of counteracting some of these trends. The movie website Rotten Tomatoes collects a wide array of reviews for every new film, allowing readers to compare views as well as the differing aesthetic stances of a wide variety of critics. Some may use this as a way to comparison shop, but others might be drawn into a deeper consideration of film as an art form—and may feel compelled to post their own views.

In addition, some online sites that feature arts, culture, and entertainment criticism from professional writers are both topical and provocative, including sites such as Vulture, the pop culture section of *New York* magazine's website. In 2020, the George Jean Nathan award for excellence in dramatic criticism was given to Soraya Nadia McDonald for her work as a culture critic for *The Undeclared*, an ESPN blog.

The Internet can be tawdry and anonymous and obsessed with surface values but can also

become the venue for the creation of a community of dedicated art lovers who share personal views and even art itself. Online communication is as honest and serious and deep as its users choose to make it.

If, as Marshall McLuhan famously wrote in the 1960s, “The medium is the message,” there is some evidence that attention spans are dwindling as a result of the nature of the Internet itself: shimmering pixels on a screen loaded with hyperlinks that invite split focus and rapid-fire clicking from one source of stimulation to another. When attention spans shrink, so does the ability to consider complex ideas and sophisticated art forms. That said, historians caution that the penchant for short bursts of entertainment predated the Internet. Late oral historian Studs Terkel observed that the practice of channel surfing—rapidly clicking from one television program to another—was a throwback to the age of vaudeville, when one frenetic act after another would enter stage right, perform hurriedly for 2 or 3 minutes, and then exit stage left to make room for the next dog-and-pony act or juggler or singer entering stage right.

Obsession With Celebrities

Celebrity journalism has never been more popular, but, as with infotainment, it is not an entirely new development. Marie Antoinette was nothing if not a celebrity in France’s era of self-published pamphlets (a precursor to blog culture). Pamphleteers speculated endlessly about what was or was not going on in the bed of the young queen and King Louis XVI. In the United States, celebrities were among the most popular subjects for the new field of photography in the late 19th century; Napoleon Sarony built his career photographing leading actors of the day.

As attention turned from stage actors to film stars, the celebrity business kept pace, building cult followings for figures such as Valentino in the early 1920s. That trend grew with new media products, from the oversized photo magazines such as *Life* and *Look* in the late 1930s through the phenomenally successful launch of *People* magazine in 1974 and into the spawning of a seemingly infinite number of websites devoted to film stars and hip-hop artists.

Amateur Hour

Just as the line was blurring between professional and amateur entertainment journalists, increasing opportunities developed for amateur performers to make a splash, and sometimes a killing. More than a century after vaudeville had discovered up-and-coming talent during regularly scheduled amateur nights, television turned to its audience to cast performers as either legitimate talents or laughably inept wannabes. *American Idol* (2002–) is a phenomenally successful “reality” television program, based on a British precursor, which in turn appeared to have its roots in an earlier American free-for-all first broadcast in the 1970s called *The Gong Show*, in which performers kept going until a gong let them know they had worn out their welcome.

The *Idol* shows invite audience members to text message their votes to help determine whether a given performer should continue on to the next round of competition. *Dancing with the Stars* (2005–) follows a similar format, but pairs stars not known for their dancing ability with professional dancers in ballroom competition. The third component of both these shows is a panel of judges, each of whom gives critical comments and casts votes themselves. The winners and even the runners-up in *American Idol* sometimes receive lucrative recording contracts.

Results of these network programs have been widely reported as news in the media. The programs raise difficult questions for entertainment journalism. Are these celebrity judges—noted more for their personalities than for their learned comment—functioning as legitimate critics? Had art been reduced to a commercial contest?

Serious Criticism

In such an environment, one might expect professional entertainment critics to be growing superfluous and perhaps disappearing entirely. Indeed, serious arts criticism, which never had commanded much airtime, appeared to be in further decline on television in the early 21st century. Newspapers, city and national magazines, and a few public radio stations have continued to offer news and reviews of the fine and popular arts, as do a number of websites. Several awards promote

recognition of the best commentary and criticism each year, including the Pulitzer Prizes, the National Magazine Awards, and the City and Regional Magazine Association's annual awards.

The most severe long-term threat to the careers of critics, however, was the aging of audiences for fine art forms like dance and opera. Dwindling coverage led to dwindling support, in a vicious cycle. The more serious arts each have respected publications with smaller circulations, whose topic was easily identifiable by the magazine's title: *Dance*, *American Theatre*, *Art in America*, and *Opera News*, to name a few.

The few newspapers that continue to provide book review supplements have cut back on them. Although the number and size of these book review sections has dwindled, their content is remarkably similar, mixing reviews of new books with excerpts and profiles of authors. Reviews of new books are often written by authors of similar books, and the balance of books reviewed has shifted in recent years from fiction to nonfiction.

A number of magazines continue to offer book review sections. Alongside the more serious magazines are a number of middle-brow national magazines devoted to popular arts. *Entertainment Weekly* is one of a very few that covers the spectrum of popular entertainment in the United States. Others focus on music, with *Rolling Stone* and *Spin* (the latter now online only) covering rock music broadly, while other magazines focus on individual formats such as country and hip-hop. Movie fan magazines, once dominant in entertainment journalism, were in decline by the early 21st century.

The Business Press on Show Business

The most thorough reporting on show business can be found in the relevant trade press. Magazines such as *Variety*, *Billboard*, *Publishers Weekly*, and *The Hollywood Reporter* follow both the big picture of company mergers and acquisitions as well as the endless statistics of box office receipts and record sales.

Perhaps the best gauge over time of the many changes in the entertainment industry could be found in *Variety*. When it began publication in New York in 1905, it was but one of dozens of magazines covering variety entertainment (which

included vaudeville, burlesque, and circuses) in the United States and England (where variety was called *music hall*). All of the English magazines covering music hall lived and died with the art form. *Variety* survived, largely because it followed its professional readers into new worlds of music recording, motion pictures, radio, television, and, eventually, video games and the Internet. The DNA of changing American popular culture can be read in the small print of *Variety*'s back pages.

World in Flux

Just as entertainment found new forms in the early 21st century, so too was entertainment journalism in flux. The prospects for steady employment for serious critics and reporters seemed hazy at best while the opportunity for abuse was great. In the mid-19th century, when the average working critic was not given a byline, there is evidence that many were open to bribes of money and food. Some theatrical producers went so far as to send in positive reviews they had written about their own presentations—and some newspapers, desperate for copy, ran them as is.

A similar crisis of trust faced the public 150 years later as bloggers stepped out from under the umbrella of publications with established reputations and began to self-publish. A Google search for reviews of a film or live performance might turn up an undifferentiated mass of writing by unknown authors of unknown affiliations, which could make it difficult for readers to gauge where they would find sound opinions. Yet this also has allowed readers able to think critically and willing to search and winnow to find golden needles in an immense and unruly haystack of the factual, the fake, the reasoned, and the ranting.

Scott Fosdick

See also Arts Journalism; Business Journalism; Celebrity and Fan Media; Infotainment

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ENTREPRENEURIAL JOURNALISM

The term *entrepreneurial journalism* is used to describe a kind of journalism practiced in response to changing fortunes in the commercial newspaper business. Set in motion by an economic downturn coupled with the rise of digital news in the 21st century, entrepreneurial journalism is a response to help sustain both the business and reporting sides of journalism. The practice and approach to entrepreneurial journalism calls for innovative and creative ways to navigate and solve revenue disparities in a media ecosystem shifting from advertising-supported print products to online publishing. This type of journalism is practiced by those whose jobs in the newspaper business were impacted by a decline in advertising support coupled with audiences moving to free online platforms to get

news and information. Many newspapers saw sharp losses in display and classified advertising revenue as well as subscriptions and cut reporters and other staff and resources to stay economically viable.

Entrepreneurial journalism is sometimes described as a mindset. A person who identifies as an entrepreneurial journalist does not adhere to long-held traditions where the business of journalism is strictly separate from the reporting function. Entrepreneurial journalism still operates within the boundaries of what constitutes normative practices of the profession but with more attention paid to audience engagement. While a precise definition is difficult to explicate, the term can be characterized by a set of practices that brings an entrepreneurial spirit to the profession of journalism. The practice and approach to entrepreneurial journalism calls for innovative and creative ways to navigate and solve revenue disparities in an ever-changing media landscape that involves online and digital-first publishing practices. This entry first discusses the business model of journalism and the characteristics of the entrepreneurial journalist. It then discusses the emphasis on audience engagement and collaboration in entrepreneurial journalism. Finally, it discusses efforts under way to teach entrepreneurial journalism.

Business Model

Entrepreneurial journalism as a business can be described as a response to digital disruption to the newspaper business. The business of the newspaper industry was upended by digital innovations that moved audiences and advertisers away from printed products to mostly free, online options. At most newspapers, this resulted in a permanent decline in both advertising support for news publications and a decline in subscribers to print newspapers. As audiences are turning to social media and free news websites to get news and information, legacy news organizations have faced difficulties remaining financially sustainable.

Efforts have been made to monetize news online, but very few legacy newspapers have succeeded in making online subscriptions and online advertising restore their financial resilience.

Advertisers who were once the backbone of the commercial newspaper industry are turning to social media and other ways of reaching audiences, and the once lucrative classified advertising buyer is now turning to free places, such as Facebook or Craigslist, to buy or sell items. Those changes have forced many newspapers to close, consolidate, reduce their publications, reduce coverage, and let go reporters—some of whom had spent decades working as a journalist. The term *entrepreneurial journalism* emerged as a way to describe a new business model for news in the early 2000s and accelerated in use after the great recession of 2008.

In contrast with large news organizations, entrepreneurial journalism is a low-cost option enabled by digital media technologies and social media. As a result, entrepreneurial journalists are nimbler and more responsive to an ever-changing media ecosystem. With this flexibility, they can be more responsive to news customers. By not being burdened with the overhead costs that accompany legacy media, such as office space and print production costs, the entrepreneurial journalism start-up is more agile, albeit less stable.

Because entrepreneurial journalists work independently, they are free from performing under legacy newsroom norms that situate journalists as gatekeepers and disseminators of news and information. Entrepreneurial journalism, rather, embraces engagement and collaboration with audiences. Free from the restraints of a corporate ownership and traditional newsroom culture, practitioners of entrepreneurial journalism approach stories differently and understand their audiences as active participants rather than passive receivers of news and information. This is a defining tenet of entrepreneurial journalism—a recognition that audiences do more than passively receive news and information. Among the many departures from legacy media traditions, audiences in an entrepreneurial journalism world are understood as active participants in the news-making process.

The Entrepreneurial Journalist

Individuals working as entrepreneurial journalists work independently of legacy news organizations. As a mindset, this journalism practice

borrowed from entrepreneurial ways of approaching business. An assumption of entrepreneurial journalism is that the fundamental relationship between the editorial side and the sales side of commercial news practices are breaking down. Entrepreneurs create new businesses offering a new product or service where new markets often emerge. They are also willing to take risks and are not driven primarily by moneymaking but rather by ideas. Entrepreneurs often work alone or with a small group of individuals who are willing to lose money before they begin making it. Entrepreneurial journalists seek to build their own business alongside their reporting practice, making them distinctively different from the freelance journalist working for a paycheck paid by a media employer. Entrepreneurial journalism, then, can be characterized by a news product and reporting practices that take risks, require innovation, and are not motivated by profits. Rather, entrepreneurial journalism is aimed at addressing societal problems and using journalism to offer solutions.

An entrepreneurial journalist recognizes the need to remain vigilant to what makes journalism a vital component of democracy while loosening the strict divide between the business that supports journalism and those who perform journalism. These journalists embrace experimentation in both how to report news and how to engage with audiences. The practice recognizes that audiences are not mere receivers of information but should rather be understood as a valued part of the news process in order to earn and maintain their trust. Stories are often told through a solutions-oriented lens, addressing audiences more directly.

The journalists who use entrepreneurial methods range from those who found themselves suddenly out of work after a career working for legacy media as well as young people just starting out in the field. While still embracing the values that define traditional journalism, such as truth and accuracy, entrepreneurial journalism is characterized by innovation, and even risk-taking. Often described as responding to disruption, entrepreneurial journalism is a way to describe how practitioners working outside of a traditional newsroom not only perform the duties required of reporters, but also engage with the business side of

the profession as an entrepreneur would in other industries.

Unlike commercial legacy media, entrepreneurial journalism is not necessarily propelled by profits but rather seeks new and innovative ways to report news outside of traditional journalistic business and reporting norms. An entrepreneurial journalist strives to create their own “brand” and uses digital tools, namely social media, to gather, report, and distribute news as well as interact with their audience. For example, the Sahan Journal began as a digital publication in 2013 to report news in English about Ethiopia and Somalia. Founder Mukhtar Ibrahim has grown the digital-first publication into an independent, 501(c)(3) nonprofit digital-first newsroom that now reports on immigrant and refugee news in Minnesota. As the Sahan Journal model shows, successful entrepreneurial efforts in journalism often center on a “niche” or a beat as they aspire to build public trust by showing expertise.

The practice of entrepreneurial journalism has developed alongside technologies that allow new ways to gather, report, and receive news and information. The kind of reporting that results from entrepreneurial journalism efforts is often different. Topic focus from what many perceive as only reporting “bad” news to what constitutes solutions and problem-solving.

Entrepreneurial journalism is a break from legacy media, signaling a journalism practice that operates outside of traditional, place-based news organizations. A journalist working as, or embracing the mindset of, an entrepreneurial journalist does not subscribe to long-held norms of legacy news organizations that there must be a strict divide between the business side and the reporting side of news. The entrepreneurial journalism mindset rejects the long-held value that journalists must remain separate from the business side of the process to do their jobs. The idea that journalists must be independent of sales and marketing to remain unbiased and fair or “objective” may linger as a normative value among a generation soon to be passing the torch along to those who have never known a world without digital-first publications and social media.

There are journalists who began their careers as entrepreneurs before working for established

media organizations, as opposed to those who became entrepreneurial journalists in order to continue doing reporting as a career. A notable example is Brian Stelter. In 2004, while a college student at Towson University, Stelter started a blog called *TVNewser* about the television news business. His work caught the attention of news organizations and many relied on his blog and commentary to understand the changing media environment. He sold his site to Mediabistro and continued running it until 2007. His entrepreneurial endeavor ended when he took a position at *The New York Times* as a media reporter. He has since joined CNN as chief media correspondent and host of the top-rated news program “Reliable Sources.”

Engaging Audience and Trust in News

Once a celebrated practice deemed imperative to maintain public trust and credibility, the separation of the business and reporting sides of journalism are blurred or even altogether eliminated in entrepreneurial journalism. This has raised concerns by media ethicists who point to problems of journalistic independence and conflicts of interest. But proponents of an entrepreneurial mindset argue that the transparency and collaboration that marks the work of an entrepreneurial journalist can help restore the public’s trust in journalism at a time when surveys indicate a majority of Americans distrust the news media. This focus is reflected in not only attempts to rebuild trust in journalism but also to treat audiences in a fundamentally different way. No longer understood as receivers of news and information, this type of journalism seeks to engage the audience and empower the public.

What undergirds the entrepreneurial journalist is a desire to rebuild public trust in journalism as an institution. It has been described as journalism going beyond “who, what, where, when, why, and how,” and adding “what now?” Many legacy news outlets remain rooted in a belief that competition between newsrooms and journalists is a path to better journalism. Entrepreneurial journalism takes a different approach. This includes engaging with audiences through social media and community-engagement activities to ascertain their views of what should be

reported. A critique of this approach questions whether this merely provides audiences with what they want to hear rather than the news they need to know in order to participate fully in democracy.

Collaboration Over Competition

In an industry where competition between organizations and individual journalists has always been a cornerstone of the field, working across such boundaries is certainly anathema to many long-time practitioners of journalism. Entrepreneurial journalism recognizes the need for changes to competitive practices in order to stay viable and serve the public interest. Collaborative projects and partnerships have increasingly been shown to improve journalism and its reach. Entrepreneurial journalism also extends collaborative efforts between reporters and newsrooms. Once unimaginable inside of legacy news organizations, experimentation with entrepreneurial journalism is happening at some of the largest newsrooms, such as *The New York Times* and the Gannet Corporation. Not immune to the attrition in the news business, many large dailies, small town weeklies, and start-ups alike are trying to innovate by using entrepreneurial journalism practices in their newsrooms. Legacy news organizations have “audience engagement” and “UX” (user experience) positions to incorporate entrepreneurial practices in their newsrooms.

On an international scale, entrepreneurial journalism manifested in a collaborative project called the *Panama Papers*, referring to documents from an offshore law firm that were leaked to a German newspaper and were the basis for investigative stories published in 2016. More than 100 media partners from nearly 80 countries around the world participated and reported in more than two dozen languages—reporting that revealed worldwide corruption involving governments, politicians, and the financial industry. The project, led by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, is hailed as one of the largest collaborative reporting projects in history. The *Panama Papers* had the kind of impact that many entrepreneurial journalists hope their work will have in the communities they serve.

Teaching Entrepreneurial Journalism

Journalism schools are teaching entrepreneurial skills in their classrooms, and institutions are emerging that are committed to supporting journalists doing community-centered, specialized reporting to better serve the public. Those who have championed entrepreneurship in journalism include Jan Schaffer, who served as entrepreneur in residence at American University and ran J-Lab, an institute for news entrepreneurs and innovators. Another early evangelist for entrepreneurship in journalism is Jeff Jarvis, the director of Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism at the City University of New York.

Entrepreneurial journalism is seen as one solution to sustain newspapers as the long-held business model of advertising financial support is in decline. The challenge remains for journalists practicing this type of reporting to remain independent while creatively seeking new ways to make a living. Time will tell if entrepreneurial journalism continues to be used to describe journalism practices in the digital age.

Jennifer E. Moore

See also Civic Journalism; Collaborative Journalism; Conflicts of Interest; Engaged Journalism; Participatory Journalism; Solutions Journalism

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ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNALISM

The creation and rise of the environmental beat in journalism has coincided with increased public and government interest in the environment. Beginning in the 1960s, there was a shift away from viewing environmental harm as an accepted cost of living in an industrialized world. Journalists responded with such stories as how automobile exhaust was choking the air of cities and describing water pollution so foul that a river could catch fire. As the beat matured, so did the reporting, and journalists needed to delve into increasingly complicated issues such as whether chemicals were threatening human health and whether the world's temperature was rising.

Today, while the number of journalists covering the environmental beat is historically high, more are independent journalists as opposed to staff writers tied to the security of an established news organization. Still, the biggest story—the consequences of a warming planet—has become so dire that the beat's future appears guaranteed. This entry discusses the origins and development of environmental journalism, the state of environmental journalism in the 21st century, and the central position of climate change in environmental coverage. It then looks at some of the challenges posed to providing strong coverage of the environment.

Origins

The state of the environment has always been important to humanity. Cave paintings 40,000 years ago depicted an environment of game and daily life. Explorers for centuries told tales and later wrote journals of their travels. Yet when modern journalism developed in the 19th century, it was slow to embrace environmental coverage. An exception was William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, who led an editorial movement to establish a public park in 1844 that led to the creation of New York's Central Park. Slowly, others followed his lead.

Beginning in 1876, George Bird Grinnell championed the establishment of both the national

park system and the national forests in *Field and Stream*. Nature writer John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of *The Century Magazine*, led campaigns to preserve such national treasures as the Yosemite Valley in California. The muckrakers of the early 20th century at times touched on environmental issues. Lincoln Steffens, writing for *McClure's* and *American Magazine*, exposed timber frauds in the Pacific Northwest forests. Ida Tarbell uncovered the ruthless practices of the Standard Oil Company and John D. Rockefeller. Still, the first major journalism award for an environmental story did not occur until 1941 when the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* led an editorial campaign against industrial soot and smoke that was so thick that it could turn day into night. The newspaper won a Pulitzer Prize, and the air grew cleaner.

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, helped change society's thinking about the environment. A biologist, Carson, criticized the widespread use of DDT, an insecticide that had wiped out malaria in the developed world and drastically reduced it globally. DDT was so popular that in the 1950s, American communities were using it to spray entire neighborhoods to kill unwanted pests. The problem was that it also killed wildlife, including birds ranging from robins to eagles. Carson called the use of such chemicals a *sinister* force. The chemical industry responded with a major marketing campaign questioning the book's premise. Yet *Silent Spring* became a best seller and prompted the U.S. government to review and eventually ban the use of DDT. Carson set the stage for a new era by encouraging the public to question what was happening to the environment and to human health.

The Beat Develops

By April 1970 when the first Earth Day was held, it drew millions of participants who did not want to live in a world wasted by pollution. The U.S. government responded by enacting a series of far-reaching environmental laws, including creating the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). News organizations added to their focus, devoting new resources to the environment. The weeklies *Time* and *Saturday Review* started regular sections on

the environment, and cable television broadcaster CNN had regular environmental programming. *National Geographic* produced special printed reports as well as broadcasts on network television. As early as 1973, *Editor & Publisher* listed 95 newspaper reporters who identified themselves as specialists covering the environment.

One of the biggest stories of the 1970s came out of Niagara Falls, NY, when a local reporter, Michael Brown, wrote about how the Hooker Chemical Company had buried hazardous chemicals beneath a residential neighborhood. Love Canal became the poster child for the hazards of toxic chemicals. It also led to the creation of the EPA's Superfund program that spent billions of dollars cleaning up the nation's old waste sites. Love Canal catapulted to fame a 27-year-old homemaker named Lois Gibbs whose chief aim initially was to find out why her two children kept getting mysterious ailments. She became a community organizer who helped initiate an unprecedented relocation of families in the Love Canal neighborhood that cost \$17 million.

Early on many stories were shaped by a simplified white-hat-black-hat environmental view. Reporters too often relied on interviewing government officials, activists, and business groups while ignoring scientists. Or big events shaped the news such as the nuclear power accidents in Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979, Chernobyl in the former Soviet Union in 1986, and the 1984 chemical spill in Bhopal, India. But as society delved deeper into understanding its environment, the stories became more complex and challenging to report. For instance, as the population grew in the U.S. Sun Belt, the pressures of development clashed with the region's diminishing water resources, creating environmental policy challenges. Efforts to control floods and provide water in places such as Louisiana and Florida were found to be destroying wetlands and making some coastal areas more prone to flooding. Human development was creating a range of biodiversity issues, from vanishing wildlife species to new invasive plants and insects.

21st-Century Developments

The environmental beat sustained many of the same setbacks in the opening decades of the

21st century as did other news coverage. Traditional news organizations shrunk in size and clout. A new generation of Internet-based, technology-driven start-ups provided welcome competition but often struggled financially and journalistically.

What new technology did provide were new opportunities to report on the environment. The Internet often works as a visual medium and both new and old news organizations discovered innovative ways to employ that development. One example was *The New York Times* online report in 2012, "Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek." It used print, video, and graphics to produce a strikingly dramatic and compelling story. Another was the online news organization Reveal, which in 2016 distilled satellite data to dramatically and visually report on which mansion owners in Los Angeles had the lushest lawns and were violating water limits during a drought.

Small online start-ups, many of them nonprofits, could easily concentrate on a single beat, such as the environment. Inside Climate Change, with only seven reporters, won a Pulitzer Prize in 2013 for stories about a massive oil spill and then collaborated with the *Los Angeles Times* to produce a blockbuster series about Exxon's climate policies. Collaborations on vast, complex stories also developed. A prime example was a 2015 series by the Huffington Post and the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists about the World Bank's environmental consequences.

Using a key journalistic tool, crunching computer databases to produce newsworthy information, became a staple of some of the best environmental coverage. One measure of the beat's strength was the continued vibrancy of its primary professional organization, the Society of Environmental Journalists. In 2019, it had a record membership of more than 1,500.

Climate Change

All of these critical technologically driven changes have occurred when one environmental story in particular has grown to dwarf all others. Beginning in the 1980s, a scientific consensus began to form that gases, including carbon dioxide from human sources, were building in the upper atmosphere and creating a greenhouse effect that was

warming the planet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, created by the United Nations and composed of the world's preeminent climate scientists, issued reports beginning in 1989 warning that these emissions needed to be sharply reduced in the near future. Otherwise, said the IPCC, sea levels would rise, droughts would increase, there would be more frequent and violent storms, and ecosystems would undergo massive changes. The political response was weak, especially from U.S. government and industry. Early on journalists were accused of not understanding the science and of putting too much emphasis on stories about the uncertainties of global warming. While recent coverage has been more robust, the story remains a major challenge for journalists.

Climate change has been linked to increased, catastrophic storms and fires, but pinning a specific event to the warming planet is difficult. This can cause confusion, especially at a time when the issue has also become highly politicized. Many politicians are skeptical about the science and have accused scientists and the press of being biased. A major UN treaty was adopted in Paris in 2015, but 2 years later, President Donald Trump withdrew the U.S. commitment to the accord. In 2021, Trump's successor, President Joseph Biden, announced that the United States was rejoining the Paris climate agreement. By the end of the second decade of the 21st century, world temperatures continued to set records, and many impacts were occurring at rates higher than scientists had forecast.

Beat Challenges

Journalists must deal with scientists, government officials, and advocates to do their job and each pose distinctive challenges.

Journalism and science communities have a history of distrust, wariness, and sometimes outright hostility. Each approach language differently. Scientists need to be specific and precise. That approach sometimes is labeled jargon. Journalists need to write broadly and generally to a wide audience. In addition, science often works slowly; journalists seem always on a deadline. The very nature of science has been to take enough time to adequately assess a concept, even if it takes years or even decades. For scientists, the biggest concern

is typically the possibility of journalists not getting the story right. Too often scientists complain that journalists simply do not get their facts correct. Journalists agree that accuracy is paramount but argue that some errors are inevitable in their fast-paced culture aiming reports at a general audience. To bridge this gap, both sides have launched a range of training programs designed to better communicate and understand each other.

Good science should create sound government programs and policies, but it is not always clear what constitutes the most pressing issues. Citizens, public policymakers, and journalists have all struggled at times to deal with environmental risks, which can be confusing and cloaked in emotion rather than objectivity. For instances, those who study risk management say the public often views potential threats to children or chemicals with strange names harshly and disproportionately in relationship with the science.

Besides science, environmental journalists must also understand the roles of government, economics, and business. Authority to regulate environmental issues is spread between a multitude of national, state, or provincial, and local agencies as well as some regional and even international organizations. In the United States, while the EPA is perhaps the best-known environmental agency in the country, it is often small, local agencies that are the first line of protection in providing clean water, and sewage and waste disposal.

Advocacy is especially important in the environmental beat. The National Center for Charitable Statistics in 2019 identified nearly 15,000 non-profit environmental groups that vary in size and approach. One of the largest, the Nature Conservancy, is dedicated to buying and preserving land. Another large, global group, Greenpeace, embraces nonviolent social protest as a tool for change. Many other environmental groups are small grassroots organizations focused on local issues. Internationally, the issues raised by many of these advocates and journalists can put both groups at risk. Global Witness, a London-based human rights organization, reported in 2016 that more than 700 activists had been killed in the previous 15 years. For journalists, the dangers were not as high. Reporters Without Borders reported 10 killed for environmental reporting between 2010 and 2015. Still, such threats can diminish coverage.

Business and industry groups were also active in promoting their approach to the environment. They often retained public relations consultants and spokespeople to get their side of the story out. Public relations consultants call such environmental campaigns *green PR*, while critics use the phrase *greenwashing*. Sometimes, such efforts have successfully bridged the gap between environmental advocates and business and caused the two sides to work together. Environmental journalists use all of these as sources, seeking to separate spin from reality.

What is sometimes misunderstood, even by journalists, is whether reporters who write about the environment are pro-environment. How can anyone be against a cleaner environment? Some have argued that environmental journalists pick sides and present a biased story, especially if it involves climate change. In 2015, *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom began an editorial campaign discouraging the use of fossil fuels causing the climate crisis. While much of the campaign was tied to the opinion pages, some spilled over to the news pages. *The Guardian* was criticized, and only a small percentage of environmental journalists embrace this concept of advocacy journalism.

Dramatic stories such as oil spills and nuclear accidents first drew attention to the environmental beat. But most environmental stories lack drama. Rather than striking with a fury, they ooze, seep, or bubble silently and are often unseen. The disappearance of an animal or plant species, for instance, might be imperceptible as it is happening to all but the scientists who study that species. Climate change offers the greatest of all of these challenges. As technology continues to change journalism, and it becomes more interactive between news producers and consumers, the thick red line between opinion and straightforward reporting is likely to become more blurred over issues such as climate change. The challenge in the future will be to find the clearest and most straightforward way to tell those stories. Environmental journalists increasingly have more and better tools to accomplish that task. Acting on them will be critically important for future generations.

Bob Wyss

See also Advocacy Journalism; Agricultural Journalism; Bias; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Health and Medical Journalism; Muckrakers; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Objectivity; Science and Technology Journalism; Weather Journalism

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ESPIONAGE ACT

On June 15, two months after the United States entered World War I, Congress passed the Espionage Act of 1917. Implemented by A. Mitchell Palmer, the United States attorney general under President Woodrow Wilson, the purpose of the Espionage Act was to thwart avoidance of the draft, prevent the sabotage of state activities, and define the act of espionage during wartime. However, the act's subsequent interpretations led to the prosecution of socialists, pacifists, other anti-war activists, and members of the press.

Because the Espionage Act criminalized the transmission of information, the scope of the terms had implications for the First Amendment and freedom of the press. Though the courts debated the degree of immediacy to national security that must be proven to warrant criminal prosecution, proponents of the Espionage Act argued that imminent danger during wartime warranted restrictions on First Amendment rights to freedom of speech. This entry looks at what activities can be prosecuted under the Espionage Act and the ongoing debate over when prosecution under the law is justified. Several examples of cases prosecuted under the Espionage Act are discussed.

The Espionage Act of 1917 largely made it a crime for any person to obtain or disclose information related to national defense for the purposes of undermining the war effort or for the advantage of any foreign nation. This included criminal penalties for anyone impeding enlistment or rousing disloyalty and disobedience in the armed forces. Mailings that violated any provisions of the act or advocated insurrection or resistance to any law of the United States were deemed illegal. The act also deemed it illegal for any person to publish information that the president regarded as a danger to national security or could be useful to the nation's enemies. Based on the terms dictated by Congress, any person found to have transmitted information in order to injure the war effort could be sentenced up to 30 years or even death, and face a \$10,000 fine.

Congress enacted the Sedition Act of 1918 as amendments to the Espionage Act. The terms of the Sedition Act enforced similar penalties related to false statements and insults or agitation against the federal government during the war. This also included disrupting the production of war materials, harming the flag, or supporting, teaching, or defending any of these acts. According to the law, it became illegal for any person to, "utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States." Both pieces of legislation were used during World War I and the first Red Scare. While the Sedition Act of 1918 was

repealed in 1920, parts of the original Espionage Act remain in force.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt used the Espionage Act during World War II to create the Office of Censorship. The office issued a specific set of wartime practices that required correspondents covering issues abroad to submit their articles and photographs to military censors.

In 1919, the debate over the extent to which immediate danger during wartime justified the restrictions of the Espionage Act came to the fore in a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions. In *Schenck v. United States*, the Court upheld the conviction of socialist Charles T. Schenck, who circulated flyers to draftees that included a quotation from the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution to argue that conscription was inhumane and forced on the public by politicians and a compliant press. In the Court's unanimous decision, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. said that "clear and present" wartime danger justified restrictions on First Amendment rights.

On June 16, 1918, after visiting three Socialists convicted of violating the Sedition Act, Eugene V. Debs gave a speech opposing U.S. involvement in World War I. Debs, a pacifist, labor leader, and the Socialist party's standard-bearer in five presidential elections received almost 1 million votes when he ran in 1912. He was convicted of violating the Sedition Act and sentenced to 10 years in prison. Debs appealed and the case went to the Supreme Court where the Court applied the clear and present danger test. Although the Court upheld the conviction in 1919 in *Debs v. United States*, the charges were dropped after Congress repealed the Sedition Act. The same day as it ruled in *Debs v. United States*, the Supreme Court issued its decision in *Frohwerk v. United States*. Jacob Frohwerk was convicted of 11 counts under the Espionage Act for publishing articles in the Missouri newspaper *Staats Zeitung*, protesting U.S. involvement in World War I. The Supreme Court upheld Frohwerk's conviction and expanded the clear and present danger test by elaborating on the scope of restrictions on free expression during wartime.

Eight months following the ruling in *Debs v. United States*, a decision was handed down in *Abrams v. United States*. Jacob Abrams and

several other Russian immigrants were charged and sentenced to 20 years in prison under the Espionage Act for denouncing American intervention in Russia. They printed and circulated two leaflets appealing to the workers of the United States and supported a general strike if the United States intervened in Russia. Applying the clear and present danger test in *Abrams v. United States*, Justice John Clarke, writing for the seven-member majority of the Court, applied the clear and present danger test in upholding the immigrants' sentence. However, Justice Holmes wrote a dissent saying that Abrams's leaflets presented no immediate danger and arguing for the "free trade in ideas." Later cases, such as *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969) elaborated on Holmes's free speech theory by developing the incitement test, which differentiated between dissent speech and speech that posed an imminent threat to national security.

In 1971, former defense analyst Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers, a then-secret history of United States involvement in Vietnam, first to *The New York Times* and then to *The Washington Post*. Ellsberg was charged under the Espionage Act and went to trial in Los Angeles; however, the judge dismissed the charges.

In 2013, Edward Snowden, a former National Security Agency contractor who disclosed to the press classified documents revealing details of the agency's surveillance programs, was charged with violating the Espionage Act and stealing government property. *The Guardian* first reported on the revelations from the documents and many news outlets follow suit, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and NBC News. Shortly after going public as the source of the leaks, Snowden, who had been staying in Hong Kong, flew to Russia, which in 2020 granted him permanent residency.

In 2013, a military court found Private Chelsea Manning guilty on six counts of violating the Espionage Act and sentenced her to 35 years in prison after she leaked hundreds of thousands of pages of State Department communications and military files to WikiLeaks. She had been in prison for 7 years when President Barack Obama commuted most of the remainder of her sentence and she was released in 2017.

In August 2018, former National Security Agency contractor Reality Winner was sentenced

to more than 5 years in prison under the Espionage Act. She pleaded guilty in June 2018 to leaking a classified report on Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. election to a news outlet, *The Intercept*.

In October 2018, a federal district court in Minnesota sentenced Terry James Albury, a former FBI agent, to 4 years in prison under the Espionage Act for releasing internal FBI documents to the press. Albury pleaded guilty but argued he was acting in the public's interest because he divulged racism in the FBI as a law enforcement agency and in investigations.

In May 2019, WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange was indicted on 17 counts of violating the Espionage Act. Three of the counts were specifically based on the act of publishing secret military and diplomatic documents in 2010.

Much of the recent debate surrounding leaked information and violation of the Espionage Act centers on who counts as a journalist. Some argue, however, that the First Amendment should protect any persons or organization whose purpose is to inform the public regarding issues of public interest and have raised concerns over whether journalistic activities, regardless of whether they are conducted by a "journalist" or anyone else, can be prosecuted as crimes in the United States.

Katherine B. LaPrad

See also Congress and Journalism; Democracy and the Media; First Amendment; Investigative Journalism; PATRIOT Act; Pentagon Papers; Press Freedom; Secrecy and Leaks; Sedition Act of 1798; WikiLeaks

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ETHICS

Journalism ethics is a branch of professional ethics. Recognizing the power of communication technologies worldwide today, occupations in the media are now included with such professions as medicine, law, engineering, and business under the purview of applied ethics. There are many parallel ethical concerns such as autonomy and accountability, but common to all professions is the issue of professional power, both its uses and abuses. Although journalists have been roundly criticized for more than a century, the exponential growth in media ethics did not occur until it began rising in parallel during the 1980s with the growth of professional ethics as a whole. The challenge at present is whether journalism ethics can contribute to applied ethics as a field while making significant progress on its own complicated agenda. This entry examines the history of ethics in journalism, its internationalization and advancement, and connection to ideas of truth and diversity.

Historical Background

The rights and responsibilities of journalism and the possibility of regulating journalistic conduct have been debated in Western societies since the oldest known newspaper was published in Germany in 1609. But the abuses of the press were not explicitly linked to ethical principles until the end of the 19th century. During the 1890s, a transition occurred from everyday commentary about news reports to a more reflective period, with criticism of various kinds beginning to develop into a systematic ethics. Several examples from this decade can be listed: Sensationalism had been a problem from the beginning, but it took serious institutional form in the late 1890s during the circulation battles between *New York Journal's* William Randolph Hearst and the *New York World's* Joseph Pulitzer before and during the Spanish–American War. Gifts to journalists and free travel to sports events and meetings (freebies and junkets, as they were called) scourged by media critics during the 19th century were now treated more explicitly in the context of big business accountability. Telling the truth as a moral principle was extracted for the first time from the

practice of accurately reporting facts. Invasion of privacy entered the ethics agenda also, based on Samuel D. Warren and Louis Brandeis's "The Right to Privacy" in the December 1890 *Harvard Law Review*. In addition, the groundwork was laid for the free press/fair trial debate.

The elementary work of the 1890s evolved into a more comprehensive effort during the 1920s as journalism education was established within university liberal arts programs. Four important textbooks in journalism ethics appeared in this period: Nelson Crawford's *Ethics of Journalism* (1924), Leon Flint's *The Conscience of the Newspaper* (1925), William Gibbons's *Newspaper Ethics* (1926), and Albert Henning's *Ethics and Practices of Journalism* (1932). Inspired by Abraham Flexner's "Carnegie Reports" on professional training in a university context, a key impetus behind the creation of the early educational programs in journalism was the perceived need to enhance its respectability. Including ethics helped meet that goal.

However, the flurry of journalism scholarship in the 1920s, the growth of professional societies with codes of ethics, and individual journalists who made ethics a priority—even together these trends could not prevent the collapse of ethics in the face of an antithetical worldview called *scientific naturalism*. After Henning's 1932 book, the term *ethics* and its cognates disappeared from mass communications book titles for 40 years in North America. Instead of ethics, advances in the physical sciences became the ideal as academics—including those in journalism—promoted its methods and principles. The period from the 1930s is typically described as the social scientific phase of journalism study, and objectivity was a quasi-scientific method appropriate to it. Objectivity in journalism helped give the press legitimate status alongside the older and more prestigious professions of medicine and law.

Under the umbrella of scientific naturalism, unbiased reporting of neutral information became the standard of good performance. Objective reporting, in its history and practice, was both a methodology and a moral standard. Concern for ethics during the 1930s through the 1960s arose only on isolated occasions. *The Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press* in 1947 advancing social responsibility was the most

famous counterstatement of this period in North America. In 1954, the International Federation of Journalists, meeting in Tunis, adopted the *Declaration of Basic Principles of Journalist Behavior* oriented to professional duty rather than rights. Periodically there were these pockets of resistance in journalism's intellectual and vocational life; but the neutrality model dominated journalism nonetheless. A preoccupation with the value-centered enterprise called *ethics* seemed out of place in an academic and professional environment committed to the scientific worldview. Not until Wilbur Schramm's *Responsibility in Mass Communication* in 1957 did systematic ethics return to journalism's agenda. Sporadic activity in the 1970s paved the way for the modern period of journalism ethics, beginning in the 1980s. From that decade until today, journalism ethics has revolved around four issues, each of them important to professional ethics as a whole: globalism, theory, truth, and diversity.

Internationalizing the Field

Sean MacBride, Ireland's ambassador to the United Nations, chaired an International Commission for UNESCO on communication and human rights, cultural diversity and the state of professional journalism around the world. The Commission's Report in 1980, *Many Voices, One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*, has established the debates over the economic concentration of communication industries, the possibilities for egalitarian politics through the news media, and the free trade of communications products and services. Its recommendations have served as a framework for professional ethics during the rapid globalization of media technologies since the introduction of the Internet in 1991. The field of journalism ethics took special note of *Many Voices, One World's* recommendations for establishing quality journalism education in every country of the developing world. Ten MacBride Roundtables held around the world (with the first one in 1989 in Harare, Zimbabwe, and the last in 1998 in Amman, Jordan) have kept the fundamental issues alive and developed them further.

Against the backdrop of MacBride, the International Organization of Professional

Journalists produced a document called *International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism* at meetings in Prague and Paris in 1983 emphasizing the people's right to timely information. In fact, codes of ethics for professional and academic associations became the standard format in Europe and North America for disseminating ethical principles. Of the 35 states that signed the Helsinki Act, professional media organizations in 24 of them had codes of ethics. In 1995, 31 codes of journalism ethics existed in 29 European countries.

The first systematic treatment by an international network of scholars, *Communication Ethics and Global Change*, appeared in 1989 edited by Thomas Cooper. It concluded that there were three major areas of worldwide concern: truth, responsibility, and free expression. Throughout the 1990s, the Professional Education section of the International Association of Media Communication Research gave mass media ethics a strong emphasis. The University of Paris convened a European/North American conference on ethics in 1993. Francis Kasoma edited a volume of 10 theoretical and practical essays on *Journalism Ethics in Africa*, which appeared in 1994. Pedro G. Gomes of Brazil grounded his ethical model in social communication and liberation theology. There were several initiatives in Australia to develop principles and to monitor policies through press councils and codes of ethics. Early in this decade, the Silha Center bibliography at the University of Minnesota included entries from 10 countries. These are only illustrative.

A major challenge during the decades following MacBride was to replace the Eurocentric axis of communication ethics with a model that was genuinely comparative. The first systematic attempt at developing a comparative model across 13 countries (India, Nigeria, Brazil, Japan, Taiwan, Poland, South Africa, Germany, Venezuela, Colombia, United Arab Emirates, for example) was done by media ethics researchers Michael Traber and Clifford Christians in 1997. Using comparative research and analysis, they identified the sacredness of life as a universal presupposition that yields three ethical principles across cultures: human dignity, truth-telling, and nonviolence. Also in 1997, the Central Asian Independent Electronic Mass Media Association at its

meeting in Bishek, Kyrgyz Republic, adopted a journalism ethics code with an emphasis on protecting privacy. In 1999, the World Religious Alliance launched *A Call to Our Guiding Institutions*, challenging the fields of education, media, the arts and science to follow common ethical guidelines.

In 2003, the *Journal of Media Ethics* published a special issue called *A Search for a Global Media Ethics*. In 2007, a conference on global media ethics for the 21st century was held in Lusaka. Also, in 2007, a series of 3-day International Roundtables in Global Media Ethics was initiated by the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. Three International Roundtables followed: in 2010 at Zayed University in the United Arab Emirates; at Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2011 in Delhi, India; and in 2014 at Tsinghua University in Beijing, China. The Roundtables brought together journalism ethics scholars from all over the world. In almost all the countries of Africa, there are now a series of specialized agencies dedicated to promoting the regulation of media conduct, such as professional associations of journalists, press associations of newspaper editors and broadcast owners, and journalism research and training organizations. Al Jazeera, upon its origins in the Middle East, has adopted universal ethical standards as described in Haydar Sadig's *Al Jazeera in the Gulf and in the World*. The Asian Media Information and Communication Centre in Singapore publishes papers and hosts conferences on journalism ethics and journalism policy such as freedom of expression. Robert Fortner's *Ethics in the Digital Domain* (2020) and *Ethics in the Digital Age* (2017) by Deni Elliott and Edward Spence are examples of 21st-century textbooks that teach international journalism ethics.

Media technologies are global and journalism ethics needs the same worldwide orientation. All the professions face the global challenge since all of them use borderless digital technology. But on the issue of de-Westernizing professional ethics and doing it comparatively, journalism ethics has taken a leadership role among the professions.

Advancing Theory

From 1978 to 1980, the Hastings Center of New York carried out an extensive study of

professional ethics in American higher education. Funded by the Carnegie Foundation, the results were published in 1980 in a series of volumes and monographs that established the field of applied and professional ethics (for the volume on journalism ethics, see Clifford Christians and Catherine Covert, *Teaching Ethics in Journalism Education*).

Occupations in journalism were included along with such professions as medicine, law, business, and engineering under the purview of applied ethics. The Hastings project made recommendations about course goals, evaluation, indoctrination, and teacher preparation. It established the baseline statistical measures that are used today to teach journalism ethics.

In line with other professional fields, more monographs and research studies of media ethics were published during the 1980s than had appeared since the beginning of the 20th century. In a critical period, between 1983 and 1993, the number of freestanding media ethics courses in American higher education increased by nearly 100%. The most influential contribution to media ethics education—the Gannett-sponsored National Workshop on the Teaching of Ethics in Journalism and Mass Communications directed by Edmund Lambeth—began its 12-year career in 1984.

Scholarly study of media ethics has now established itself as a subset of professional ethics with its own subject matter. The bellwether of the field's development, the *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, began publication in 1985. Demonstrating the growth of the field, a second journal was initiated in England in 2004, *Ethical Space: The International Journal of Communication Ethics*. An "Ethics Summit" on the state of media ethics was convened in Boston in 1987 by Emerson College, and as a result, it originated in 1990 the biannual *Media Ethics Magazine*, which anchors a worldwide network of proceedings, teaching, and scholarship in ethics. The "Second Ethics Summit" in 2007 was a 25-year follow-up featuring academics and professionals from across the United States with the proceedings published in 2008 as *An Ethics Trajectory: Visions of the Media Past, Present and Future*.

Applied and practical ethics dominate academe. And the trappings of this new field are everywhere outside the classroom too. The Association for

Practical and Professional Ethics began in 1991 and has sponsored an annual conference ever since. Journals such as the *International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, *Ethical Perspectives* (from the European Ethical Network), and *Professional Ethics* deal with generic issues, while virtually all the professions now have their own journals, books, and courses on ethics as well. Interest groups within academic associations are now typical, and centers for ethics and society are commonplace in North America. Research universities are including practical ethics courses within their general education curriculum and in professional programs. Graduate studies typically include seminars in the ethics of scientific research and include a section on ethical standards in social science methodology courses. Liberal arts colleges reflect similar dynamics, introducing courses in bioethics and the ethics of health care, ethics in government, and social work ethics alongside courses in journalism and media ethics. The reissuing a century after its original publication of Henry Sidgwick's *Practical Ethics* (1898/1998) signals this trend toward professional ethics as a field of philosophy with its own subject matter.

As a field within professional ethics, journalism ethics, in terms of its logic and rationale, is bilingual. It combines theory with actual events and real-life dilemmas. Even the most sophisticated journalism ethics emphasizes the way ethical decision-making actually functions in media practice. Therefore, as professional ethics develops itself into a field of philosophy with its own identity, it insists on the dialogic character of theory construction, with principles and practice building on one another interactively. One typical textbook, *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning* (11th edition published in 2020), teaches five major ethical theories by integrating them into cases of journalism practice and policies.

In the ongoing digital era, the challenge for ethics is to establish a theoretical agenda in terms of the distinctive properties of this new global technological system. An early version of this task was a special issue of the *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* (1998) devoted to new media technologies. A double issue of the same journal 5 years later, focused on "Virtual Reality and Communication Ethics," developed the idea that the virtual world as the innovative edge of online technologies is the

most advanced context for coming to grips with media ethics theoretically. Communications researcher David Gunkel's *Thinking Otherwise: Philosophy, Communication, Technology* (2007) and his *The Machine Question: Critical Perspectives on AI, Robots and Ethics* (2012) center on ethics throughout, philosophical ethics and media ethics. Gunkel develops a model of moral responsibility within the context of the newest innovations in information technology. Journalist and educator Michael Bugeja's second edition of *Interpersonal Divide in the Age of the Machine* (2017) identifies moral issues that converge across media technologies.

Truth

Language is the lifeblood of society and its institutions; in John Dewey's homespun phrase, "of all things, communication it the most wonderful." Therefore, human existence requires a radical commitment to truth. As a matter of fact, the press' obligation to truth is the key standard of journalism ethics. Truth-telling is the generally accepted norm of the media professions, and credible language is pivotal to journalism's very existence. In all the journalism codes of ethics around the world, truth as accuracy has priority. Truth-telling as the norm for the journalism profession is not controversial. But living up to this ideal has proved nearly impossible. Budget constraints, deadlines, competitive pressures, and self-serving sources complicate the production of truth in news writing. Journalism is often referred to as *history in a hurry*; providing a precise, representative account rarely occurs under such conditions. Sophisticated digital technology accommodates almost unlimited news copy but still requires that difficult choices be made without the opportunity to sift through the intricacies of telling the truth. Despite the unending demands of everyday practice, and contrary to the unjust attacks on today's journalism as *fake news*, the salience of truth as an ethical principle is undiminished.

However, the prevailing view of truth as accurate information is too simplistic for today's social and political complexities, though objectivity remains entrenched in daily practices of news production and dissemination. The dominant

scheme committed to facts is under duress, and as Stephen Ward's *Radical Media Ethics: A Global Approach* (2015) demonstrates, philosophical work is critical for transforming the concept of truth intellectually. A more sophisticated concept of truth is disclosure, opening up the hidden dimensions of meaning. Truth means uncovering the authentic, disclosing the genuine underneath, making reality intelligible for human existence. Already in 1947, the famous Hutchins Commission Report on *A Free and Responsible Press* called for this alternative. It advocated a deeper definition of the press' mission as "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning." A truthful account is based on the facts as best they can be determined but also includes the context, motives and presuppositions involved. In terms of disclosing meaning, reporters will seek interpretive sufficiency. They recognize that no clear boundary exists between fact and interpretation; therefore, truthful reports mean credible interpretation rather than first impressions. As former United Press International reporter and journalism researcher Wesley Pippert explained, truth means to get at the core, the essence, the nub, the heart of the matter.

Forsaking the quest for precision journalism does not mean imprecision but more precision in disclosure and authenticity. The best journalists understand from the inside the attitudes, culture, and language of the persons and events that enter news reporting. In the process of reporting a truth narrative, journalists will reduce as much as possible the distance between the concepts of social science and those of the particular news context itself. The best news stories will be true on two levels: they will be theoretically credible (not the promotion of conspiracy and myth) and they will be realistic to those being covered (not seen as speculation). The truth of authenticity unveils the inner character of a series of events. These accounts generate an insightful picture that clarifies the essence of the problem or situation. Rather than reducing social issues to the financial and administrative problems that politicians define, the truth principle requires that the news media disclose the depth and nuance that enable readers and viewers to identify the fundamental issues themselves.

Diversity

Another urgent issue for present-day journalism ethics is not merely the obligation to treat ethnic differences fairly, but how to recognize the identity of various cultural groups that together make up a society. Native languages and ethnicity have come into their own. Sects and religious fundamentalists insist on recognition. Culture is more salient for many than their country. In the United States, for instance, at the turn of the 20th century, 80% of the immigrants emigrated from Europe; starting in the 1960s, the majority has come from Asia, Latin America, and developing countries in Africa. Rather than the *melting pot* Americanization of the past century, immigrants now insist on maintaining their cultures, religions, and languages. In fact, since the Cold War, identity politics has become dominant in world affairs. As a result, news media are challenged to help develop a healthy ethnic self-consciousness rather than reinforce a strident tribalism and divisive ethnicity.

Obviously, news cannot be ethical unless the challenge of cultural diversity is met, and this requires a fundamental shift from pushing homogeneity to recognition of differences. The basic issue is whether democratic societies are discriminating against their citizens in an unethical manner when institutions fail to account for the identity of their members. In what sense, should the specific cultural and social features of Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Buddhists, Jews, the physically disabled, or children publicly matter? Should government organizations ensure only that citizens share an equal right to political liberties and due process without regard to race, gender, or religion? Beneath the rhetoric is a fundamental dispute that Charles Taylor calls the *politics of recognition*. This foundational issue regarding the character of ethnic identity must be resolved for diversity to come into its own.

The flourishing of particular cultures, religions, and ethnic groups is the substantive goal to which news professionals are generally committed, but it needs deeper application. Susan Ross and Paul Lester's *Images That Injure* (2011) has become a staple of instruction toward that goal. Media researchers John Downing and Charles Husband help fulfill this agenda as well with their historical

review of racial stereotyping as background for proposing a new “multiethnic public sphere” to represent race. The 2008 *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith gives a theoretical foundation and specific methodologies for preparing news stories on Indigenous groups. Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki’s *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* (2000) illustrates a deep application to race in the 21st-century United States. Covering such initiatives as described by Bryan Stevenson in his *Just Mercy* (2014) in both news and editorials will clarify the diversity issue. The “Global Media Monitoring Project,” a comparative study every 5 years in more than 100 countries, is the largest research project in history of gender in the world’s media and presents its results in various news formats. A movement symbolized with the Twitter hashtag #MeToo raises awareness of the pervasiveness of sexual assault and harassment in society. #Black-LikeMe also on social media is an international activist movement that protests systemic racism by speaking out against police killings of Black people and broader issues such as racist profiling, police brutality, and the criminal justice system.

Digital media technologies are globalizing rapidly, but local identities are reasserting themselves at the same time. For journalism ethics, the integration of globalization and multiculturalism is the extraordinary challenge. Contrary to an ethnocentrism of judging other groups against a dominant Western model, other cultures are not to be considered inferior, only different. For multiculturalism, the journalism ethics that is legitimate respects the diversity of the human race even while seeking commonness among peoples everywhere.

Concluding Thoughts

Within philosophical ethics, academics increasingly recognize professional ethics—often labeled applied ethics as well—as a legitimate domain in itself. The issues addressed in journalism ethics are often problematic across several professions—employee loyalty, distributive justice, deception, conflict of interest, and digital

technology, for instance. Legal ethics is equally involved with journalism ethics on the invasion of privacy issue.

Because journalism depends on global technologies, it has been able to demonstrate educational guidance for all the professions on the development of international, cross-cultural ethical principles. For journalism ethics to collaborate with professional ethics as a whole, it helps to ensure that the professions together emphasize the major issues in global professional ethics and are not distracted by the secondary, superficial issues unique to each profession working by itself.

Clifford G. Christians

See also Conflicts of Interest; Deception; Diversity in Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Objectivity

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ETHNIC MINORITY NETWORKS

When radio networks first appeared in the early 1920s, ethnic minorities were invisible elements in majority societies and, in many cases, were under pressure to abandon their traditions and conform to mainstream culture. If those minorities spoke “foreign” languages (such as those spoken by Indigenous peoples including the Maori in New Zealand), their languages might be expected to die off in due time, and in many cases, their usage was actively discouraged by educational and religious institutions. While their speakers might be welcome guests permitted to sing or speak in their own tongues, mainstream media would decide when to issue such invitations.

The modest sizes of many minority populations, coupled with their frequent economic weakness and the long prevalence of mainstream assimilationist policies, have meant that minority-operated electronic media outlets have emerged slowly and tentatively, with minority networks lagging even farther behind. That situation still largely prevails, even as civil rights movements, an opening up of the frequency spectrum for both radio and television, the falling cost of broadcast equipment, and a greater acceptance of minority presence in many countries have led to increased minority stations and networks, by and large they continue to lack the resources available to their mainstream counterparts.

Development

By the late 1920s, a few American radio stations were carrying scheduled ethnic minority broadcasts, usually for an hour or less per day. Other countries took similarly cautious approaches. The New Zealand Broadcasting Service first offered continuously scheduled programming in Maori only in 1942: a newscast once a week for 5 minutes. Norway's NRK began scheduled broadcasts in Sami in 1946. Minority networks did not

emerge until the 1960s, and then only gradually: a few to several hours of programming per day, and often for less than the full week. If the networks were part of a larger national public service broadcaster (PSB)—the BBC's Asian Network, for example—they sometimes lacked such support as proportional budgets, "good" broadcast frequencies and sufficient transmitter power, full access to production facilities, or "status" among their mainstream peers. If the networks were commercial services, as with the U.S. Spanish language television networks *Univision* and *Telemundo*, finances tended to be tight and network-originated programming limited. (Both of those networks still rely predominantly on material produced in Latin America for Latin American audiences.)

Whether commercial or public, ethnic/linguistic networks have suffered from a paucity of local outlets through which to disseminate programs, but also from which to *receive* program material. They have created programming but have done little to encourage local outlets to produce programs that could be carried by the networks, which has limited the degree to which networks reflect local ethnic communities. A few networks have assisted growth of local stations and carried their programming, as has happened with Inuit radio in Canada starting in 1970 with the foundation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Northern Service. More often, they were highly centralized, as was the U.S. Black Entertainment Television (BET, founded in 1980) network. BET did little to support the establishment and growth of Black-owned-and-operated local TV stations (they numbered 24 in 1991, dropping to 22 by 2006) or to receive material from them.

Since most ethnic minority populations are small and often economically disadvantaged, their networks are not attractive to the financial community as business ventures, and few operate commercially. If those networks are financed through annual audience license fees or government appropriations, the relatively small size of the populations they serve may mean that their fee shares or appropriations are modest. Indeed, governmental appropriations may be cut off altogether, as was Canada's Native Communications Program in 1990.

Despite these obstacles, many ethnic and linguistic minorities now have networks or network-like services. Australia, three Andean countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru), Canada, three Nordic nations (Finland, Norway, and Sweden), France, New Zealand, and the United States all feature one or more ethnic minority networks. The following selective examples, listed alphabetically, present their origins and the approaches they have taken to serving the informational needs of their audiences.

PSB and State-Supported Ethnic Minority Networks

Australia

Indigenous (Aboriginal) radio services in Australia emerged on a piecemeal basis, often supported by hard-won government funding administered by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Community radio obtained legal status in the mid-1970s, and Indigenous groups soon began to participate. The advent in 1978 of the Special Broadcasting Service, a multilingual radio and television service, soon led to the development of an indigenous information program, though not a full-fledged newscast. The creation in 1987 of the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS) gradually resulted in the installation across Australia of over a hundred ground stations with modest studios and equipment, as well as satellite uplinks and downlinks.

The BRACS stations helped stimulate development of a national network. The National Indigenous Radio Service (NIRS), founded in 1996, serves as a program exchange and distribution service for the BRACS stations as well as for the many community radio stations carrying indigenous programs. The NIRS also originates several newscasts per day, often featuring items supplied by some of the 130 BRACS operations and 23 indigenous radio stations, as well as stringers and indigenous media centers. It also provides a daily national indigenous talk show, *Let's Talk*, hosted by Tija Bayles, one of indigenous radio's best-known figures. NIRS is supported primarily through annual government appropriations. Support levels for the BRACS stations are low to nonexistent, which impedes many from creating programs.

Australia's indigenous television networks began with Imparja in 1996, which started broadcasting from Alice Springs after a group of Indigenous individuals competed for and received a commercial TV narrowcast license valid for satellite broadcasting to eastern and central Australia. Imparja provides a daily 30-min newscast, which often contains items submitted by the same sources as those featured on NIRS. It also broadcasts occasional documentaries. The weekday children's show *Yamba the Honey Ant* includes informational segments, often in the form of music such as "The Healthy Body Song." Starting in the late 1990s, Imparja also operated Indigenous Community Television, a service featuring videos made by and for Australia's Indigenous population. That service was superseded in 2007 by National Indigenous Television, which then introduced a 5-minute national newscast in 2008 with the intent of expanding it. Both Imparja and National Indigenous Television are supported through Australian government appropriations as well as payments for carrying government announcements of training programs and other information directed to Indigenous audience members. Commercial advertising accounts for only a minor portion of Imparja's annual budget.

Canada

The CBC Northern Service began in 1958, in part because of pressure from Inuit ("Eskimo") listeners impatient at being ignored. The Northern Service catered to both Inuit and non-Inuit populations of northern Canada through shortwave transmissions in English. It introduced Inuktitut language broadcasts in 1960, produced in Montreal and elsewhere in northern Canada. There were a few local terrestrial radio stations in the region, so the broadcasts did provide a network of sorts, which, in the words of the manager of the CBC service in Iqaluit, Nunavut, "enabled Inuit communities, separated by vast distances, to communicate with one another" (quoted in Molnar and Meadows). Following a lengthy series of campaigns conducted by Inuit, Native Americans, and white supporters, local Native American and Inuit stations began to emerge across Canada in the early 1970s. Many were supported through Native Communications Societies (media centers), and

after 1983 through funding from the Canadian Government's Northern Native Broadcast Access Project.

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's television service developed from several experimental projects in the 1970s, broadcasting its first regular program in 1982. It was dependent on CBC transmission facilities, which could be used only late at night. After considerable lobbying, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation received a dedicated satellite transmitter, which enabled an expanded service, Television Northern Canada, to come on air in 1992. That service broadened its scope in 1998 by embracing television programming for Native Americans and Inuit throughout Canada in a renamed Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN).

Television Northern Canada and APTN both have drawn heavily upon productions from several native communications societies, which provide opportunities for Native Americans and Inuit to produce material for print and broadcast media. Such productions enable the exchange of information through daily newscasts—APTN began a national newscast in 2000—as well as call-in current affairs shows such as *Contact* and frequent documentaries, in both English and tribal languages. APTN has the additional advantage of having been declared a national service, which ensures its availability through cable TV in Canada, thus making it accessible to most households. This also provides APTN with its major source of income through a share of cable and satellite subscriber fees—roughly Can\$30 million in 2007.

New Zealand

Maori radio stations in New Zealand (or *Aotearoa*, in Maori) developed first at the local (*iwi*, or tribe) level starting in the late 1980s, following a protracted struggle with the national government over broadcast licensing rights and funding. The stations all produce local news programs, and some create current affairs, discussion, and call-in talk programs. Some of the programming is in Maori, some in English. Radio Waatea in Auckland is under contract to produce and relay a national Maori newscast in both Maori and English several times daily to the *iwi* stations. Radio Waatea also produces daily and weekly current affairs

programs, including a weekly phone-in talk show. For all of those productions, Radio Waatea works closely with the 21 *iwi* stations, which are themselves interlinked through an online network, and with stringers living in cities and towns lacking such stations. The stations receive most of their financial support through a government-supported Maori funding agency, *Te Mangai Paho*, with further assistance for specific series and one-time programs through another government agency, NZ on Air.

Maori Television made its debut as a distinct service in the mid-1990s. The existing Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) channels had carried Maori language newscasts and a few discussion and cultural programs starting in the early 1980s. It obtained its own channel in 2004, which broadcasts Maori news twice per day and offers two weekly current affairs programs and numerous documentaries (the latter often originating from other minority stations around the world), interview-based programs, and discussions. While there are no purely local Maori television stations, Maori Television has numerous stringers as well as a few full-time reporters around the country. It also provides a video booth at its Auckland headquarters, where anyone may enter and make a brief statement about anything whatsoever. Occasionally this material is incorporated with regularly scheduled informational programs. Funding for Maori Television comes largely through *Te Mangai Paho*, with further support through the NZ on Air agency.

The Nordic Nations

Sami radio in the Nordic nations developed in part because the Sami peoples' campaigns for a voice of their own helped to convince top-level administrators of the national public broadcasting services in Norway and Finland in particular (Sweden was less supportive) that their demands were justified: Sami paid annual broadcast license fees just as did the majority population. Sami stations exist in all three countries as part of the national public service broadcaster, for example, Norway's NRK-TV. In 1965, the stations began to operate as a transnational network in part because the Sami are spread across northern Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, number less than 50,000, and fear the loss of their language, so the sharing of responsibility for programming made

sense. A share of the broadcast license fees provides major support for the three stations.

The joint program schedule (about 6 hours per weekday, two on weekends with each station also providing programming for its own national population) offers a mix of information and entertainment, with several newscasts per day, various interview and discussion programs, occasional documentaries, and coverage of such events as meetings of the Sami Parliament. There is as yet no Sami television service, but since the early 1990s, the radio stations have produced a number of TV documentaries each year, as well as a weekly children's television program, all of which are broadcast through Nordic PSB television services such as NRK-TV.

United Kingdom

As the South Asian and Black populations of Britain pressed for greater rights and better working conditions in the 1970s, some of the newly authorized BBC and Independent Broadcasting Authority local radio stations began to offer programs produced by them. A network of sorts was created in 1989 when BBC local radio stations in Leicester and Birmingham, soon joined by BBC CWR (Coventry and Warwickshire), began to share such productions and to use the title "Asian Network." Proposals for a nationwide network led to the expansion of that network in 1996 and its carriage on the Sky satellite (and later on the Virgin and Fairview satellites as well as Digital Audio Broadcast, or DAB). Programming now includes news and public affairs, with a 30-min weekday newscast and news inserts, and is produced primarily in London, Leicester, and Birmingham. Most of the material is in English, with several hours per day of programs in South Asian languages. The BBC also has an Afro-Caribbean-British 24-hour radio service, 1Xtra, based in Birmingham. It carries brief daily newscasts and a weekday 2-hour news block (TXU), with some attention to Blacks and their activities in the United Kingdom. It, too, is carried on several satellites as well as DAB.

United States

U.S. Native American radio stations first appeared when KYUK in Barrow, Alaska, made its

debut in 1973. There was a considerable growth spurt through the early 1980s, fueled in part by civil rights protests and demands for self-representation among Native Americans. By 2008, there were 33 Native American and Inuit radio stations, not including commercial or web-based services. English is the usual broadcast language, and only a few of the stations offer news and current affairs programming in the tribal languages. Although there was some exchange of taped material starting in the 1980s, nothing resembling a full-fledged network appeared until 1994, when American Indian Radio on Satellite (AIROS) was created. AIROS plays several important networking roles: as transmitter of several 5-min newscasts per day, the 1-hour Monday through Friday call-in talk show *Native America Calling*, the radio magazine *AlterNative Voices*, and *Voices From the Circle*, a mixed news/music/current affairs/storytelling program. Funding comes primarily through government appropriations, including annual support by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Native American television lacks a network service, but there are several sources of independent programs, many distributed through the Native American Public Telecommunications (NAPT) VisionMaker Video Service, established in 1997, and aired through public television stations. Most of the videos deal with current issues (for example, child abuse or alcoholism) and cultural life in Native American communities. In addition to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and other government funding, NAPT receives support through the Ford Foundation.

Radio Bilingue in Fresno, California, came on air as a community radio service in 1980 but gradually grew to become a six-station network with satellite transmission to several dozen more stations. It broadcasts in Spanish and in a few other Mexican and Central American languages such as Mixtec, as well as offering occasional programming in Hmong and in some South Pacific Islander languages. It provides a national newscast, *Noticiero Latino*, as well as a weekday call-in program, *Linea Abierta*, which covers topics of particular importance to Latinos, such as immigration reform.

Notable Commercial Minority Networks

Commercial ethnic/linguistic minority television networks that carry newscasts are uncommon, and most are in the United States. Where they do exist, substantial increases in the size of the relevant populations and availability of satellites led to the creation of these networks.

France

One of the few minority commercial radio networks outside the United States is Radio Beur, founded in 1990 to serve a largely North African Arab population in Paris which soon established outlets in several other French cities. In addition to providing a daily 30-minute newscast that uses some material from those outlets, the station has a 1-hour talk show, *Question de Tout*, on Saturdays and Sundays. Many of the topics deal with sensitive issues such as AIDS, the “correct” way to observe the holy month of Ramadan, and anti-Arab prejudice in France. Most broadcasts are in French and Arabic.

United Kingdom

When the BBC’s monopoly on radio broadcasting was broken with the initiation of Independent Local Radio commercial services in 1973, some of the Independent Local Radio stations began to offer small segments of airtime to South Asian and Afro-Caribbean-British groups, sometimes on a group’s request, sometimes on their own initiative. The BBC local radio stations had not been particularly active in that sphere, which provided the Independent Local Radio stations with a way to distinguish themselves. However, a nationally distributed commercial Asian radio service did not emerge until 1991, when West London-based Sunrise Radio first aired on the Astra satellite. It offers informational material emphasizing South Asia life within the United Kingdom and has a four person news staff as well as a number of stringers and other informants around the country but does not have a regularly scheduled newscast. Instead, brief news inserts are included with some of the entertainment programs, especially the morning talk shows. At least one local station, Sunrise Radio Yorkshire, offers a local newscast.

United States

There are two U.S. Black commercial radio networks. Radio One, founded in 1980 and based in Lanham, Maryland, owns 54 stations in 17 cities. However, it does not provide national newscasts, nor do many of its local stations have newscasts. It provides a separate web service, Black America Web, which offers news and commentary emphasizing subject matter of particular interest to Black audiences such as Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. The American Urban Radio Networks is a set of four differentiated outlets and was created from the merger of the Sheridan Broadcasting Network and the Mutual Black Network in December 1991. The American Urban Radio Networks' Pinnacle and Renaissance Networks originate daily newscasts. Renaissance also offers a daily *White House Report*, a nightly talk show dealing with such issues as prostitution and child abuse, and a daily *Health Watch*. The third network, STRZ Weekend Entertainment, and the fourth network, Sheridan Gospel Network, do not originate news and public affairs programming.

The BET has been moderately successful financially, albeit primarily as a provider of light entertainment rather than news. From its inception in 1980, BET provided 2-min news briefs embedded in the program *Video Soul* but did not initiate weekday newscasts (*Black Nightly News*) until 2001. It dropped these newscasts in 2005 in favor of "news briefs" throughout the day. TVOne, a Black-owned cable and satellite network founded in 2004, does not offer newscasts but does provide three weekly talk shows and brief news analyses. The Black Family Channel, founded in 1999 as MBC (Major Broadcasting Network), has struggled financially because of a relative lack of success in securing channels on local cable systems, and it dropped cable distribution entirely in mid-2007 in preparation for moving to broadband in 2008. The Black Family Channel has not offered a newscast, but it has aired several informational programs dealing with health and personal finances, both of which are slated to reappear when the Black Family Channel moves to broadband. A 24-hour all-news service, The Black Television News Channel, was announced in April 2008 for launch in 2009.

Univision Radio provides daily newscasts and talk shows to a 70-station network of Spanish language radio stations located in most of the major U.S. Latino population centers. The corporation did not offer a radio service until 2003, when it acquired the Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation. It has correspondents in many U.S. cities and in a number of Latin American capitals. Its two major rivals, the Latino Broadcasting Company, founded in 1996, and the Spanish Broadcasting System, founded in 1983, are less active in news and public affairs programs, but Special Broadcasting Service began a 60-min weekly network news program in May 2008.

Univision and Telemundo each offer Spanish-language newscasts. Univision began as the Spanish International Network in 1962, and its rival Telemundo began network operations in 1987. A portion of each newscast covers events taking place within the United States, some of them involving Latino events. Telemundo's commitment to newscasts decreased in 2006, when the network's owner, NBC, dropped local newscasts on six of Telemundo's principal affiliates in Texas, Arizona, and California, and replaced them with a regional newscast. Univision also provides a 2-hour morning program along the lines of ABC's *Good Morning America* or NBC's *Today*, with news briefs every half hour, and a daily magazine show (*Primer Impacto*) containing newscasts. Documentaries are rare on both networks.

Programming

It is not always easy to differentiate between informational and entertainment programming where ethnic/linguistic minority networks are concerned. For example, many of these networks produce children's programs that are replete with informational material such as tribal history, vignettes of outstanding minority group members, histories of words and proverbs, and, in a few cases such as Australia's NIRS, brief newscasts produced specifically for young viewers. Where the more or less traditional information formats such as news, live coverage of major events, commentary, documentaries, interview-based shows, and talk shows are concerned, most networks offer examples of each. The manner of presentation of these programs, however, often differs

from majority models in their slower pace, more respectful tone, and general absence of confrontational behavior.

Most network-originated newscasts include national and international news, particularly when the items contain material of specific interest to a given minority group, such as a U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the basic right of Native American tribes to establish casinos. They also are likely to contain items about local and regional events and activities, which often are reported by local minority stations or by stringers. Reporting about minorities done by minority networks generally tends to accent the positive; when negative items such as minority-committed crime are reported, often there will be material giving some minority context to the story, for example, explaining that a particular crime is also punishable under tribal law and perhaps detailing that punishment.

Interview-based programs also are a common feature of minority networks and often take the form of talk shows, where audience members will be encouraged to join in. As a rule, interviews are conducted in a spirit of respect rather than opposition, and callers are treated collegially rather than in an adversarial way. In many of the Indigenous cultures (Sami, Native American, Maori), there will be longer pauses between questions and answers than is usual with most majority services. This protracted silence is a sign of respect. Topics vary widely, but for many minority groups, health care, high incarceration rates, respect for and rights of women, proper child care, and minority political activities appear frequently. AIROS' *Native America Calling* has been particularly successful in generating discussion on such topics as family violence, casino and fishing rights, incarceration, health care, and assisting returning Native American veterans who suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome.

Program-length discussion shows are relatively rare, but Maori TV's weekly program *Ask Your Auntie*, popular with Maori and *pakeha* ("whites") alike, illustrates the potential utility of such a format. Four Maori women of differing ages and backgrounds respond to viewers' inquiries, ranging from personal matters such as whether to date a *pakeha* to current issues in society such as how to deal with alcoholism among Maori. While

much of what they cover could be regarded as advice, they also provide specific information about issues as well as where to obtain further information. The women move back and forth between speaking in Maori and in English, making the program more widely accessible. *Native America Calling* provides a daily forum for listener and "expert" discussion of such topics as Christianity's influence on U.S. Indian law and helping returning Native American combat veterans to readjust to civilian life. It regularly invites listeners to submit their own suggestions for topics.

Documentaries are common in many minority TV network program schedules, and a few networks, notably Canada's APTN, carry them often. In APTN's case, many documentaries are produced by the aforementioned Native Communications Societies but also by independent ethnic minority producers in Canada and other countries, especially Australia, New Zealand, and countries in Latin America. Topics include those already listed for discussions but also feature portrayals of "traditional" cultural activities such as woodworking or dancing and their present-day equivalents such as Maori song contests.

The production of cultural documentaries can be a sensitive matter, due to fear over the loss of local identity. That is a particularly delicate issue for certain forms of knowledge (usually religious or cultural) that may be seen as privileged, so that only certain individuals, families, and community groups (women, for example) are allowed to use and share them, while still retaining ownership. Some documentarians have developed codes of practice emphasizing the importance of sensitivity to such concerns. That includes the need for an interviewee to understand that, because many different kinds of audiences are likely to hear or view the program, and because those audiences may not understand the concept of story ownership, they may feel free to repeat what they hear and see without acknowledging ownership. Hosts of interview-based shows often observe the same caution.

Live coverage of events tends to emphasize minority cultural activities such as athletic, poetry, singing, and other contests, but demonstrations, major political gatherings, and commemorations, particularly when they involve minorities, also

receive attention. The funeral of the Maori queen late in 2006 drew continuous coverage from both Maori radio and TV and was considered by Maori broadcasters as a major contribution to increasing a sense of national unity among the Maori tribes. National election campaigning and the tallying of votes frequently attract minority network coverage, particularly where minorities are running for office.

There are associations for minority journalists in a number of countries, such as those for African American, Asian American, Native American, and Latino journalists in the United States; for Native American and Inuit journalists in Canada; for Maori journalists in New Zealand; and for Australian Indigenous journalists. These associations' annual meetings emphasize employment issues, usually with respect to mainstream broadcasting, but they also include discussion of ways to represent in effective and respectful ways the cultural, political, and economic activities of the minorities they serve.

Networks and "Localism"

Ethnic and linguistic minorities appear to regard networks serving their communities as a mixed blessing. Those who feel that there is strength in numbers realize that having their own networks can increase minority and mainstream public awareness of minority grievances, problems, and accomplishments. These networks also make it easier to mobilize minority and majority public opinion around such pressing issues as high minority incarceration rates; chronic health problems; issues of land ownership; cultural, economic, and educational achievements; and the importance of one's own language and religious practices.

Others worry about a possible loss of local identity, which in some ethnic and linguistic minority populations is connected with the unique language usage and cultural practices of a particular region. Broadcast networks, they fear, may lack the sensitivity to respond to these localized concerns. The centralized, top-down nature of most networks also may act to diminish the importance of local radio and television where such services exist. Networks' command of greater material resources, moreover, and their tendency to follow

professional production practices, may make the local services appear amateurish.

Because some of the networks—Maori TV, Sami, Inuit, and Radio Waatea—broadcast largely or exclusively in an ethnic tongue, the homogenizing effect that such services can have on regional and local accents and word usage is also a matter of concern in terms of maintaining a sense of place and community. Further, a network news service often deals with a range of scientific, political, public health, and other issues, for example, AIDS and counterterrorism, thus requiring terms of reference that do not exist in many of the minority languages. While the users of some languages—Maori is a notable example—have been resourceful in creating linguistically appropriate terms using words from the native lexicon, others have taken the less labor-intensive approach of using the majority term or modifying it with their own language's prefixes and suffixes. This adaptation of the language can lead some to feel that the essence of the minority language is being compromised.

Changing Technology

As minority networks evolve, they become more adept at using new technologies such as the Internet and satellites to expand their reach and enhance their effectiveness. Where journalism is concerned, many minority media operations have yet to employ satellites in ways that will bring the voices and images of local populations into network-produced and -distributed news and public affairs programs. (Popular music is a very different story, and there are many MTV-like services such as Desi TV for South Asian viewers around the world.) However, there are some already-noted examples of such efforts, such as the AIROS satellite service's *Native America Calling*, APTN's *Contact*, Radio Bilingue's *Linea Abierta*, and NIRS's *Let's Talk*. Because each of the host nations is vast and features Indigenous populations that are widely scattered, the satellite is the only technology that enables real-time participation for a sizable share of the target audience. Satellites have also been crucial to the development of national audiences for the BBC Asian Network, Sunshine Radio, Radio Beur in France, and others. They even have made possible the development of

mini-networks for specific groups, such as a three-station “network” (Little Saigon Radio) that offers daily newscasts containing items on Vietnamese American life from each of the stations.

Network websites increasingly feature interactivity. Australia’s NIRS, for example, solicits contributions of news items from listeners through the Internet. The Internet and satellites also may hold the key to the creation of a long-awaited international network linking ethnic and linguistic minority broadcast services around the world. Sami Radio in Norway is coordinating the effort to involve as many groups as possible. It remains to be seen what sorts of services minority networks may make available for users of iPods and similar mobile devices, although several of them, such as NIRS, are already offering podcasts and other downloadable audio and video material.

Notwithstanding the present and potential obstacles minority networks face—budgetary, but also the need to make themselves visible in a rapidly expanding media universe—they appear destined to grow in numbers and in reach thanks to the greater availability and affordability of newer communication technologies, satellites and the Internet in particular. As one example, the Latin American Indigenous Broadcast Network Red Quechua Satelital uses a combination of email, web radio, and satellite transmission to link 28 Quechua/Quichua language media services, which provide news and radio magazines to some 12 million of their speakers in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. Given the mountainous areas in which that population lives, it would have been impossible to develop a terrestrial network to reach it. Whether the possible loss of local dialects, privileged knowledge, or purity of language is offset by possible gains in the strengthening of the larger community through such networks is a question that can only be answered by those ethnic and linguistic minority communities that are directly affected by such developments.

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See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Development Journalism; Diversity in Journalism; Ethnic Press; Latino News Media; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

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ETHNIC PRESS

This entry discusses historical developments of the ethnic press in the United States along with its uses and functions and its relevance beyond the United States. It concludes with a discussion on the emergence of digital ethnic media.

Any conversation about the ethnic press entails a complicated web of stories directly tied to the migrations of people, the development of diasporas, and the political and social constructions of race and ethnicity. This entry, thus, is informed by histories of racial and ethnic formations—the social and historical constructions of race and ethnicity—diasporic studies, and geopolitical contexts. Furthermore, while the entry focuses on the ethnic press in the United States, it is crucial to highlight that these media organizations have existed around the world during different historical periods. As such, this entry defines ethnicity (and race) through a U.S.-specific lens, while acknowledging the global presence of such categories.

Historically, scholars have referred to the ethnic press as print newspapers that circulated outside of mainstream news media and were published by non-Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglophone communities (except for Irish publications that printed in

English). Scholars writing on the ethnic press have primarily focused on those publications that represent non-Anglo immigrant communities, a designation that assumes that Anglo-Saxons are nonethnic populations. These assumptions not only have ethnic identification implications but also racialized ones.

Any discussion about ethnic communities in the United States can also be traced to the evolution of race, particularly whiteness. The historiography on ethnic and racial evolution illustrates that Anglo-Saxon populations in Europe and in the United States *became* white through the acquiring of economic, cultural, and social power—while other European ethnic groups would be perceived as the “other” (e.g., Italian, Irish, Jewish, and Eastern European populations). In the United States, however, many (though not all) of those non-Anglo-European communities that were initially perceived as the “other” eventually became white through the accumulation of capital (i.e., power). Because ethnic media has been directly tied to non-Anglo immigrant populations, this entry focuses on non-Anglo ethnic media.

It is important to acknowledge that ethnic Anglo-Saxon people who became associated with whiteness over time also migrated and colonized the Indigenous land that today is known as *the United States*. Because Indigenous media do not represent immigrant institutions, some research has distinguished them from ethnic media. Yet, other scholars define the ethnic press as the institutions that produce for members of a particular ethnic group; this characterization includes Indigenous media. This entry then expands the definition of ethnic media to include both immigrant and Indigenous media.

Before further defining and historicizing the ethnic press, one must define ethnicity. *Ethnic identification* refers to a process by which individuals are tied to a particular common language, history, and geographical place. Ethnicity is the outcome of structural and individual organizations that shape ethnic categories and definitions. People might identify with a particular ethnic background, but these identifications are also shaped by institutional forces (e.g., nation-state governments). These categories, furthermore, constantly evolve through external social, economic, and political developments. In other words, ethnic

identifications can change over time. For example, while many Indigenous communities in the United States have struggled to preserve their cultural customs, languages, land, and overall livelihoods, some Latinx or non-Anglo-European communities have sought to assimilate into the dominant cultural contexts surrounding them.

Ethnic media then refers to those media establishments that are tied to a particular ethnic community (e.g., Latinx-owned and/or Spanish-speaking newspapers). The ethnic press has become particularly relevant in urban cities (though not exclusively), where immigrant communities have long seen the power in shaping their own communities via print. Ethnic groups have established these media institutions for various factors, including the aim to ease immigrant individuals and communities’ transitions into American society. Thus, the ethnic press has served as a vital function for individuals arriving to the United States from various parts of the world. For this reason, scholars have examined the ways in which migrant communities have established media organizations, community uses of available outlets, and the historical functions that such media have played in ethnic communities.

Historical Developments

The early 19th-century Black press in the United States served similar functions as those established by non-Anglo ethnic communities, but for formerly enslaved individuals forcibly transported to the United States from their homes in Africa and for the descendants of enslaved individuals. Black publishers sought to provide representations of Black North Americans that challenged racist stereotypes prevalent in mainstream news. Black-owned newspapers also sought to promote emancipation and educate their communities.

Despite the many Black-owned newspapers that have been published in the United States, the ethnic press has often been referred to as the *foreign language press*. This designation also has not necessarily included print media written in Spanish during the colonial period in the geographical areas colonized by Spain and later owned by Mexico, nor has it included Indigenous-owned and produced newspapers. The ethnic press is often traced to print media published during the

colonial period in the United States by German, Irish, and other non-English-speaking immigrants who arrived in the geographic area of the northeast. But current understanding of the ethnic press has expanded to those diasporic communities that have ties to Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa, and Indigenous nations that have inhabited lands long before Europeans colonized them.

The first Anglo-Saxon immigrants colonized Indigenous lands in the United States during the early 1600s. Waves of immigrants (who voluntarily or involuntarily emigrated across the Atlantic Ocean) from Northern and Western Europe established their own communities in cities such as New York beginning in 1815. Many of these newly arrived immigrants came from Ireland. For instance, between 1820 and 1930, approximately 4.5 million Irish people and 5 million German immigrants arrived in the United States.

Ethnic establishments by Asian, Latin American, Caribbean, African, and other non-white immigrant communities also were common during this period. About 25,000 Chinese immigrants migrated to the United States by the early 1850s. By the late 1890s, millions of immigrants came from Eastern and Southern Europe, including Italian and Jewish migrants. Such movements created what scholars call *diasporas*—communities of scattered people whose origins are tied to a single homeland but are dispersed throughout the world (e.g., African American populations, Latinx and Caribbean immigrant communities, Jewish people, and Asian populations). In many of the voluntary migrations, a pattern has emerged: Migrant people from their native colonized or formerly colonized country travel to the empire (the nation-states that continue to colonize or once colonized their homelands).

Globalization processes throughout different historical periods have influenced people to leave their homelands and to arrive in places that they believed would provide them better economic opportunities. Many immigrants also fled because of religious and ethnic persecution. For instance, more than 2 million Jewish people migrated to the United States between 1880 and 1920. Legislation beginning in the late 19th century also curbed immigration entry, in part due to efforts to preserve the Anglo-Saxon “white race.” Nonetheless, the 20th century saw additional ethnic

populations arrive from the Caribbean and Latin America. For instance, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 would lead thousands of Cubans to arrive in the southeast region of the United States. Central American migrants settled across the United States throughout the latter years of the 20th century. This migration included those fleeing economic depressions and civil wars (covertly funded by the U.S. government) in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.

But just as legislation curbed immigration, legislative reforms introduced in 1965, 1985, and 1990 brought more immigrants to the United States. As these immigrant communities grew throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, publishers from particular ethnic backgrounds began to offer local readers free newspapers written in their native languages. Social, political, and cultural contexts not only played significant roles in shaping the lives of minoritized ethnic groups—the process in which some populations are structurally stripped of power and become constructed as the repressed other—but also the rationale and manner in which ethnic communities developed newspapers. Technological developments, for instance, offered immigrant and Indigenous populations access to information. The first printing press in the Americas emerged in Mexico City in 1535 or 1536; the Catholic church and European colonists, however, were the primary producers and audiences. Eventually, ethnic communities developed tools to speak back to power structures.

For instance, the first Black newspaper in the United States appeared in 1827, when formerly enslaved and free-born Black intellectual elites began to establish their own newspapers (e.g., *Freedom’s Journal*) to fight for emancipation. The earliest ethnic media appeared in 1808, with the publication *El Misisipi* in New Orleans, Louisiana. The newspaper served the Spanish-speaking immigrant communities escaping war in Europe and Latin America.

First nations (or Indigenous nations) began publishing in 1828. The *Cherokee Phoenix* was one of the first Indigenous newspapers to publish bilingual print issues. Chinese American newspapers appeared toward the latter part of the 19th century, with *The Golden Hills* published in San Francisco in 1854. The newspaper sought to

counteract the harsh treatment of Chinese miners during the Gold Rush. The 20th century's world wars led to ups and downs for German-language, Japanese American, and Jewish media, as the presence of such media reflected larger national legal, cultural, and political climates. The history of ethnic media, then, cannot be told without an understanding of the larger political and developmental contexts of nation-states. Moreover, it is key to understand the ethnic media as not monolithic, but as complex and evolving institutions that have served a variety of purposes.

Functions, Uses, and Content

Ethnic media across immigrant groups may convey different purposes, offer varying content, and adopt various processes for reporting and distributing. Socially constructed categories of race/ethnicity, gender, class, religion, and sexuality, as well as cultural influences may shape these different approaches. As such, the term "ethnic media" has been deconstructed in ways that illustrate how hierarchies (e.g., racial and gendered) might become more pronounced. Furthermore, while scholars have frequently depicted ethnic media as the alternative to mainstream outlets, it also is important to acknowledge their complex, and changing functions and uses. There are, however, foundational similarities highlighted in existing scholarship.

One aspect of media is to function primarily as a tool for social control. Media play a significant societal role in highlighting what is acceptable within the context of dominant norms and values of a community. This community can represent the larger national community or a more local formulation of the community. Like national mainstream media, the ethnic press can serve as a mechanism for surveilling communities, socially constructing cultural heritage, promoting mobilization within a community, and offering entertainment. Because ethnic media are often tied to smaller geographical spaces and represent mom and pop businesses, they can also be referred to as *community media*. Many are weekly papers, print in native languages, and are free to the community.

Culturally, ethnic media may also see it necessary to promote assimilation, the process in

which a minoritized group adopts the cultural practices of the dominant one. For instance, some research has found that increased exposure to Anglo media in Latinx communities may decrease individuals' exposure to Latinx-owned or Spanish-speaking media. Thus, some communities may assimilate in relation to dominant Anglo cultural practices.

Despite the role that some ethnic media play in promoting assimilation, research suggests that these institutions help individuals sustain ethnic ties. In addition to an assimilative function, some ethnic media outlets have employed pluralistic expressions, where groups may simultaneously participate in particular cultural practices and in dominant society. How local audiences then use ethnic media varies, with some communities opting to assimilate into the dominant culture while others develop stronger ties to their ethnic identities. Furthermore, such institutions can play pivotal roles in helping newer immigrant residents adapt to their geographical and cultural contexts. Community ethnic media may also play the role of a watchdog against external threats (e.g., civil rights violations, immigration laws, and human rights crimes against individuals). Some also take on an activist role, where they may seek to politically mobilize their readers.

Community ethnic media usually focus on reporting about community events, providing human interest pieces (though not always exclusive of political stories), presenting successful immigrant stories, and providing everyday information to their communities. Local community audiences also engage with a variety of news content. In ethnic media, they may read news about their home countries as well as local, geographic-specific stories that might help them further develop their sense of community. Thus, what is considered "local" can be constructed as a fluid and relational space. In other words, ethnic newspapers may provide a space that is simultaneously global and local. In turn, ethnic communities might perceive both their native land and newer home as "local." This geographical trend is even more apparent in those media institutions that have moved beyond the realm of one local space by becoming a multinational enterprise that reaches audiences across nation-state borders.

Ethnic Media and Transnational Communities in the 21st Century

Since the advent of the World Wide Web in the 1990s, the development of ethnic media has spread even more rapidly, despite 20th-century predictions that such newspapers had reached a peak in the 1930s. Factors that have altered the media landscape include emerging technological tools, the global political economy of media, immigration movements, and the visibility of hybrid communities. Digital media can function as diasporic mediums, where individuals can connect and share information across borders through websites, online streaming services, social media, blogs and vlogs, and the larger emergence of niche alternative media platforms.

The rise of a participatory media culture is not new for ethnic media, since these organizations have always engaged within hyperlocal contexts. It is debatable whether digital ethnic media have impacted their targeted online and offline audiences, due to the complex nature of emerging technologies. But this question underlies many scholarly and public arguments about the promises and challenges of digital media.

Digital media have allowed news and other forms of communication to travel more rapidly and across physical borders more easily. With the Internet, immigrant communities around the world can more easily receive information about their homelands. Additionally, digital media have offered communities traditionally left out of mainstream spaces more affordable means for distributing, producing, and communicating to niche audiences. For immigrant communities, this technological development has meant that more individuals are able to produce and access information that is directly related to their lives. Thus, while the spread of digital technologies might be negatively impacting the existence of traditional mainstream newspaper organizations—especially local news organizations—the appearance and distribution of ethnic media organizations has rapidly increased. As some research has suggested, ethnic media benefit from the digital age as they are well positioned—though not alone—to accommodate niche markets, or audiences.

The digital age has transformed how younger generations are increasingly participating as

“prosumers” in physical and online spaces. While the concept of “prosumer” means that the line between producers and audiences has increasingly become blurred as digital users not only consume information but also produce it—often for advertising purposes—via various channels, it also means that marginalized voices unheard in mainstream spaces are now able to speak back to power structures in a more rapid and expansive way. Because of the affordances of digital ethnic media, younger generations of people who identify as hybrid individuals—those who grew up in the “new” land that their parents migrated to—are joining established ethnic media organizations. Thus, the availability of digital media means that no longer are first-generation immigrants the only audiences of ethnic media organizations. In fact, some evidence has suggested that non-white communities often prefer ethnic media over mainstream ones. In addition, while transnational flows of people and commodities have always existed, digital media has arguably accelerated the development of transnational communities, as people are more easily able to connect across physical borders.

Various research studies also have suggested the need to critically examine celebrations of digital media employment, including its potential for popularizing activism. More often than not, social hierarchies are recreated online. In other words, whose voice is actually “heard” depends on a variety of social, political, and cultural factors. Ethnic media organizations, as such, must speak into the digital void in hopes to be heard.

In convergence culture, where boundaries between media production and consumption are blurred, it has become much more readily apparent that using certain online services involves relinquishing privacy rights to government and corporate entities. Critics, thus, argue that the idea that participatory or convergence culture invites audiences to democratically participate in Western civil society is shortsighted at best, with national and corporate interests ultimately regulating citizens’ uses and experiences. Furthermore, questions of access remain. While some studies indicate that ethnic communities have more affordable opportunities to participate as media producers online, scholars have also raised concerns about the digital divide. As media diversity

is being couched within market terms, public policy has focused on choice rather than racial and gender inclusion. With technological convergence increasing, deregulation has drastically affected who has access and who is visible in the digital sphere.

While it is important to note the ways ethnic media help marginalized immigrant communities navigate their local spaces, with digital media come other political challenges. With the rise of nationalism serving as an anti-globalization reaction, the question of virtual nationalism within diasporic digital communities must also be raised. Some diasporic communities may participate in both nonviolent and violent efforts to connect with their homelands, in turn resulting in individuals' deep identifications with those nations. Digital media then do not necessarily result in what some scholars have called *deteritorialization*, the elimination of borders. Instead, borders continue to be reflected, reconstructed, and reinforced online.

While ethnic communities may utilize digital media platforms to elevate their voices, they may also be further marginalized and targeted. Vulnerable ethnic communities, such as undocumented immigrants, often experience violence targeted toward them online. For instance, many individuals have "come out" as undocumented on social media. This process can help create community among undocumented immigrants while also placing these individuals at higher risk for being surveilled and harassed.

Emerging technologies have sometimes been described as *borderless*, but they may actually recreate imagined borders; online communities reconstruct cultural, political, and national boundaries online. This argument, however, can be made of native-born communities that make up the dominant population in a particular national context as well; in other words, digital media can reflect (not necessarily change) offline political dynamics, with nationalist calls to maintain rigid cultural boundaries having become prevalent online. Ultimately, while digital media have offered unprecedented opportunities to ethnic communities, barriers and challenges to democratic participation in society remain prevalent.

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See also Advocacy Journalism; African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Émigré News Media; Hyperlocal Journalism; Immigration, Coverage of; Latino News Media; Weekly Newspapers

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EURONEWS

Euronews is a pan-European news channel aimed at supporting the larger concept of a European identity. Although it is probably the most international and transnational news project in European history, it is not the first one. This entry discusses the history, primary purposes, and recent expansion of Euronews.

History

Transnational media can be traced back to at least the 18th century when an international news network disseminated news across the continent. Before then, some of the news pamphlets published in cities like Amsterdam and Antwerp in the 17th century were translated and exported to other European markets, including England, France, and Spain.

However, it was not until the 1950s that the first official attempts to promote a pan-European news channel took shape. This followed the creation of the European Common Market, as policymakers and broadcasters began to explore the possibility of starting a television channel that could strengthen a common European identity. Later, in the mid-1980s, the European Commission underscored the importance of information

in order to promote a European identity, although it was not clear whether this should be shaped as a news channel or a more general television network. Initially, since the Common Market was conceived as a free trade area, the creation of a European television channel raised some questions as to whether this entailed some type of protectionism. In fact, some governments (particularly the French one) believed that European culture had to be protected from the influence of U.S. media companies and enforced a quota of national and European media products in their countries.

In line with this, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), a consortium of public media organizations founded in 1950, played a crucial role in the creation of Euronews. One of the advantages of this organization, whose main success in the early years was the simultaneous broadcasting of cultural events through Eurovision (the television network that organizes the Eurovision Song Contest), is that it looked beyond the borders of the members states of the original Common Market. In fact, it gradually incorporated television companies from Middle East countries as well as the former Soviet bloc. This would eventually have important implications for the foundation and consolidation of Euronews as regards the languages used and the companies involved in the project.

In the 1990s, and after the launching of Skynews and other Anglophone channels, the EBU focused on two genres: sports and news. The early attempts to use English as an international language of news dissemination in television channels, such as Skynews, had proved unsuccessful: not only were they politically incorrect by assuming that everyone could (or even should!) understand English, they also ignored the fact that most Europeans wanted to be informed in their own language. Thus, Euronews started broadcasting in 1993 in response to the appearance of Anglophone news media that offered an Anglo-American view of world events and to the international success of CNN in particular. In fact, CNN's 24-hour coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1992 is believed to have prompted the EBU to create Euronews.

Based in Lyon, France, the initiative was supported mainly (but not only) by European public

broadcasters, including those of Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Monaco, Portugal, and Spain as well as Egypt. As Euronews was controlled by a commercial company (Générale des Eaux) together with the original 18 members of the EBU, the project resulted in a multilingual system of distribution of images rather than in the creation of a truly European news service. For this reason, it was assumed that the fact that Euronews had 11 bosses would contribute to its independence from political influence. Later, other companies from 14 countries joined the consortium, including European states such as Malta, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland as well as others in the Mediterranean region such as Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. Euronews started broadcasting in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. However, as mentioned, initially images were the cornerstone in the development of the channel and, in fact, became the only common language for Euronews viewers.

As the number of stakeholders grew, other languages such as Russian, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Ukrainian, Greek, Hungarian, Georgian, and Albanian were added. Paradoxically, during the period 1997–2003, an Anglophone medium, the British private company ITN, became the main owner of Euronews, while in 2008 Spain's state television RTVE, which had been one of the promoters of the channel, left Euronews to promote its own news channel in Spanish. These changes, as well as the partnership with NBC in the United States, impacted the original characteristics of Euronews. The English programming was revamped, and changes also affected the different language editions. As of 2020, Euronews has 12 cross-platform channels, nine of which are distinct television channels.

Purposes

One of the purposes of Euronews was to report on events originating in Europe, since Anglophone channels did not specifically focus on European issues. As images were the staple diet of the channel, originally Euronews did not use anchors. This allowed the different participating broadcasters to share material, which was then adapted for the respective target audiences. For

this reason, in the 1990s and early 2000s, reporters were rarely seen on screen. In addition, many reports were and still are retransmissions of national programming adapted for European and international audiences, which can choose, for example, to watch a program about Germany in French.

These and other production characteristics have led some researchers to use Euronews as an example of “low-cost journalism” (Vindenness & Gynnild, 2020). This, however, is changing as Euronews has hired new correspondents, who are based in several European countries as well as in the United States. In addition, a number of shows are conducted by anchors. As of 2020, Euronews claims to have a team of 500 journalists of 30 nationalities. These features are subject to continuous changes: from 2020 the main stakeholder of the company is the Egyptian Media Globe Networks.

Given the specific nature of Euronews, translation is a central component of the channel, which needs to provide multi-language versions of any given news item on a daily basis. Translation often involves adaptation to the peculiarities of every language: German and Spanish, for instance, and to a lesser extent French, require a greater number of words than English. However, this is not the only difference between the many versions of the same news report. Unlike the widespread view among journalists that translation involves the word-for-word transfer of a source text into a target language, translation should not be understood as literal transfer, but rather as cultural adaptation aimed at meeting the expectations of the target viewers as well as the journalistic conventions of the target languages. For example, in the six versions of the Mumbai’s 2008 terrorist attacks reporting, the story changed not only in terms of the languages used but also in terms of content: the English version concentrated on the British nationals wounded or killed in the attack, the Spanish one reported on Spanish citizens, and the Italian version mentioned two Italian girls. For this reason, it could be argued that Euronews tends to provide a multi-localized rather than a European perspective of world events.

Although Euronews is the longest running pan-European channel, it has only been partially

successful, as the numbers of viewers has remained low. This does not mean, as has been suggested, that this audience should be neglected, even more so at a time when the rise of populist movements is putting the European project at risk. In fact, the official webpage of Euronews continues to emphasize the original mission of the enterprise thus: the channel aims to provide unbiased reporting with “a European DNA.”

Expansion

Euronews has franchises in Albania, Georgia, and Serbia. In addition, in 2012 Euronews started a radio service and in 2016 it launched Africanews, a sister news channel based in the Congo, which broadcasts in English and French. Euronews can also be watched on mobile devices via a free application available on Google Play and the App Store.

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See also Europe; European Press Regulation; International Journalism

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EUROPE

Europe, the second smallest of the world's continents, comprises 44 countries, including the United Kingdom, Spain, Russia, France, and Germany as well as Hungary, Belarus, Serbia, and Switzerland. Russia is the most populous region and has nearly 15% of Europe's total population. Europe today has some of the most innovative media organizations like the Dennik N in Slovakia; Deutsche Welle, the German public state-owned international broadcaster; the Swedish Dagens Nyheter; Mediapart in France, and the BBC in the United Kingdom.

With multiple countries, numerous languages, and different ways of life, Europe may seem like a complex maze of culture and politics. Media in Russia, for example, are mostly state-run or owned by companies with close links to the Kremlin. Unlike other European countries, Belgium may not have a single public broadcasting organization but its diverse French, German, and Flemish populations are served by different private and public media companies. Like in Belgium, media in the city of Brussels reflects its diverse populations and cultural communities control programming rather than federal authorities.

Scholars have emphasized that biased approaches that considered the Anglo-American model of journalism as the ultimate way to practice journalism have led to scholars portraying the European model of journalism as regressive and old-fashioned, a model of how journalism should not be practiced. The Baltic, Central, and East European countries follow general Western ways of journalism practice. Hungary is an exception, and its media have been described as partly free by Freedom House, a nongovernmental organization that conducts research on media freedom. Media in Italy have journalists, close to politicians, functioning as advocates for parties and interests they have strong links to. For journalists in Europe, objectivity and political neutrality are hard, given the fragmented situation where political and social forces are closely linked and where even the slightest meaning assigned in a news narrative may imply leaning toward one or more political forces and opinion in the field.

After reviewing the origins of journalism in Europe, this entry discusses the nature and state of journalism in Europe in the 21st century.

Origins of Journalism in Europe

Unlike journalism in the United States, journalism in Europe has strong roots in the literary world where, for example, influential journalists during 19th-century France were novelists, such as Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, and Emile Zola. The word *journalism* has French origins: "Jour" means daily in French, and its usage originated during the French Revolution when newspapers were extensively used and often the only way to shape public opinion. The professional description of the word *journalist* has been attributed to the *Journal of Sçavans*, published in Paris in 1665. In England, the profession was a familiar one in the 18th century. Thus, Europe has often been considered the birthplace of journalism. The end of the 18th century saw consensus of what journalists did and the term *journalist* gradually replaced more general nomenclature like *Zeitungsschreiber*, which meant "newspaper writer" in German or the Italian *novellante*, which means novelist or writer.

The newspaper as it is known today was not long in coming. Around 1601, in France and England, single but long news accounts were published. A similar type in Spain called *relaciones* was popular. In Italy and Germany, similar copies were circulated among different groups. Around 1600, the idea of using printing for such material grew in Germany. The development of the printing press in Germany and the growth of education in the 19th century gave fillip to the press that is seen today. As access to education grew and materials for publishing became cheaper, political parties started sponsoring newspapers at national and state levels. The invention of automatic typesetting in the 1880s made publication of morning newspapers possible. Entrepreneurs entered the field, nudging out political parties and ensured that the press became a business enterprise. By 1815, magazines were flourishing in Paris and Germany as well as other European countries. In Germany after World War I, the 1874 Reich press law and social developments gave rise to a press where opinions were valued and where corporate interests also worked on influencing editorials.

Nature of European Journalism

Journalistic styles, forms, and roles are influenced and shaped by the society, politics, and culture within which the profession is understood and practiced, and this is reflected in the journalism and journalistic institutions in Europe where press freedom is a priority. Journalists in Europe, more than in other countries, work in permanent positions. Europe supports rich traditions of internships and journalism education. Journalists in Western Europe may not have as much editorial autonomy as journalists from the Netherlands, Latvia, and Estonia, but recent trends including reducing excessive negativity in news and moving toward more constructive reporting. In 2020, despite the coronavirus pandemic, many Europeans considered climate change a major threat, but most European media did not have clear policies to cover the topic. The European Journalism Observatory with six partners comprising the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Poland, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom has criticized media in Europe for not having a clear editorial policy on covering climate change.

State of Journalism in Europe

Like other countries in the world, journalists in Europe face harassment, financial troubles, online trolling, and other assaults. Media freedom is enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (EU) and the European Convention on Human Rights but as the European Federation of Journalists, the largest organization of journalists in Europe, say that, journalism in Europe is under threat from authoritarian governments, changes in organizational structures, and revenue streams that may not always be effective. Appointed in 2019, the European Commission, established during European elections, and in accordance with recommendations from Reporters Without Borders, is focusing on ensuring a safer professional atmosphere for journalists. This is an executive branch of the EU and its duties range from proposing and implementing legislation besides upholding EU treaties.

This has come in the wake of increasing censorship in certain countries like Hungary and Poland.

In Poland, restrictions on the judiciary have inhibited press freedoms and journalists can be imprisoned for defamation for years. The coronavirus has further complicated the scenario, especially in *Eastern Europe*. *Eastern Europe* is formed by countries like Cyprus, Georgia, Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, and Greece, among others. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán in Hungary assumed full control of the government citing the coronavirus and has enacted laws that give Hungarian courts the means to pressure independent media. In 2020, Montenegro and Albania lost two places on the Freedom Index, to 105th and 84th place, respectively, after journalists were unfairly detained under laws designed to fight misinformation. In Bulgaria journalists who are prolific government critics, such as Silvia Velikova, have been arrested, which has emphasized the lack of freedom in the sphere of public broadcasting.

In France, media freedom is high, but journalists routinely face police harassment. During the 2018 Yellow Vest Protests, reporters were attacked by angry protesters and police armed with tear gas. Murders are not uncommon. Slovakian journalist Ján Kuciak and Daphne Caruana Galizia in Malta lost their lives in the line of duty. In Ireland, Lyra McKee was killed in 2019. Her death prompted the establishment of the National Committee for the Safety of Journalists by the UK government to create and implement a national action plan of safety to protect journalists and hold those who threaten reporters accountable. Recently, the European Parliament passed the whistleblower protection framework which was formally adopted to serve as important legal protections for investigative and public focused journalism. Approaches outlined in the Code of Practice on Disinformation executed by the European Commission, and the statutory network provisions in the German Network Enforcement Act have been considered but critics say that they may not make a real difference to stem issues.

Thus, the Platform to Promote the Protection of Journalism and Safety of Journalists (2019) has said that media freedom in Europe is under extreme threat with countries like Hungary and Poland precipitously losing ground since 2015. For example, the media in Russia are diverse with state-owned as well as corporate-controlled entities, and while the constitution does provide for

press freedom, the government covertly exercises censorship through the application of various laws and bureaucratic decrees. Even in stable societies like Norway, journalists face numerous instances of online harassment. Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, who rank highly in the Freedom Index, also battle online aggravations.

A 2019 report from Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism states that for journalism to thrive in Europe, organizations and journalists need “freedom, funding, and a future.” The report also recommends that media organizations must embrace the promises offered by mobile and digital platforms that are gradually being embraced globally and to refrain from championing a non-digital print-oriented past. But financial issues have stymied efforts.

Media Ownership

The European debt crisis from the end of 2009 has brought about financial crises that have significantly affected the press in Europe and have led to concentrations of media ownership which threaten the existence of independent journalism. In Slovakia, the Penta Investments, a financial group, within a decade has taken over many print and digital media outlets. Petr Kellner, the wealthiest man in the Czech Republic, recently bought the Central European Media Enterprises, giving rise to concerns of increasing influence by Central European Media Enterprises which already owns many television stations in Eastern Europe. This is seen in Bulgaria as well, where the New Bulgarian Media Group increased its hold into the market, extending control over six newspapers and much of the print media distribution grid. The Union of Publishers in Bulgaria has raised concerns about its negative repercussions on media freedom and the functioning of independent media in the country.

Revenues have declined and the European newspaper industry has lost an estimated €33bn in 2019. This has led to cutbacks by media organizations that have negatively impacted investigative, development, and science journalism. The move toward digitization has effected a greater concentration of ownership in the media and in the process influenced media plurality. While there are concerns about this centralization of media

and media ownership, there is also hope that digitization will also lead to greater access of information among the public and in the process increase diversity. The general focus of Europe’s media has been national markets. Yet certain companies have grown and moved beyond national borders, which has led to concerns about weakening public service broadcasts and an increase of profit-oriented media programming.

These are important issues to consider because media in Europe are defined by public faith in public broadcasting. As Pew Research (2018) has shown, in countries like Sweden and Germany public media are greatly trusted with 39% of Swedes choosing SVT/Radio and 37% of Dutch adults naming Nederlandse Publieke Omroep as their broadcaster of choice. In the United Kingdom, 48% adults choose the BBC. The Pew Research report also shows that Italians (65%) and Spaniards (57%) while preferring public news media trusted them to a lesser degree.

Europe has its share of dominant media conglomerates. In 2016, the European Audiovisual Observatory reported that Liberty Global, Deutsche Telekom, Orange, Sky, Viasat and Vivendi are among the 15-strong group that dominated television in the EU. To beat CNN’s coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1992, the European Broadcasting Union established Euronews to showcase news from European angles. Egyptian billionaire Naguib Sawiris is a primary majority owner.

This scenario is also dominated by U.S.-based media channels like 21st Century Fox, AMC Networks, Discovery Communications, and NBC Universal. Bertelsmann is among the top 10 global media groups operating in Europe. The Luxembourg-based RTL Group is another international media company that as of June 2021 operates 67 television channels and 38 radio stations in Germany, France, and other European countries. In the publishing scenario, Gruner + Jahr, headquartered in Hamburg, Germany, is among the largest. There is no specific legislation in Europe that controls or tries to mediate media ownership.

Community Media

Europe is no stranger to concepts of community media and EU audiovisual regulation recognizes

the importance of diversity and ethnic inclusivity. The European Council recognizes the importance of community media as an important venue of content rooted in regions and supports its inclusivity and ability to encourage intercultural dialogue. The Council of Europe is an important public space that seeks to facilitate the collection and dissemination of information on serious concerns about media freedom and safety of journalists in Council of Europe member states that are guaranteed by Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Its partner organizations include Reporters Without Borders, the International Federation of Journalists, the European Federation of Journalists, and the Association of European Journalists.

As Europe becomes increasingly diversified, the Council of Europe's study *Spaces of Inclusion—An Exploratory on Needs of Refugees and Migrants in the Domain of Media Communication and on Responses by Community Media* (2018) has explored media use and need of migrants and refugees. As the study has shown, community media spaces can provide for different opportunities of self-representation through various formats and encourage their inclusion in local media. There is also awareness that such media in many communities lack legal recognition, funding, and participation. The European policy agenda is very cognizant of the roles played by such media and recent debates in the Council of Europe and the European Parliament have focused on developing frameworks that will enable the growth and development of such media. But critics say that inconsistent efforts are slowing development and that more sustainable regulation needs to be put in place. The Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary, Ireland, and the United Kingdom recognize community media as a distinct third sector of broadcasting, as important media that is a welcome addition to commercial and public service media.

Important Changes

In Europe over the years, certain important positive changes are influencing journalistic practices. Most European newsrooms are still run by predominantly white middle-class men. Diversity and

gender disparities were, for long, important areas of concern. Studies done in 2015 showed that 41% of reporters and presenters in Europe were women. Print had the smallest percentage of women with 34%. In 2018, surveys revealed widespread gender-based discrimination, as well as a lack of opportunities and high instances of sexual harassment and bullying. Organizations and states were extremely reluctant to address the issue. But by 2019 many more women are now journalists in Europe with important increases marked in states that were formerly a part of erstwhile Yugoslavia and the USSR. Women made up more than 60% of the workforce in Latvia, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova, and more than 50% in Estonia, Croatia, and Serbia.

But media in Europe are facing new challenges. As the European Federation of Journalists has reported, rising digital shifts in the media sphere in Europe has brought about increasing pressures on traditional business models. Ensuring accessible training and protecting fragile media freedoms is clearly a pressing need so as to safeguard independent journalism and increase public trust in media.

Paromita Pain

See also Censorship; Community Radio; Deutsche Welle; Euronews; European Press Regulation

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EUROPEAN PRESS REGULATION

European press regulation is dynamic because it is conducted at multiple levels, through international, regional, and national authorities, usually in association with civil society groups, intergovernmental monitors, and press councils. They all play, in their own ways, important roles in defining the freedoms of speech and press in Europe, in addition to the restrictions allowed on those freedoms—and the privileges that journalists enjoy in their newsgathering and publishing activities. Although the regulatory landscape is rooted in the understanding that a free press is essential to democracy, other public and personal interests are weighed in the balance. This entry provides an overview of the many actors, legal sources, and theories involved in European press regulation.

International, Regional, and National Instruments

The freedoms of speech and press are fundamental human rights recognized by various international, regional, and national instruments. They set minimum standards for those freedoms in Europe and beyond, although their protections differ facially and by how they have been interpreted by courts and other tribunals. The instruments generally articulate the rights to communicate and receive information, on the theory that they are necessary to a well-functioning democratic society. They help secure other human rights, and they facilitate individual fulfillment, political accountability, knowledge discovery, and the achievement of a civil society that is dynamic and stable.

The most significant international instruments are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations in 1948, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations in 1966. The most significant regional instruments are the European Convention on Human Rights

(ECHR), drafted by the Council of Europe in 1950, and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (CFR), proclaimed by the European Council in 2000. They all contain provisions guaranteeing the freedoms of speech and press. Meanwhile, a wide variety of states have enacted national instruments that do the same.

International Instruments

Article 19 of the UDHR, which is not legally binding but has come to influence enforceable laws, states: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression,” including the “freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” Article 19 of the ICCPR, which is legally binding and obligates all ratifying countries to safeguard speech and press rights, states: “Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression,” including the “freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.”

Regional Instruments

Article 10 of the ECHR, which is legally binding on its parties and interpreted by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), states: “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression,” including the “freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.” Article 11 of the CFR, which is legally binding and enforceable through the European Union (EU) courts, provides the same protections as the ECHR, with this addition: “The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected.”

Negative and Positive, Not Absolute

Generally, under these conventions, the freedoms of speech and press are seen as forms of negative liberty and positive liberty. The former refers to the concept that a person should be left to do what he or she wants (e.g., to publish news stories without government interference), while the latter refers to the concept that the state must

act affirmatively to secure a person's rights and to enable their practical exercise (e.g., to protect a journalist from violence as she gathers news). For either conception, these commitments apply, with few exceptions, to state action rather than private action—cases in which government power is causing rights-violations or needed to prevent against such violations. However, the freedoms of speech and press are not absolute. They can be restricted in service of personal interests like reputation or public interests like national security and public safety or order. The ICCPR, for example, states that expressive freedom “carries with it special duties and responsibilities” and “may . . . be subject to” restrictions necessary “[f]or respect of the rights or reputations of others” and “[f]or the protection of national security or of public order . . . , or of public health or morals.”

National Instruments

The degree of speech and press freedom at the national level varies greatly from one state to another, in the law and in practice. That said, many states do recognize such freedoms expressly in founding documents, bills of rights, statutes, common law, or other instruments. In the Czech Republic, for example, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms states that “[c]ensorship is not permitted” and guarantees the “freedom of expression and the right to information.” It also sets forth that “[e]veryone has the right to express her opinion in speech, in writing, in the press, in pictures, or in any other form, as well as freely to seek, receive, and disseminate ideas and information.” However, these rights, like those under the international and regional conventions, are subject to similar restrictions. In France, the Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen, which is substantially enforceable under the Constitution of the Fifth Republic, states that “[t]he free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man” and that “[e]very citizen may . . . speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.” Moreover, the Press Law of 1881 defines the rights and responsibilities of the French media. And in the United Kingdom, the common law recognizes freedom of expression,

and the Human Rights Act of 1998 incorporated into UK law the rights contained in the ECHR, including those of Article 10. Still, UK speech and press rights are subject to many restrictions, and UK defamation law is among the strictest in the Western world.

In Theory: The Freedoms of Speech and Press

The freedoms of speech and press have deep philosophical roots that purport to explain why expression should be free, and European legal instruments largely converge around three reasons: the importance of such freedoms to self-governance, to the search for truth, and to individual fulfillment. These theoretical bases attempt to breathe life into, and give meaning to, the exercise and interpretation of speech and press rights. They are reflected at all levels in conventions, constitutions, statutes, regulations, and judicial opinions.

Self-Governance

First, the freedoms of speech and press are seen as important to self-governance. This captures the idea that for the people to vote intelligently and to hold public officials to account, the people need access to information, facts, and opinions, and they need the ability to speak freely about matters of political concern. As the ECtHR put it in the 1992 case *Castells v. Spain*: “The actions or omissions of the Government must be subject to the close scrutiny not only of the legislative and judicial authorities but also of the press and public opinion.” Notably, the ECtHR has extended this principle to expression about matters of public concern more broadly. The premise is that such expression (relating to public issues in art, science, education, philosophy, literature, and beyond) might help a voter derive the knowledge and sensitivity to human values that is essential to informed judgment in the voting booth.

Search for Truth

Second, the freedoms of speech and press are seen as important to the search for truth. English poet John Milton argued in 1644 that people

would make better citizens if they were knowledgeable and exposed to diverse viewpoints, and he believed that ideas should compete for acceptance. Enlightenment thinker John Locke wrote in 1689 that the truth would prevail in any collision with falsehood and that the government could not be trusted as a source of truth. Similarly, English philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote in 1859 that restricting expression robbed people of the opportunity to make up their own minds about the truth asserted in competing opinions. And eventually these notions, all of which imagine a marketplace of ideas, came to factor prominently in the law of democracies all around the world, Europe included. For example, in the 2008 case *Vereinigung Bildender Künstler v. Austria*, the ECtHR observed that “the exchange of ideas and opinions . . . is essential for a democratic society.”

Individual Fulfillment

Third, the freedoms of speech and press are seen as important to individual fulfillment. They allow people to exercise their autonomy and to enrich their lives and realize their character by engaging with issues meaningful to them. This means that expression can be an end in itself and valuable because of its benefit to a single speaker, regardless of its wider benefit to society. British historian Timothy Garton Ash wrote in 2016 that speech is what separates humans from animals and computers, and he went on to reason that if speech is not free, then a person cannot fully be herself.

Complementary

Importantly, these three theories—focusing on self-governance, the search for truth, and individual fulfillment—are not mutually exclusive. They are complementary and in some cases entwined. In the landmark 1976 case *Handyside v. United Kingdom*, the ECtHR characterized the freedoms of speech and press as “one of the basic conditions for the progress of democratic societies and for the development of each individual.”

Regional Efforts to Harmonize Media Law

The European speech and press landscape is increasingly transnational and networked. States in

the region have arrived—through mutual arrangements in trade, travel, and security—at a point of some interdependency and even collectivism. And the news, with few exceptions, like programs on local radio stations, regularly crosses national borders to reach foreign audiences. This is true of print newspapers and magazines and some broadcasting, and of course it is true of online news.

The rich interconnectedness is accelerating the merger of international and national media law principles. For example, a state law governing defamation may be controlling in a particular case, but its application must comply with international and regional standards like those articulated in the ECHR. The challenge, then, is realizing a legal order for this kind of landscape. A full examination of it is beyond the scope of this entry, but it is instructive to consider the regional efforts to harmonize media law through the Council of Europe and the EU.

Council of Europe

First, the Council of Europe is dedicated to protecting democracy and human rights and to promoting regional unity by facilitating cooperation on legal, cultural, and social issues. Its member states are home to roughly 820 million people, and in total it has devised over 200 agreements, treaties, and conventions, including the ECHR, ultimately replacing tens of thousands of bilateral treaties between European states. Article 10 and the relevant ECtHR case law have contributed significantly to a harmonization of media law principles. The Council of Europe also issues publications and organizes events that address matters of speech and press freedom, and it provides expertise and assistance on its standards to the media. The Council issues guidance to states, too, to clarify their obligations or to recommend the development of new national regulatory frameworks. The goal of these activities is to foster an enabling environment for the freedoms of speech and press against the background of a changing media landscape online and offline.

European Union

Second, the EU governs common regional economic, social, and security issues. Its member states

are home to more than 510 million people, and its mission is to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within its internal market, all while serving justice and establishing policies on trade, agriculture, and development. EU media law has evolved over time, at first treating media products chiefly as commodities but eventually coming to treat them as part and parcel of the public interest. Article 11 of the CFR, in particular its provision protecting media freedom and pluralism, is a notable example and a contributor to harmonization. In addition, the EU judicial branch contains multiple courts, the highest of which is the European Court of Justice. It interprets EU law to ensure equal application across all member states, and its modern case law has put a premium on fundamental freedoms, including those of speech and press. And like the Council of Europe, the EU also issues publications and organizes events that address matters of speech and press freedom as well as media pluralism.

Other Major Players: Civil Society Groups, Intergovernmental Monitors, and Press Councils

In a healthy European democratic society, the freedoms of speech and press are not only enforceable as rights but also respected as sociocultural norms and values, influenced by international and regional bodies and nation states and by private entities and individuals. Among them are civil society groups, intergovernmental monitors, and press councils. They all play roles in advancing such rights, norms, and values—conducting research, publishing studies, documenting violations, advocating in legislative or judicial proceedings, organizing events, hearing complaints, and more. They operate within the reality that norms and values can shape the extent and application of enforceable rights. Indeed, as the American writer Anthony Lewis once observed, the law does not come to be in a vacuum. The law is impressed by society as much as society is impressed by the law.

Civil Society Groups

Civil society organizations are independent from government and often represent the public interest.

Some focus on the freedoms of speech and press, or on individual liberties more broadly. Consider a few examples. Reporters Without Borders, based in Paris, is a nonprofit organization with consultative status at the United Nations and the Council of Europe. It monitors and responds to press freedom violations in the region and beyond, and it publishes the World Press Freedom Index. ARTICLE 19, based in London, is a nonprofit organization with a European program that monitors speech and press freedom, advocates for compliance with international and regional standards, and analyzes national laws that impact the media. The Committee to Protect Journalists, based in New York, is a nonprofit organization with a European program that promotes and defends the rights of journalists to report the news safely and without fear of retribution. Other civil society groups doing similar work are PEN International and the Index on Censorship, and still others with broader portfolios in civil liberties are Freedom House, Amnesty International, and the European Center for Not-for-Profit Law. Their activities have helped to shape national laws and regulatory activities and to develop and reinforce norms and values that enable the practical exercise of expressive freedoms.

Intergovernmental Monitors

In addition to civil society groups, intergovernmental organizations, generally created by treaty to work in good faith on issues of common interest, including the UN and the Council of Europe, have appointed monitors to report on and otherwise engage with media freedom matters involving their member states. At the UN, there is a Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. The person holding that position is mandated to gather information about violations of expressive and media freedoms, to verify and document them, and to make related reports and recommendations. At the Council of Europe, there is a Commissioner for Human Rights that encourages respect for the freedoms of speech and press, among others, by visiting member states to assess their human rights situation, by issuing reports and recommendations to states, and by collaborating with partners from civil society and intergovernmental organizations, including the EU and

UN, to raise awareness of human rights, not least those of speech and press. Similarly, the Vienna-based Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which promotes stability, peace, and democracy for the billion people living in its member states, has a Representative on Freedom of the Media. The person holding that position reports on media freedom issues, holds annual conferences to discuss them, provides expert opinions, and engages with states to ensure the safety of journalists and to advance media pluralism.

Press Councils

Journalists are supposed to act ethically and be accountable to their audiences. At times, of course, they fall short, and some European states have responded by threatening to enact media regulations—ultimately seeding the ground for the establishment of press councils as pragmatic alternatives. The councils are forums to hear complaints regarding newsgathering or news content, and they come in many shapes and sizes, although not all states have one. Some press councils regulate print publications and online outlets. Others include broadcasting, and still others extend their regulation to social media. The actual regulation is varied, too. Some councils can impose sanctions for an ethical or editorial failure. Others cannot. At some councils, the members are all working journalists, and at others the members are ordinary citizens. Some councils are mandatory, meaning that all news outlets in its territory are subject to it. Others are voluntary, meaning that individual outlets may choose to submit to its authority.

The Swedish Press Council, for example, created in 1916, is funded by the media and voluntary. Its board is made up of judges, journalists, and ordinary citizens. Anyone personally affected by an outlet's newsgathering or news content can submit a complaint to an ombudsman, who can dismiss it, resolve it, or refer it to the council, which applies a code of ethics to determine whether the complaint is upheld. If it is, then the council may issue an administrative fee to the offending outlet that is effectively a contribution to the council's budget. In comparison, the German Press Council is a voluntary body funded by the state government and by publishers and journalists. It hears complaints regarding breaches of

journalistic ethics laid out in the Press Code, a set of guidelines adopted by the Council. Its board is made up of publishers and journalists (no ordinary citizens), and anyone can submit a complaint directly to the council, whether or not personally affected. The available sanctions include a public reprimand (with a corresponding obligation for the offending outlet to print it), a nonpublic reprimand, a notice of censure, and a notice giving recommendations for prudent future action.

Privileges and Responsibilities

The freedoms of speech and press—as recognized at the international, regional, and national levels—include not only rights for the media but also privileges and special and general responsibilities. As the ECtHR put it in the case *Axel Springer AG v. Germany*, the media must not cross certain lines in performing its work, particularly to the effect of harming a person's reputation or privacy rights, but it is the media's "duty . . . to impart—in a manner consistent with its obligations and responsibilities—information and ideas on all matters of public interest." Indeed, the public has "a right to receive them," the ECtHR ruled, and "[w]ere it otherwise, the press would be unable to play its vital role of public watchdog." So it is the media's vital function in democracy—in service of government accountability and public enlightenment—that justifies partly the media's privileges and responsibilities.

Privileges

Journalists and news outlets receive special privileges for their newsgathering and publishing activities. For example, they are largely free, as the ECtHR found in *Cumpănă and Mazăre v. Romania*, to seek information as they please, using the methods and techniques they deem appropriate. The underlying reason is that newsgathering is "an essential preparatory step in journalism" and an "inherent, protected part of press freedom," as the ECtHR observed in *Társaság a Szabadságjogokért v. Hungary*. Journalists also have a privilege in some circumstances to refuse to disclose their confidential sources. It is available through such authorities as the German

criminal and civil procedure codes, the Swiss constitution, UN and Council of Europe documents, and voluminous case law. For instance, the ECtHR held in *Goodwin v. United Kingdom* that a journalist's privilege to protect his or her sources is "one of the basic conditions for press freedom" without which "sources may be deterred from assisting the press in informing the public on matters of public interest." Other privileges are basically entitlements in the form of state action to facilitate the media's work. They include access to government information and places, like press conferences and judicial proceedings, and state duties to protect journalists in the field as they gather news.

Responsibilities

Journalists and news outlets have special and general responsibilities in mainly their publishing activities. As noted earlier, the freedoms of speech and press can be restricted, typically in service of personal interests like reputation or public interests like public safety or order. In individual cases, expressive interests are invoked from one or more legal instruments and balanced against the competing interests. In practice, the protection afforded to exercises of speech and press freedom often depends on the extent to which the journalist or news outlet met its responsibilities. One is to be respectful of the rights of others, construed to mean a person's interests in honor, reputation, and privacy. Another is the judiciary's impartiality and authority, which can justify restrictions on journalistic activities in the name of protecting litigants or the administration of justice. Yet another responsibility is to take into account public safety and order by not providing a platform for incitement. And still another is to be mindful of state laws that in theory protect morals. They get significant deference from international courts. These are, of course, just a sample of the responsibilities that journalists and news outlets must discharge.

Jonathan Peters

See also Censorship; Europe; Free Expression, History of; Human Rights and Journalism; International and Comparative Journalism Law; Press and Government Relations; Press Freedom

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FACEBOOK

Mark Zuckerberg launched Facebook in February 2004 as a way to connect students at Harvard University. In the year that followed, the social media site expanded across various universities, followed by a high school version that launched in 2005, and finally, going fully public with a single site for anyone over the age of 13 years in the fall of 2006. On Facebook, users create a personal profile consisting of a picture and various “About” sections of information (e.g., employment, school history, places lived). Users are encouraged to share status updates, which are posts that can range from personal thoughts and news to sharing links to external articles or videos they have viewed online. A user must “friend” other users on the site, which allows them to view the status updates made by their Facebook friends on the Facebook news feed. The news feed is the main view users see when they open Facebook on their mobile app or the website. The news feed allows users to keep up with recent posts and top content generated within their social network, easily commenting, reacting (e.g., liking, loving), and sharing with multiple accounts on one screen.

While Facebook was originally imagined as a site where one could connect with friends and family, the company later created the opportunity for users to follow celebrities, organizations, and other public figures. Within the realm of journalism specifically, Facebook has become increasingly more commonplace as a location to obtain

news, with the Pew Research Center noting in 2019 that four in 10 adults in the United States get their news from Facebook. What follows is a discussion of the primary features on Facebook that can be used by journalists (pages, livestreaming, and stories), efforts by Facebook to support journalism, and challenges to consider when engaging with Facebook as a source for news.

Pages

While initially created for connections between interpersonal ties, Facebook quickly expanded into the public sphere, launching Pages in 2007 as a feature that allowed organizations and public figures the opportunity to connect with users on the site. The Page operates similarly to a profile: users select a profile picture and cover image for their organization and identify “About” information, including things like a mission statement, contact information, and a link to the organization’s external website. Just like individual Facebook users, the Pages account can make status updates, follow other Pages and people, comment on and react to posts made on Facebook, and engage in direct messaging.

What a Page offers that a regular individual Facebook profile does not have is additional insights into marketing and engagement. Organizations can track actions on the page (the number of clicks on the Page’s contact information and/or call to action button), page views, page previews (those who hovered over the account name to preview content on the page), page likes, the reach

of a post (estimated based on the number of users who saw a post at least once), story reach (estimated based on the sharing of a Page's story to an individual story stream), recommendations (did someone recommend the page as a source), post engagement (including reactions, comments, shares, and clicks), video engagement, and page followers (which also identifies if anyone unfollowed the account in the last week, month, or year). In addition to a wide range of metrics to increase engagement with one's audience, Pages allows for the option to schedule posts. Pages can use the Publishing Tools function to draft posts and schedule when they will go live on the page to optimize engagement for certain times of the day and/or week (e.g., research has shown that posting around 5:00 pm EST will increase the likelihood of viewers, as users often check the site as they leave work).

Pages are the primary way for news organizations and individual journalists to connect with their audience through Facebook, expanding the overall reach of content created through their primary form of communication with the public (e.g., print, television, radio). Pages can be particularly useful for journalists who freelance, as it can allow them to share their content through the site regardless of the publisher. As of 2018, Facebook encourages news organizations to register as a News Page (i.e., any page whose primary goal is to publish news content). Pages that are registered receive specific benefits from Facebook, including the opportunity to connect their content to "Facebook News" and increase eligibility for testing new features and products that are rolled out for news organizations specifically.

Facebook Live Video

The Facebook Live Video feature was introduced exclusively to public figures in August 2015, but it is now accessible to all users on the platform. Journalists can use this livestreaming feature to report specific news stories that they bear witness to, which provides an inherent realism for the audience. Also, the "liveness" that journalists are able to capture can emphasize a sense of authenticity. Depending on the audiovisual media that is captured, the content can improve public awareness and add to public discussions. Facebook Live

points to a critical media shift. At one point in time, broadcasting live video was a complicated, technical feat that required television cameras, camera operators, trucks, and satellites. Today, the ubiquity of communication technology and social media platforms, specifically Facebook, has made the concept of "going live" as simple as opening an app.

Facebook Live provides traction for another form of journalism: citizen reporting. Audience-led forms of journalism are not a new concept, but the pervasiveness of smartphone cameras and one-touch publishing has made citizen journalism more common. Some Facebook Livestreaming videos become viral, depending on the content that is captured. Social media platforms can bypass news organizations altogether due to the spreadability of user-created content. Ironically, if Facebook Live videos receive enough traffic, then these videos can become objects of formal news coverage and outlets (e.g., CBS, NBC, ABC).

In July 2016, Facebook Live exposed the police killing of Philando Castile, a 32-year-old African American. The cultural fallout from Castile's death marked a turning point in citizen journalism. Diamond Reynolds, Castile's girlfriend, was streaming live on Facebook when her boyfriend was pulled over by the police on the side of the road in Falcon Heights, Minnesota. Reynolds captured the harrowing scene in which her partner died next to her in real time. Reynolds was able to record the exchange and shots fired by the police officer Jeronimo Yanez, a 29-year-old Latino. The video served to bear witness and added to the public discussion of race relations and police brutality.

Stories

Facebook introduced the Stories feature in March 2017. It was viewed largely as a response to the popularity of Snapchat, a social media platform that relies on users sharing short videos and images paired with filters. By employing this feature, journalists can create more polished videos for distribution on Facebook. Once Stories are posted, they are only viewable for 24 hours. Facebook has Stories features, such as Save Photos and Videos and Stories Archive. The "Save Photos and Video" feature offers the users to save photos

and videos that have been captured by the Facebook camera. These memories can be seen once a user logs onto their Facebook account, which helps to save storage for the users' smartphone. Facebook also gives the user the option to save their stories locally on their device. The other Stories feature is "Stories Archive," which allows a user to archive their Facebook Stories to reshare or repost them on the social network and through Messenger at any time. Stories are interactive: users can react (e.g., like) or comment in response to stories, similar to a regular post. Those who create the story can also share links to allow users to click through and view more related content directly from the story. Stories are viewed as short news updates on-the-go. The stories stream is at the top of the page when a user logs into Facebook, right above the newsfeed, increasing the visibility of the feature.

In September 2019, Facebook piloted a new feature for stories called *Collaborative Stories*, which allows multiple Pages to contribute to the same story for big events. Collaborative Stories was seen first for musicians at the Tomorrowland music festival but was also used again for the 2020 Golden Globes, wherein News Pages were encouraged to contribute to the joint story about nominees and winners. This feature can be particularly useful for those who seek to gain a new audience with their story; smaller newsrooms may benefit from connecting to collaborative stories to expand their reach online.

Facebook Support for Journalism

In 2017, Facebook launched the "Facebook Journalism Project," a subset of the company dedicated to connecting with journalists to develop new products, educate on how to use social media to tell stories, and also as a way to engage in conversations about best practices in journalism. Through the platform's page dedicated to the project, journalists can read weekly reports that spotlight reporters around the country and stories they have shared recently as part of Report for America. There are also guides shared to help news organizations expand their reach through Facebook and Instagram (which is owned by Facebook). Importantly, the Facebook Journalism Project provides grants and internship opportunities to support

journalism, broadly. Initiatives that Facebook took on as a result of their partnership with journalists and news organizations include the recently launched features "TodayIn," "Instant Articles," and "Facebook News" for users of the Facebook mobile app.

TodayIn is a feature available to Facebook users through their account that allows them to see local news updates in their mobile newsfeed. Facebook indicates that 1.6 million users have opted into the new feature. In an in-depth analysis of TodayIn, researchers with the News Measures Research Project (2019) highlighted how the feature served critical information needs within news deserts (i.e., communities lacking local news reporting). Although what constitutes "local" can vary greatly, the feature has provided an outlet for smaller news organizations to help expand their reach to relevant audiences, particularly in small communities.

Instant Articles is a feature that facilitates publishers to distribute as well as view their content on the mobile Facebook app. This function prides itself on its efficiency of time for articles to be published and featured immediately in the news feed. Instant Articles are also interactive and immersive for journalists to add a little more depth to their stories. There are new creative tools that are easy to use and are transformative for the mobile storytelling experience. Some of the innovative tools featured are auto play video, the ability to "Tap" and expand live photos, "Tilt" to explore photos, and interactive maps to increase engagement with the article.

Similar to TodayIn, the Facebook News section of the mobile application for Facebook connects users with content from news organizations, but on a much broader level, including publishers such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. When users click on the new tab from their mobile device, they can view "Today's Stories," which highlights top news for a user based on trending topics. As a user reads more content, the app will become personalized to highlight news stories that align with the user's interests. Users also have the option to hide specific news sources, articles, and/or subjects. If users have an external subscription (e.g., *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic*), they can also link to it through the Facebook News app.

Challenges

Facebook is not a news organization, but a business. Zuckerberg has stated on more than one occasion that he seeks for the site to be a neutral platform, and as such, is not responsible for the content that is shared. As a result, fake news (and accounts) have proliferated on the site. In particular, Facebook faced heavy criticism following the 2016 U.S. presidential election, when it was revealed that a significant number of the most popular articles shared on the site in the lead up to the election reported misinformation about candidates and campaign issues. Around the same time, Facebook also faced backlash when it was discovered that they allowed a third-party political consulting firm, Cambridge Analytica, to harvest data from over 87 million Facebook users through an app they had created. The app was called *This Is Your Digital Life*, which subsequently scraped data not only of those who used the app, but their Facebook friends. The concern was that Facebook subsequently allowed the data gathered to provide targeted marketing of political news to users on the site. Since 2016, Facebook has attempted to take steps to curb concerns about manipulating users and misinformation on the site by being more active in the removal of fake accounts and working to fact-check disputed articles.

One of the greatest challenges for journalists and news organizations, however, is the ever-changing algorithm that dictates what users see within their news feed. While a News Page may share an article or video on their account, there is no guarantee that it will reach all of their followers. Facebook holds close to the chest the rules that govern their algorithms, constantly tweaking them to improve the viewing experience of its users. For example, Facebook declared it would favor videos that were created and shared directly through the site (i.e., native) over videos that were imported in, causing several organizations (such as BuzzFeed) to begin to create content specifically for Facebook.

It is also not unusual to see videos that gain popularity on Facebook created and shared by everyday citizens becoming the object of news, which in and of itself is a challenge. The livestreaming feature of Facebook has, in particular, increased

the potential for users to take on the role of citizen journalists. While this can create the opportunity for individual users to gain an inside look at an event (e.g., the Women's March) or to serve as corroborating evidence (e.g., the shooting of Philando Castile), it has also served as a venue for users to broadcast their news agenda, like in March 2019 when a right-wing terrorist in Christchurch, New Zealand, livestreamed his attack on a mosque. From an ethical standpoint, determining when and how to engage with content created by Facebook users is a challenge for journalists today, one that can be circumvented by the general reach and spreadability of content online.

Final Thoughts

Facebook is not the first social media site but has emerged as one of the most prominent, with over 2 billion people now using the site each month. There are benefits and drawbacks for journalists to engage with one's audience through social media, but in today's media landscape, not engaging is rarely an option, particularly as traditional print sources struggle to maintain readership. All journalists can do is remain up to date on available features to ensure they are capitalizing on the opportunity to share the news.

Natalie Pennington and Serena Hicks

See also Citizen Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; Snapchat; Social Media; Twitter

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FACT-CHECKING MOVEMENT

The fact-checking movement refers to organized efforts to promote, support, and institutionalize the practice of external fact-checking by journalists and other civil-society actors. External fact-checking consists of publishing an evidence-based assessment of the truthfulness or accuracy of a political claim, a news report, an online rumor, or any other public text. (In contrast, conventional, internal fact-checking by journalists or others aims to correct errors prior to making a text public.) This activity goes by different names depending on the focus; for instance, among practitioners, “debunking” most often means exposing online misinformation such as false news stories or doctored photos, while verifying claims by politicians and other public figures is sometimes called *political fact-checking*.

Fact-checking began to take shape as an occupational movement in the United States in the mid- to late-2000s. As detailed below, its roots can be traced to the rise of political blogging earlier in that decade as well as to previous experiments with external fact-checking by professional journalists. The fact-checking movement spread rapidly to other countries as both news organizations and civil-society groups followed the example of early U.S. sites such as FactCheck.org and PolitiFact.

At the end of 2019, more than 200 outlets dedicated to various forms of external fact-checking were active in nearly 70 countries, up from perhaps two dozen outlets worldwide a decade earlier. (All data on the number and variety of fact-checkers are from a count maintained by the Duke Reporters Lab at Duke University unless otherwise noted.) The growth of the movement

has been propelled by the news industry, charitable foundations, technology companies, and the public sector, as well as by fact checkers themselves, who in 2015 formed their own professional association to support fact-checking around the world. This entry discusses the origins and precursors of the fact-checking movement, its global growth and institutionalization, and emerging trends in fact-checking.

Origins and Precursors

The modern fact-checking movement emerged in the United States as a professional reaction against what critics sometimes call “he said, she said” journalism: reporting, especially about politics, that observes norms of objectivity and balance by giving equal weight to competing claims without regard to where the facts lie. Critiques of “steno-graphic” political coverage have a long history in American journalism (for instance, reporting during the Second Red Scare in the 1950s would later be condemned for giving credence to baseless, demagogic accusations). However, these arguments gained new force in the 2000s around coverage of two high-profile stories in particular: climate change, where crudely balanced reporting amplified the views of a tiny minority of skeptics challenging the scientific consensus, and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, which saw many leading news organizations uncritically transmit questionable White House claims used to justify the march to war (for instance, about supposed ties between Iraqi officials and al Qaeda).

The challenge to conventional journalistic practices was sharpened by the emergence of political blogging as a distinct genre in the same period. Taking advantage of the affordances of the web for annotation and analysis, and often identifying with the open, collaborative ethos of hacker culture, prominent bloggers presented themselves as an alternative or corrective to traditional media gatekeepers, whose reports they dissected ruthlessly. (A well-known slogan among political bloggers was “We can fact-check your ass,” referring to their line-by-line critiques of the mainstream media, or “MSM.”)

The site most widely credited with launching the modern fact-checking movement is FactCheck

.org, which went live at the end of 2003 to cover the impending presidential contest. (The popular rumor-debunking site Snopes.com appeared earlier, in 1995.) A nonprofit based at the University of Pennsylvania, FactCheck.org was cofounded by political reporter Brooks Jackson and communications scholar Kathleen Hall Jamieson. It was followed in 2007 by PolitiFact, originally run by the Tampa Bay Times but now attached to the Poynter Institute and the Washington Post's Fact Checker column; both of the new ventures adopted playful "truth meters" to rate the accuracy of political claims. Staffed by paid journalists, these three outlets routinized and professionalized the online fact-checking practiced by bloggers, for instance by systematically checking claims from across the political spectrum. They also recognized one another as peers leading a wider turn toward external fact-checking among American journalists that began in 2004.

Perhaps the first explicit reference to a fact-checking "movement" came at a 2007 conference, hosted by FactCheck.org, that brought together journalists who embraced the new genre. In 2010, PolitiFact began partnering with news organizations around the country to launch state-level affiliates, contributing to rapid growth in the number of U.S. fact-checking outlets. (Among nearly 50 active U.S. fact-checkers tracked by the Duke Reporters Lab as of late 2019, about 80% were founded in 2010 or later.) The movement gained new visibility in the 2012 and 2016 U.S. presidential contests, drawing increased attention from politicians and rising interest from the academic and foundation worlds.

The contemporary fact-checking movement built upon earlier experiments by U.S. journalists with fact-checking or "truth-squadding" political rhetoric. (That term dates to the 1950s and originally referred to efforts by political campaigns to debunk the opposition, but by the 1980s journalists were applying it to their own fact-checking.) An immediate precursor was the trend toward "adwatch" reports analyzing campaign commercials, which surged in the 1990s, after public calls from leading journalists (such as *The Washington Post's* David Broder, who was often called the "dean" of the Washington press corps) for the press to hold politicians accountable for deceptive ads. More broadly, though, the fact-checking

movement can be seen as part of a well-documented, decades-long turn toward more critical, analytical, and assertive journalism in the United States, especially in the wake of the Vietnam War and Watergate.

Global Growth and Institutionalization

Fact-checking initiatives have also multiplied rapidly around the world. One of the first was Brazil's E-farsas, a Snopes-like rumor debunking site which appeared in 2002. The United Kingdom's Channel 4 News launched an experimental site modeled on FactCheck.org to cover 2005 elections (and revived it in 2010). Near the end of the decade, sites focused on checking political claims began to appear across Europe, taking different forms in different countries; in France, for instance, major newspapers led the way, while the Balkans saw a wave of nongovernmental organization-affiliated fact-checkers backed by the National Endowment for Democracy, led by Serbia's Istinomir (or "truth meter") in 2009. The spread of fact-checking accelerated dramatically in the following decade. Of the 210 sites active at the end of 2019, just over half were less than 5 years old, and nearly 90% were less than 10 years old.

The global fact-checking movement encompasses outlets with diverse organizational structures and missions. News organizations offer a natural home for external fact-checking, and many of the most prominent initiatives, with the greatest reach, are housed in the newsrooms of national news operations such as *The Washington Post*, the BBC, *Le Monde*, *Die Zeit*, *O Globo*, and so on. The wire service Agence France-Presse operates dedicated fact-checkers in 13 countries on four continents. However, while more than half of fact-checkers globally were attached to media companies as of late 2019, others were independent (23%) or based in civil-society organizations (10%), universities (8%), or some kind of hybrid venture. Independent and NGO-based fact checkers often strike partnerships with media companies to increase their reach, but many do not identify as journalists, and see fact-checking as a tool to advance wider projects of media or political reform.

In 2014, fact-checkers from around the world met at a global summit, first convened by

PolitiFact founder Bill Adair, which has become an annual event. In 2015, they formed a professional association, the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN), based at the Poynter Institute, a journalism education and training nonprofit in St. Petersburg, Florida. The IFCN promotes collaboration and exchange among fact-checkers by hosting the annual Global Fact conference, publishing a weekly newsletter, and maintaining a mailing list and discussion groups for fact-checkers. It has played a significant role in managing relationships between fact-checkers and outside stakeholders like foundations, technology companies, and the public sector. The IFCN has also sought to promote common professional standards for external fact-checking, and in 2016 unveiled a Code of Principles laying out norms of nonpartisanship and transparency. Outlets seeking to sign on to the Code must be evaluated for compliance by an independent assessor and are subject to periodic reassessment; as of mid-2020 there were 93 verified signatories representing nearly 50 countries. The IFCN's founding director Alexios Mantzarlis, formerly of Italy's *Pagella Politica*, was succeeded in 2019 by Baybars Örsek, cofounder of Turkish fact-checking site *Doğruluk Payı*; a seven-member advisory board is made up of representatives of fact-checking outlets.

Emerging Trends

Attention to the fact-checking movement among journalists, academics, policymakers, and technologists reached new heights beginning in 2016. Events like the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom and the election of Donald Trump as U.S. president helped to crystallize fears about a populist and authoritarian turn in many democracies, about eroding norms of fact-based public discourse, and about the perceived political influence of disinformation campaigns carried out on social media. These concerns have fueled burgeoning interest among foundations and academic researchers in the impact of misinformation and the methods and effects of fact-checking. (In January 2020, Harvard's Kennedy School unveiled the inaugural issue of the *Misinformation Review*, the first academic journal focused on these questions.) Meanwhile, fact-checking organizations have partnered directly with major technology companies and

participated in numerous public inquiries into misinformation by governments or international governance regimes.

Partnerships with technology companies have been particularly significant in shaping the field. In 2016, Google began to treat fact checks as a distinct class of data, giving them greater prominence and eventually previewing the verdicts of recognized fact-checking outlets directly in search results. (These capabilities are based on an open data standard developed by Google in cooperation with fact-checkers, called *ClaimReview*; other search engines also use the standard.) At the end of 2016, after coming under increasing press and regulatory scrutiny for its role in spreading online disinformation, Facebook unveiled a partnership program under which approved outlets (only signatories of the IFCN's Code of Principles are eligible) can earn substantial revenue from the social network for debunking false or misleading posts. The third-part fact-checking program (or "3PFC") has grown rapidly, and in early 2020 Facebook had more than 100 fact-checking partners working in 63 countries. Many of these outlets launched since the program was announced; its appeal may have contributed the surge in fact-checking after 2016 and has anchored a growing emphasis in the movement on fighting viral misinformation as opposed to checking political claims.

These platform partnerships are one example of a rising focus among fact-checkers on using technology to amplify the reach and impact of their efforts. Significant advances have been made in automating some stages of the fact-checking process, and since 2018 a number of outlets are using automated tools to support the work of their staff. One hub for these efforts is the Duke Reporters Lab, which has worked with computer scientists to develop practical tools for identifying interesting claims to check (for instance, in the transcript of a speech or debate) and for matching a statement to previously checked claims in the database. Parallel work has been carried out by the UK-based Full Fact and by the Argentinian site Chequeado. A platform developed by Full Fact can extract certain claims from live speech (for instance, during parliamentary debate) and instantaneously pull up relevant fact checks or official statistics.

Finally, some fact-checking organizations have begun to self-identify as "second-generation" fact

checkers concerned not only with making accurate information available to the public but also with actively seeking political accountability and systemic change. An open letter published in 2019 by Full Fact, Chequeado, and South Africa-based Africa Check explains, “Second generation fact checkers . . . do more than publishing fact checks. Our focus is on what we change not just who we reach. Our work is about power and accountability” (Full Fact, 2019). This explicit call to focus the movement on more active interventions in public discourse makes visible long-standing differences in the kinds of practices considered legitimate by fact-checkers with different occupational cultures—in particular, between professional journalists and more reform-minded fact checkers from civil-society organizations.

Lucas Graves

See also Automation; Blogs and Bloggers; Civic Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Digital Journalism Tools

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FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

The fairness doctrine was first implemented by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1949 in a proceeding titled: *In the Matter of Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees* and would be commodified into the Communications Act in 1959. The fairness doctrine itself was a direct response to the broadcaster concerns over the editorial ban implemented in 1941 as part of the Mayflower decision and the FCC's Blue Book.

Functionally, the fairness doctrine required that broadcast licensees carry information about issues of public concern and balance the presentation of those issues. While often confused with the equal time requirements for political advertising in Section 315 of the Communications Act, the fairness doctrine was a separate provision and did not grant equal time to parties.

The fairness doctrine was expanded in 1967 to include two additional provisions, the political editorial and personal attack rules. In 1969, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the fairness doctrine as constitutional in the *Red Lion v. Federal Communications Commission* decision. The FCC's commitment to enforcing the provision began to wane in the early 1980s, however. With the appointment of deregulatory proponent Mark Fowler to chairman of the FCC, the agency began a process to repeal the fairness doctrine, basically abandoning the regulation by 1987 after the decision in *Syracuse Peace Council v. Federal Communications Commission*, but the political editorial rule was involved in a legal case during the 2000 presidential election, and a final repeal was pushed through by members of Congress in 2011. This entry first discusses the development and

expansion of the fairness doctrine, court challenges to the doctrine, and its repeal. It then looks at two provisions often discussed alongside the fairness doctrine: the equal time rule and the Zapple doctrine.

Mayflower, the Blue Book, and the Birth of the Fairness Doctrine

In March of 1939, a startup broadcast company, the Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation, filed a request for a radio license in the city of Boston, Massachusetts. At the time, both the radio station, WAAB, and the frequency were already under operation by the Yankee Network. The FCC, as was its practice at the time to deal with competing applications, scheduled a hearing to determine which organization would have rights to the license after renewal.

During a 15-day hearing in November 1939, the Mayflower Corporation tried to press its case for the station license by claiming that the Yankee Network had used the station to editorialize and attack several candidates for public office on the air during 1937 and 1938.

Although the FCC did not award the license to Mayflower, it stated in the decision that, “. . . the broadcaster cannot be an advocate.” The editorials resulted in the FCC declaring that Yankee had committed, “. . . a serious misconception of its duties and functions under the law.” The Commission also stated that a, “. . . licensee has assumed the obligation of presenting all sides of important public questions, fairly, objectively, and without bias. The public interest—not the private—is paramount.” The decision in the Mayflower case was interpreted by other radio stations as functionally implementing a ban of on-air editorializing.

Broadcasters sought guidance from the FCC on the editorial band and the requirements for public service conditioned in their licenses to operate. On March 7, 1946, the FCC released a report titled, “Public Service Responsibility for Broadcast Licensees,” commonly known as the *Blue Book*, due to its blue cover. The Blue Book was the Commission’s attempt to offer a complete and coherent programming policy for broadcasters. It provided a set of guidelines requiring stations to provide balanced programming. The Blue Book also argued for the broadcast of programming free of

sponsorships or “sustaining” programs by licensees. Broadcasters were instantly furious with the Blue Book, seeing it as an expansion of government control extending beyond the editorial ban implemented in the Mayflower decision, and members of the National Association of Broadcasters began to advocate for new rules. The FCC then responded with the fairness doctrine in 1949. The provision was then approved by Congress in 1959 as part of an addendum to the Communications Act.

Expanding the Doctrine: Personal Attack and Political Editorial Rules

In 1967, the FCC added two corollary rules to the fairness doctrine. Both were designed to provide some guidance to when content created a specific right of reply. The personal attack rule specified that in case of an “attack” on the “honesty, character, integrity, or like personal qualities of a person or group” during the discussion of an issue of public importance the broadcaster is required to give notice not later than 1 week after the attack, to provide a tape or transcript, or some other summary of the attack, and then offer to provide time for a response.

Likewise, the political editorial rule specified that if a broadcaster editorializes against or otherwise makes an attack against a candidate for office, a tape or transcript had to be made available within 24 hours. If the editorial was to be aired within 72 hours of an election, a transcript was to be delivered before the broadcast.

Red Lion v. FCC: The Fairness Doctrine Goes to Court

In 1969, the fairness doctrine was tested by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*. The case arose over a response to a personal attack aired on Pennsylvania radio station WGCB. Author Fred Cook was attacked on-air by Reverend Billy James Hargis during the “Christian Crusade” program. Hargis was discussing a book authored by Cook. During the segment, Hargis claimed that Cook had been fired from a newspaper for making false charges against city officials, that Cook worked for a Communist publication, and that Cook had defended Alger Hiss. Cook,

upon hearing the segment, demanded time for a response, which he refused to pay for.

The FCC declared that Cook's complaint was valid and that Red Lion, by failing to grant a response, had failed to meet its obligations under the fairness doctrine. Red Lion argued the fairness doctrine and the right of reply guaranteed by the personal attack rule was a violation of its First Amendment rights, pointing out that the FCC had granted the broadcaster the authority to determine what programming, and by extension, what persons would have access to the airwaves. The Supreme Court disagreed with Red Lion, declaring that the free speech rights of broadcasters were secondary to the rights of listeners to hear diverse and antagonistic viewpoints. Writing for the Court, Justice Byron R. White said:

It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters which is paramount. It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the Government itself or a private licensee.

Repealing the Fairness Doctrine

In the mid-1980s under Fowler, the Commission argued for repeal of many FCC regulations, including the fairness doctrine. During his tenure as FCC chair, the agency released the *1985 Fairness Report* in which the Commission argued the fairness doctrine was actually counterproductive because it was tantamount to government interference of broadcast content. The *Fairness Report* suggested that the requirement for access was restricting journalists in radio and television newsrooms by impeding discussions of important public issues. Despite the conclusion that the fairness doctrine was counterproductive, the Commission deferred action until Congress could act. As a result, the FCC continued to enforce the doctrine for two more years, during which time three cases involving fairness doctrine complaints led the agency to abandon the active enforcement of the rule.

After a fairness complaint was filed against WTVH, the Meredith Corporation's

station in Syracuse, New York, over advertisements promoting an investment in a nuclear power plant, the FCC ruled that the Meredith Corporation had violated the fairness doctrine by not allowing time for a response. In court, Meredith challenged the Commission ruling that the company had violated the fairness doctrine. While the Court agreed with the Commission's ruling on the interpretation of the doctrine, the decision in the case remanded the constitutional issue back to the Commission for further consideration.

Before the Commission could consider the remand in the Meredith decision, the FCC refused to extend fairness doctrine obligations for teletext service. The Commission struggled with the level of constitutional scrutiny to apply in the regulation of teletext. Although teletext was transmitted as part of a broadcast signal, the service itself was composed of "text" rather than the audiovisual material traditionally associated with radio and television. According to the Commission, placing teletext under the guidelines of the fairness doctrine would violate the First Amendment.

The Media Access Project and the Telecommunications Research and Action Center (TRAC) brought suit to force reconsideration by the Commission, arguing that teletext was meant for the general public and fell under the definition of broadcasting in the Communications Act. In *Telecommunications Research & Action Center v. Federal Communications Commission*, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit agreed in a 1984 ruling, holding that the teletext transmission was indeed a "broadcast."

Following the TRAC decision, the events of the earlier Meredith case returned to the Commission for reconsideration. Based on the findings of the 1985 *Fairness Report* and the TRAC decision, the FCC overturned the earlier ruling that Meredith was in violation of the fairness doctrine.

When the FCC was then challenged over the change in opinion in *Syracuse Peace Council v. FCC*, the Commission's determination that the fairness doctrine was no longer serving the public interest became a central point of the case. The DC Circuit Court of Appeals held in 1989 that the FCC alone retained the authority and expertise to find the fairness doctrine, as a policy, counterproductive to the public interest, and then allowed the

agency to “decide” to stop enforcement of the doctrine.

The agency stopped formal enforcement of the fairness doctrine in 1987. In 1999, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the FCC to defend the political editorial and personal attack rules or explain why the rules were no longer enforced. During the presidential election campaign in 2000, the FCC failed to comply with the court’s request, and the two corollary rules were suspended. Although the fairness doctrine remained on the books until 2011, Congress forced the FCC to formally repeal it, following a talk-radio campaign that suggested the agency led by appointees of President Barack Obama would bring the fairness doctrine back.

Fairness Doctrine and Equal Time

The fairness doctrine is often incorrectly associated with a similar, but entirely separate provision commonly called *equal time*. Stations, as licensees, were in charge of choosing who, how, and how long to respond in fairness situations. Equal time is the common name given to the provision Section 315 of the 1934 Communications Act, which governs “appearances” by legally qualified candidates for elected office. Equal time provisions once covered all candidate appearances, but in contemporary times functionally only apply as an access and balancing mechanism for political advertising by a candidate for office. Legally qualified candidates for federal offices are automatically granted access for paid advertising, while candidates for state or local offices may obtain “equal” access when a broadcast station or cable outlet sells advertising to other candidates in that election race.

Zapple Doctrine

One legacy provision of the fairness doctrine, an associated concept called *the Zapple doctrine*, was brought before the FCC in 2014. The Zapple doctrine applied fairness provisions beyond the coverage of candidates found in Section 315 to appearances by official supporters of a candidate. In a complaint brought by the Media Action Center during the Wisconsin governor’s recall election, the organization had requested access for

supporters of Democratic candidate Tom Barrett to match the supporters of GOP Governor Scott Walker on a series of conservative talk radio stations in Milwaukee and Madison, all of which were actively supporting Walker. The FCC rejected the complaint stating that it had no remaining enforcement authority for the Zapple or fairness doctrines.

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See also First Amendment; Positive First Amendment; Supreme Court and Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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FAKE NEWS

Fake news is typically defined as a deceptive publication presented as if the factual assertions being made are true. According to this definition, *fake news* means a story or other item created and published with the intent to deceive. Along this same line, fake news includes the republication of deceptive publications, as when a person or group shares an item, or links to a fake news story via social media, without realizing that the publication is false, or without being concerned about its truth or falsity.

In a second definition of the term, *fake news* is used as a pejorative label to ridicule media organizations and journalists who are reporting truthful information. The term *fake news* is used in this fashion to make public accusations or accusatory remarks about journalists and media organizations that either state or imply that they are deliberately spreading false reports. Mischaracterizing journalists as *fake news*, when they are investigating or reporting the truth, can have a negative impact on the democratic functioning of the free press and can lead to other social harms, including violence against journalists.

The very broadest definition of fake news is any story that is not literally true, but most analysts see this is an overly broad definition. So while parody and satire involving news events are not strictly statements of the truth, under the definition of fake news as that with an intent to deceive, parody and satire are not fake news. Determining what is, and what is not fake news, is not easy and, according to research, requires monitoring the news on a regular basis and assessing sources with a level of competency known as *news literacy*. According to research scholars, people or audiences are more often fooled by fake news because of inattention or laziness, rather than reasoning based on preexisting beliefs and political positions.

This entry first discusses the various forms of fake news, their relationship to what some scholars refer to as the post-truth era, and the role of social media users in spreading fake news. It then looks at the effects of fake news on audiences, the rise in efforts to help individuals determine whether news is credible, the deceptive use of

video editing to produce fake news, deceptive advertising and other forms of deceptive publication, and the use of accusations of fake news to attack journalists and undermine press freedom. Finally, the entry discusses the use of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential election and the increasing treatment of the term *fake news* as a jokey catchphrase only lightly attached to its more serious meaning.

The Post-Truth Era

When used to refer to the deliberate publication of falsehoods, fake news can take many forms, including textual, visual, and multimedia. Deceptive publications are distributed in all types of media from print and broadcast, to digital or online media, including social media. The falsehoods can be located in stories, photos, videos, graphics, or audio recordings. Sometimes a story, or other item, falls within the definition of *fake news* not because it is entirely false, but because it combines truth and falsehood together in an intentionally deceptive manner. Thus the first definition of fake news refers to publications containing information that, either in whole or in part, is not true, but appears to be or purports to be, the truth or a truthful account.

Taken very broadly, this definition of fake news also encompasses intentional falsehoods that are distributed by websites, bots, and algorithms, in the process of promoting the spread of fake news across digital media, especially when those digital tools are being used for purposes of deception. For a publication to be considered *fake news*, it must be false or otherwise inaccurate, in whole or part, when compared to verifiable facts. Often the deception is located in the content of the story, but it can also be located in a misleading headline or in an altered photo, video, or audio.

In the late 2000s and 2010s, fake news became part of a larger social issue concerning belief in the truth and the loss of objectivity, with some commentators saying that public discourse had moved into a post-truth era. Other scholarly terms sometimes used for this type of social phenomenon include “society of the spectacle,” advanced by Guy Debord, *simulacra* advanced by French theorist Jean Baudrillard, and *pseudo-events*, advanced by U.S. historian Daniel Boorstin. Another term or

phrase being used is *alternative facts*. The expression “alternative facts” was used by Kellyanne Conway, a counselor to U.S. President Donald J. Trump, during a conference with *Meet the Press* in January 2017 to characterize misstatements by the White House regarding the number of people in attendance at Trump’s inauguration.

The era of post-truth, fake news, and alternative facts had a strong impact on journalism and public discourse in the late 2010s. The terms *fake news* and *post-truth* were selected as the “word of the year” by multiple organizations, including *fake news* as word of the year by the American Dialect Society in 2017 and *post-truth* as the word of the year by the Oxford English Dictionary in 2016.

Mistakes of Fact and Social Sharing

Mistakes of fact—such as those that are the result of careless news reporting—are typically seen as not falling within the meaning of fake news because they are not intentionally false. An innocent mistake by a news organization, for example, an error originating with a reporter having no intent to deceive, could result in the publication of a false statement that is later corrected by the organization. These types of factual mistakes are protected by law in the United States under the First Amendment.

The jurisprudential theory is that some mistakes must be protected to allow for free speech. The protection of innocent and even careless mistakes of fact from lawsuits over defamation, for example, prevents a chilling effect on press freedom. Several U.S. Supreme Court opinions present the position that, in order for journalists and others to publish freely, their publications sometimes will—and indeed, inevitably will—include mistakes of fact; however, these mistakes must be excused to avoid excessive fear of subsequent punishments for publications.

In contrast, fake news stories shared on social media, even when the person sharing does not realize the story is false, are still considered fake news because of the original deception by the creator or first publisher of the item. Sometimes, after a fake news item is created and published, it is later reposted or shared, or liked, or linked or otherwise distributed by others on social media

platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter. The people who are sharing, liking, and linking to the fake news may not know or care that what they are sharing is deceptively false. These types of distributions are studied by media scholars under the terminology fake news related to the sharing economy or the like economy.

These stories and videos circulated on social media via links and likes are still fake news, because they were originally created and published by persons or groups who were being intentionally deceptive. In fact, in many instances, the deceptive purpose is achieved through the use of bots and other devices intended to promote the spread of false information via social media platforms.

Public Perception and the Impact of Fake News on Audiences

In part because of fake news allegations and a loss of trust in journalism, improved fact checking was pursued by media organizations and by nongovernmental organizations. According to the Reuters Institute, fact-checking organizations emerged in over 50 countries in the 2000s and 2010s. Because of the widespread publications of fake news, or at least the perception that fake news is increasing in volume and impact, there has been corresponding growth in the number of fact-checking websites and also in educational efforts and related publications about when and how to detect fake news with the tools of news literacy. The pioneering fact-checking website Snopes.com was launched in 1994. Now there are numerous fact-checking organizations.

Fact checking is a growing, global phenomenon with an annual summit, Global Fact, organized by Poynter’s International Fact Checking Network. Participants in Global Fact include ABC Fact Check (a collaboration of Australian Broadcasting Company and RMIT University); Africa Check (Johannesburg, South Africa); Chequeado (Argentina); FactCheck.org (Annenberg Public Policy Center, Philadelphia, PA); Full Fact (United Kingdom), *Le Monde* (France); PolitiFact (Poynter Institute, St. Petersburg, FL); and *The Washington Post*’s Fact Checker.

According to research funded by New America Foundation, a nonpartisan organization, politicians

who believe they are going to be fact checked in a public way are more likely to be truthful in claims made. Readers are interested in accurate news and fact checking. For example, the number of visitors to *The Washington Post's* fact checking page doubled in the few months after Trump was elected. Further, according to a June 2019 report by Pew Research Center, many Americans were saying that made-up news is a problem that needs to be addressed.

Even so, studies have shown that when readers are faced with empirical facts contradicting strongly held beliefs, such as political beliefs, they may reject fact checking in favor of the information that confirms their biases. The exposure to conflicting information combined with confirmation bias can lead to the entrenchment of existing ideas and polarization around existing beliefs. A key mechanism that results in polarization, according to research scholarship, is when people treat evidence generated by others as more unlikely or uncertain because the evidence is coming from those with different beliefs.

False and deceptive publications are not new to the 21st century, but instead date back at least as early as the first mass publications after the invention of the printing press in the 15th century. That being said, there is a widespread belief that the publication of fake news increased dramatically in volume and impact in the late 2010s. Research is ongoing regarding the extent of the increase in fake news stories, as well as regarding patterns of distribution, and the impacts of fake news stories.

Fake news, sent via social media and other digital media publications, travels instantaneously and can become viral, meaning that it can be both quickly and widely shared on a worldwide basis. It circulates both quickly and widely because of social media postings that are shared or redistributed in ways that are not subject to verification and fact checking. Research has not shown conclusively the answers to a series of questions, including whether fake news is increasing in terms of the volume of stories distributed or the number of people being deceived. Research is also continuing about the risks or stakes involved, including increasing concern over deception, polarization, and various social harms attributed to fake news and related deceptions.

While absolute measurements of the speed and distance of fake news circulation on social media are not contested, scholars continue to measure speeds and distances for various types of fake news distributions. Researchers are measuring the overall levels of distribution (such as the total number of shares) and have outlined the structures or networked patterns of sharing across identified geographies. Researchers are also investigating when and how fake news publishers target certain audiences, such as undecided voters.

Investigative journalists have uncovered serious issues with targeting voters with fake news in ways that tend to interfere with democratic processes. For instance, Carole Cadwalladr, a writer for the British newspapers *The Observer* and *The Guardian*, reports on the fake news ecosystem. Cadwalladr gave an influential TED talk on April 17, 2019 about the role of fake news, in the form of misleading Facebook ads targeting undecided voters. These voters were targeted for fake news dissemination during the extended debate leading up to the June 2016 referendum on whether the United Kingdom should leave the European Union (“Brexit”).

Another area of ongoing research relates to how much fake news has increased, or has not increased over time, both in reality and in public perception. Other research areas include examining which factors are influencing the dissemination of fake news. There are a variety of political, economic, and cultural factors at play, and scholars are debating which factors have a larger role in the process. Many point to political motivations as a central force, while other observers focus on technological causes, such as social media as a driver of fake news distributions in ways not previously experienced during the era of the gatekeeper media.

Deceptive Video as Fake News

With the video production of fake news, there are multiple methods of deception possible in the production process, from filming to editing, to digital alterations. For instance, a video can be deceptively shot with certain camera angles, or it can be deceptively produced with actors or imposters who are interacting deceptively with unsuspecting persons, such as fake interviews or hoax

emergencies. One example of this form of deceptive or fake interactions occurred in the “sting videos” produced about the nonprofit organization ACORN in 2009.

A video can also be deceptively edited, for instance with cuts made between shots that present an impression or overall picture to the audience that does not correspond to reality, such as cuts between a question and an answer. A video can also be slowed down to make it appear that someone was doing something he or she was not actually doing. An example of this type of deceptive editing occurred with the video of White House reporter Jim Acosta in November 2018, whose video was slowed down to make it appear as though Acosta was hitting an intern during a press conference. This altered video was later sent out via social media by the White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, and subsequently was shared or reposted thousands of times.

Videos also can be digitally altered with computer generated images or special effects that present false impressions. Because of new technologies, this capability is expanding. In the mid-2010s, a technology known as *generative adversarial networks* (GAN) became available that allows for realistic altering of digital video. Through the use of GAN, one person’s face, body, or likeness can be replaced with another person’s likeness in a deceptive manner, for example, in fake news publications. The GAN-altered videos are called *deep-fakes* because they overcome prior problems that existed before in using computer-generated imagery to present a human face.

Before GAN, it was difficult to make altered human eyes appear to be human eyes, rather than robotic. This problem was referred to as having an uncanny presentation, because audiences are often disturbed by the presentation of robots that look too human but not human enough. With GAN technologies, a deepfake video can make it appear as though a person is making a statement, or taking part in an event, when in reality the statements and events did not occur as depicted.

While some deepfake videos are produced for entertainment purposes, for example, having deceased actors appear in later films of a franchise, these altered videos can also be produced for deception and malicious publication. In 2019,

California and Texas both enacted laws intended to combat the distribution of deepfake videos about politicians just before an election. The alteration of photos and videos is a particularly troublesome form of fake news because of the general assumption that a photo or a video is reliable evidence that an event actually occurred.

Deceptive Advertising and Other Messages

In addition to false news publications, the concept of *fake news* can be broadly defined to include deceptive advertising, deceptive stock market postings, and other forms of deceptive publication. For instance, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has within its purview the regulation of false advertising and has been working to combat fake news in the form of advertisements, including native advertising, which is a form of advertising that mimics a news story or appears to be a news publication.

The FTC takes the view that advertising or promotional messages that are not clearly identifiable as advertising to consumers are deceptive. This is because the advertisements are presented as if they are news stories, which misleads readers, including citizens or consumers, into believing that the information is independently verified or is the result of impartial reporting. Even a disclaimer such as “paid advertisement” or “sponsored” does not prevent a paid-for story or other item from being prosecuted under FTC guidelines, if the item otherwise misrepresents its source or nature to the public.

Another form of fake news is a deceptive publication about a stock or financial product and service. Stock market manipulations are not a new phenomenon, but the manner in which the financial markets have become subject to fraud in the form of fake news and deceptive publications sent via social and digital media is of increasing concern to regulators.

Attacks on Journalists and Press Freedom

In recent years, *fake news* has been used in attacks on the press, especially attacks on the adversarial press when acting as a critic of political actors. The term is used as a shorthand label, for instance, saying that a journalist “is fake news.” This type

of attack on the press is not a new phenomenon, with earlier terms, such as “lying press,” being used at least as early as the 19th century. Likewise, during the 1960s, then U.S. president Richard Nixon was famous for calling the press the “enemy of the people.”

In the late 2010s, however, public accusations against the media appeared to increase. Trump, who took office in January 2017, repeatedly called journalists and news organizations “fake news” during press conferences, during conventions, and in social media. Other government actors have followed suit in using the term to attack the press. The accusation is made, even though the media actors were not engaged in deceptive publication, and even though the accusers knew, or should have known, that the media were not being intentionally deceptive. In such cases, the accusation itself is fake news.

Both meanings of fake news have been connected to the Trump presidency, including deceptive publications and accusations of fake news used to delegitimize the adversarial press. The deceptive publications tied to the Trump presidency relate to the proposition that agents of the Russian government used fake news items, specifically deceptive publications circulated via social media, to help Trump win the U.S. presidential election in November 2016.

In addition to this form of fake news, also during his presidency, Trump has inaccurately labeled news reporters as *fake news* multiple times in public settings, including during a C-SPAN recorded conference shortly before the inauguration in January 2017 as well as in videotaped White House press conferences and via Trump’s daily use of social media platform Twitter.

The use of the term *fake news*, as a pejorative label, undermines press freedom. When used to mischaracterize journalists, *fake news* is more than a misstatement. Use of the term to dismiss truthful news reporting is a direct attack on the core value of journalists because, according to the canon of ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, the first ethical principle is to seek the truth and report it.

In a sense, *fake news* is something of an oxymoron, because *fake* means false and *news* refers to current, noteworthy information, which is by implication true. *Fake news* is the presentation of

falsehoods as if they were true. News is supposed to be true. Journalists build their reputations on gathering information and reporting the truth and function as watchdogs of the powerful in government and the private sector. This is the primary role of the free press in a democracy, as contemplated in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Attacking journalists with the label *fake news* thus has a negative impact on democratic functioning.

In addition, the use of the term *fake news* to delegitimize the free press in verbal attacks has been tied to increased physical violence against journalists. Research by the organization Reporters Without Borders reveals that the end of the 2010s was a time of increased violence against journalists in the United States and elsewhere around the world.

The use of the term *fake news* to label a story, or to disparage a media outlet, tends to delegitimize truthful stories and ethical journalists. Journalists responded to these attacks, in August 2018, with coordinated publications and editorials refuting the idea that journalism can be equated with fake news. Both print and broadcast reports were published by multiple media outlets simultaneously, in a campaign organized by the *Boston Globe* to contest the idea that the press is the enemy of the people.

Fake News, Cambridge Analytica, and Facebook

Concern over fake news circulating on Facebook did not start with Brexit and the U.S. presidential election in 2016; as early as January 2015, Facebook had added an option for its users to report that a story in their news feeds was false news. Before adding the option, the company conducted testing that revealed that users tended not to report satirical content as false because it is understood as humorous.

After the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the social networking company came under fire for failing to prevent fake news from spreading on its platform as well as for having weak privacy protections. By 2018, its privacy practices were coming under greater scrutiny as details emerged about how the now-defunct political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica was able to acquire the

personal data of millions of Facebook users through a personality quiz.

While Cambridge Analytica played a role in the online efforts of the 2016 Trump campaign, the exact nature of that role and how the company used the data it obtained from Facebook remained unclear as of mid-2020. What is not in dispute is that the company abused Facebook's policies giving researchers access to data for academic purposes and that Facebook's algorithms promoted the circulation of false stories during the run-up to the election.

Facebook founder and chief executive officer Mark Zuckerberg at first responded that it was a "crazy idea" to think that his company had played part in the outcome of the 2016 presidential election. By December 2016, however, shortly after the election but before Trump took the oath of office, Facebook was rolling out tools to combat the spread of false news. The social media giant decided on a procedure for flagging or tagging stories as disputed or fake news, which it called "Disputed Flags." Facebook's Disputed Flags were only for stories presented as news and not for personal posts. It also announced partnerships with fact-checking organizations that were to begin flagging stories as false based on multiple user reports and a process of verification. Initial partnerships were with Snopes, PolitiFact, ABC News, and FactCheck.org. Some of these relationships or partnerships did not last long.

By the end of 2017, Facebook announced that it would be replacing its "Disputed Flags" system with a "Related Articles" feature, in order to give readers more context to a story that was being reported as false. Research had revealed that placing flags on stories can lead to more entrenched beliefs in the truthfulness of the story or to beliefs that other stories that were not flagged were necessarily true. Facebook said that its research showed that placing related articles next to a disputed story can lead to fewer shares.

Zuckerberg came to Washington, DC, and testified about fake news and social media privacy issues before the U.S. Congress in April 2018 and in October 2019. As of mid-2020, Facebook was still working with FactCheck.org and PolitiFact and had also engaged the Associated Press and Reuters Fact Check to work on combating fake news.

Fake News as Meme

By the late 2000s, the phrases "fake news" or "that's fake news" had become catchphrases being used, for example, as punchlines to a joke and as a shorthand way of ridiculing what someone said, but not always with the related assertion that the other person was being untruthful. In this context, "that's fake news" is understood as a lighthearted comment, or in some instances, more seriously, as a form of social commentary, but not an assertion about deception or truth telling.

There were cartoons distributed in print and online, as well as many social media memes, or widely spread cultural expressions, including videos, slides, and photos, that were captioned with the term *fake news*. These fake news memes discussed the topic in both humorous and critical ways.

Elizabeth Blakey

See also Credibility; Deception; Hoaxes; Parody of News; Propaganda; Satire of News; Sensationalism; Social Media; Yellow Journalism

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FEATURE SYNDICATES

A feature syndicate is a supplier offering an often quite considerable menu of comics, editorial cartoons, columns, and other features for newspapers across the country. Papers pay a subscription fee for what they select to use, the fee varying by the size of the market and circulation of the subscribing paper. Feature syndicates help broaden the non-news content offerings of newspapers, especially those in smaller communities, by providing national markets for print and graphic material.

Feature syndication in the American press has a long history—back to before the Revolution in one case, though really starting a century later with preprinted features distributed to rural 19th-century weekly newspapers. Modern syndicates

serving the daily press developed early in the 20th century around popular comic strips, political columnists, and other features.

Origins

The first informally syndicated feature in American journalism appears to have been “Journal of Occurrences,” a propaganda column written in Boston in 1768. It appeared weekly in three papers for just under a year, letting readers in other colonies know what was happening under British military occupation of Boston. But the column was “informally” carried by many other papers as well.

Ansel Kellogg founded a readyprint service in Chicago during the Civil War (1861–1865). It provided such features as columns, poems, sometimes-serialized fiction, and other entertainment-based material and display advertising for inside pages of newspapers, leaving the front and back page open for the local paper to fill with stories and advertisements. This process became known as *patented insides*, for the patent medicine advertising they carried. Until the 1890s, lack of effective copyright protection made metropolitan newspapers widespread users of British literary and dramatic works as filler, often published in serial form.

Development of the stereotyping process provided a technology boost to syndication. Light stereotype molds (dubbed *boiler plate*) could be readily shipped or mailed to subscribing papers. Soon the business of providing these got organized with formation of the Western Newspaper Union in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1872. Other firms developed as syndication took hold, but Western grew to dominate the field by 1917, serving some 7,000 papers (many of them weeklies serving small communities) at its peak. This approach, which ended in 1952, gave way to yet another syndication idea.

The rise and expansion of both daily and Sunday newspapers (the latter’s longer formats called for more content, and thus demand for syndicated graphic and text material increased) helped create a new form of syndication late in the 19th century. C. A. Dana’s *New York Sun* syndicated use of stories by Bret Harte and Henry James to a limited number of other papers. Using stereotype and

electrotyping technology, the American Press Association began to serve daily papers in 1882. Irving Bacheller (1859–1950), a journalist and writer who created the first newspaper feature syndicate, focused on syndicating material to daily papers beginning a year later and was within a few years serving more than 150 of them in cities across the nation. Publisher S. S. McClure joined the growing number of syndicators in 1884, often using content from his magazine *McClure's* by such authors as Jack London, Robert Lewis Stevenson, and William Dean Howells. He was soon providing up to 30,000 words a week to subscribers.

Development of electrotyping technology in the mid-1890s made wide distribution of color graphic material possible. Paced by the means to print them, demand for comic strips soon drove the syndication business.

Growing out of E. W. Scripps' syndication activity in the 1880s, and his Newspaper Enterprise Association of 1902 (which at first supplied only the Scripps-run papers), the United Feature Syndicate was founded two decades later with nearly 400 newspaper clients, and syndicated such literary names as Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, and Ring Lardner. Eleanor Roosevelt later wrote her "My Day" column for United (from 1936 until 1962), becoming the first (and only) First Lady to write a newspaper column.

After a careful analysis of potential newspaper demand, and its own initial syndication efforts, the Hearst chain began its Newspaper Feature Service in 1913, which soon expanded into the King Feature Syndicate in late 1915. King focused heavily on comic strips and illustrated features to attract readers; he placed artists on a salary and took control of characters to further its control of the content syndicated. By the mid-1930s, it was operating a number of syndication services to a huge list of client newspapers, along with pre-printed weekly (Sunday) magazine and comic publications.

Larger metropolitan dailies in cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles began to syndicate their own columns and other features. The *Chicago Tribune* began this in 1910, the *New York Tribune* in 1914, and *The New York Times* much later in 1960. So did the major news agencies such as the Associated Press and United Press.

By the mid-1920s, there were easily 100 or more feature syndicates of all kinds operating (with 2,000 different and continuing features on offer)—they formed their own trade association in 1926. The number varied during and after the Depression, but was similar by the eve of World War II. By 1960, there were nearly 200 operating syndicates large and small.

Syndicated Content

The variety of content provided by the major syndicates in the early 2000s included a wide breadth of options from which newspaper publishers could select. United Features, for example, provided some 50 daily comic strips, the work of 10 editorial cartoonists, and a whole menu of columns including advice (3), commentary (15), consumer and finance (8), entertainment (7), food (3), health (2), horoscopes (3), home and garden (4), sports (3), and others. The service also offered nearly 20 different puzzles and games. Several other syndicates offered at least as much.

Comic Strips

Comics, and especially Sunday strips printed in color, formed the core of modern syndication efforts. The "Katzenjammer Kids," which began in 1897—and was based on an earlier German comic strip—remains the oldest comic strip still in syndication. The King syndicate offered several dozen comic strips by the 1920s, and more all the time. In the bottom of the Depression in the early 1930s, some of the most popular syndicated strips brought their creators weekly salaries of more than a thousand dollars. United's comics included (by 1950) the hugely popular "Peanuts," for which the syndicate selected the name, though cartoonist Charles Schulz never liked it. With its affiliated syndicates, King Features distributed (by the early 2000s) three times as many comic features as its next-largest competitor.

Editorial Cartoons

The early 1900s marked the height of editorial cartooning syndication as few smaller papers could develop and produce their own. Syndication added greatly to the impact of individual political

cartoonists, carrying their images far beyond their “home” newspaper to a wider audience. Sometimes only occasional cartoons were carried in weekly “roundups” of the best images of that week or concerning a specific event, but some were regularly displayed in a variety of newspapers.

Political Commentary

Political column syndication began with David Lawrence (in 1916) and Mark Sullivan (3 years later) being offered to other newspapers around the country. Walter Lippmann joined the growing number of political writers in 1931 and was carried in 165 major papers a decade later—with a large salary to match his growing impact. He had become the widely respected and influential dean of the genre on his retirement in the early 1960s. Drew Pearson began his “Washington Merry Go Round” of political gossip in 1932 and it quickly became a huge and lasting success (continued by Jack Anderson well into the 1990s). Britain’s Winston Churchill survived economically on his syndicated writings in the 1930s, many carried in American papers. The new Gallup poll provided features about what people thought about major issues and trends by 1935, an early example of public opinion polling. By the late 1930s and increasingly in later years, many political columns took strong political stances to the right or left.

Gossip and Show Business

Society gossip content in a few metropolitan newspapers dated at least to the 1820s and appeared continually thereafter. National syndication was slower to develop. By 1924, Walter Winchell was reporting on Broadway for New York tabloid papers, soon joined by Hollywood columnists Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper. All three were widely syndicated and thus held considerable power in the show-business world into the 1950s. Many others centered on stage, motion pictures, radio, and eventually television. To some extent, the latter began to siphon off some of the genre by the late 20th century—as when Broadway columnist Ed Sullivan hosted a CBS television variety program for two decades.

Modern Living and Advice

Dorothy Dix began to write a women’s column in 1896 and kept it up for four decades. Later examples were the long-lived “Ann Landers” and “Dear Abby” columns, written by two sisters, and running nearly as long as Dix’s effort. Numerous fashion and sports columns and illustrations were being syndicated by the late 19th century. Religion was an early and steady feature—in 1934, for example, King ran a 40-installment version of the Bible. Humor was always an appealing feature of syndication—Will Rogers wrote a daily column from 1922 until his death in 1935, eventually reaching 400 newspapers. Many others would follow his example.

The parlous state of many newspaper balance sheets by the early 2000s made syndication more important as the shared cost basis of the system was seen as an efficient and attractive means to display nationally known columns, features, and comics in small as well as metropolitan papers.

Feature syndicates play a newspaper role somewhat analogous to broadcast or cable networks, contributing to similar content across the country.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Cartoonists, Political; Column-Writing; Infotainment; News Syndication; Printing

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FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION (FCC)

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is an independent regulatory body created by an act of the U.S. Congress on June 19, 1934. The Commission was established to regulate broadcasting and wired communication services in the United States, its possessions, and its territories. It reports directly to Congress. As of 2020, the FCC had approximately 1,450 employees and a projected annual budget of approximately \$335 million. The agency typically offsets some of its operational cost through the collection of application processing fees and auctions. The FCC is charged with regulatory oversight of the nation's broadcast, cable, satellite, and telecommunications services.

With the passage of the Communications Act of 1934, the newly formed commission became operational on July 11, 1934, and merged the regulatory responsibilities of the Federal Radio Commission, the Postmaster General, and the Interstate Commerce Commission into one agency that dealt with broadcasting and telephone services. The 1934 Act has been amended many times since its passage, with the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 representing the first major overhaul of the law. Many of the alterations and additions to the law over the years were in response to technical changes in communications, including the introduction of television, satellite and microwave communications, cable television, cellular telephone, the Internet, digital broadcasting, and personal communications service.

The nature of regulatory oversight has changed over the history of the FCC as Congress redefined its intentions for the agency and the industries it oversees. For example, in 1996 Congress mandated that the FCC develop policies that would accelerate technological innovation and allow competition within various segments of the communications industry.

The Telecommunications Act is divided into various sections that enumerate the organizational structure, duties, and powers of the commission. Title I defines the administrative structure of the

agency. Title II concerns common carrier regulation while Title III spells out regulatory oversight of broadcasting. Titles IV and V outline the procedural and administrative provisions under which the commission must operate and what penalties may be imposed for infractions. Title VI outlines the regulatory powers related to cable communications and Title VII enumerates miscellaneous provisions not included in other sections of the act.

The Organization of the Commission

The Telecommunications Act describes the administration, formation, and powers of the FCC. Five regulatory commissioners are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. Commissioners serve a 5-year term except for when an appointee is filling an unexpired term. While the president nominates commissioners, no more than three commissioners can be members of the same political party. The FCC chairman, who is designated by the president and usually shares the president's political party, sets the agenda for the FCC. The commissioners supervise all the FCC activities, delegating responsibilities to various bureaus and offices within the commission.

Responsibility for oversight of electronic media (radio, television, satellite, and cable services) is concentrated in the Media Bureau. The Wireless Telecommunications Bureau oversees cellular and personal communications service phones, pagers, and other nonbroadcast radio services. Unlike the Media Bureau, the Wireless Telecommunications Bureau must develop rules that serve the needs of both consumers and business users. Today, many Americans access media via their smartphones so the lines between cellphone and media player are becoming blurred.

The 1934 act was written in broad terms and provided the FCC with the ability to promulgate rules and regulations as a means of administering communication policy. These rules and regulations are sometimes developed to reflect the intentions of Congress but are also initiated to solve problems that develop as technology advances or when user conditions warrant changes to previously developed policy. The commission will usually gather information about a subject before

attempting to develop or make major changes to policy. After reviewing comments, the commission may determine that regulation is needed and will release a notice of proposed rulemaking. During this period, the FCC will gather responses and comments about the proposed rule. After comments have been solicited, the bureau in charge may recommend that a proposed rule be adopted or modified. The commissioners then vote on the proposal, typically at an open monthly meeting. A simple majority vote is needed for a proposal to pass. Rules and regulations adopted by the commission have the same force as law and are subject to judicial review. Decisions may be overturned by the courts or sent back to the commission for reevaluation.

Regulatory Issues for the Commission Related to Media

By law, the Media Bureau must concern itself with licensing, engineering, and technical considerations, and its responsibilities are spelled out in Section 303 of the Telecommunications Act. While the FCC is charged with regulation of media, Section 326 of the Telecommunications Act bars it from making content decisions about broadcast programming. Since the FCC is a creation of Congress, the legislative body can stipulate that it enforce specific policies. For example, Congress codified regulations concerning indecency and obscenity and authorized the FCC to enforce a ban against indecent and obscene programming on radio and television stations. Although records show that the commission has been concerned with this issue since its earliest days, indecency gained some prominence as programming has become more provocative and sexually overt over the years. The boundaries as to what may or may not be broadcast are variable since the courts have ruled that cable and streaming services have greater leeway for programming because they are not “licensed” broadcast services and do not use the public airwaves. This disparity between broadcast and cable programming services has caused confusion with the viewing public and difficulties for the FCC as it tries to apply enforcement standards for broadcast outlets. In recent years, the number of fines for violations levied by the FCC has decreased.

The FCC first took up the issue of children’s television in 1974, when it called upon broadcasters to discontinue practices such as allowing the hosts of programs to advertise products aimed at children. From 1980 through 1990, the FCC provided little guidance regarding children’s television as the agency moved toward marketplace regulation. However, amid growing concern regarding violent programming content, Congress mandated the FCC to develop regulations in children’s television.

The Children’s Television Act of 1990 restricted the number of minutes of advertising on children’s shows to 12 minutes per hour on weekdays and 10.5 minutes per hour on weekends. The act also required broadcasters prove that they have met the “educational and informational needs of children” age 16 or younger by airing programs specifically designed for this audience. Additional rules adopted in 1996 required commercial television stations to offer at least 3 hours of regularly scheduled educational or informational children’s programming per week. Children’s programming had to be clearly identified and stations had to notify program guides regarding the appropriate ages for the programming. First Amendment advocates expressed reservation about the implications of government mandatory children’s programming requirements while critics of television point to the fact that many stations frequently listed wholly entertainment shows as educational. By 2005, broadcast networks complained about the programming requirements as children’s program ratings declined in the face of increasing competition from full-time cable networks. In 2019, the FCC relaxed many of the reporting requirements of the 1990 act, including easing some restrictions of some core programming requirements that are counted toward meeting the weekly 3-hour obligation.

The FCC has changed regulatory policies as the entertainment business has grown from radio to include television, cable, and satellite to advanced services. Early regulatory policy tended to be prescriptive, spelling out detailed rules about station performance, record-keeping requirements, and license renewal procedures. Language in the Communications Act of 1934 required that broadcasters serve in the “public interest, convenience and necessity” without defining exactly what these

requirements would entail. The agency tried to provide guidance to broadcasters without defining specific programming requirements through the hearings process.

Among early concerns of the FCC were issues of fairness and balance in programming to local communities, overcommercialization, and abuse of network power over its affiliates. During the golden age of radio in the 1930s and 1940s, the FCC promulgated rules that spelled out the interrelations between networks and their affiliates. As television grew, the FCC developed rules to encourage the use of all channel broadcasting and stressed the importance of having broadcasters develop a local presence in the community of license. During the 1970s, the agency adopted substantial filings requirements for broadcast licenses and asked broadcasters to investigate the needs of their community of license.

The fairness of news and other broadcast content has been a concern of the FCC. Congress mandated political candidates' access to the airwaves in Sections 312 and 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 but did not specify how broadcasters should report on controversial issues. Early on, the FCC insisted that because of "scarcity," a licensee must operate in the public interest rather than promote only the licensee's point of view. Initially, the FCC frowned on stations developing editorial policy but later reversed itself in 1949 by adopting the fairness doctrine, which encouraged stations to cover issues by providing "equal time" for opposing points of view. The constitutionality of the fairness doctrine and Section 315 was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC* in 1969. Broadcasters complained that the doctrine produced a "chilling effect" on speech and cited the possibility of fighting protracted legal battles in fairness doctrine challenges. In reality, though, the FCC typically determined station "fairness" based on the overall programming record of the licensee. The court reaffirmed the notion that licensees were not obligated to sell or give time to specific opposing groups to meet fairness doctrine requirements as long as the licensee met its public trustee obligations.

In the early 1980s, the FCC changed direction reflecting the changing political atmosphere and adopted a deregulatory stance, using "marketplace

competition" as an alternative model to rule-based regulation. In 1987, the FCC repealed the fairness doctrine, although the equal opportunities requirements ("equal time") rules remain in place for political candidates.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 called for relaxation of ownership rules, particularly for broadcasting. Following its passage, the radio sector of the broadcast industry quickly consolidated into a few large group owners controlling the most powerful stations in the country. Television ownership was also relaxed, with a cap placed on the percentage of the U.S. population that could be reached by a group owner. Today large corporations tend to dominate the media scene. For example, AT&T acquired Time Warner, which included CNN, to bolster its wireless and streaming businesses. Disney owns ABC and ESPN along with its highly profitably theme parks and film studios. In addition, in 2019, it started the streaming service Disney+ to compete with Netflix.

Today, new communication services are provided via the Internet, including over-the-top applications, and streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu, YouTube, Facebook, and many others. Faced with increasing competition from these new services, consolidation of ownership among broadcast licenses and cable operators has increased. Many traditional broadcast and cable channels now offer programming apps on devices such as Amazon Fire, Apple TV, and Hulu. Some television networks even offer unique programming on their streaming services that are not available on broadcast channels. Starting in 2013, streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon began producing large budget television programs mixed with older television favorites from the United States and abroad, hoping to attract monthly subscriptions. By 2019, it was estimated that Netflix had 60 million monthly subscribers. In light of these new services, viewership of broadcast television and cable have been declining.

New Communication Paradigms and FCC Initiatives

When Congress passed the Telecommunications Act in 1996, it substantially redirected communication policy toward a converging marketplace of telecommunications services. Congress directed

the FCC through the Telecommunications Act to evaluate commission rules biannually, encouraging the FCC to eliminate unneeded regulatory policies. Since 2017, the FCC has taken steps to further loosen FCC filing requirements across the various communication fields.

With the increase in the numbers of broadcast stations and competition in the entertainment industry spawning numerous new alternatives for consumers, some experts claim that the importance of individual stations has decreased. Early commission policy had stressed the importance of “localism” as a goal for individual licensees. However, with ownership consolidation over the years many radio stations have become highly formulaic. One outcome is a growing demand for music streaming services for mobile and web-based devices such as Spotify and Apple Music.

While some television stations have become outlets for national network and syndicated programming, others have expanded local news and community content merging their broadcast, web, and mobile applications to provide 24-hour local information and weather services to their communities. Many television licenses now program two or three different channels in the local market as a way to improve efficiency and contain costs. As programming becomes more expensive and more lucrative for distributors, large group owners are using their consolidated positions to negotiate retransmission agreements, but smaller stations have found this process difficult. In December 2019, Congress passed the Television Viewer Protection Act to make the process of negotiating with multichannel video program distributors easier. In early 2020, the FCC began a rulemaking hearing to implement the new law.

Media companies, both large and small, have worked to develop strategies to compete in this new arena. Traditional broadcasting companies such as Disney and hardware companies such as Apple have entered the streaming business to compete with Netflix and Amazon. What the future of media services will look like is difficult to predict.

Among the initiatives that the FCC has identified as its major priorities is ensuring high-speed, broadband access to all regions of the United States. Today many parts of the country do not have access to those services. Since 2019, the FCC has stepped up implementation of rules for 5G

upgrades and had proposed procedures that would expand deployment of broadband to rural communities, opening additional opportunities in telehealth programs. These new rules are meant to expand access to mobile and wireless services which, in turn, should improve access to information, health, and entertainment services for rural Americans. The FCC has moved to promote broadcast Internet opportunities through the adoption of a new standard for broadcast transmission called ATSC 3.0. This technology is Internet protocol based and would allow broadcasters to provide many new services in the broadcast spectrum. The FCC started a notice of proposed rulemaking for this service in December 2020.

In 2020, the novel coronavirus pandemic demonstrated the importance of telecommunication services in times of national emergency. As stay-at-home orders took effect throughout the country, millions of people began using video conferencing services such as Zoom and FaceTime to work from home, meet socially, and continue their educational studies. Disparities between haves and have-nots have accelerated the push for rural development and other lifeline services. As of 2020, rapid changes in communications technology coupled with the uncertainties of the impact of the pandemic were placing new burdens on the FCC’s resources. According to agency records, the time necessary to complete rulemaking has increased in recent years while the number of completed proceedings decreased.

Fritz Messere

See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Censorship; Convergence; Editorials; Fairness Doctrine; Media Ownership

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FEMINIST NEWS MEDIA

Feminists have always used available technologies to disseminate relevant news, promote feminist causes, challenge dominant conceptions of women, dramatize new visions of womanhood, and sustain a sense of feminist community. In general, feminists criticized the mainstream media for mocking, misrepresenting, or marginalizing their politics and activities or ignoring their interests altogether. Therefore, at least until the 21st century, feminists have relied on their own outlets to share news and sustain a community marked by commitment not only to feminist theories about gender oppression but also to specific political and ethical principles. Often, feminists run their newsrooms, such as they are, finance their work, and make reporting and writing decisions by those same principles. This entry examines the beginnings of feminist news media in the 19th century, its expansion in the 1970s to 1980s, and feminist journalism in a digital era. This entry begins by examining the principles underpinning feminist journalism.

Guiding Principles of Feminist Journalism

Each medium has a material and technological structure, cost of entry, and need for both elaborate infrastructure and trained staff may either constrain or promote social movements and facilitate (or discourage) certain ways of interacting. Some are good for reaching already-known sympathizers, others for unknown but potential converts. Typically, feminists have not cared much about financial profit; slick production values are of low priority, not merely to save money but also as a matter of principle and because they tend to rely heavily or even exclusively on volunteer and often untrained labor. Broadcast television requires equipment, large staffs, broadcast licenses that make a feminist television station unlikely. Yet, feminists have actively sought to produce their own newspapers, magazines, cable public service shows, documentary films, and now especially internet and social media sites that provide feminist news to a variety of feminist audiences as well as to audiences not already converted to that cause.

In 1976, *Media Report to Women* (MRTW), launched in 1972 as a monthly newsletter and now a quarterly online journal that continues to cover how print, broadcast, cable, and online media depict women, asserted three principles of feminist journalism. Donna Allen, who founded MRTW and the Women's Institute on Freedom of the Press, asserted that feminist journalism does not attack anyone or pass judgment on people's opinions, actions, or ideas; prioritizes facts over opinion; and lets people speak for themselves.

The first two principles never characterized feminist journalism, although they may have guided MRTW's news selection and presentation decisions and perhaps also served as a useful standard for examining the performance of other outlets. The third principle remains, however, with its conviction that letting people speak for themselves provides information that is more accurate, diverse, complex, honest, and reliable. What characterizes feminist journalism is a commitment to taking women seriously—their lives, their ideas, and possibilities, as well as their differences. Feminism has always been plural, so feminist news outlets offer dramatically different versions of feminism and regularly argue with one another. Allen's third principle also underscored the premise that news outlets don't cover women's activities and issues enough or fairly, in part because men were speaking for and about women. Feminist news media usually disdain professionalism as elitist and insist that, even if some men are involved in their production, women have important and leading roles in their production, especially in their editorial direction.

19th-Century Social Movement Periodicals

The earliest newspapers and magazines in which women articulated a political position emerged in the mid-19th century, when women advocated on behalf of the abolition of slavery and temperance; periodicals also addressed other issues of particular concern for women, such as health and dress reform, prostitution, liberalized divorce laws, birth control, and free education. In 1828, Frances

Wright, an abolitionist who had been active in a socialist commune, began editing the *Free Enquirer*; she advocated equal rights for women, universal suffrage, abolition, liberalizing of divorce laws, birth control, and free education. Amelia Bloomer initially proposed *The Lily* (1849–1856) because local temperance leaders limited women's participation to fund-raising and attending lectures. These editors made their missions explicit in slogans and mottoes that appeared right below their banners: *Lily* promised to work for the enfranchisement, and emancipation of women from unjust laws and “the destructive influences of Custom and Fashion.” Elizabeth Aldrich's *Genius of Liberty* (1851–1853), “Devoted to the Interests of American Women,” was among several pre-Civil War papers promoting the “enlargement of the sphere of women.” In 1852, Anna Spencer began the *Pioneer and Woman's Advocate* on behalf of “Liberty, Truth, Temperance, Quality.” Paulina Wright's *The Una* (1853–1855) addressed suffrage, marriage, coeducation, and women's work.

Many late-19th century women's suffrage journals either began with a different scope or expanded their scope to embrace multiple feminist issues. The *Revolution* (1868–1870), published and edited by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, took up the cause of women victimized or abused by men, including prostitutes, and demanded changes in marriage and divorce law. The slogan of *The New Northwest* (1871–1888) produced in Oregon by Abigail Duniway (with the help of three of her six children) announced that it was “A Journal for the People, Devoted to the Interests of Humanity, Independent in Politics and Religion. Alive to all live Issues. Thoroughly Radical in Opposing and Exposing the Wrongs of the Masses.” The *Farmer's Wife* (1891–1894) in Topeka, Kansas, advocated suffrage as well as Populism, prohibition, veterans' pensions, industrial protectionism, and “social purity.” Those women's rights editors constituted a heroic model for later feminists. Chrysalis (1977–1980) republished selections from Susan Anthony and Amelia Bloomer. The feminist collective publishing *New Women's Times* (1975–1984) in Rochester, New York, often invoked Anthony's name.

Broadening the Scope of Women and Women's Issues

Especially by the 1890s, when suffrage editors narrowed their focus to getting the vote, periodicals emerged for other causes, notably for African American women. In 1894, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, a member of the New England Woman's Press Association and a friend of major Boston suffragists, launched *Woman's Era*, the first newspaper published by and for middle-class African American women. She also founded the Woman's Era Club. Ruffin was editor and publisher, her daughter Florida was the assistant editor, and her husband George, a pro-suffrage state legislator, was also involved. Most of the pages were filled with club news and reports of the activities and plans of Black women's groups around the country. The magazine also included articles on health, exercise, etiquette, as well as gossip, fiction, and poetry. In an 1896 article complaining that no men editors had found space for speeches given at a Congress of Women, Ruffin predicted that eventually Black women would realize that only through their own papers would their hard work become made known. The paper died in 1897.

More radical papers also emerged, such as *Lucifer the Lightbearer* (1885–1906), which advocated free love and anarchy. *Far and Near* (1890–1894) represented a loose-knit coalition of working girls' clubs. Among publications with broad ambitious notions of women's political and economic freedom was *The Socialist Woman*, started in 1907 and renamed *The Coming Nation* for its last 2 years, 1913–1914. The well-known feminist novelist and progressive activist Charlotte Perkins Gilman published *The Forerunner* from 1909 to 1916. Perkins wrote the entirety of every issue of the monthly—essays, editorials, articles, especially featuring women's rights and suffrage, as well as book reviews, poems, short stories, and six serialized novels, including *Moving the Mountain*, *Herland*, and *With Her in Ourland*, Gilman's utopian feminist trilogy. At its peak, *The Forerunner* had 1300 subscribers; having refused advertising Gilman subsidized the periodical herself.

Second-Wave Feminist Periodicals

In the late 1960s, when the term *feminism* came into popular use, not merely mainstream media but also radical countercultural movements marginalized, if they did not altogether ignore, feminist issues. The 1970s, therefore, gave rise to hundreds of feminist periodicals. Some lasted only for a year or two, or even only for an issue or two, when the economic, physical, and time burden of production outweighed passion and zeal for exchanging information. The University of Southern California archive holds more than 300 U.S. lesbian and feminist periodicals that appeared in and after the early 1970s.

Women's liberation groups and media outlets of the second wave (the era of the late 1960s to 1990, with the women's suffrage movement referring to feminism's first wave) were not averse to denouncing one another. Yet larger magazines usually tried to unite disparate factions within feminism or even reach women outside the liberation movement. The U.S.-based *Ms.* magazine and UK-based *Spare Rib*, both launched in 1972 and sold on newsstands, drew both praise and criticism for trying to simultaneously please liberal feminists, radical feminists, lesbians, housewives, and women of color. Antifeminists rarely bought copies of even those magazines interested in reaching and serving a broad audience, however. And most of the second-wave feminist outlets served niche communities, by religion, political persuasion, generation (*Prime Time* reached older women), and profession. *Coyote Howls* was a sophisticated San Francisco-based newspaper for and by prostitutes. *La Wisp* discussed peace. *Union Wage* advocated labor issues.

Most second-wave feminist news outlets accepted some advertising, but limited the kind of advertising they allowed. A few declined any advertising, such as *No More Fun and Games* (1968–1973), which instead raised money with film showings and poster sales. Rather than yield to coercion from cosmetics advertisers, for some time *Ms.* refused all advertising. (*Ms.* survived, and now online, maintains a broad-based provocative blog site, *Ms. Musings*.)

Some charged men more than women; lesbian periodicals rejected information from or

subscriptions for straight people and/or men. Evolving distinctively feminist ways of working and noncompetitive structures and nonhierarchical decision-making processes was even more important, albeit difficult. In particular, second-wave feminists experimented with alternative formats and with innovative organization, often non-hierarchical collectivities. Sometimes jobs and titles were rotated; some collectives dispensed with titles and bylines. The Washington DC collective producing *off our backs*, among the best-known and certainly the longest surviving second-wave periodical in the United States, from 1970 to 2008, operated by consensus. Volunteers experimented with alternative ways of organizing their work and articulating ethical standards. Exemplifying feminist journalism's explicitness regarding activism and advocacy, and disdain for conventional journalistic principles and professionalism, *oob* announced that it intended to be just but not impartial.

In the mid-1970s, many separatist (i.e., anti-male) lesbian magazines began, with some of them criticizing the feminist press as heterosexist: lesbian volunteers for *off our backs* split to form *Furies*. *Lesbian Tide* (1971–1980) rejected information from straight people or gay men; others referred to wimmen or womyn to avoid the word “men.” Many incorporated Lavender into the name. Otherwise, their names hint at a strident spirit and political independence: *Amazon*, *Dyke*, *Lesbian Feminist*, *Sinister Wisdom*, *So's Your Old Lady*.

Efforts on Radio and Television

Second wavers were also concerned with broadcasting, especially radio. Collectives produced feminist radio shows in various cities that often featured women's music, but they also discussed women's issues. Members of these collectives did not necessarily have broadcast experience and the shows never brought in advertising but they were determined to treat a variety of topics from the perspective of women's political struggle. Beginning in 1969, New York's Pacifica radio station offered a weekly news program about the women's movement; WBAI-FM soon added a weekly women's talk show and then a show produced by members of a Consciousness Raising group whose

topics included violence, puberty rituals, housework, masturbation, and monogamy. Members of the Detroit Women's Radio Workshop producing, 1971 to 1981, the show “All Together Now” dealt with provocative issues such as rape, abortion, alcoholism, witchcraft, and female genital mutilation. Women's Liberation Radio News, a radical feminist member-operated collective, hoped to enable otherwise-silenced women to enter the “femisphere.” The Feminist Radio Network formed in the early 1970s to distribute feminist radio programming nationally.

In a 2004 article, Susan Carter argued that the decline of feminist radio collectives reflected the ebb and flow of the women's liberation movement; moreover, once the Federal Communications Commission eliminated certain news and public affairs program requirements, women's radio collectives were no longer needed to satisfy the Federal Communications Commission. Meanwhile, radio stations intended wholly for women audiences failed, also for several reasons, including that by the time of the experiments in woman-centered programming, support for the modern women's liberation movement had already peaked, and a backlash against the women's movement was gaining energy. The women-centered messages also frightened advertisers, who did not want their products to be associated with controversial topics. Now, podcasts largely dominate feminist radio, and many feminist media collectives operate across platforms, which also enables international distribution or access. Women's International News Gathering Service, for example, produces and distributes news and current affairs programs for noncommercial radio stations and live digital streaming.

Television production is difficult, complex, and expensive, essentially making feminist broadcast television prohibitive. In 1996, in the interests of public awareness of feminist positions and a forum for feminist analysis of national policy issues, the National Organization for Women (NOW) discussed possibilities for feminist television. But the idea stalled. Even public access cable shows, with their relatively low production values, require the coordination of many trained volunteers willing to focus on process over content. The one continuing feminist public affairs cable television show, now also on YouTube, has been

produced since 1994 by the National Organization for Women's New Jersey chapter; *New Directions for Women* features interviews with guests on a wide range of issues, including debates over pay equity, feminist activism, women convicts, sexual slavery, domestic and dating violence, minority sexualities, same-sex partnerships, and discrimination of various kinds. Many feminists agree that feminist news is and should be interesting to men; and *New Directions for Women* has invited men to discuss male feminists and stay-at-home dads.

Feminist Journalism of the Third and Subsequent Waves

The Internet is now the premier space for feminist content and activism. The low costs of entry, production, and distribution, design plasticity, and potential for online feedback and interactivity allow for experimenting in the name of individuality, self-expression, and choice. Meanwhile, with printing and mailing costs being prohibitive and independent and feminist bookstores dying out, feminists are abandoning other platforms. Feminist online magazines, blogs, and social media such as Twitter all can draw attention to issues such as sexual harassment (most dramatically, with #MeToo) and advocate for marginalized people. Instagram, tumblr, and Facebook also carry feminist news (and advertising) feminist organizations, projects, and campaigns.

Among the other relatively serious, even somber feminist magazines online are Everyday Feminism (EF), launched in 2012 with the goal of applying feminism to help people heal from and stand up to everyday violence, discrimination, and marginalization due to gender, sexual orientation, race, class, size, ability, and other social differences. EF's numbered lists in headlines—3 Differences Between the Terms “Gay” and “Queer” and Why It Matters; What's Wrong with Cultural Appropriation? These 9 Answers Reveal Its Harm; 6 Tips for Making Your Conversations About Reproductive Rights More Trans-Inclusive—echo a trope of conventional women's magazines. But the similarity ends there. EF's feminism is also intersectional; that is, it recognizes how social categories such as race, class, and gender create overlapping and interdependent

systems of marginalization, discrimination, or oppression. EF also run fee-based webinars on such topics as Transformative Justice in the #MeToo Era; and it supplements its revenues with advertising and membership programs.

Although feminists increasingly seek a transnational culture, few outlets are genuinely transnational, much less available in multiple languages. But a few actively attempt an international approach. Launched in 1975 as a quarterly emphasizing human rights, and especially female genital mutilation, Women's International Network News is a global participatory communication system by, for, and about women of all backgrounds, beliefs, and nationalities. Women News Network boasts of its professional standards and code of ethics in offering international women's news. Using freelance volunteers from around the world, Women's eNews distributes news about women's issues globally to individual subscribers and commercial media in English and Arabic.

Most of the emerging opportunities for third-wave feminist journalism emphasize sassiness, edginess, or at least humor, in their attempts to sustain a global women's network. Perhaps the best-known of the feminist sites is Jezebel, whose slogan when it was launched in 2007 by Gawker Media was “Celebrity, Sex, Fashion for Women. Without Airbrushing”; indeed, on its first day of operation, Jezebel offered a \$10,000 reward for the best example of a magazine cover photo before it was retouched for publication. It was always willing to skewer women's fashion magazines (although its original leaders came from those magazines). Within 9 months, Jezebel was attracting 10 million monthly page views and a variety of major advertisers; indeed, it inspired other feminist sites of feminist critique and commentary and, in terms of popularity it surpassed Gawker, which had forbidden Jezebel from being explicit about feminism. Once it was bought by G/O Media, a hedge fund-controlled group with a stable of publications, Jezebel's new slogan became “A Supposedly Feminist Website.” Now politics is much more central; Jezebel carries not only gossip and popular culture news, updated daily, but also video commentaries and features about the politics as well as, these days, a daily politics roundup. Jezebel has been publicly taken to task for a variety of publishing decisions, such as when, in 2012,

it exposed the identities of teenagers who posted racist tweets about President Barack Obama's reelection. Upon leaving Jezebel in 2010, founding editor Anna Holmes, who is Black, challenged white feminists' commitment to intersectionality and criticized the women's blogosphere, calling it an insular, protective, environment.

BUST describes itself as the Voice of the New Girl Order and "for women with something to get off their chests." Unlike second-wave feminists, who refused to answer to "girls," third-wave feminists are apparently sassy girls. *BUST*'s cofounders sold the magazine, launched in 1993, to Razorfish and then bought it back when it went out of business. *BUST*, which offers print and online subscriptions, supplements its advertising revenue with craft fairs at which vendors pay a small fee.

Similarly, *Bitch*, whose slogan is Feminist Response to Pop Culture, offers feminist news and snappy feminist critique, especially of media images of femininity and feminism; it highlights "girl-friendly" media and "girl power." Over the years, as with *BUST*, *Bitch* politics has increasingly displaced fashion. A recent issue, for example, reviewed a book about how Victorian ideals still constrain women and an analysis of how, as a presidential candidate, Amy Klobuchar's treatment of her staff suggested she was no feminist hero; the "feminist news roundup" led with the death of the African American mathematician who calculated Apollo 11's trajectory to the moon. *Bitch* began as a hand-stapled zine in 1996 and went online in 1998. Bitch Media uses money from subscriptions, sponsors, and members to publish a quarterly magazine, daily online articles, and weekly podcasts. According to a 2015 piece, the feminism and pop culture podcasts at Bitchmedia.org get 30,000 downloads a month, and over 375,000 people follow Bitch on tumblr, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. *Bitches*'s staff argues that if women choose to reappropriate the word, it loses its power to hurt women. Other Millennial-oriented feminist magazines online share that willingness to use "dirty words" in titles and self-descriptions. Many, for instance, have described themselves as for badass or kickass women. As with the second-wave publications, most feminist online magazines and blogs address specific segments within feminism. They target

different audiences with very different approaches to feminism.

Make/shift, a biannual of feminist journalism, critical analysis, and art by a collective committed to antiracist, transnational, and queer perspectives, illustrates one contemporary difficulty facing collaborative feminist periodicals. Although independent print magazines were already collapsing by 2007, when it was launched, Make/shift's cofounders recollected 10 years later their goal to create a magazine that readers could hold in their hands. Meanwhile, the cofounders wanted to contribute to the generations-long discussions about liberation from the point of view of feminists of color. They had no interest in becoming a feminist media empire or following what they regarded as a "capitalist" model of constant growth. After 20 issues, however, they burned out. Few such efforts in feminist journalism last a long time, given the not-infinite resources of a single founder's time, energy, and money. Dedicated to the proposition that women's lives, women's thinking, women's votes, and women's power matter, *On The Issues: The Progressive Woman's Quarterly*, for example, was published by Merle Hoffman, social psychologist who founded a women's medical center that provided abortions; it featured surgical alteration of genitals, the drug industry, domestic violence. It appeared in print 1983 to 1999, and online 2008 to 2013, before disappearing.

Feminist and Lesbian Blogs Sites

Some blog sites are geared for a highly segmented audience, including as defined by sexuality, taste, or generation/age. AfterEllen applies what it regards as a fun feminist perspective to the lesbian/bi pop culture beat, adding in fashion, sex and dating, with a bit of politics, such as environmental racism in "gayborhoods." A weekly Lez Dish it OUT! offers celebrity news and lesbian topics. On its website, it insists: "We have a solid reputation as a reputable site run by real journalists, conducting insightful, factually correct interviews." *Hip Mama* was begun in 1993 for single, queer, urban, and feminist mothers, taking on the challenges and rewards of creating a progressive family, from raising draft dodgers, guerrilla

mothering, to teen parents; it also sells the books of its founder and editor Ariel Gore. The digital magazine *Fierce Life* promotes self-care and self-love among mothers, encouraging mothers to be and stay smart, ambitious, strong, and sophisticated, which may happen by purchasing their merchandise. Unlike the periodicals of the 1960s, which collapsed from the financial, physical, and time burdens of production, feminist websites often quickly die because they are insufficiently profitable. Some of these magazines are part of large corporations, or at least digital publishing companies, such as VICE.

Whether Internet sites can sustain feminism transnationally and provide the camaraderie that sustained early feminists remains unclear.

Equally aggressive, casual, and third wave are blogs, which also share information as well as enabling, sustaining, and demonstrating the plurality of feminisms, as well as conflicts across them, by race, sexual identity, and political sensibility. The proliferation of sites means, however, that few sites have large or general feminist audiences, and for audiences to find a site with compatible issues and definitions of feminism is often a matter of happenstance and personal networks; they often increase traffic to their own sites by offering reciprocal links and lists, which become outdated quickly. And they have financial problems. Many feminist blogs, especially ones that tackle intersectional feminism have come and gone. Feministing, an independent site founded in 2004, shut down in 2019. At its peak, the site had 1.2 million unique monthly visitors, with ads and reader donations being used to pay its columnists; it had an open platform community site to which anyone could contribute.

Other independent feminist-minded blogs that closed toward the end of the second decade of the 21st century included The Establishment, which noted the Sisyphean difficulty for an intersectional feminist site to earn revenue; and The Hairpin, which had regular features named “Ask a Queer Chick” and “Interview With a Virgin.” Nor was the issue restricted to independent sites run by collectives or by individual women: Vice Media’s site for women, Broadly, was folded into the larger Vice brand, with its former editor in chief of Broadly, saying that this shuttering of feminist

publications contributes to the long history of erasing women’s work.

As seen on the website Hashtag Feminism, which curates, documents, and archives online feminism, diverse feminists use hashtags as a cheap, quick, easy way to share, collect, and archive news—and counter-narratives—and thereby raise awareness of relevant issues. Notably, in 2006 the community organizer Tarana Burke created the phrase “Me Too” to promote empowerment through empathy among women of color who had been sexually abused; in 2017, the phrase, and hashtag, became key to an international campaign to expose the ubiquity of sexual harassment and assault. These affordances do not guarantee success and feminist journalism as described here rarely can produce large-scale investigations and cannot alone accomplish all feminist goals.

Future Challenges and Prospects for Feminist News Media

Print media continue to be relatively easy to produce. Relative to television or radio broadcasting, or film, they require little capital investment, few technical skills, or access to complex, expensive technologies. These can be, and usually are, produced by a few people without professional journalism backgrounds. Feminist newsletters, pamphlets, journals, and magazines may embrace primitive production values on principle. Meanwhile, they greatly encourage readers’ submissions. Moreover, because politically alternative print media require little money to produce, and do not need to charge much (especially since the goal is not making a profit), people can work for the sake of the project, unconcerned with appeasing advertisers. But because distribution is not free, feminists need to be innovative in subsidizing and pricing their publications to make them accessible.

Personality and political rifts have dealt some fatal blows. Some feminist media died when participants were diverted by other causes, new jobs, or families. Fractures within feminism have created dissension within postfeminist journalism and vitriol across outlets. Furthermore, although major bookstore chains and supermarkets may

carry Ms., the rare hybrid, the others can only be found at independent and/or feminist bookshops, a dying breed. Internet sites would seem to avoid most of these problems, but are beset by technical issues, nor does equivalent camaraderie emerge among Internet content producers. Finally, some have suggested that publications specifically for, about, and edited and written by feminists, are less important at a time when mainstream publications are willing to hire feminists and run stories with a feminist tilt. Still, across feminist news media, producers and readers have enjoyed a sense of community among their loyal, if frustratingly small, audience.

Depending on the goal, some platforms or technologies are better than others. Information about upcoming events is easily tweeted while digital magazines and blogs are good for stirring up activism around social (in)justice. Feminists are using these various media to keep feminisms front and center, to highlight intersectionality's intellectual strength and political edge, and to redefine what is newsworthy. Taken as a whole, these outlets help women inhabit and celebrate new identities, find one another and sustain a sense of community, and win respect for their causes.

Linda Steiner

See also Advocacy Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism; Women's Magazines

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FIRST AMENDMENT

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution reads, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” In practical terms, the First Amendment prohibits the government, and officials acting on behalf of the government, from limiting anyone's free expression. What seems like a simple rule is extremely nuanced. If all government restriction on speech were prohibited, things like libel or deceptive advertising could not be punished. Laws can punish speech that threatens or harasses on the premise that expression is protected, but actions are not. Regulations can be created that restrict the time, place, and manner of speech (such as noise ordinances limiting volume at certain times of the day or sign ordinances limiting the size and placement of billboards) as long as the rules are content neutral.

This entry examines the history of the First Amendment, and its interpretation, guaranteed freedoms, values, and application. It begins by surveying some 21st-century challenges to the First Amendment.

21st-Century First Amendment Challenges

The First Amendment restricts only government action that restricts speech, so all private actors are free to restrict any way they like without running afoul of the First Amendment. On one hand, decisions by social media companies to block any comment or user are not violations. On the other

hand, a government official who seeks to block others who want to speak on social media platforms is in violation of the First Amendment. The gray area involves government officials who want to block others on what the officials claim to be their *personal* (not government) platforms. Courts have asserted that if government officials (including the president) use their social media for official business, they must allow unfettered access.

When free expression is limited, it usually occurs because of a conflict with another constitutional right. Courts are forced to “balance” between the conflicting rights and choose a winner. A frequent conflict occurs between free expression and national security. In times when the country is afraid, it tends to favor security over free expression. The U.S. Secret Service sometimes establishes “free speech zones,” purportedly to protect the safety of those in attendance at controversial gatherings. Critics claim these areas are established to keep protestors away from not only political figures but also from media coverage. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security, government has won in balancing the need for security with free expression. Free speech zones had been created at many universities during the Vietnam War as a way to limit protests, but most constitution scholars believe those restrictions are unconstitutional and a number of universities have begun eliminating such policies.

President Donald Trump repeatedly accused media of publishing “fake news” and threatened to sue media outlets, even referring to the media as the “enemy of the American people.” He suggested that networks should lose television licenses because of unflattering stories. He called for stricter libel laws, seemingly not understanding that the cornerstone of the First Amendment is the ability to criticize public officials.

History

The first 10 amendments, known collectively as the *Bill of Rights*, were passed by Congress on September 25, 1789 and became part of the Constitution on December 15, 1791, when Virginia became the 11th state to ratify. The Constitution

requires three fourths of the states to ratify amendments.

Then First Amendment was not created by any individual, but if anyone can be most credited for its proposal it would be James Madison. Madison worked tirelessly in support of a new constitution. When opponents feared that the new document did not do enough to protect individual liberties, Madison assured them that once a new constitution was in place, he would champion the cause of amendments that would address protections. True to his word, in 1789 Madison proposed 19 different amendments. His proposal included one amendment, “No State shall violate the equal rights of conscience, or the freedom of the press, or the trial by jury in criminal cases,” combining some of the current First and Fifth Amendment rights. The Senate did some rewriting and consolidating to reduce the list to 12. What is now the First Amendment was actually third in the final slate submitted for ratification, but the first two proposed amendments (dealing with the size of voting districts and representatives’ salaries) were not ratified.

Interpretation

The U.S. Constitution is not an explicit list of rules but rather a framework. There is lots of room for interpretation (and reinterpretation) over the centuries, and the Supreme Court of the United States has overturned earlier decisions after the passage of time and a new interpretation of a constitutional provision has been applied. The First Amendment can be seen as the declaration of the importance of free expression.

The First Amendment is generally considered to protect “free expression,” but it is composed of protections for five different forms that expression takes: religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. Some people contend that there are actually six freedoms because the freedom of religion is expressed as both the freedom from government imposition of a religion and the affirmative right to exercise one’s own religion.

As with all the Bill of Rights, the First Amendment restricts only government behavior. “Congress” in the amendment is interpreted to mean any form of government. When the founders used the term *Congress*, they did so because the

Constitution established Congress as the branch of government that created laws.

Whether the restrictions of the First Amendment also restricted the actions of *state* government officials was a matter that was not resolved for some time. Whether the framers intended for the First Amendment to restrict state action had never been discussed by the courts. The first time the Supreme Court heard a case that involved the First Amendment came in 1876 in *United States v. Cruikshank*. A majority of the Court ruled that the First (and Second) Amendment did *not* apply to the states. The holding would not become the accepted standard, however. Many legal scholars of the time (and since) believed that the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, made the Bill of Rights applicable to the states as well as the federal government. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are collectively known as the *Civil War Amendments*. They became part of the Constitution in 1865–1870 in an effort to protect rights of former slaves. The relevant portion of the Fourteenth Amendment states:

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Whether the First Amendment applied to states between 1791 and 1868 is a moot academic discussion, but since 1868 the rights were undoubtedly protected. The Court first asserted this in 1925 in *Gitlow v. New York*, dealing with free speech, *Near v. Minnesota* in 1931 (free press), and *De Jonge v. Oregon* in 1937 (free assembly and the right to petition).

Thus, the current accepted meaning of “Congress shall make no law” is a prohibition on all government officials from the president down to local school principals. Anyone acting on behalf of the government is prohibited from restricting free expression.

However, the First Amendment does not prevent the restriction of free expression by private, nongovernment actors. Twitter can block a user, a newspaper can refuse to accept an advertisement,

and privately owned businesses can prevent employees from wearing buttons to work that promote a political cause. Any of these restrictions taken by a government official would violate the First Amendment, but not if these restrictions are imposed by businesses or individuals who are not operating with government authority. Public schools run afoul of the First Amendment if they start the school day with a prayer, which would involve “respecting the establishment of religion,” whereas private schools are under no such obligation and can include prayer as they like.

Of course, the First Amendment is not an absolute. In 1919, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. famously wrote in *Schenck v. United States*, “The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic.” The assertion that “no law means no law” has never been accepted by more than one or two Supreme Court justices. Justice Hugo Black served on the Court from 1937 to 1971 and is most closely associated with this perspective, but even he did not always take the position that expression should be protected in every instance. In the famous *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School Dist.* case from 1969 that upheld the right of students to wear black armbands to school as a form of protest, Black asserted in his dissent that the First Amendment does not provide the right to say anything at any time. He opined that the armbands constituted a disruption and that school officials had the right to prevent disruption.

The reality is that every First Amendment case requires a balancing of competing rights. Cases that require adjudication involve free expression rights coming into conflict with rights such as the right to a fair trial, the right to privacy, or the right of the government to provide for national security. Judges must decide these cases by weighing the merits of each’s circumstances. While such an ad hoc approach is frustrating to the litigants, it would be impossible to establish a universal rule for settling such conflicts. The Supreme Court has strongly stated that amendments to the Constitution have equal weight to the original document, so no one can claim the First Amendment has a lesser status than, for example, the government’s right to regulate commerce described in Article I.

Some have tried to assert that the First Amendment enjoys a “preferred position” among Constitutional rights. This would imply that free expression rights receive greater consideration when rights come into conflict, but this approach is not universally accepted.

Another complication regarding free expression is determining whether something is a protected form of speech. Speech is protected, but actions are not. It can be confusing because sometimes words can be considered actions and actions can be considered expression. In Justice Holmes’s example, shouting “fire” might be better understood as an action that causes panic. It’s not the expressive nature of the word that the government can punish but rather the action of inciting a crowd that can be restricted. Similarly, actions such as sexual harassment, even if the harassment exists entirely as words, are not treated as speech but action, which is not protected by the First Amendment. Conversely, actions that have expressive intentions might be protected as speech. The wearing of black armbands to school as a form of protest, as was the case in *Tinker*, is one example of just such an action. No words were spoken but the intent of the action was to express an idea: one that some school officials found unacceptable, but which the Supreme Court considered protected “speech.” The Supreme Court has twice ruled that the burning of the American flag as a form of protest is protected free expression, and it was unconstitutional for the state of Texas to try to enforce a law punishing people for flag burning.

Understanding this speech/action distinction might help to understand the Supreme Court’s stance on the punishment of cross burning and hate speech. The Court upheld a Virginia law that prohibited cross burning that was intended to intimidate while allowing cross burnings that instead were intended as political statements. Cross burning as an abstract political statement is considered protected expression, while a cross burning directed at specific individuals with the intent to intimidate them would be characterized as an action and would enjoy no First Amendment protection.

One other controversy has been whether the Framers of the Constitution intended for the First Amendment to prohibit all government restriction of free expression or only prior restraint on publication. Prior restraint is generally considered to be

the most onerous of restrictions on free expression. Historians have noted that the context in which the First Amendment was created made the early Americans weary of government censorship. England had previously imposed requirements that printers receive government licenses, granted only if those printers were favored by those in power. The licenses served as a way to admit only supportive media and to keep them supportive through the threat of a loss of license.

The United States seems to have somewhat settled the dispute by establishing that government restriction that constitutes a prior restraint is subject to strict scrutiny while subsequent punishment is subject to less analysis (intermediate scrutiny). As the name implies, strict scrutiny is the analysis that requires the greatest justification for government action. In 1931, the Supreme Court ruled that a Minnesota law could not shut down a newspaper that had repeatedly violated libel laws. The Court was willing to allow the newspaper to be sued over and over (subsequent punishment) but requiring the paper’s closure (prior restraint) went beyond what was acceptable under the First Amendment.

Five Freedoms

This section lists the freedoms in the First Amendment with brief descriptions of current understanding of their meanings

Religious Freedom

Broadly interpreted, this protection has been referred to as the separation of church and state. Government can neither favor nor disfavor religion or religious beliefs. A city council cannot start meetings with a prayer: that would be “respecting an establishment of religion.” A public university that allows student groups to use meeting rooms must allow religious groups to also use those facilities. To do otherwise would “prohibit the free exercise thereof” [religion]. As with all First Amendment protections, this is not absolute. In 1878, the Supreme Court held that freedom of religion was not sufficient justification to strike down a law banning polygamy. A religion would not be permitted to conduct human sacrifice as a part of a religious ceremony.

Freedom of Speech

The freedom of speech certainly protects the right to speak, but it is more than that. It is also the right *not* to speak. Courts have struck down required loyalty oaths. No child can be compelled to recite the Pledge of Allegiance in school. Individuals who find statements on government-issued license plates to conflict with their conscience must be allowed to cover those slogans. Interestingly, the free speech provision has also been interpreted to include a right to hear, and the right not to be forced to hear. Speakers who are not in the United States cannot invoke the U.S. Constitution to allow them to speak, but Americans can use the First Amendment to assert their right to hear. Courts also protect the right not to hear, in cases where people would be captive audiences.

Freedom of the Press

Whether this clause is actually intended to carve out a specific protection different from the freedom of speech has been a matter of some debate, clearly James Madison intended to protect the media that would provide information and commentary on the events of the day. Some have attempted to assert that this provision provides the press with an affirmative right (beyond just a prohibition), but the Supreme Court has been unwilling to accept arguments that the press should enjoy access that the general public does not (such as prisons), or a blanket provision protecting journalists from having to testify. Shield laws exist in some states, but even those have been ineffective in cases where a journalist's silence is determined to affect an accused's constitutional right to a fair trial. In the 21st century, one of the difficulties of asserting a special right for the press is trying to define who would be included. Trying to determine whether freelancers, or bloggers, or someone simply posting to social media, would be included in a protection for the press would be difficult, to say the least.

Peaceful Assembly

Beyond the obvious right of protest, this is also described as a right of association. The government is not entitled to know the identities of members of organizations without some compelling

reason. Some groups might have trouble recruiting members if people believed their identities would be made public. That was exactly the situation in the 1950s and 1960s with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People membership, and the Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment protected members' identities. Of course, this protection in no way protects the identities of individuals engaged in illegal behavior, but if groups have unpopular political positions that is not enough to restrict them. While most Americans probably never think about it, the right to belong to a political party—and to switch parties anytime one wants—is part of the right of association.

Petitioning for Redress

Of all the rights in the First Amendment, this is the one also mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. One of the actions complained of in the Declaration is that petitions have been repeatedly ignored. Clearly, the founders wanted to ensure that the new government would be responsive to complaints. The right of petition includes the right to sue the government for the denial of civil liberties. It does not assure that those who petition will win, but it assures that they will not be punished merely for the act of complaining about the government, or to the government. Today the most common meaning of petition might mean a document signed by many people requesting some behavior, and this, too is protected as part of the right of petition, but so is a single person complaining.

First Amendment Values

Determining why free expression is valued helps to determine what should be protected. Various theories have been posited, and none are exclusive. In fact, most scholars recognize that there are multiple values ensconced in the First Amendment.

Marketplace of Ideas

Since at least the 17th century, philosophers have asserted that free expression must be protected in order to create an environment where the truth can be discovered. Since none of us has

a direct pipeline to the truth, everyone should be heard, and people should be able to decide for themselves which ideas are most worthy. The “marketplace of ideas” metaphor invokes the idea of an open market, where “buyers” are able to “shop” for those ideas they prefer from all those being offered. The concept is most closely associated with 17th-century English poet John Milton, who used the phrase in his *Areopagitica*, in which he argued for the right of religious freedom. Political philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, and John Stuart Mill were subsequently connected with the theory. History is filled with examples of ideas that were originally rejected and then later adopted by society. Under a marketplace approach, suppression of free expression would damage the pursuit of truth. This reinforces that prior restraints are especially repugnant because ideas that are censored never have an opportunity to be evaluated.

Necessary for Democracy

If a nation allows citizens to vote, it must allow those people to base their votes on information. If voters lack the necessary information to make good choices, the democracy would be at risk. Under a self-governance value of free expression, expression is necessary for an informed citizenry. Legal philosopher Alexander Meiklejohn is most closely connected to this theory, which has been incorporated into multiple Supreme Court decisions. The Court often speaks of political speech as being at the “core” or “heart” of the First Amendment and implying that such expression is more deserving of protection than other forms of speech (such as advertising). Yet other forms of expression besides political speech can impact politics. Works of art, motion pictures, and stand-up comedy often make statements that can impact voters without being characterized as “political.” Valuing free expression because it promotes a healthy democracy requires protecting more expression than just political speech.

Societal “Safety Valve”

Legal scholar Thomas Emerson used a pot of boiling water as a metaphor to help explain his

safety valve value. If a pot of boiling water is covered, pressure will build until the pot bursts. Instead, if the pot slowly “lets off steam” the pot can continue without damage. Similarly, if protest is suppressed, then the whole society is likely to “blow up”; but if people are allowed to “let off steam” by protesting, then society can maintain stability. People who feel they have an opportunity to express themselves are more likely to remain peaceful; those who are frustrated and unable to speak may lash out in violence. Under this approach, governments recognize the danger of stifling protest and instead find ways to accommodate peaceful dissent.

Self-actualization

Many political philosophers have asserted that free expression deserves to be protected because expression is a form of self-fulfillment: it is a part of what makes us human. John Dewey, Immanuel Kant and Baruch Spinoza all valued free expression for its contribution to self-fulfillment. The United Nations founded UNESCO in 1947 and almost immediately it declared the right to communicate a human right. This approach values free expression not for its contribution to truth, or democracy, or societal stability, but rather because of a firm belief that people need to be allowed to express themselves as part of their humanity. Such an approach does not need to determine whether the expression has any extrinsic value. For the individuals expressing themselves, there is value and therefore it is worth protecting.

Watchdog Value

“The press” is specifically named in the First Amendment and as such can claim a unique level of protection. The assertion by Supreme Court justices including Potter Stewart, Louis Brandeis, and Hugo Black has been that the press is afforded protections in order that it act as a “fourth branch” of government, keeping the other three in line. In order to be able to serve as a “watchdog” on the government, the press needs to be protected from intervention by the government. The press, or journalism, or news media, or however one interprets it, is not above all restrictions. Court

cases have made it exceedingly clear that media are subject to labor laws, taxes, antitrust, and other laws that are applicable to any other business. The interpretation of the protection afforded the press is that government may not intervene in editorial decision-making. A landmark case from 1974 struck down a Florida law that required newspapers to provide space for candidates to rebut editorials. The Court did not want the government to decide what was to be included (or excluded) from a newspaper. Despite the fact that journalists can be fined for libel, courts cannot require them to publish a retraction.

Applications

Prior restraint is not prohibited under the First Amendment, but the government faces a “high bar” that it must meet to stop publication before the fact. The famous Pentagon Papers case from 1971 decided that *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* would be allowed to proceed with the controversial publication not because the newspapers had demonstrated the great value of the Pentagon Papers to the public, but rather because the government had not met the “overwhelming burden” that prior restraint requires. The First Amendment does not require that speakers justify their need to speak but rather requires the government to justify any restrictions on expression. When those restrictions come in the form of a prior restraint, the government must do even more to justify any restrictions. The government had not sufficiently proven the asserted claim that national security demanded censoring the press.

In 1919, the Supreme Court first used the expression “clear and present danger” to indicate the level of analysis necessary before a prior restraint could be enacted. The Court decided in *Schenck v. United States* that the distribution of leaflets encouraging young men to avoid the draft was a clear and present danger. In retrospect, most First Amendment scholars believe the Court misapplied its own test. In subsequent cases, the Court would conclude that the test required more of a causal link between the challenged free expression and a substantive evil (in *Schenck*’s case, hurting the country’s ability to raise an army).

At the other extreme from prior restraints are government restrictions on the time, place, and manner of expression. A city can limit the size of billboards or signs in the interest of the aesthetics of the community. Such a restriction is generally considered to be an acceptable time, place, and manner restriction, provided specific criteria are met: the rule must be content neutral; it must be narrowly tailored to serve a specific government interest; and it must leave ample alternative channels of communication. In the billboard example, as long as the rule does not apply to some billboards and not others, it would be acceptable. Most noise ordinances are constitutional time, place, and manner restrictions. If the rules specified that loud rock music was prohibited but loud classical music was not, the rule would not be constitutional.

Time, place, and manner restrictions are quite common. Cities regulate where and when parades are permitted; public schools create rules for the use of bulletin boards; public universities prohibit protests in certain areas of their campuses. Provided the rules follow the previously specified criteria, they are likely to be found constitutional if challenged. Regulations have been struck down by courts when the rules violated one of the criteria. In 1993, the Supreme Court ruled that a Cincinnati ordinance regulating the placement of news racks was unconstitutional because it granted permits to publications the city saw as more valuable while denying permits to publications it considered simply “commercial handbills.” Clearly, such a rule was not content neutral. One year later, the Supreme Court struck down a Ladue, Missouri, law prohibiting yard signs because the law did not provide adequate speech alternatives.

Despite what appears to be a straightforward admonition on government regulation of expression, there are many nuances to the First Amendment. Free expression is more protected in some venues than others. The Supreme Court has spoken of “traditional public forums,” those places where free expression has historically been protected, such as streets and parks. Because those places have always been venues for free expression, they deserve the greatest degree of protection. At the other extreme is nonpublic forums. No free expression rights exist on someone else’s private property. Even on public property, certain

venues are not public forums. Just because property is government owned does not make it a public forum. The Oval Office in the White House is not a public forum, and neither is the private office of any governor, mayor, or other elected official. Somewhere between the public and private forums is the limited public forum, sometimes referred to as the designated public forum. Limited public forums are those places that do not have to be opened to free expression but that once they are opened, must be treated as public forums. In the seminal limited public forum case, the Supreme Court ruled that Chattanooga, Tennessee, was obligated to allow the use of its auditorium for a production whose message it did not endorse (the rock musical *Hair*) since it had permitted use of the auditorium for other productions. Had the city never allowed performances it would not be required to do so, but once it made the choice to do so it was prohibited from selecting only productions that it liked. The limited public forum manifests itself in a variety of ways. Cities are not obligated to accept advertising on public transit, but once they do they cannot decide to prohibit advertising from abortion clinics. Public universities can designate certain bulletin boards for use only for official notices, but if a board is open to any announcements, the university cannot remove notices it dislikes.

Nothing in the First Amendment explicitly addresses media access to information, but many free expression advocates assert that access to information is critical. When the White House revoked CNN Reporter Jim Acosta's press pass in 2018, widespread criticism followed, until a court order restored his credentials. In spite of state statutes guaranteeing access to government meetings, journalists in multiple states have been denied admission to official meetings either out of ignorance or blatant disregard for legal provisions. Citizens standing in public spaces have recorded law enforcement officers interacting with the public (sometimes violently), and on occasion have been threatened with prosecution.

While many Americans might believe no country protects freedom of expression more than the United States, the Press Freedom Tracker (a service of the international nonprofit Reporters Without Borders) ranked the United States 48th in press freedom in 2019, dropping from 32nd in

2013. Nine journalists had been arrested in 2019, seven for covering protests.

Dom Caristi

See also Censorship; English Roots of the Free Press; Free Expression, History of; Pentagon Papers; Prior Restraint; Supreme Court and Journalism

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FOOD JOURNALISM

Food journalism tells stories about food and the ways it can shape and be shaped by history, politics, and culture, in a variety of narrative forms, including traditional profiles, features, long-form narratives, breaking news, reviews, how-to, Q&A, as well as the variety of innovative forms

developed for audio, visual, mixed-media, print, digital, social, mobile, and broadcast media. Most often it belongs to the field of lifestyle journalism, which addresses audiences primarily as consumers, providing them with information, instruction, and advice in entertaining ways about goods and services they can use to solve personal problems and enhance the quality of their everyday lives. Yet food journalism also and often crosses the boundary traditionally separating “soft” and “hard” news by covering developments in the various food industries, as well as the personal, local, national, and global politics of food. In fact, taken as a whole, food journalism documents and explores entire foodways, or the web of social, economic, and cultural practices that can accompany food production, distribution, and consumption—practices that are often implicated in politics of class, race, gender, nationality, and religion, and in the politics of exclusion and belonging.

Since the 1980s, food journalism has continued to grow due to its economic success, relevancy to people’s lives, cultural impact, and its effectiveness at building brand loyalty and audience engagement at a time when technological, economic, and social changes within and outside journalism are challenging its traditional sources of authority, its social role, and its professional ideology and practices. This entry discusses culinary journalism, digital media, and audience diversification and offers a brief overview of the history of food journalism. In addition, the entry presents culinary journalism as a type of lifestyle journalism.

Culinary Journalism, Digital Media, and Audience Diversification

In January 1941, *Gourmet*, one of the earliest and longest-running food, wine, and “good living” magazines in the United States, published its first issue under the editorship of Earle R. MacAusland (1890–1980). Its launch signaled profound changes in food journalism, breaking out from the women’s pages in newspapers and magazines that championed Victorian ideologies of domesticity, and embracing instead a modern, masculine, urban, cosmopolitan, and aspirational style rooted in ideologies of leisure and consumption that the new publication exploited, celebrated, and inculcated in its readers.

But almost 70 years later in 2009 when *Gourmet*’s last issue went to press, the print edition of the magazine had lost its edge, succumbing to economic, technical, social, and cultural changes from within and outside the industry. Yet its digital presence remains strong as of 2021, with parent company Conde Nast using the *Gourmet* brand for a Website, cookbooks, special edition magazines (e.g., *Holiday Entertaining*, *Grilling*, *Easy Dinners*), the James Beard Award-winning public television series *Diary of a Foodie*, instructional videos, travel guides, and recipes posted on Conde Nast’s *Epicurious.com*. At the same time, Conde Nast’s *Bon Appétit*, in publication since 1956, continues to publish a print edition while investing resources into their Website, YouTube channel, podcasts, digital newsletters, and social media projects.

While the demise of *Gourmet*’s print edition was deeply mourned, it reflected broader developments in food media and the diversification of food content and audiences. For example, *The New York Times*, which continues to publish recipes, restaurant reviews, food-related profiles, features, and news stories in its print newspaper and magazine, produces *NYT Cooking*, a subscription digital cookbook and cooking guide available on multiple platforms, as well as in-depth interactive, issue-oriented projects such as its 2019 “Your Questions about Food & Climate Change, Answered.” Newspapers and magazines have thus joined an increasingly crowded field of digital offerings, such as *Eater.com* (2005), *SeriousEats.com* (2006), *Food52.com* (2009); podcasts such as the Southern Foodways Alliance’s *Gravy* (2014), *The Racist Sandwich* (2016), and *Copper & Heat* (2019); radio series such as National Public Radio’s *Hidden Kitchens*; and programming such as CNN’s *Parts Unknown* hosted by Anthony Bourdain (1956–2018) and Netflix’s *Chef’s Table*, both of which incorporate ethnographic and journalistic styles and techniques into audiovisual entertainment formats.

From Victorian Domesticity to 21st-Century Lifestyles

When *Gourmet* magazine launched in 1941, its main competitor was *American Cookery*, formerly the *Boston Cooking School Magazine*, one

of the most influential cooking magazines (1896–1947) of its time, and one that represented the cultural ascent of the late 19th century domestic science movement and its most famous graduate, Fannie Farmer (1857–1915), who popularized a new, scientific approach to cooking by introducing precise weights, measures, and methods in printed recipes. The magazine provided instruction for women who wanted to apply this innovative approach at home or who were preparing to teach in the growing number of home economics courses being established across the country.

American Cookery, along with the handful of other food magazines published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, resonated in content, rhetorical style, and ideology with the cookery columns that had been appearing in the women's pages of American newspapers as early as the 1840s and which had become a staple by the 1880s. These columns offered recipes and advice for women on how to comport themselves as wives and mothers, and how to manage their homes so that they lived up to the demands of the proper, white, middle-class Christian home that became the cornerstone of the 19th-century American "cult of domesticity."

Food writers instructed women on how to prepare thrifty and nutritious meals in an efficiently designed and managed kitchen, and how to serve and consume these meals at a well-mannered table that encouraged genteel conversation, thus nurturing the physical and moral health of their families, which in turn would ensure the health and vitality of the Republic. Later, food writers taught women how to become judicious and guilt-free consumers, taking advantage of new processed foods and household appliances that promised to relieve them of the drudgery of daily housework. In the process, a new image of the ideal American housewife had emerged by the 1950s: a devoted wife and mother, who wisely bought and used modern appliances and processed foods to alleviate her toil, allowing her more quality time with her husband and children. Food journalism contributed to this practical and ideological instruction, and the symbiotic relationship between food writing, the food industries, and advertising that continues to simultaneously support and vex food journalism and other lifestyle genres was established.

Food writing remained largely the province of women's cookery columns in newspapers and magazines through the 1940s. In the prosperity that followed World War II, however, it began to breach its domestic and Northeast confines. The arrival of Henri Soulé, a French chef who in 1941 opened one of New York City's premier restaurants, Le Pavillon, stimulated interest in restaurant and fine dining, while a few writers, notably M.F. K. Fisher (1908–1922) and Clementine Paddleford (1898–1967) researched and wrote stories about the places and people behind both European and American regional cuisines, from Maine to Alaska, Florida to California, and almost everywhere in between.

As an increasing number of post-War Americans enjoyed more leisure time and disposable income, they began to eat out more often and to take an interest in food that went beyond the moralistic advice columns of how to prepare economical and nutritious meals for their families or how to buy and use consumer goods. The recipe columns expanded to include stories that integrated recipes with memoir, travel narrative, and culinary history. While advice did not disappear from food writing, it changed with the times. Women, some of whom had returned from overseas or domestic war service, were encouraged to settle in at home and think of cooking not only as a moral obligation, but also as entertainment and a marker of social status and distinction, and to prepare meals that were not only nutritious but also sophisticated and fun. Men had a circumscribed role in domestic food preparation in their apartment kitchenettes, if they were single, and in their suburban back yards if they were married, where they could grill robust steaks and burgers, without compromising their masculinity. *Esquire* magazine, for example, which began publication in 1939 as a men's lifestyle magazine, ran a food and wine column in the 1940s titled "Man the Kitchenette" by Iles Brody (1899–1953), an entertaining narrative that instructed men how to cook meals to impress—and seduce—their female guests. In the 1950s, Harry Botsford wrote in the same magazine a humorous column instructing his readers on how to use their outdoor grills to tap into and satisfy their caveman impulses.

As interest in food as leisure, entertainment, and education grew in the late 40s, 50s, and 60s,

so did the popularity and prestige of food media, expanding from newspapers and magazines to radio and television, and in the process diversifying its audience. For example, Julia Child (1912–2004), one of the nation's first television celebrity chefs, popularized French cooking at home through her best-selling book, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961) and through her popular television program, *The French Chef*, which was first produced by Boston public television and then broadcast across the country. At the same time, James Beard (1903–1985) was inspiring respect for American regional cuisines, mentoring professional chefs and cooking enthusiasts through his television appearances, cookbooks, and articles. (Several years after his death, in 1991, the James Beard Foundation gave out its first annual awards, including media awards recognizing excellence in food writing and programming across culinary media and genres.) And in newspapers, Craig Claiborne (1920–2000) was hired in 1957 as the first male editor of the food section of the *New York Times*, where he instituted the restaurant review with its star-rating system, and included ethnic neighborhood joints such as Nick's Greek Diner alongside reviews of the 21 Club, Le Pavillon, Lutece, and other New York City fine dining establishments. Meanwhile at the *New York Herald Tribune*, Clementine Paddleford (1898–1967) covered food stories behind major world events such as Queen Elizabeth II's coronation and Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia and the New York World's Fair, as well as more mundane happenings, becoming one of the most popular and well-known food editors in the country. Her collections of regional recipes joined other early books that treated American cooking seriously, including the works of Sheila Hibben (1888–1964), who wrote the food column "Markets & Menus" for the *New Yorker* magazine, and served as consultant for White House menus under Eleanor Roosevelt.

Food writers continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s to cover and stimulate interest in regional and international cuisines and in cooking and eating as an entertaining, discerning, cosmopolitan, and sociable leisure activity. In the 1960s and 1970s, food writers also began to cover counterculture critiques of the ways food was

produced, distributed, and consumed in the United States and encouraged Americans to think of their engagement with food as political acts. Alice Waters (1944–), who in 1971 opened the now-iconic restaurant Chez Panisse in Berkeley, California, quickly became and continues to be one of the most recognized and effective advocates of ethical eating, supporting local, seasonal, organic, humane, environmentally responsible practices, and advocating for school lunch and food education reform through her Edible Schoolyard and School Lunch Initiative and, more recently, through her influence on the planting of the White House organic garden in 2009 as part of First Lady Michelle Obama's broader campaign promoting healthy eating and exercise for children.

As of 2021, food journalists continue to engage with the politics of food, not only by covering "hard" news stories, but also by covering celebrity chefs who leverage their economic and cultural capital to advocate for political and social reforms in national and international food systems. For example, Rachael Ray (1968–), host of several Food Network programs, cookbook author, and figurehead for Meredith Corp.'s magazine *Rachael Ray Every Day*, leveraged her celebrity to partner with the Alliance for a Healthier Generation, an organization formed by the William J. Clinton Foundation and the American Heart Association, to combat child obesity in the United States. She introduced her campaign on the *Rachael Ray Show* in April 2007 with former President Bill Clinton as her guest. Similarly, celebrity chef Jamie Oliver (1975–) initiated "Feed Me Better," a school meal reform campaign in the United Kingdom that grew from his television program "Jamie's School Dinners." The campaign led to the British government pledging almost \$500 million to improve school lunches. In 2010 and 2011, Oliver brought his campaign to the United States in the form of his television program "Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution." But the celebrity chef with by far the most profound and sustained global influence is Jose Andres, whose NGO World Central Kitchen has provided emergency food relief and humanitarian aid in dozens of areas hit hard by natural and human-caused disasters, as well as developing long-term strategies for alleviating poverty and hunger around the world.

These and other celebrity chefs have used their cultural and economic capital to engage in political activism that simultaneously promotes change as well as their brand. In covering these chefs and their advocacy work, food journalists, many of whom regularly produce lifestyle rather than hard news content, engage with global political challenges, including government and popular responses to refugees fleeing war, natural disasters, and poverty; migrants detained at the U.S.–Mexican border; the effect of climate change on food systems; and the nutritional health of children worldwide, among others. In this way, food journalism blurs the boundaries between hard news and lifestyle journalism, information, and entertainment. It also provides audiences with an avenue for satisfying the desire for civic engagement and a sense of responsible and ethical living, while celebrating the making and sharing of food, and nurturing creativity in the home kitchen.

Culinary Journalism as Lifestyle Journalism

Up through the end of the 20th century, food journalism as recipes, instruction and advice, memoir, travel narratives, and political exposés continued to develop as food and its preparation and consumption became integrated into the ideology and rhetoric of “lifestyle culture.” Indeed, as the concept of lifestyle permeated popular discourse, engaging in the culinary arts by eating out, taking cooking classes, participating in wine tastings, embarking on cooking vacations, building “designer” kitchens, entering cooking and eating competitions, following celebrity chefs, committing to specific food politics (such as shopping at farmer’s markets, eating vegetarian or vegan, buying organically grown fruits and vegetables), and engaging with food journalism and food media became powerful markers of social status and distinction.

Lifestyle media, which includes much though not all of food journalism, has experienced extraordinary multi-platform growth in the first decades of the 21st century, though not without challenges brought on by broad cultural, technological, economic, and professional changes, as the demise of the print edition of *Gourmet* magazine

illustrates. Yet, at the same time, the legitimacy and relevance of food and lifestyle journalism have increased among audiences and scholars. Long treated as a “lesser” form of journalism because of its focus on private, consumer, and leisure concerns as opposed to the public concerns of hard news, and because of its more obvious relationship to advertising, public relations, and industry, in the past 10 years scholars have begun to examine the significant role such soft news plays in ideology and politics. Food journalism, in particular, has provided a robust site for examining questions about what it means to be a citizen and consumer, about the politics of exclusion and belonging, about the exploitation of material and human resources, about structural inequality in the food system, about poverty, hunger, and well-being, and about the performance of gender and other identities. In short, food journalism explores and documents how culture and politics are constituted through encounters with food. Food journalism contributes to food media and food culture, adding to the vast personal lifestyle offerings, but also drawing attention to serious public matters.

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See also Lifestyle Journalism; Men’s Magazines; Travel Journalism; Women’s Magazines

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FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Foreign correspondents have captured the popular imagination for a long time. Movies, novels, and magazines are rife with representations of lone journalists who trek into dangerous territories with the goal of telling some of the world's most complicated stories. Essential to the drama of these narratives is the idea that foreign correspondents are themselves foreign to the places they are visiting; traditionally, their audiences have been located back at "home," depending solely on these journalists to help them make sense of the world outside their comfort zones.

The reality is much more complicated, however. First of all, the very word "correspondent" suggests that there is someone else with whom the foreign correspondent is maintaining regular contact. As John Maxwell Hamilton notes in his history of American foreign reporting: "The first foreign correspondents were literally that, friendly souls in London or Paris who wrote letters home"

(2011, p. 13). Hamilton is especially referring to the 18th century, when newspapers in the colonies had no official journalists. In the 19th century, there were indeed professional journalists working on the staffs of newspapers; yet, when they wanted to cover wars for their readers, British newspaper editors tended to solicit letters from junior military officers, before finally hiring William Howard Russell as the first civilian correspondent to write letters back to headquarters that specifically covered the Crimean War.

As journalism matured as a profession, so, too, did the relationship between editors and their correspondents. Foreign correspondents were expected to maintain at least some level of communication with employers back at headquarters, though they could also evade their editors more easily than metro or national correspondents could. Many foreign correspondents and news editors say that this changed with the rise of digital communication technologies. Now, correspondents see themselves as much more tightly linked to the large staffs of people with whom they are expected to remain in communication at all times. This entry discusses the differences between freelance and staff foreign correspondents, the role of local support staff, and diversity among foreign correspondents. It then looks at changes in the work of foreign correspondents and news organizations' methods of obtaining news from other countries.

Foreign correspondents who officially work on the staff of major news outlets are especially enmeshed in a broad, digitally connected network of news employees flung around the world. But even freelancers—journalists who are not on any news organization's official staff—tend to be in some kind of contact with editors while they are in the field. Freelancers might pitch their stories to several different news editors while they are still in the process of reporting those stories. They might also be commissioned by a particular news outlet to cover a specific story ahead of time. The difference between freelance correspondents and those who work full time on the staff of a major news organization is one of stability. While staff correspondents are paid regular salaries that include health benefits, freelance correspondents are usually paid by the story. They do not typically

receive benefits from the news organizations that hire them, and they are never guaranteed the protection or support of those news organizations should they find themselves in danger while on assignment.

Another difference between freelance correspondents and staff correspondents is that freelancers—especially the younger ones with less money—do not have the luxury of relying very heavily on local support staff, such as drivers, news assistants, stringers, and fixers. Staff correspondents often do have this luxury, especially when they work with news assistants based at foreign bureaus. News assistants are usually local residents who work at the bureaus, helping the correspondents and bureau chiefs with everything from translation to securing interviews with sources to interpreting different cultural mores. Conversely, news fixers work on a freelance basis as translators and guides to foreign correspondents who are not necessarily attached to a bureau. Finally, stringers are locally based journalists who provide correspondents and their news organizations with stories from places where the staff correspondents cannot (or will not) always go. Without these crucial media workers, foreign correspondents would have a difficult time telling their complicated stories.

This dependence on local collaboration has been a facet of foreign correspondence for quite some time. For example, when *New York Herald* correspondent Henry Morton Stanley journeyed through central Africa in the mid-19th century in hopes of finding the missing missionary and explorer David Livingstone, Stanley enlisted the help of an interpreter and guide. The practice of relying on locals to act as cultural mediators between foreign correspondents and potential news sources has continued to this day.

Yet, unlike in past centuries, the work that news fixers do has become more and more professionalized in the 21st century. There are now websites such as World Fixer, PayDesk, and HackPack, where foreign correspondents can search for fixers and other local media workers' profiles and hire people in the field. These websites have the potential to bring more public visibility to news fixers, assistants, and stringers.

Who Serves as a Foreign Correspondent?

There is another popular misconception about foreign correspondents, at least in the West, though this has slowly been changing. This is the misconception that foreign correspondents are necessarily male. While very little, if any, research has yet been conducted on correspondents who identify as gender-nonconforming, we do know that female-identified journalists have been working as foreign correspondents for well over 100 years. Just in terms of U.S. journalists alone, Margaret Fuller was a correspondent in Europe during the mid-1800s, for instance, and Peggy Hull covered the First World War.

These days, female foreign correspondents are even more active in the profession, and this is not only in the context of reporting for U.S. news organizations. Take, for instance, correspondents like Zeina Khodr, who reports across the Middle East and North Africa region for the Al Jazeera news channel, or Liling Tan, who covers the United Nations for China's CGTN. These accomplished journalists destabilize the stereotype of the "masculine" foreign correspondent.

Female correspondents are more and more common, despite the fact that the profession of international reporting is still very deeply informed by what some journalists have called a "macho culture." In Western journalism, this culture tends to encourage traditionally masculine performances of bravery and emotional control. For this reason, some female journalists prefer to downplay their identities as women, explaining that their gender has nothing to do with how brave or calm they can be in the field.

Other female correspondents might choose to foreground their status as women. Some of these women find that the people who live in the places they cover in their stories tend to see women as being less threatening, which in turn leads the female correspondents to secure interviews with sources who would never talk to male correspondents from another part of the world, or to gain access to restricted areas that police may not allow male foreign correspondents to see.

Women are very much a part of the profession of foreign correspondence, despite the popular portrayal of foreign correspondents as men. There

is also another misguided portrayal of foreign correspondents, particularly in the West. This portrayal suggests that foreign correspondents are somehow always white people. While many of the histories of foreign correspondents (written in the English language) do seem to focus mostly on the exploits of white Americans, Canadians, Brits, or Australians, the fact is that people of color have long been engaging in the practice of international newsgathering.

For instance, in her groundbreaking 2013 book on the history of African American correspondents, Jinx Broussard discusses George Washington Williams, an African American man who traveled to Africa to see if mainstream journalist Henry Morton Stanley was bolstering negative myths about the people on the African continent. She also tells the stories of Wallace Terry, Thomas A. Johnson, and Ed Bradley, African American correspondents for the mainstream U.S. news media during the war in Vietnam. Broussard's book helps to remind journalism scholars and practitioners that there is a long history of racial diversity in the profession of foreign correspondence.

It is crucial to note that the people who do the complicated work of foreign news reporting are not always citizens of the countries where their news organizations are based. For one thing, while the stringers, news assistants, and fixers mentioned earlier are not necessarily native to the places where foreign correspondents hire them as collaborators, they are often understood—and tend to “sell themselves”—as having close cultural ties with the people on the ground. These people, who play a vital role in the work of foreign reporting, not only complicate the very “foreignness” of “foreign” correspondence, but they sometimes also destabilize the Western image of foreign correspondence as a white Westerner's job.

This image perhaps becomes even more unstable in the cases where journalists who are either from the regions to which foreign correspondents travel or from neighboring regions begin working on the staff of major international news bureaus. These journalists might begin as news assistants but later earn the coveted title of “foreign correspondent” when they are not entirely “foreign” to the places where their news bureaus are located. Take, for example, Nabih Bulos, a Jordanian

journalist who started out as a news assistant for the *Los Angeles Times* in Beirut. Bulos eventually became one of the *LA Times*'s official foreign correspondents. The involvement of journalists like Bulos in “foreign correspondence” suggests that the very phrase “foreign correspondent” is perhaps inadequate for describing the various people who engage in the labor of international news reporting.

Shifting Methods for Gathering Foreign News

The term “foreign correspondent” may also sound a bit outdated when considering the intensifying economic, technological, and political challenges that international news workers face in the 21st century. For one thing, the economic landscape in which international journalists work has become more and more precarious. The turn of the 21st century saw major news organizations slashing their foreign news budgets and closing many of their foreign news bureaus. This was partly because of broader economic crises affecting the news industries, first in the wake of the industrial conglomeration that arguably reduced many news outlets to mere departments of larger media companies geared toward entertainment. Legacy print and television news organizations also found themselves struggling to reckon with the rise of digital media in the late 1990s and early 2000s, especially corporate news outlets that relied on advertising to fund their journalism and were unable to make up for losses in traditional advertising with online advertising. The economic recessions of the mid- to late-2000s also hit news organizations hard, and both corporate and publicly funded news organizations struggled to maintain their bottom lines.

Within this context, foreign reporting began to seem more like a luxury than a public service. News editors started relying all the more heavily on freelancers who they could not afford to support or protect. In turn, news editors also started relying heavily on Internet users who generated free news content and posted it on the web. This practice has continued into the 2020s. Those producing this content, known as *user-generated content*, are typically not professionally trained journalists, but they might have taken some

compelling video of an important world event. More and more, we tend to see international news outlets using videos and photographs that were captured by these “citizen” journalists. Unlike staff journalists and freelancers, the “regular people” who post their content online rarely get paid by the news organizations who use their images. This is why it’s so cost-effective for news outlets to rely on user-generated content.

News organizations also increasingly rely on another highly cost-effective type of content—that produced by international nongovernmental organizations who engage in humanitarian or human rights work. Since many of these organizations commission freelance journalists to capture images and to gather information from various sites of struggle around the world, some news editors now believe that it is appropriate to use this material in their publications’ international news reports. This is despite the fact that organizations such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International have a very specific agenda, one through which they hope to persuade a global public of the need to act in a certain way on behalf of certain people. For this reason, news organizations’ use of material commissioned by international nongovernmental organizations has certainly led some to question whether this particular type of international journalism can claim to be “objective.”

It is important to remember, however, that objectivity is a fairly young concept in journalism, and its value also changes depending on a variety of factors, such as geopolitical region, type of news organization, and the topic being covered. The economic and technological changes to the profession of journalism at the turn of the 21st century have greatly destabilized the news industries’ unproblematic belief in objectivity, where that belief ever actually existed at all. In some parts of the world, journalism is understood as a practice that is supposed to serve the people by serving the interests of the state. In other parts of the world, telling the news from a first-person perspective has long been the preferred way of relating to news audiences.

Even before the rise of digital technologies, foreign correspondents struggled with the concept of objectivity particularly because they are, by definition, supposed to be immersed within the story. Whether news organizations rely upon the

testimonies of professional staff correspondents, professional freelance journalists, or digital citizen journalists, they are drawing upon a specific perspective—a perspective that is circumscribed by the correspondents’ very presence at the scene. The people who cover crises such as war, political dissent, or natural disasters have especially suggested the difficulty of detaching themselves from the people in the field and obtaining a “God’s eye view” of what is happening in those situations. What is more, the increasingly mobile digital technologies that can enable correspondents to get closer to the action can in turn make it more difficult for them to leave the story safely. Sometimes, correspondents end up *becoming* the story themselves, especially when they get hurt on the job.

Not only have changing economic structures and digital technologies impacted the already beleaguered concept of objectivity in foreign correspondence, but these issues have impacted foreign correspondents’ work in other ways as well. The Internet has made it possible for both news practitioners and news audiences to encounter journalism produced in drastically different socio-political contexts than their own. This means that foreign correspondents increasingly find themselves writing about people who can see their reports as quickly as the correspondents’ own audience can. Yet, these people may not agree with the way they were portrayed in the story, a problem that can lead foreign correspondents to be criticized or even attacked in the field. The growing interconnectedness of people from disparate cultural backgrounds through digital convergence can in turn result in a deep sense of disconnection at the most fundamental levels. The foreign correspondents of the 21st century must constantly negotiate between these moments of connection and disconnection.

It remains to be seen whether foreign correspondents will continue to capture the public imagination in the 21st century. Perhaps by the century’s end, the term “foreign correspondent” will be considered archaic. It may be that communication about culturally and geographically distant events is changing so drastically that there will soon be no need for the journalists who travel great distances to report on people and places for audiences located elsewhere. Yet, it is far more likely that this important type of journalism will

continue to exist, even as it is deeply complicated by changing economic, technological, and political landscapes.

Lindsay Palmer

See also Citizen Journalism; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Fuller, Margaret; Human Rights and Journalism; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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FOURTH ESTATE

Fourth estate is another name given to the press, or news media. In the 18th, 19th, and much of the 20th century, it referred to the print news media. Later it began to be used to refer to all news media, including print, broadcast, and digital.

The term *fourth estate* is often used to refer to the news media's role as a watchdog over government. The term is pervasive in Western culture, having been used as the title of a journal, a novel, and a television documentary series, among other uses. The student newspaper at George Mason University in Virginia is titled *Fourth Estate*. In the

21st century, the term *fifth estate* has sometimes been used to refer to nonprofessional citizen journalists who write and record information and opinion in the digital environment, many of them bloggers, usually for no profit.

In the West, especially in the United States, many have expressed concern over what they see as a decline in the power of the news media to exercise the fourth estate's watchdog function. Some news media critics maintain that the news media will soon cease to exert a watchdog function at all, allowing even democratically elected governments to rule with impunity and to establish the same sort of totalitarian or autocratic societies that exist in much of the world. This entry first discusses the origin of the term *fourth estate* and the development of this model in the United States. It then looks at how the idea of the press as fourth estate has been affected by commercial interests, the loss of local newspapers, and the Internet. Finally, it discusses mass communication research on the power of the fourth estate.

Origin of Term

According to Thomas Carlyle (1840), British political philosopher Edmund Burke first used the term in a speech about the opening of the House of Commons to the press. Carlyle paraphrased Burke as saying:

There were three estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a fourth estate more important far than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact—very momentous to us in these times. Literature is our Parliament too. Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable. (p. 194)

Burke went on to say that the press could give voice to anyone in a democracy; hence, such communicative power represented a fourth estate. In other words, the publication of information and opinion in the press would have some effect on politics. Indeed, Burke believed those effects were not insubstantial and that published words in newspapers and magazines become part of public discourse.

An American variation on this in political terms is that the federal government is divided into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, with the press assuming an oversight role as the fourth branch. The primary function of the news media is to inform the public about the actions of the three branches of government—which would be passed down to the state, county, and municipal levels as well. Over time, this fourth branch would also inform the public about other powerful entities in society, including corporations, churches, and even the press itself. The fourth estate is not part of the explicit government structure. Rather, its power and responsibilities are indirect and assumed. In some European nations, the term used is slightly different—fourth power.

In the U.S. system, journalists record and reflect on public affairs. Under the watchdog function, they are situated as being over and against government—or, at least, willing to take on such a role if need be. The press keeps an eye on government activity and transmits to the public such activity. This includes actions that show political and economic leaders in less than favorable light. Because of this positioning, journalists and government officials are often at odds in the public sphere.

Political leaders from Vice President Spiro Agnew, who called journalists the “nattering nabobs of negativism,” to President Donald Trump, who calls journalists the “enemy of the people,” have attacked the fourth estate as noisome and unfriendly. Such political figures as Agnew and Trump also have seen the press as unequal and passive in their relationship with elected officials. In such a view, the observer role of the press is seen as being beneath the dignity and weight of the government official, especially those who stand at the top of government's three branches. Political leaders have to act, while journalists react. With such an understanding of the press, those in government positions often will build up obstacles to make it more difficult for journalists to perform their professional duties. Despite this adversarial relationship, journalists consider their oppositional position to powerful individuals and institutions to be necessary in a democracy.

Such confidence in the press as an essential element of society comes directly out of the Enlightenment quest for truth. It is part of the Western

belief in individual or human rights—which are not respected in much of the rest of the world. The idea of a fourth estate is enshrined in both the U.S. First Amendment, which prohibits Congress from abridging press freedom, and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which states that the free communication of ideas and opinions is “one of the most precious of the rights of man.” American political leaders James Madison and Thomas Jefferson believed that press freedom and the watchdog function would guarantee a safe society.

The theory behind the fourth estate is the concept that an external, independent press, free of government interference, holds government accountable, leading to a responsive government and open, free society where ideas and opinions circulate freely—as opposed to a totalitarian society in which ideas and opinions are handed down from above by the government or are not handed down at all. Maintaining a watchdog role, the press helps create an environment of transparency in a society. As the fourth estate, the press is in a position to ask questions of the powerful, to provide, in effect, petitions of grievances from citizens to government.

In 1975, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart claimed that the Constitution guaranteed the “institutional autonomy of the press.” The main purpose of the press clause in the First Amendment, Stewart (1975) held, was “to create a fourth institution outside the government as an additional check on the three official branches” (p. 634). In other words, the press would cast light on both government achievements and wrongdoings. Stewart said the level of independence and freedom for the U.S. press was based on avoiding the narrow function found in the British system, where the press had faced censorship and licensing for centuries. Stewart wrote:

The British Crown knew that a free press was not just a neutral vehicle for the balanced discussion of diverse ideas. Instead, the free press meant organized, expert scrutiny of government. The press was a conspiracy of the intellect, with the courage of numbers. This formidable check on official power was what the British Crown had feared—and what the American Founders decided to risk. (p. 634)

Yet since the mid-20th century, the U.S. news media have been criticized for failing to live up to such a mission because commercial factors and the drive for profits have interfered with their watchdog function. For example, in the reporting done by Edward R. Murrow in the 1950s on Senator Joseph McCarthy and his witch hunt against communists in the U.S. federal government, CBS ownership refused to support the show financially. Murrow and producer Fred Friendly had to solicit advertising to pay for the presentation, which had a relatively strong effect on public opinion and had some role in McCarthy’s downfall. In the United States, with the exception of some major national newspapers (such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*), the watchdog function is being lost, and there is a need for a new model for a vital news media to take the place of the 20th-century model. Some newspapers in contiguous geographic areas are working together now to share the investigative function. However, the bigger issue is the so-called news deserts where local newspapers simply do not exist anymore. This is especially problematic in places that have no local television or radio news outlets.

Walter Lippmann, a government propagandist during World War I who became a prominent journalist, stated that the average citizen does not have enough time in a normal day to digest all the information coming from a society’s major institutions. The journalist, therefore, sifts through vast quantities of information independently and tries to analyze and interpret it with a set of professional standards and guidelines. Reporters, for example, attend board meetings and press conferences, and they then transmit to the public what has transpired. Thus, the fourth estate functions in a way that reporters shine a light on powerful entities, both individual government and business leaders, as well as powerful institutions, such as corporations, medical facilities, universities, and even media empires.

Lippmann’s view of the press led, in the early 1970s, to the creation of a model called the *agenda-setting function of the press*. Developed by university mass communication professors Max McCombs of the University of Texas and Donald Shaw of the University of North Carolina, agenda setting claims that the news media do not dictate

how citizens think about issues, but rather they tell them what to think about in the first place. McCombs and Shaw (1972) studied the effect of mass media content on voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, during the 1968 presidential election and found that “the media appear to have exerted a considerable impact on voters’ judgments of what they considered the major issues of the campaign” (p. 180). In other words, newspapers, magazines, television, and radio establish what issues, policies, events, institutions, and individuals deserve our attention.

On the front page of a newspaper or in the first few minutes of a broadcast, journalists choose the items that consumers will perceive to be the most relevant—the few items out of that many that consumers need to know about on a particular day, week, or month. Similarly, certain sources of those news items tend to have relevance and resonance, such as the American president, major corporate leaders, prominent scientists, international dignitaries, and celebrities. The agenda-setting function is not explicitly stated in the Constitution; however, the McCombs-Shaw model assumes an independent institution that holds a mirror up to government and other powerful institutions, as well as individuals, to show society their thoughts and actions.

Development of the American Model of the Fourth Estate

The American model of the fourth estate is guaranteed in practice by virtue of the fact that the news media are commercial in orientation and therefore not reliant upon the government for subsistence. The watchdog and agenda-setting models depend entirely on the financial health of the commercial press. The political orientation of the editorial page and government subsidy (printing contracts and postal benefits) have played less and less of a role in American news institution’s independence since the end of the Civil War in 1865.

Between the ratification of the Constitution and the end of the Civil War, for the most part, the American press was political in its orientation, as many newspapers were started and maintained as party papers. The weakness of such a system was that the newspapers aligned with the party in

power would be less willing to act as watchdogs. In other words, those organs were dependent on financial solvency from their relationship with political parties and on subscriptions from those of a similar political stripe. On the other hand, the minority party newspapers were more likely to inveigh against the government and be more likely to shine a light on government affairs than those of the majority party. This majority–minority model meant the majority publishers were more likely to claim press freedom for newspapers and magazines of the same party, while denying the same rights to the minority.

A more independent model had begun to sprout in the 1830s with the penny press, which put more emphasis on economic success and less on party orientation. Indeed, the *New York Herald* would be the model for much of the American press as the 19th century wore on—a strong newspaper with an independent-minded owner-editor, James Gordon Bennett, who confounded both political parties. Yet the vast majority of American newspapers remained political in orientation as the divide between the North and South widened in the 1850s, culminating in the start of the Civil War in 1861. In 1860, approximately 80% of U.S. newspapers were still partisan in orientation.

The development of a more independent press accelerated after the Civil War. Hundreds of Democratic journals in the North had faced suppression during the war, and few of those editors wanted to relive those days. Editorial independence offered a more reliable way to maintain stability. Furthermore, the reconciliation of the two sides after the war led to a period of a realization that political orientation was not the best way to manage the financial status of a journal. Rather, increasing independence from political parties with an emphasis on advertising promised more financial stability. Gradually, politics was downplayed, and a division between the news and editorial sections grew over time, creating a wall whereby the news reporting was relatively free from editorial (opinion page) influence.

Commercialism and News as Entertainment

A problem with the press relying on the free market system is that news as a commodity has a

relatively low value. Entertainment sells better, so a model of news that is more entertainment than mere information took hold in the 1980s and has continued to dominate news media operations. This focus on making sure that news media entertains as well as informs is often blamed for having diluted the overall quality of journalism and contributing to less public awareness of civic information.

Critical scholars such as Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman maintain that the weakening of the watchdog function makes the news media more like a willing partner in the manufacture of consent that government and corporations need to maintain the social contract. In their 1988 book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky maintain that the mass media essentially function as propagandists, not watchdogs, not only because of the basic capitalist structure of the press, but also because of using as sources government and corporate officials, as well as experts who are within the very institutions being investigated or explained. For Chomsky and Herman, the news media are more lapdog—or even guard dog—than watchdog.

Similarly, Robert W. McChesney has lambasted the news media for being hyper-commercial and more interested in ratings and rates of circulation (or online page views) than with the creation of engaging, relevant, and expository journalism. McChesney notes that the American news media are primarily owned by major corporations that have major lobbying arms and exercise a large share of the gatekeeping function on public consumption of the news. Meanwhile, the conglomeration of news media into ever smaller near monopolies has gutted competition, which had been the hallmark of American journalism before the 21st century. McChesney (2012) also maintains that American journalism is in a “freefall collapse” (p. 614) and argues that without a rethinking of the entire media system, democratic governance will no longer be possible.

Loss of Local Newspapers

In the 20th century, the emphasis was on developing financially healthy news operations to guarantee noninterference from government. This would

ensure that the news media could function as a fourth estate. As long as the vast majority of American news organizations maintained economic stability, this model worked well, but beginning in the early 1960s, this approach began to see fraying around the edges for newspapers and magazines as television news began to assert itself. In the 21st century, the financial instability of a huge number of American newspapers and magazines left many pockets of the country without reliable local newspapers, or with so-called ghost newspapers that have almost no original reporting. Penelope Muse Abernathy, a University of North Carolina journalism professor, has counted more than 2,000 lost newspapers in the United States in the first two decades of the 21st century.

The concept of the press as the fourth estate with a watchdog charge is not explicitly guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. Rather, the American news media have assumed it over time, and their success in shining a light on government and corporations built up some degree of public confidence in the news media. At best, however, the watchdog function of the news media is tolerated by government and often is held in contempt. The idea of the press as government watchdog is a claim it makes for itself based on its role in uncovering government wrongdoing, including through the work done by investigative journalists in the so-called Progressive era at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the reporting of *The New York Times* on the Vietnam War, and the vigorous reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* in the Watergate investigation.

Influence of the Internet

At the start of the 21st century, some journalists and scholars hoped the Internet would create a more powerful fourth estate as a wealth of information from a variety of sources became more accessible both to professional journalists and ordinary citizens. There were grand dreams that a second Enlightenment would materialize as the Internet ushered in a new information age, one with enormous potential. For the most part, these dreams have not come to pass, and the revolution inaugurated by the Internet has created a

counterrevolution in which national governments have adopted cyber laws that make it a crime to publish inconvenient facts or political ideas that differ from those in power.

In a 2004 op-ed, Jürgen Krönig, London correspondent for the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, argues that two strong factors, sensationalism and simplification, drive the 21st-century news media. The need for more images and more videos dominates legacy newspapers as they have converted to the Internet. In fact, *The Independent* runs videos first on its website; text stories are seen as complementary. For many news outlets, hard news is the coverage of weather disasters, scandals, and health scares. Krönig states that the electorate now is most informed about celebrities, entertainment items, and consumer information, while being far less interested in or simply cynical about politics.

Power of the Fourth Estate

For their part, mass communication researchers tend to downplay the power of the fourth estate. The McCombs-Shaw theory was part of a revolution of minimal effects research from the 1960s and 1970s that continue to dominate mass communication research in the 21st century. The popular ideal of the press as powerful, for either good or bad purposes, was deconstructed by minimal effects scholars. Such theories do not take into account the power of bully pulpit leaders like President Donald Trump, who bypasses the news media and sends messages to the public via social media, or the power of a monarch, autocrat, or single-party state that only allows a compliant press to exist. Little research has been done on how the messages of the mass media of 21st-century totalitarian states affect their audiences.

David W. Bulla

See also Agenda Setting; Espionage Act; First Amendment; Media Conglomerates; Muckrakers; News Deserts; Pentagon Papers; Watergate

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Fox News

Fox News is a U.S.-based 24-hour conservative cable news service. With 80 million subscribers, it has been, according to its website, “the most watched television channel for 19 consecutive years.” As such, it has had a significant impact on American journalism, media culture, and political life. This entry explains this impact by way of tracing Fox’s history as a product of movement conservatism as the critical nexus between conservative think tanks, political activists, and media personalities. The performative style of Fox’s conservative journalism and the audience populism it engendered culminated in the rise of Donald Trump to the U.S. presidency.

The story of Fox’s history necessarily revolves around its founding chairman and CEO Roger Ailes, who presided over the network from 1996 to 2016 as an extension of his role as a key Republican media strategist. From his position at

Fox, Ailes was able to shepherd the forces of movement conservatism to effectively challenge liberal cultural hegemony in journalism and beyond. The conservative grievance at the heart of Fox News is perceived liberal media bias. Combating liberal cultural and political elites has been a wildly successful formula for Fox in dominating market share and cultivating a loyal audience primed for Fox's hybrid model of entertainment and populist campaigning.

A crucial conjuncture for Fox was the ascent of Barack Obama to the presidency, the need for web 2.0 audience strategies, and the increasing autonomy of Fox hosts outside the auspices of the network. This created the conditions for Trump to supersede Fox's role within conservative politics and for audiences to migrate to more undisciplined parts of the far right.

Movement Conservatism

Journalism studies normally regards different news organizations and styles of journalism as shaped by the culture of the professional field combined with market and regulatory contours. While important factors, Fox News might best be thought of as an extension of movement conservatism and later as its primary vehicle. Ailes himself was a key Republican media strategist during the historical period of backlash conservatism spanning the Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan administrations. Dating back to his 300-page memo to Nixon "A Plan for Putting the GOP on TV News" and his distribution network of conservative broadcast content Television News Incorporated (1971–1975), funded by right-wing beer magnate Joseph Coors, Ailes sought to bypass what he saw as the liberal gatekeepers of network journalism. This set the template for Fox's regional market strategy of affiliates and the role of business activism in subsidizing the costs of conservative media production.

In this period, Ailes's vision of broadcast journalism as a vehicle for GOP politics was unfolding alongside the development of a conservative media, intellectual and lobbying infrastructure. The so-called Powell Memo of 1971, written by Lewis Powell prior to his appointment to the Supreme Court by Nixon, was a cohering moment for this movement. Powell wrote of the need to

protect America's "free enterprise" system said to be under attack by intellectuals and the media as unwitting communist fifth columnists. The memo rallied the political activism of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce with the creation of right-wing think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation and Cato Institute subsidising and training future conservative scholars, journalists, and liberal media watchdogs. Conservative media voices flourished as a result of this business activism and lobbying efforts toward the Federal Communications Commission allowing for corporate consolidation and the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine. The resulting media deregulation was to the benefit of right-wing talk radio, which would serve as a fecund training ground for Fox talent. The largesse of Rupert Murdoch's News Corp also fuelled Fox's aggressive acquisition strategy of local affiliates and a bold market entry in 1996 through payments to cable providers to carry the network.

Ailes and Fox would come to sit astride the broader currents of movement conservatism, shaping its popular narratives and making television spectacle central to the backlash against the liberal cultural elite. The cliché example of television's impact on American politics is the transformation of Nixon from a victim of John F. Kennedy's telegenic charms in 1960 to bridging his emerging silent majority via television in 1968. Ailes was integral to this effort, creating staged debates with meticulously selected "ordinary" Americans that aired in regional television markets in order to get around what Ailes perceived as liberal censorship and go directly to the people. With Fox, Ailes established a permanent Republican campaign through a televisual spectacle of anti-journalism.

Fox was at war with liberal journalism but also the high-brow trappings of traditional right-wing media institutions such as National Review by addressing its audience not as dispassionate truth-seekers but an aggrieved populist public. The programming innovation of Fox was a patina of straight news during the day, centered upon conservative talking points, which fed into a prime-time schedule of pugnacious right-wing opinion hosts such as Bill O'Reilly and Sean Hannity. As of June 2021, Hannity continues to star at Fox while O'Reilly and Ailes were forced out after a

series of sexual misconduct allegations and settlements came to light in 2016–2017.

Fox House Style

The journalistic style, or what Pierre Bourdieu would call *habitus*, produced by this convergence of conservative political forces was a populist pugilism as part of a permanent Republican Party culture war. Fox presented its mission as combating liberal bias and reclaiming the values, or cultural capital, of journalism through a market populism. The slogans “#1 in News,” “Most Watched, Most Trusted” and the browbeating of opponents over ratings by hosts like Bill O’Reilly made winning the ratings war a participatory demonstration of conservative cultural power. While winning was a first-order principle, there is a veneer of journalistic cultural capital in the claims to be “Fair & Balanced” or the slogan “We Report, You Decide.” The underlying populist inflection of these journalism maxims is neatly evinced by the Fox Nation streaming service. The site’s mission statement reads:

The Fox Nation is committed to the core principles of tolerance, open debate, civil discourse, and fair and balanced coverage of the news. It is for those opposed to intolerance, excessive government control of our lives, and attempts to monopolize opinion or suppress freedom of thought, expression, and worship. (Jutel, 2013)

For the general Fox viewer, any statement of journalistic principle is inseparable from culture war and railing against liberal media. O’Reilly was a key figure in this regard, cultivating a *habitus* as an experienced member of the industry appearing to level with his viewers about the reality of *The New York Times* and what the “pinheads” don’t want you to know.

The success of this formula and Fox’s dominance in cable news is inextricably linked to the presidency of George W. Bush. The attacks on September 11, 2001, and subsequent wars proved the military and political campaigns that would enable Fox’s cultural ascent. The transformation of news into the equivalent of what journalist Matt Taibbi has described as sports media “hom-erism” played out on Fox on a civilizational scale

in the “war on terror.” While the Iraq War and weapons of mass destruction were a defining journalistic failure for *The New York Times* and others, Fox’s measure of success was not related to journalistic veracity but its decisive role in transforming American culture and the spectacle of war. If the first Gulf War was a broadcast event defined by CNN’s detached *habitus* of technological precision, then Fox’s ratings conquest was staked on actively participating in “smoking out” the enemy. From the Stars and Stripes graphics splashed across the screen, long-serving correspondent Geraldo Rivera’s pledge to personally shoot Osama bin Laden or O’Reilly’s denunciation of war critics and the French as in bed with terrorists; this was a spectacle premised upon the populist enjoyment of striking back at foreign and domestic enemies. The effect of Fox’s success represented a fundamental recentering of journalism and politics around this patriotic fervor. MSNBC fired its highest rated host, the anti-war Phil Donahue, fearing that the network would be seen as unpatriotic.

Audience Populism

Fox’s role in coalescing modern movement conservatism through televisual spectacle has had the effect of reorienting conservative political networks around Fox. Fox has become an important site of power with the ability to launch the careers of politicians, authors, activists, and various conservative celebrities. Conservative politics has been folded into Fox’s ratings logic and what might be called *media entrepreneurialism* now dominates all aspects of conservative political networks. Access to Fox’s politically activated viewership and the performance of a populist authenticity have become the defining commercial and ideological imperatives of conservative movement politics.

Trump’s regular appearances on the programs *Fox & Friends* and *The Sean Hannity Show* were key in seeding his presidential run, itself more of a brand campaign than a committed ideological project. In the case of former Fox host Glenn Beck, his performance as a populist true believer and strong ratings allowed him to launch his own network TheBlaze and bring more unruly and radical forms of right-wing populism onto Fox.

This is the tension that would define Fox in its role at the center of movement conservatism with activated audiences proving unruly and unpredictable.

This dynamic was set in motion by the need to rebrand the conservative movement under the Obama presidency from the failed martial triumphalism of Bush into a small government populist insurgency. This period also coincided with Fox and News Corp's forays into web 2.0. New engagement strategies based on social media participation and the retention of audiences across platforms corresponded to the task of forging this new conservative identity. Thus, in 2009 Fox coordinated the Tea Party movement, which turned viewership into a form of political activism and protest.

In bridging the Tea Party through exuberant live broadcasts of protests, Fox created a nexus between its hosts, key lobbying groups such as Freedom Works, and an activist audience that would extend conservative networks into emerging web 2.0 platforms. Audiences participated in a lucrative closed loop for Fox News and conservative media entrepreneurs, as they produced the very spectacle of protest that they consumed as Fox viewers. This model of free and affective labor around media and political brands would become the basis of Trump's presidential campaign in 2016. It would also push the boundaries of Fox content past the liberal bias critique and culture war trifles such as the "war on Christmas," into anti-Semitic and John Birch Society conspiracies that would culminate in the rise of the alt-right.

Fox's vanguard populist personality in this period was Glenn Beck who at his ratings peak in early 2010 threatened to catch the top-rated *O'Reilly Factor* despite a timeslot outside prime-time. Beck's innovation was to present his show as a form of revolutionary education constantly enjoining his audience to "do your own research." In his performances, he delivered 20-minute monologues fanning white racial anxiety of Obama's "socialism" and designating George Soros the "puppet master of a cultural Marxist plot." Beck represented a high point in Fox's populist anti-journalism spectacle as a Howard Beale-like figure weeping for his country, prophesizing apocalypse, and professing love for his

audience of patriots. This performance of authenticity was effective in plugging viewers into Tea Party online communities and his other media ventures beyond Fox. It was this affective performance of populist authenticity that allowed Beck to function alongside former Republican vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin, herself now a Reality TV star, as a de facto Tea Party leader with protests on Washington, DC. Beck left Fox in 2011 due to a sponsor boycott of his show for his anti-Semitic attacks on Soros and statement that Obama has a "deep-seated hatred for white people." For Fox and movement conservatism, the Tea Party pivot proved highly effective, as evidenced by Fox's unbroken ratings triumph, the 2010 midterms, and a decline of Democrat control of state houses and governorships under Obama to levels not seen since the 1920s. Fox's logic of the permanent campaign, increased audience autonomy, and the incentives for media entrepreneurs to push boundaries has precipitated a radicalization of the party base seeking a maximalist approach to governance. Having been primed to view Obama as an existential threat to the republic, the Tea Party caucus in Congress were incapable of accepting victory, most significantly rejecting the so-called fiscal Grand Bargain which aimed to cut Social Security and Medicare, long-running conservative goals.

The tension between an activated conservative base and a programmatic legislative agenda has swung decisively toward the base, as the Republican Congressional caucus itself is increasingly made up of insurgents or disciplined by the political activism of Fox's populist audience. Fox's success in turning viewership into a form of mobilization for movement conservatism has empowered this base to indulge in maximalist political rhetoric and conspiracy as their own ends.

The significance of Trump is not merely as a beneficiary of conservative networks and Fox's media power but the manner in which he exceeds and undermines them. Able to draw on his activated base of social media followers and with media capital by virtue of his celebrity, he engaged in a populist politics of grievance, conspiracy, and spectacle largely detached from conservative institutional power and centered around himself. The critique of liberal bias became Trump's

denunciation of fake news, a charge which Fox itself has not been immune to. Relations between Fox and Trump have been chequered with Trump's misogynistic attacks on Megyn Kelly, his boycotting of a primary debate in 2016, and his accusations of being abandoned by Fox during his attempts to overturn the 2020 election. His propensity for conspiracy and embrace of fringe radicals has buoyed online movements such as the alt-right and QAnon.

Researchers have spoken of the "Fox Effect" with the network misinforming audiences around issues such as climate change or weapons of mass destruction, which were tied to specific and rational Republican objectives, however cynical. The "Trump Effect" on conservative networks has been to subsume its politics to media fantasies about battling antifa, cultural Marxism, and Obama's "deep state" in perpetuity. The legacy of Ailes's coalescence of conservative networks around Fox has been to create a form of media power that while defining conservative politics can no longer be corralled to advance coherent political interests, let alone anything resembling journalistic values. What Bourdieu (1998) decried as television journalism's "populist spontaneism and demagogic capitulation to popular tastes" (p. 48) has in Fox News become the pure spectacle of far-right fantasy.

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See also Anchors, Television; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Cable News; Television Commentary

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FRAMING

As a mass communication theory, framing describes the active process of creating, selecting, and shaping aspects of reality in communicative texts. The results of this dynamic activity are called *frames*. This entry first examines the ways in which framing has been defined and goes on to trace its theoretical roots in various disciplines and identify the core processes and underlying paradigms in framing. Next, the early works that shaped the field of study are reviewed and subsequent research explored. The entry concludes with a brief discussion of the ways in which scholars have critiqued the concept of framing and argued for new approaches to the field.

To paraphrase a landmark 1993 definition by scholar Robert Entman, frames perform a variety of tasks, such as defining social problems and their causes, emphasizing certain moral judgments, and promoting particular solutions or policy decisions. Since its inception in the early 1970s, framing has become an oft-used theoretical framework in the study of journalism and mass communication and one of the most utilized mass communication theories of the present era. As sociologist Gaye Tuchman (1943–) explained in her book *Making News*, the framing metaphor suggests that news functions as a window through which audiences learn about the world outside. But such frames are problematic—like any window, the view afforded depends on the size and

construction of the frame as well as the viewer's vantage point in relation to the frame.

Framing has theoretical roots in several fields, including mass communication, sociology, political science, and psychology. As a social scientific theory, framing functions as a bridge among diverse perspectives and across disparate research paradigms, from empirical-positivist-quantitative studies to critical-interpretive-qualitative work. Framing is lauded for its versatility in crossing these intellectual divides. Furthermore, framing is a term that is used in everyday speech in ways that resemble its theoretical use, lending the concept a degree of face validity.

Framing's theoretical utility stems from the notion that frames exist at all levels of the communication process. The individuals creating content bring their own mental frames (or *schemata*) to the table. The professional norms and routines of the journalism industry—such as the emphasis on conflict and timeliness—manifest themselves in media frames. Elites and social movements are influential frame promoters who battle to establish the dominant framing of an issue, and the political and cultural contexts of a society are reflected in these dominant news frames. Finally, the audiences who consume content carry their own frames, which may be reinforced, challenged, or changed through their exposure to frames in media content.

In 1999, Dietram A. Scheufele explicated four core underlying processes that encompass framing: the *frame building* activities undertaken by influential parties who hope to shape media discourse; the *frame setting* effects that stem from the interaction between journalist frames and the audience; the *individual-level processes* involved in audience-level comprehension of frames; and, finally, the *interpretive feedback loop* that results from the fact that journalists are also audience members embedded in the same culture as the rest of the audience. When considered across those distinct processes, framing's greatest potential is to illuminate a holistic picture of public opinion formation and change—from the antecedents of content, through the conditions that influence characteristics of content itself, to the effects of content on the public.

However, this very versatility also has led people to criticize framing as a “fractured paradigm”

that lacks rigor or internal consistency. As such, even as researchers continue to investigate the process of framing, there remain overarching theoretical and methodological questions to be addressed. Scheufele, along with Michael A. Cacciatore (1981–) and Shanto Iyengar (1947), have urged scholars to abandon the use of the general term *framing*, instead encouraging researchers to focus on specific types of framing—namely, research that focuses on equivalence versus emphasis.

Paradigmatic Approaches to Framing

Generally, framing research falls within three main paradigmatic approaches: cognitive, critical, and constructionist. In the *cognitive* paradigm, researchers examine the ways in which media audiences' knowledge and experience connect with news frames. This approach focuses on the impact that different ways of wording a message has on individual-level understandings. It has been critiqued, however for being unrealistic in that people do not confront frames one at a time, but rather all bundled up.

The *critical* paradigm, on the other hand, focuses its attention on issues of domination and power relations that undergird the practice of journalism itself. Critical framing scholars argue that the very processes and structures of journalism favor the ideologies of the elites who dominate media discourse. Critical framing scholars are interested in the ways communicators consciously or unconsciously construct particular points of view that encourage certain interpretations by making some facts more noticeable than others. These frames naturalize certain interpretations so they become taken for granted. Thus, critical scholars are acutely aware of the voices that are missing from the dominant discourse.

The *constructionist* paradigm tends to consider news frames as products of a social environment in which communicators and audience members act in dialogue with one another. From this point of view, frames aren't inherently interesting, but rather they gain meaning for what they can tell us about the circumstances of their creation and which particular realities they emphasize. The constructionist paradigm was summarized by

Rens Vliegthart (1980–) and Liesbet van Zoonen (1959–) in a series of axioms: frames are multiple and can be oppositional; they are part of a struggle for meaning between actors with unequal resources; they are the result of routine processes; and the frames used by audience members are socially situated and combined with other social processes.

Although these are distinct strands of framing, there are also some overlaps. Both the constructionist and critical paradigms are interested in the power relations that media content represent, while both constructionist and cognitive paradigms are curious about the effects of different frames on social actors. As such, it is probably more useful to look at framing as a field in which the paradigmatic borders are porous.

Early Works

The origin of the framing concept is attributed to Gregory Bateson (1904–1980), who introduced it in 1955 to describe a psychological structure that delimits a set of actions. However, sociologist Erving Goffman (1922–1982) is widely credited with launching framing as a coherent area of study. Goffman's 1974 book *Frame Analysis* did not explicitly deal with news content, but Goffman's ideas were quickly seized upon by sociologists who were interested in the ways news coverage contributed to—and reflected—the social construction of reality. This first group of scholars who applied the framing concept to news production included Tuchman, as well as Herbert Gans (1927–), Todd Gitlin (1943–), William Gamson (1934–), and Andre Modigliani.

In this early strand of work, framing was not conceptualized solely as an issue of media content, but rather a common part of everyday existence as people negotiate, manage, comprehend, and respond to reality. Importantly, this process of the social construction of reality is facilitated and influenced by the industrialized and routinized production of content by mass communication companies. Timeworn journalistic conventions like conflict, objectivity, and timeliness are central to the construction of news storylines, but these are value-laden concepts that are often reflective of the corporate arrangements that govern them. Even as framing research began to shift through the 1980s

and 1990s, several conceptual definitions from this era—notably those by Goffman, Gamson and Modigliani, and Gitlin—remain frequently used by researchers.

Framing as a Media Effect

In addition to the sociological strand of framing research, there is a broad swath of cognitive research that examines the psychological effects of news frames. In particular, such researchers use framing to examine the effects of persuasive messages on individuals. Research suggests that news frames have the power to shape audience interpretations of issues and events through the selection and prominence of some information and the exclusion of other information. Sometimes news frames contain cues that discuss issues in terms of losses or gains, which in turn shapes social judgments and decisions.

In a series of landmark studies, Amos Tversky (1937–1996) and Daniel Kahneman (1934–) examined *equivalency framing*, which presented research subjects with alternative framings of issues that were mostly equivalent, but that emphasized different aspects of the story. Unlike earlier eras in which powerful media effects were believed, the cognitive paradigm does not envision such automatic effects. Rather, in this context, the effects of frames are mediated by their *accessibility* (i.e., the extent to which the audience member has existing mental models that relate to the frame) as well as the importance that the audience member places on an issue. Individuals possess cognitive dimensions—frames in thought—that influence their evaluations of issues that either match or are in opposition to the frames in communication.

Framing as Patterns of Emphasis

Another turning point was marked by Robert Entman's 1993 conceptual definition of framing as the selection of aspects of a perceived reality to “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 43). While this is far from the only conceptual definition of framing, it has emerged as the dominant one, in part because of its effectiveness for content analysis.

Unlike the equivalency framing studied in the cognitive paradigm, this definition was more consistent with *emphasis framing*, which focuses on which stories media workers select to tell, and which aspects of those stories are highlighted. News frames are often the result of competitive processes among social movement actors and political elites to have their preferred explanations and solutions become the most accepted by media actors and, later, the public. In the battle for motivating citizens to take action, the side that wins the framing battle often wins the war. Building on Entman's definition, Jörg Matthes (1977–) and Matthias Kohring (1965–) proposed that frames can be conceptualized as *patterns of frame elements* that cluster together over a corpus of media content. Iyengar examined different presentations of information on audience judgments and choices, focusing on two types of generic frames: *episodic frames*, which depict issues as specific instances; and *thematic frames*, which depict issues in more broad and abstract terms by placing them in some context.

The frames emphasized in media content can also be compared to the frames promoted by social actors or the public. For example, Entman's *cascading activation* model explains the ways interpretive frames are activated and spread among top-level officials, non-government elites, news organizations, and the public—and the ways in which feedback from lower to higher levels of the process shape debate.

Applications of Framing

Framing is related to *agenda setting*, particularly in the area of *attribute agenda setting* (also known as *second-level agenda setting*). While the original conceptualization of agenda-setting theory posited simply that the topics emphasized in news coverage would become more salient for audiences, the second level of agenda setting is concerned with the cognitive and affective attributes of those topics that are emphasized. When it was first proposed in the late 1990s, second-level agenda setting was described as a combination of framing and agenda setting. Put simply, it examines the extent to which the frames that are emphasized in news coverage causes an increase in salience of those frames among members of the

audience. Framing also relates to *priming*, which is the increase of salience at the individual levels.

Limitations of Framing

Despite—or perhaps because of—framing's popularity, it continues to suffer from theoretical weaknesses, including inconsistency in its application, disagreement between the study of generic or issue-specific frames, and a general lack of research that examines framing across multiple levels of the process. Some of these weaknesses come from discrepancies in conceptualization. Is framing a theory? A paradigm? A multiparadigmatic research program? A media effect? A rhetorical perspective? It has been referred to as all of the above in the literature.

There are conflicting perspectives on how to solve this conceptual conundrum. Entman called for greater coherence in framing in his 1993 essay lamenting framing's status as a “fractured paradigm.” Paul D'Angelo responded that framing is better understood as a multiparadigmatic research program that benefits from a diversity of approaches. Given the multitude of views represented by the framing literature, it is perhaps unrealistic to hope for a resolution in the form of a single parsimonious conceptual definition of framing. However, D'Angelo proposed what he called the *hard core* of framing for scholars no matter what perspective they are working in. This hard core suggests that framing studies must do one or more of the following: identify thematic units called *frames*, investigate the antecedent conditions that cause frames, examine how news frames activate and interact with individual prior knowledge to influence interpretations, and study how news frames shape social level processes.

A second main theoretical weakness in framing research involves the level of abstraction at which frames are examined; that is, whether the research has identified generic frames that can be generalized across time, topic, and location; or whether it looks at frames that were identified for a specific context and cannot be generalized. This presents a dilemma for researchers: whether to conduct a detailed analysis with that is not generalizable, or take an all-purpose approach that is useful for

building theory but that loses the rich detail of a specific case.

The third major theoretical deficiency in framing theory is related to the relative paucity of studies that integrate the different parts of the framing process. Framing has been widely proposed as an integrative model, and scholars laud its utility as a versatile research paradigm. But in the published literature, there is very little evidence of scholars actually looking at framing across parts of the process—from the antecedents of framing in particular coverage through to published frames' impact on a particular audience.

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See also Agenda Setting; Bias; Objectivity

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FREE DAILY NEWSPAPERS

While there is a long tradition of cheap, advertising-supported newspapers, free daily newspapers exploded around the world in the 1990s as publishers sought to reach younger audiences increasingly disconnected from traditional news media. Typically published 5 days a week, these newspapers' reliance on advertising makes them particularly vulnerable to economic downturns. As of mid-2020, free daily newspapers were being published in 28 countries, including some newspapers that suspended distribution of printed copies for the duration of the coronavirus shutdowns, which decimated both advertising receipts and distribution networks.

Free daily newspapers tend to be produced by small staffs (often no more than a half dozen journalists), printed in a tabloid format, with relatively low page counts. Some reduce publication during holidays, when advertising is sparse. This entry first reviews the business models of free dailies, their origins, and the decline of free dailies in many markets. It concludes with a discussion of how free dailies seek to reach new audiences and the challenges they face.

Business Models

There are two distinct business models for free dailies. The best-known free dailies serve large metropolitan areas, often distributed through mass transit systems, offering a mix of lifestyle and entertainment coverage targeted to younger readers and which can be read in 20 minutes or less. Two chains, Metro and Schibsted, pioneered this model, but it was imitated by many established publishers hoping to expand their brand and advertising reach, or sometimes merely to fend off potential competitors.

A second model targets a very different niche: residents of small cities without consistent news coverage, often in the shadow of major urban centers. Broadcast media and metropolitan dailies often provide regional and national advertising and news to these towns, but cannot effectively provide localized information. A few free dailies have become circulation leaders in their countries, notably *Fréttablaðið*, which has become Iceland's leading newspaper, and Britain's *Evening Standard*, which converted from paid circulation in the face of intense competition.

Origins

There is a long history of advertising-dependent cheap papers, dating back to the late 1700s. The 1800s saw waves of penny newspapers as publishers sought mass audiences with a combination of more popular fare and a nominal price. But, at least in the United States, most newspapers were always dependent upon advertising or other subsidies to cover the costs of news gathering, printing, and distributing.

There are competing claims to the first daily free newspaper. Some scholars point to Australia's *Manly Daily*, established in 1906, as the first. Early nameplates label the paper a "gift," though later editions often featured a price.

In 1978, David Danforth began a mimeographed news sheet, the *Aspen Daily News*, which quickly expanded into a professionally printed tabloid produced by a modest staff. The weekly *Aspen Times* launched its own daily edition in 1988. With some 7,500 year-round residents but a thriving tourism industry, Aspen was the smallest U.S. city to support competing daily newspapers,

both free, as of 2020. Danforth later helped launch networks of small, community-based free daily newspapers with a heavy emphasis on local news in California and New Hampshire.

In 1995, a chain of free newspapers was launched by Metro International on a very different model, targeting younger urban audiences with dailies distributed largely at mass transit hubs. Metro was soon joined by Norwegian-based Schibsted's *20 Minutes* papers. While insisting that individual newspapers were profitable, Metro reported substantial company-wide losses before going private, and both chains retrenched after 2009.

By 2007, free newspapers accounted for a quarter of European newspaper readership and were the most-read daily newspapers in several countries. Europe accounted for nearly two thirds of global circulation of free dailies, with 133 titles in 31 countries, and many cities served by three or four titles. Advertising plummeted with the global recession in 2008, and many titles were merged or closed. Today, only 11 European countries have free daily newspapers: Austria, Belgium, Britain, the Czech Republic, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. Only four have more than one title (though many issue regional editions), and the preeminent scholar of the field, Piet Bakker, argues that few markets can sustain more than a single free daily newspaper.

Retrenchment

Entirely dependent upon advertising revenues, free newspapers were hit hard by the recession. Several small town dailies closed or reduced publication schedules. Metropolitan newspapers that had added free dailies to broaden their outreach in cities, including newspapers in Chicago, New York City, and Washington, DC, closed or sold them. Swedish-based Metro International sold or closed newspapers across Europe and North America, focusing its efforts on Latin America, often in partnership with local publishers. Some former dailies survive as online sites or weekly titles.

At one point, free daily newspapers served Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, DC. Today only one of New York's three free dailies survives, alongside a much-reduced *Metro Philadelphia*

(Metro sold both titles in January 2020; the *San Francisco Examiner* also survives, publishing 3 times a week). There are also free dailies serving Aspen and Vail, Colorado; Conway and Laconia, New Hampshire (separate papers under common ownership); Jackson Hole, Wyoming; and Palo Alto and Santa Monica, California. Student newspapers like Ann Arbor's *Michigan Daily* have extended coverage to their communities after local dailies closed.

In Canada, there were once competing national and local free dailies. As of 2020, the only free newspapers published in Canada were two French-language papers in Montreal, one owned by publisher Quebecor and the other by the owner of a regional print distribution firm.

In Great Britain, *Metro* (owned by the Daily Mail and General Trust) and the *Evening Standard* have substantial national circulations alongside the much smaller London business daily *City AM*, but a dozen competitors have failed. In Spain, the number of titles fell from 34 in 2006 to one (in four regional editions) in 2020. In Switzerland, there were eight free dailies in 2008 but as of 2020, only *20 Minuten* (now in local hands) remained, albeit in several regional editions published in French and German.

Malaysia's *The Sun* converted to free distribution in 2002 and became that country's leading English-language newspaper. Hong Kong is served by two Mandarin-language and one English-language free newspapers, all owned by local publishers.

Some free newspapers have been established for partisan purposes. *Israel Hayom*, owned and heavily subsidized by U.S. gambling magnate Sheldon Adelson, employs a large staff and is Israel's most-read daily newspaper. But it has never been a commercial venture; rather, the paper exists to undermine Israel's traditional newspapers and to push Israeli politics to the right. In Kenya, *People Daily*, owned by a media company associated with President Uhuru Kenyatta, switched to free distribution in 2014 in an effort to become the country's circulation-leading newspaper.

Latin America was somewhat late to the field but has seen two rounds of new launches and consolidation. It is the only region where the growth of free dailies has been accompanied by a broader increase in newspaper circulation (which was low by

international standards). Eleven countries have free daily newspapers, often with several regional editions, published by an existing paid newspaper or in a joint venture with Metro International. There are multiple titles in Argentina, Brazil (one national), Chile (one national), Colombia (two national), the Dominican Republic, Mexico (two national), and Puerto Rico. Metro Intl. has daily papers in six countries (typically with a local partner), as well as a weekly in Puerto Rico. But even Latin America has seen a sharp decline in free dailies, from 38 titles in 2012 to 21 in 2020.

Free Dailies and New Audiences

Studies exploring the impact of free dailies on paid circulation find that they reach readers who rarely purchase traditional newspapers. The number of newspaper publishers who continued issuing free papers after driving competitors from the field tends to support that conclusion. However, efforts to draw a specialized audience with sports or business titles, evening editions, or more substantive news coverage have generally failed. The most notable exception is in Iceland where the home-delivered *Fréttablaðið* offers coverage comparable to many paid dailies, sometimes publishing 80 pages or more.

Profitability in the sector has proved difficult to sustain, however, particularly in competitive markets. The most durable titles are part of larger publishing groups that can support business and editorial operations. Britain's *Metro*, for example, can draw upon its owner's national distribution and printing network, advertising sales staff and other resources. Free-standing dailies have found it more difficult to sustain publication, lacking the resources to weather temporary downturns in advertising.

For many markets, the costs of charging for distribution (both actual costs and opportunity costs of readers foregone) outweigh the potential circulation revenue. However, free newspapers are entirely dependent upon fickle advertising receipts and face strong competition from other free media outlets.

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See also Advertising; Penny Press; Tabloid Newspapers

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FREE EXPRESSION, HISTORY OF

In early modern Europe and North America, many conflicts over freedom of expression occurred, occasioned by the development of the printing press, on the one hand, and democratic theory on the other. By the twentieth century, a standard history of these struggles had become canonical for political theorists as well as for the occupations that are most invested in freedom of expression—lawyers, publishers, librarians, academics, religious activists—and journalists.

Journalism as a practice and an institution has been fundamentally shaped by these struggles. Positioning itself as the gateway between governments and their publics, journalism has defined itself in part as the instrument people rely on to acquire the information they need to protect themselves from and to participate in government; journalism also has thought of itself as

representing the voice of the people. The culture of journalism pivots on struggles over government control of information and expression. Journalism's identity relies on a collective memory about its role in continually expanding the area of free expression.

Conceptualizing the Notion

Several different approaches to the history of freedom of expression are common. The oldest and best established is a liberal approach, sometimes called the “Whig theory of history.” This theory begins with the premise that power, including the power of government, is always hostile to individual liberty. In the Whig theory, history is the story of the continual advance of liberty. This viewpoint is rooted in liberal political philosophy, which holds that liberty advances because people are free by nature, and “ideas want to be free” as well.

The 1956 book *Four Theories of the Press* by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm put forward one variant of the liberal approach. It identifies a “libertarian” theory of the press, which has confidence in the rationality of free individuals and proposes that minimal government interference will be the best policy for a media system. It contrasts the libertarian theory with the “authoritarian” theory on the right and the “Soviet communist” theory on the left, which both call for massive oversight and leadership of the media system. The *Four Theories* model is somewhat different from the “Whig” model inasmuch as it sees the rise of the mass media requiring a modification of “libertarian” theory into a fourth theory, the “social responsibility theory.” The social responsibility theory distinguishes between the freedom of expression of *persons* and the freedom of the *media*, and concludes that the latter is derived from and justified only to serve the former.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum, there is a series of critical—as opposed to liberal—approaches to the question of freedom of expression. These approaches dispute a key point shared by liberal theories: that the realm of ideas and expression is relatively autonomous from the realm of material wealth and power. The classic expression of this position comes from German social scientists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,

who declare in the *German Ideology* that the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of the ruling class, who own the mental as well as material means of production. Feminist critics and some proponents of critical race theory, who understand public discourse as a “zero-sum” game in which more speech for some means less speech for others, take a similar position. From a critical perspective, the history of freedom of expression can be understood only as a feature of a larger history of political struggle among groups identified by race, class, and gender.

A third approach, emphasizing the historical development of the “public sphere,” mediates between liberal and critical approaches. Inspired by the work of German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, thinkers who use the concept of the public sphere to talk about freedom of expression emphasize the importance of the development of a space of public deliberation. Like critical scholars, they point to the importance of economic development, social classes, material struggles over political power, and the material development of media forms as factors in the creation of a public sphere and the norms of public communication that govern it. Like liberal scholars, on the other hand, they point to the importance of free expression and rational deliberation within the public sphere.

Each of these approaches projects a different historical view. But any account of what we now call freedom of expression muddles the distinctions on which these approaches pivot. This is because freedom of expression is itself a constructed object. The term *freedom of expression* is a relatively recent invention. But with its construction came a kind of obligation to create a lineage for it.

Development

One might usefully begin the history of freedom of expression with the European struggles over control of information at the end of the medieval period. John Milton’s *Areopagitica* (1644), one of the first arguments in English for freedom of the press, begins with a history of censorship, which, after touching on and then dismissing incidents in the ancient and medieval worlds, argues that the true origin of censorship came with the Roman Catholic office of the Inquisition. Milton’s history

is disingenuous, of course. His rhetorical purpose was to identify censorship with an institution that his target audience would loathe; he tried to deflect attention away from the fact that all European governing institutions also constructed systems of press regulation around the same time.

The European invention of the printing press in 1450 seems to have been the cause for the invention of press regulation. Printing was immediately understood to be a technology with deep implications for the flow of ideas and information. Historian Elizabeth Eisenstein has argued that the printing press was an “agent of change” and that it altered the cultural environment by introducing “fixity,” her term for the permanence and standardization associated with printed work. Moreover, she suggests, the printing press multiplied the number of texts that any individual could conveniently encounter, and thereby produced a tremendous cross-fertilization that in turn nurtured the Renaissance and Reformation, the scientific revolution, the growth of the nation-state, and the crystallization of vernacular languages. Other scholars have challenged Eisenstein. Historian Adrian Johns, for instance, argues that rather than fixity, printing’s first effect was to multiply forgeries and piracies. According to Johns, only when a regime of copyright law stabilized the print marketplace did fixity occur.

For the history of freedom of expression, it is not the printing revolution per se that is important, but the conflict between printing and the law. Established authorities perceived printing as potentially threatening and tried to construct webs of control. The regime of copyright law that Johns cites was a strand within one such web. In England, the larger web combined elements of church, state, and the private sector. Beginning with the Tudor monarchs in the sixteenth century, and formalized in the Star Chamber decree of 1586, England controlled printing through prepublication licensing by officials operating under the Crown’s Privy Council and the Church of England. The Crown also granted a monopoly to the Stationers’ Company, the trade organization of printers and booksellers. The Stationers’ Company in turn policed its membership, taking care not to alienate the authorities. Other nations achieved a different balance of mechanisms of control, but all pursued a system of prepublication censorship.

Nevertheless, these systems of press control proved ineffective in times of strain. Printing was too mobile a technology for Europe, with its competing jurisdictions and geopolitical and religious divisions. Cultural historian Robert Darnton has documented the network of print distribution that allowed Swiss publishers to produce Enlightenment works for the French market. Earlier, printers in Amsterdam had produced English-language news-books for the public in England. Moreover, within any particular country, patrons with means could find sympathetic or ambitious printers willing to produce contraband publications.

Regulation could not prevent movements from finding expression in print. The Reformation and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century revolutions all featured bursts of publication activity; in some cases activists in these movements made freedom of expression a cause in itself. In England, the period of revolution that began in 1640 saw the collapse virtually overnight of the complicated Tudor and Stuart system of regulation and an explosion of discordant newspapers and pamphlets. When the revolutionary Parliament moved in 1642 to create its own system of licensing, John Milton responded with *Areopagitica*, which argued against prepublication licensing, although it allowed that the state had a legitimate right to burn publications that advocated “Popery, and open superstition.” This outburst of relatively uncontrolled publication proved temporary, and after the Stuart monarchy was restored in 1660 firmer regulations were put in place. But these also eventually fell. The creation in practice of freedom of political expression often resulted from accidental political events. In England, the failure in 1695 of competing parties in Parliament to negotiate a renewal of the Printing Act produced de facto freedom of the press. The parties, however, remained suspicious of the value of free public discussion of politics, and in 1712 adopted a stamp tax that in effect doubled the price of newspapers, substituting economic regulation for content regulation.

In many western European countries, it proved difficult to silence empowered groups. New bourgeois classes appeared and asserted their rights to freedom of conscience, political participation, and, therefore, free expression. Alongside the achievement of enfranchisement, universalistic

explanations developed to legitimate these liberal policies.

Some of these explanations appealed to natural rights. Philosophers such as John Locke argued that the rights to “life, liberty, and estate” were rooted in natural law. In essence, men owned themselves, and by extension their labor and their thoughts, and had the right to do with them what they will. This naturalistic argument paralleled the religious argument that humans were endowed by nature with the capacity and the duty to make moral choices, and that governments should not interfere in the exercise of individual moral decisions.

In addition to these “metaphysical” justifications, liberals asserted that freedom of expression would also have practical effects. One recurring motif was that free discussion would lead toward progress because truth would prevail over falsehood in any fair contest. Another common assertion was that freedom of expression was necessary to maintain the vigor of beliefs in the face of a tendency toward bland conformity. This social need for lively belief also, it was argued, required toleration of unorthodox positions, especially religious ones. For the most part, early liberals presumed that there would be limits to free expression. For the most part, they presumed that non-Christians, nonwhites, women, and the poor would not participate in public discourse. They also assumed that there would be a certain etiquette to the public sphere marked by an appeal to disinterested reason.

Transformations

The public sphere, according to Habermas, came into existence in early modern Europe as the realm of private life/civil society separated itself from the state, which was in the process of transforming itself from the person and household of the monarch to a permanent bureaucratic structure. This space between civil society and the state was to work as both a steering mechanism for the state and a buffer zone protecting private rights. It could work as a steering mechanism because it allowed citizens to communicate freely on matters of common concern. It could work as a buffer zone because it kept the government under public supervision. In this liberal model of the public

sphere, any empowered individual could enter public space, but only as a “citizen.” Because a separation of civil society from the state was constitutional to the public sphere, citizens were expected to repress or “negate” their purely personal interests when entering it: they were to speak as “no one,” or as “anyone.” And they were to assume that everyone was watching. So the norms of public discourse assumed that public speech was by no one for everyone. The Federalist papers, anonymously authored by “Publius,” exemplify this style of speech. New York newspapers published their content—composed in calm, lawyerly language—with the expectation of republication throughout the nation.

One particular area in which freedom of expression was jealously guarded was legislative privilege. It was a traditional right of legislatures like the House of Commons to enjoy freedom from prosecution in their deliberations. Ironically, this right meant also freedom from public supervision, and was interpreted to prevent all but authorized publications of proceedings. The eighteenth century saw continual maneuverings to publish legislative proceedings, with legislatures attempting to muzzle news outlets in the name of freedom of expression.

The bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century yielded an embodied philosophy of free expression in the form of bills and declarations of rights. The United States protected religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition in the first amendment to its constitution (1791). The French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) includes the following protections:

No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

Such catalogs typically asserted that these rights were natural or divinely ordained. But the logic of the Enlightenment also included an

impulse toward empiricism that worked to undermine the notion of natural rights. Arguing that the book of nature could be understood without the assistance of divine revelation, the scientific revolution that accompanied the political revolutions in the Western world called into question all notions of divine order.

Utilitarian Notions and Tyranny of the Majority

If rights could not be justified by an appeal to the natural order, then the appropriate response called for an emphasis on utilitarian notions of the grounding of rights. In England, philosophers James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill articulated such notions, arguing that acknowledging a right to free expression had the practical effect of promoting the discovery of new truths and prolonging the liveliness of existing truths, resulting in a more dynamic social order and a more equitable political order. But utilitarian justifications could always be falsified by experience. One could argue that a panoptic society was more functional than a libertarian one. Likewise, in utilitarian or consequentialist notions of free expression, there would always be a question of balance. Free expression would be just one among a host of other goods, like the right to privacy or property rights.

A utilitarian justification of free expression was falsifiable by practice. In the wake of the eighteenth-century establishment of freedom of expression, as well as other individual rights of private security and political participation, a series of observers described shortcomings in the practice of free democratic societies. The most famous of these observations are Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* and John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*. De Tocqueville noted that freedom of the press had produced explosive growth in the number of newspapers in the United States, but that this had resulted in a general lowering of the quality of journalism. Any individual newspaper or journalist had little authority, but cumulatively the press was very powerful indeed. Its power was the power of democracy, a system in which a raw majority of the people could exercise power in every realm of social, cultural, and political life. Mill echoed de Tocqueville’s alarm over the

potential “tyranny of the majority.” Repeating his father James Mill’s arguments about the importance of free expression for the continual progress toward truth in a dynamic society, Mill pointed out that a “tyranny of custom” had appeared in Victorian England, and that this threatened the independence of the strong individuals on the creative periphery of the society necessary to drive continued development.

The rights talk of the bourgeois revolutions had been majoritarian. The point of protecting free expression was to allow the majority to deliberate, to form public opinion, and to assert it in the face of constituted authority. Constitutional law professor Akhil Reed Amar has convincingly argued that the U.S. Bill of Rights (1791) was a majoritarian document. This alarmed de Tocqueville and Mill. Though neither proposed restricting freedom of expression, their critiques implied that there should be policies aimed at countering majority impulses.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the industrial west had developed a minoritarian agenda for freedom of expression. Movements and groups outside the mainstream used the notion of freedom of expression as a political tool to protect core beliefs, practices, or identities from majority pressure. Sometimes these actors concentrated on concerns that might be considered private—sex and religion were frequent flashpoints. Sometimes the stakes were political or cultural. In many cases in Britain and the United States, the key issue was class power. In Britain, property restrictions on voting and the stamp tax on publications gave a class edge to questions of equal rights. In the United States, attempts to limit the labor movement’s exercise of free expression defined the issue at century’s turn. Arguably, these outsider groups invented the twentieth-century notion of freedom of expression. At the same time, some of these struggles generated anti-liberal notions of free expression.

In the United States, the World War I era marked a climax in the development of thinking about freedom of expression. In the background were fears about the tyranny of the majority—always also a fear of domination by the lower classes—intensified by new, more sensual media, especially motion pictures and recorded music, which seemed to undermine cultural authority by

directly entering the eyes and ears of morally, culturally, and socially vulnerable populations—women, children, exhausted workers. Against this background appeared all the abuses of political communication associated with a new age of total war—propaganda in every form, and official and informal repression of dissidents. In the wake of World War I, a civil liberties coalition emerged, consisting of lawyers, academics, librarians, artists, and journalists. This coalition aimed to protect individual expression. At the same time, the experience of the propaganda effort and the failure of the news media to counter it produced a new sense of apprehension about the power of the media. Thinkers such as journalist and political commentator Walter Lippmann called for some institutional corrective for commercial media—in Lippmann’s case, expert intelligence bureaus that would provide authoritative information to decision makers.

Libertarian and Public Service Models

These quite different legacies of World War I inspired two very different liberal traditions of addressing the problem of free expression. The civil liberties movement inspired a libertarian approach. Emphasizing the protection of individual freedom from government interference, this approach predicted that allowing the broadest exploitation of free expression to every conceivable actor, including both nonmainstream voices and the emerging corporate media industries, would produce a healthy and diverse realm of public discourse.

But the suspicion of the power of the media produced a very different approach. If media were becoming larger, more monopolistic, and more powerful, as the new terms *mass media* and *mass communications* suggested, then competition in the marketplace could no longer be counted upon to provide a healthy realm of public discourse. Instead, media outlets had to be tasked with the responsibility to provide a virtual marketplace, or *marketplace of ideas*, also a novel term in the middle third of the twentieth century. This approach to free expression viewed individual freedom as requiring media stewardship, and amounted to a public service or social democratic vision of media freedom.

The public service model of free expression seemed in the ascendant at the end of World War II. In the United States, practical moves like the breakup of the Hollywood studio system in the late 1940s and publication of the FCC's 1946 "Blue Book" setting standards for broadcast licensees gave concrete form to the abstract articulation of "social responsibility theory." The idea was perhaps most clearly articulated by the Hutchins Commission, whose 1947 report, *A Free and Responsible Press*, is credited with crystallizing this approach. Internationally, similar developments in European countries, which had already instituted a public service regime for telecommunications and were more advanced in developing media professionalism, suggested ways of fulfilling the "right to communicate" set forth in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The UN Declaration's wording was designed to embrace more than these two liberal traditions, however. It also suggested a different approach to free expression coming from the Marxist tradition. Marxism rejected the assertion in liberalism that the realm of ideas operates by different rules than the material realm. In the material realm, goods are distributed in roughly a zero-sum fashion—more oil or gold for you is less for me. Liberals asserted that more speech is good for everyone, and that the solution to any equity problem in communication is simply more speech. Marxists pointed out that liberalism's notion of protecting freedom from government interference translated into a preservation of inequality in the private realm—more speech for the rich is less speech for the poor. So Marxists called for a redistribution of communicative resources.

Such a redistribution, while elegant in theory, was difficult to implement. In nations governed by Marxist authorities, like the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Marxist theory translated into a combination of party control of media systems coupled with a kind of professionalization of media work with the agenda of creating a realm of correct political discourse. By the 1930s in the Soviet Union and by the 1960s in the People's Republic of China, apparently seamless systems of state-controlled media operation were in operation. These systems were supposed to be transitional, pending maturation of communist society. Few

Marxists claim these systems to be appropriate embodiments of Marxist principles, which would require a less alienated body of media workers and a more responsive, less centrally controlled, and more open news and media culture. Into the twenty-first century, no mature Marxist national media system offered itself as a paradigm.

Global Free Expression, the MacBride Commission, and Right to Recognition

By the second half of the twentieth century, however, the language of freedom of expression, like the language of democratic governance, had become the default language of the international community. As the Universal Declaration attests, a global consensus endorsed something called free expression, even though many different conceptualizations of it existed. The tension between these conceptualizations played out in the 1970s and 1980s in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO.

Calls for a "New World Information and Communication Order" led UNESCO to create a commission, headed by Sean MacBride. Formally called the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (and informally the MacBride Commission), it issued its report, *Many Voices, One World*, in 1980. The report acknowledged a series of imbalances in communication that paralleled imbalances in wealth, with the north controlling international wire services, international markets in film and broadcast entertainment, and consequently the flow of images and information. The report responded to the principle of the free flow of information with a plea for a "free and balanced" flow and suggested a variety of principles and mechanisms to promote it. Critics, usually speaking from liberal principles, seizing on the human rights records of some proponents and on the commission's recommendations for licensing newswriters and for "right of reply," depicted the movement as a concealed attempt at endorsing censorship. The controversy contributed to the withdrawal from UNESCO of both the United States and Great Britain. In the decade that followed, the debate over the international communication and information order shifted from UNESCO to the World Trade Organization as

protecting intellectual property became the key site of struggle.

A continual erosion of the public service model in Western countries accompanied this shift. In the 1980s and 1990s, national telecommunications authorities went through a process of dismantlement or privatization, or privately owned commercial broadcasting and cable or satellite television and radio subsidized them. The collapse of the Soviet bloc after 1989 opened a new territory to commercial media development. In some countries, media entrepreneurs acquired tremendous political influence. The rise to political power of media magnate Silvio Berlusconi in Italy marked the emergence of a new kind of “media politics.”

The MacBride Commission report and the controversy it incited showed the difficulty liberalism as an ideology experiences when the subject of free expression is shifted from the individual to the community. In the MacBride Commission, which took its initial charge from the Universal Declaration, reference was made to the “right to *communicate*.” Liberals note that this is different from the right to free *expression*. Expression does not require that anyone else pay attention, and is in fact freest when no one does. Communication, on the other hand, only exists with some reciprocal action. So a right to communicate entails the imposition of a duty to be communicated with.

Within liberal societies, the parallel frontier involves the right to recognition. Nonmainstream and subaltern groups claim a right to recognition of their identity and culture by the public or the national government, arguing that otherwise their members are denied full equality under the law. Liberals are unaccustomed to thinking of groups as rights-bearing, however. Corporations, for instance, are rights-bearing only because liberalism treats them legally as “fictitious persons”—General Motors has the same First Amendment rights as any citizen. It makes no sense to think of the Quebecois as a fictitious person, however. So on what basis can liberalism require the acknowledgment of Quebec or Canadian francophone culture?

This dilemma has been keenly felt in multicultural nations, particularly those with competing

religious communities. The reception of Salman Rushdie’s 1988 novel *The Satanic Verses* in India and the Muslim world was one such spectacular case. In 2006, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed that were condemned by Muslims as blasphemous and rioting followed in numerous countries. In both cases, Muslims claimed a kind of right to recognition; liberals responded by claiming the issue to be the individual right to free expression.

Such controversies became framed by the larger question of freedom and policing in the post-9/11 age of the Global War on Terror. Although the implications have been most visible in the realms of surveillance and procedural rights, the GWOT has also marked the return of the World War I dynamic, as propaganda has been matched by formal and informal attempts to oversee and curtail certain forms of expression, especially in combat zones. In the United States, “embedding” reporters, covertly funding “expert” sources for cable news shows, planting news in Iraqi media, restricting use of cell phones and blogs by military personnel, wiretapping electronic communication, and surveilling antiwar protesters have awakened traditional civil liberties concerns.

So the beginning of the twentieth century saw conflicting trends in the realm of free expression. On the one hand, the reappearance of patterns of state control and interference looks back to earlier generations of struggle and reenergizes older civil liberties organizations. On the other, technological change and neo-liberalization promise a new era of channel abundance that makes older forms of control, including journalistic professionalization, seem superfluous.

John Nerone

See also Access to Media; Antitrust; Blacklisting; Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; Copyright; First Amendment; Free Flow of Information; Gag Orders; Indecency and Obscenity; Libel; Military and the Media; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Press and Government Relations; Religion Journalism; Secrecy and Leaks; Self-Regulation; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism; Violence Against Journalists; War and Military Journalism

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FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

The idea of a “free flow of information” tends to elicit highly positive connotations, alluding to a world in which all forms of human expression may be transmitted or exchanged without interference from government or private interests for the benefit of humanity. In this respect, it is similar to the sister concept of “free trade.” In both cases, the “purr” qualifier “free” dangerously invites immediate endorsement. The history of the concept from the mid-20th century onward, as the following outline will demonstrate, nonetheless

pits this benign formulation against a number of sometimes less benign or simply rival values, interests, and concerns. These largely arise from a critical consideration of *whose* freedom is being addressed, to communicate *what*, precisely, under *which* conditions? Such considerations invoke concerns about reciprocity, morality, equality, and corresponding public interest regulation. This entry examines the history of the free flow of information, its implications, and use as an ideological tool.

History of Free Flow of Information

While the expression “free flow of information” existed prior to World War II (1939–1945), it was toward the end of that conflict and in the immediately ensuing years that the expression, or the ideas that it encapsulates, came to be embedded in texts of national and international significance. Important examples include (as “free flow of ideas by word and image”) the constitution of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1945), and (as “freedom of opinion and expression”) the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press in the early 1950s. This body addressed the problem of a global imbalance of information structure as early as 1961, as did the United Nations General Assembly in its deliberations in both 1952 and again in 1962.

The intellectual currency of “free flow” has demonstrated durability and adaptability over time, appearing (as “freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media”) in the United Nations’ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and in the 1972 General Conference of UNESCO’s Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange.

Not long after the end of World War II, it came to be widely appreciated that the principle of “free flow of information” might potentially clash

with both the principle of equity between nations in their levels of technological and economic development and with the principle of *national sovereignty*, which can be said to encompass a nation's right to control what is imported into and exported across its national boundaries, even in such spheres as information, science, and expression over which the nation may be said to have some form of ownership interest. In this sense, the transnational delivery of television signals by satellite in the 1960s was widely expected to pose a severe threat to national cultural sovereignty even if, by the 1990s, it seemed that satellite had come to have greater significance at local, national, and regional than at global levels. The critique of "free flow" dovetailed with discourses of media imperialism, which essentially argued that the information environments of developing nations, many of them ex-colonies, were dominated by the former (and continuing) imperial powers, their geopolitical and media corporate interests, content, advertising (much of it for the produce of Western multinationals), and Western technologies.

The "free flow" principle was transmuted accordingly to the principle of a "free and *balanced* flow of information" in the 1978 UNESCO Declaration of Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. This document called for "greater reciprocity" of information, and for a "free flow and better-balanced dissemination of information"—reformulations that were reiterated in the McBride Commission report to UNESCO in 1980. The McBride report was the culmination of a series of debates at conferences hosted principally by UNESCO and by member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, that discussed a proposed "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO), as a necessary sequel to an earlier proposal for a New World Economic Order (NWEO). The story of the NWICO debates and their conflicting philosophical foundations (including Western libertarianism, communism, and the ideology of national development) has been recounted in many sources, including Achal Mehra's 1986 book, *The Free Flow of Information: A New Paradigm*.

The spirit of NWICO had a positive impact in international telephony governance in 1973, when the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) eliminated its earlier, colonial system of voting whereby nations had voted according to the number of colonies they administered, and again in 1982, when the ITU altered its mandate to address the "special needs of the developing countries" (Winseck, 1997). Yet NWICO and the 1980 McBride Commission report met with sustained Western media attack, spearheaded by the United States and Britain (through such venues as the "Voices of Freedom Conference" in 1981 and, in 1982, U.S. Congressional measures against UNESCO, and in the lobbying of the World Press Freedom Committee). Their reaction was articulated in terms of a concern that UNESCO might endorse restrictions on "free flow" imposed by undemocratic governments. It was argued that these might require the licensing of journalists (although UNESCO itself never supported this concept). Western negative reaction should also be pondered in the context of an evolving postcolonial world in which the United Nations was no longer so pliable a tool for the promotion of Western foreign policy as it had been in its earliest days.

The United States (in 1985) and the United Kingdom (in 1986) withdrew membership and financial support from UNESCO, action that appeared to prompt conciliatory changes in UNESCO structure and policy. The United States and the United Kingdom returned to UNESCO two decades later in 2002. UNESCO had ceased to aggressively promote the ideas of the McBride Commission. Through its International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC), UNESCO now concentrated on technical assistance, often in bilateral contexts. The discourse of "free flow" lost popularity for some years following McBride. McBride had exposed it as an ideological tool wielded mainly by the United States and its allies. Those responsible for such exposure were now roundly condemned by Western governments and mainstream media.

Inspired by the work of Manuel Castells and his disciples, some academics later abandoned metaphors of "flow." They proffered the alternative of "network" and similar concepts that promised a stronger purchase on, or visualization of the

complex interrelationships between communication, space, and time in a digital age. With the ascent of broader discourses of globalization, ideas of media imperialism faded from view, under attack for its alleged disregard, among other things, of the complexity of culture and the framing of media issues in terms of national interest (as opposed to class, race, ethnic, and other sources of cultural identity). These complaints drew the critical response of those who argued that ideologies of globalization simply camouflaged a resurgent neoliberalism that served to benefit, primarily, the imperial powers in a context of continuing competition and hostile propaganda directed by the West toward the newly capitalist powers of Russia and China, and they wondered whether the newer language subtly distracted attention from the continuing role of unequal communications power, gatekeeping, and control.

UNESCO, on the other hand, had found it useful, in the digital context, to revive the language of “flow.” “Promoting the free flow of information and the development of communication” appeared as a component of UNESCO’s Medium Term Strategy for 1996–2001, adopted at its General Conference in 1995. The report of the UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in Tunis, 2005, whose 170 governments recognized “that freedom of expression and the free flow of information, ideas, and knowledge are essential for the Information Society and beneficial to development,” was a very different text to that of the McBride report a quarter of a century earlier. WSIS had a strong government, corporate, technocratic character, focusing principally on computing, the new media and the Internet, and its patrons worked hard, not altogether successfully, to bracket off ideological and political controversy. UNESCO’s embrace of neoliberal frameworks, notwithstanding, the United States withdrew funding from UNESCO in 2011 and under President Donald Trump departed from it a second time in October 2017, alleging ideological bias (against Israel among other things) and mismanagement. The United Kingdom and Israel also announced plans to leave in 2018.

Benign Implications

In the earliest uses of “free flow of information,” the term had broadly benign signification. Later

attacks on the concept have generally targeted particular uses to which the expression is put, rather than the inherent ideals that it is intended to represent. The word *flow* is associated with fluidity, whether of water or of electricity, and the notion of a “free flow” of information is suggestive of a forceful, self-sustaining, and unrestrained movement of ideas. The limits of this positive interpretation of the metaphor, however, are suggested by the unidirectional character of flows of both fluid and of electricity and these in turn are pointers to those sources of criticism that maintain that the term is ideologically loaded.

The specific reference to “information” is sometimes deemed an unsatisfactory semantic vehicle for the full range of human communicative or expressive activity, seemingly confining the notion’s scope of reference to formal knowledge of a somewhat descriptive or scientifically uncontested character. Nonetheless, the term has acquired value as shorthand for the uncontrolled movement of information, ideas, creative expression within and, especially, *between* societies. It acquired considerable purchase during the 20th century, especially in those societies that had acquired democratic forms of government (in which processes of decision-making were said, unrealistically, to be founded solely on the interchange of rational argument among different interests and groups), and in which important ideas and information were nurtured and widely articulated by well-developed networks of communications media. A close symbiosis between democracy and media has often been postulated. The historical context of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath were especially receptive to the idea of “free flow of information,” as Western Europe and the United States recovered from the threats of fascist authoritarianism that had been posed by the Axis powers, threats that many believed to have been revived in a different guise by Soviet communism under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. Western powers represented an equivalent threat in their disingenuous disregard for the fact that “free flow” in a context of deep inequalities between nations would privilege the market advantages that accrued to Western producers and the interests of their respective nations.

Tool of Ideology

The deconstruction of what he called the *free flow* doctrine was perhaps most eloquently undertaken by Herbert Schiller, professor at the University of California, San Diego, in his 1976 book *Communication and Cultural Domination*, as well as in other of Schiller's writings. His second chapter of the 1976 book, drawing in part from an article he previously published for the *Journal of Communication* in 1974, was titled *The Diplomacy of Cultural Domination and the Free Flow of Information*. In this chapter, he recounted the intensive diplomatic efforts by the United States, in partnership with influential U.S. publishers, associations, and news agencies such as the Associated Press, to promote the "free flow" concept. Achal Mehra, in his 1986 book, referred to House and Senate resolutions in 1944 that called for "world-wide right of interchange of news . . . without discrimination . . . protected by international compact." Schiller (1976) referenced a 1944 resolution of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in support of "world freedom of information and unrestricted communications for news throughout the world" (p. 31), a sentiment that had the support of spokespersons from both the major political parties and from Congress. The doctrine was espoused by the Inter-American conference on problems of War and Peace convened in Mexico City in 1945 and embedded in the earliest drafts of the constitution and organizational structure of UNESCO, not to mention during the outset of the United Nations itself, including the foundation of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1946. In 1948, there was a United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information.

Writing in 1997 for the *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Schiller recalled U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as saying that "free flow" was the most important issue in foreign policy. In 1946, Assistant Secretary of State William Benton had said much the same thing: "Freedom of the press—and freedom of exchange of information generally—is an integral part of our foreign policy." In his article, Schiller referred to U.S. delegates in the contexts of the United Nations and UNESCO pressing "relentlessly" for the free flow of information. Financial incentives were later added to ideological exhortation. The Marshall

Plan, for example, tied dollar grants to a recipient's acquiescence to opening its market to U.S. cultural exports and film. Schiller referred to the "enormous significance" of U.S. state-funded research and development for such things as computer and surveillance technologies. The development of satellite was promoted, he argued, to purposefully "wrest global information control from Great Britain which at that time exercised worldwide domination of underseas cable."

In his 1976 book, Schiller linked these developments to the experiences of the United States in the period immediately preceding the Second World War, and in particular to the many decades during which the leading news agency of the United States, Associated Press, was subservient to the global leadership by British-based news agency, Reuters, of a news agency cartel. An influential polemic, *Barriers Down*, written by Associated Press managing director Kent Cooper in 1942, described Cooper's campaign over many years to liberate Associated Press from the influence of the cartel, which Associated Press had largely succeeded in doing by 1933. The book was an influential source for "free flow" enthusiasts. It chronicled how the United States was disadvantaged by the cartel restrictions that limited Associated Press's scope for independent news coverage, subjecting American readers to biased news of the world written through the lenses of journalists based in other countries, and subjecting foreign readers to biased news of the United States that had not been written by U.S. journalists.

The significance of Schiller's attack on the free flow doctrine, therefore, was that it revealed the extent to which use of the term had been put to ideological work on behalf of national and industrial interests, in particular, the interest of the United States in taking over from Britain the role of world superpower, and the interest of U.S. publishers, movie makers and broadcasters in securing unfettered access to global markets at the very time when many nations, such as those emerging from war-devastated Europe might, if left to themselves, have much preferred measures of market protection on behalf of nascent or recovering local industries. Yet, as Dwayne Winseck has noted, the "free flow of information" doctrine had wiped out the rights of states as participants in dialogue about important areas of communications policy.

Skepticism of what Schiller labeled the “free flow doctrine” was reinforced by the 1970s series of UNESCO-sponsored conferences that constituted the NWICO debates. Schiller’s deconstruction of the term exercised a powerful influence on many of those whose work contributed to the culmination of those debates, the UNESCO-commissioned McBride report, named after its chair, Sean McBride, and published in 1980.

At the start of this round, there was a development in Helsinki that struck a discordant tone, dislodging political discourse, at least temporarily, from uncritical acceptance of the rhetoric of “free flow.” Accounts have been offered by both Schiller in his 1976 volume and, in 1995, by Kaarle Nordenstreng, a Finnish communication scholar who participated in the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe, known also as the *Helsinki Accords*. This brought together the Heads of State of 33 European nations, the United States (represented by U.S. president Gerald Ford), the Soviet Union (represented by Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev), and Canada. The states signed a document that called for increased international cooperation in practically all fields, including culture and communication. In his address to the conference, the President of the Republic of Finland, Urho Kekkonen, critiqued the concepts of “freedom of speech” and “free flow of information,” arguing that these were not unalloyed benefits in circumstances of severe inequality of access to the means of communication. Could it be, he wondered “that the prophets who preach unhindered communication are not concerned with equality between nations, but are on the side of the stronger and wealthier?” (quoted by Nordenstreng, 1995).

Resuscitation of the Concept

Signification of the term *free flow*, therefore, is an ambivalent one. In use, it has often elided over the issue *whose* freedom? Freedom of media proprietors, or of media consumers; of senders or receivers? Is there reciprocity of communication between parties to the communication? Ambivalence cloaks the play of *power* in situations in which some parties to communication are much better resourced than others in capital, equipment, know-how, technology, and talent. Where there are wide

discrepancies of power, reciprocity between the parties to any communication is much less likely. In addition, the term *information* seems to many critics of “free flow” doctrine much too narrow a concept for a phenomenon that embraces a vast array of publishing, educational, entertainment and cultural products, and activities that are disseminated in complex ways. Such a restriction may mostly serve the interests of those who stand to gain by the reduction and commodification of this vast array into marketable bytes. In its use, finally, the term often seems to assume that the primary enemies of “free flow” are governments, whereas increasingly the enemies of “free flow” are found to be private enterprises of both legacy and digital media, often in the service of government-originated propaganda conflicts whose purpose is to stymie absolute “free flow.”

Initiatives to stimulate privatization of previously government-owned or controlled media form a part of the bundle of trends that accompany policies of media “deregulation.” Their impact is to enhance the likelihood that private interests may reduce “free flow” through the political economy of “infotainment,” or the dominance of information flows by plutocratic, for-profit corporate agendas. This happens principally through the political power that is accumulated by the giant communications conglomerates. Their emergence was facilitated by the collusion of Western political and corporate interests in adoption of neoliberal principles of “free trade,” globalization and deregulation of capital under U.S. hegemony and military supremacy (accounting for a trillion dollars a year expenditure by 2018), becoming increasingly assertive in the wake of the so-called war on terror from 2001 onward.

These problems notwithstanding, the term *free flow* also possesses great rhetorical durability, as in the case of United Nations discourse of the World Information Society. In 1997, Winseck argued that the term had been resuscitated through the “trade in services” regimes of the North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and their push toward the inclusion of media deregulation as a condition for membership of the emerging global economic order. Features of media deregulation as advanced by the United States and Great Britain—such as removal of regulations that had previously

restricted such things as foreign investment in domestic communications infrastructures and services, cross-ownership between newspapers and broadcasters, or the share of national audience that single broadcasters might reach—also promote the corporatization of media and reduce the potential for public participation in access to media and to decisions about media content. “Free flow of information” ideology, applied to such trends, cloaks the implications for a continuing colonization of communications space under the rhetorical fuzziness of the supreme “purr” word freedom.

An example of rhetorical durability was the proposal by U.S. Attorney Chuck Rosenberg (2005) and others for a freedom of information act: as a measure to delimit the circumstances and manner in which members of the media might be compelled to reveal sources in court. While out of line with uses of the term in the international realm, this instance begs the question, once again, of *whose* freedom—the freedom of courts to subpoena media as witnesses, or freedom of the media to protect sources in the interests of gathering information? We might conclude, therefore, that despite its demonstrated lack of intellectual precision, the term *free flow of information* exercises continued traction as a rhetorical tool in debates about the proper role of communications media.

Profound threats to the concept, however, surfaced following the election of U.S. President Donald Trump in 2016 and his invocation of the term *fake news* in protest against mainstream media coverage of his campaign even as he himself resorted to Twitter to propagate what his critics derided as further “fake news.” Accusations of collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia through covert Russian Internet propaganda and allegations of Russian hacking of Democratic Party campaign computers were supported by an official investigation chaired by Robert Mueller in 2019, but remained deeply contentious. Ensuing debate opened a hornet’s nest of anxiety about the supposed contamination of the public sphere by malign actors, with the witting or unwitting assistance of the new digital “platform imperialists” (such as Apple, Facebook, Google, Twitter, and Microsoft), and who exploited the Internet and social media for nefarious political and corporate

propaganda through nontransparent, often deceptive, means of microtargeting, the sale of “big data,” “bots,” “trolls,” and untold hordes of paid “influencers.” Exposure of the role of Cambridge Analytica in harnessing Facebook accounts (and their “friends”) to influence elections through micro-targeting merely revealed the tip of an iceberg of massive corporate and political gaming of the Internet, dwarfing the significance of any one player such as Russia or its Internet Research Agency. Technology-enabled “free flow” appeared to have subverted public confidence in the validity and reliability of media and communication systems as vehicles for the dissemination of truth. The result was a clamor for measures that might (but probably would not) bring the digital age to heel through government, industry, and technology regulation.

Oliver Boyd-Barrett

See also Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Expression, History of; Journalism and Globalization; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); U.S. International Communications

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FREE PRESS AND FAIR TRIAL

The phrase “free press and fair trial” refers to a decades-long debate between the American press and the legal profession about balancing two rights guaranteed by the Constitution. One is the First Amendment right of the press to freely provide the public with the information necessary for a functioning democracy. The other is the Sixth Amendment right of the public to fair trial by unbiased peers. Both are fundamental rights, the importance of which, as they stand alone, has been acknowledged by both sides. The press and the legal profession, however, have at times been at odds with each other when the two rights clashed during the media coverage of criminal cases, especially high-profile ones.

Members of the legal profession have argued that in high-profile cases heightened media attention with speculative and sensationalized coverage makes a fair trial impossible, while the press has insisted that the comprehensive and transparent coverage of the judicial process open for public scrutiny is necessary to make sure justice is delivered. Both sides have held numerous discussions, organized committees, and delivered opinions and recommendations on the issue. This entry discusses cases that have raised debate over the balance of the rights to a free press and a fair trial in the United States and measures taken to address this debate.

Case History of the Free Press and Fair Trial Debate

The rapid advancement of communication technologies that revolutionized information dissemination

and enhanced the ability of the news media to inform the public generated a set of issues that, according to the American Bar Association, infringed on the right to fair trial. This section discusses several cases that have been used as examples of this problem.

The State of New Jersey v. Bruno Richard Hauptmann (1935)

Hundreds of journalists and thousands of spectators descended on Flemington, New Jersey, with a population of around 3,000 at the time, for the trial in what has been referred to as the Lindbergh baby kidnapping case. In 1932, the son of aviators Charles Lindbergh and Anne Morrow Lindbergh was abducted and later found dead. Two years later, a German immigrant, Bruno Richard Hauptmann, was arrested and charged in the crime. The press flooded the courtroom and, even though Judge Thomas Trenchard had banned typewriters and photography during the trial, managed to take photos. Journalists also recorded newsreel and transmitted the trial reports through teletype machines and snuck-in portable radio transmitters.

During the trial, the press had free access to both the prosecution and the defense, victims, relatives, and family friends, feeding the global interest amplified by the Lindberghs' celebrity status. Hauptmann was convicted of murder and later executed. Even though it is impossible to tell whether the coverage had any prejudicial effect on the jury, the trial was consistently disrupted by the press. Photography and cameras in all federal and many state courts were later banned.

Irvin v. Dowd (1961) and Rideau v. Louisiana (1963)

The U.S. Supreme Court in separate cases used the prejudicial publicity argument to reverse the convictions of two men, Leslie Irvin and Wilbert Rideau. In Irvin's case, law enforcement officials issued press releases saying that Irvin had confessed to six murders and newspapers, radio stations, and TV stations extensively covered Irvin's criminal background along with the charges against him. The Court concluded that the pretrial prejudice created by the media rendered a fair trial

impossible. In Rideau's case, the Court relied on its ruling in *Irvin* to determine that the environment created as the result of three broadcasts by the local television station of Rideau's interrogation and confession was so hostile that there could be no fair trial.

Sheppard v. Maxwell (1966)

The social prominence and the family legacy of Samuel Sheppard, a neurosurgeon from Bay Village, Ohio, paired with the exceptional gruesomeness of his pregnant wife's 1954 murder, thrust him into the center of press attention as the investigation of the crime, Sheppard's arrest, and his trial were unfolding. Local newspapers not only reported on the case but also ran editorials pointing to inconsistencies in Sheppard's account of the events and suspicious details and questioning Sheppard's character as well as the impartiality of the local police and their ability to handle the investigation. Newspaper editorials insisted on the involvement of Cleveland police and demanded Sheppard's arrest.

As in the Lindbergh case, the press had access to everyone involved as well as all the crime scene. Albert B. Lawrence in his 2018 article "A Murder that Mattered: Sam Sheppard, the Supreme Court, and Free Press/Fair Trial" recalls that after 2 weeks of selection and dismissal, only one juror in Sheppard's trial said he had not heard about the case. In 1966, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the murder conviction on the grounds of prejudicial publicity, sending the case back to the district court. In a retrial later that year, Sheppard was found not guilty.

Kennedy Assassination and Lee Harvey Oswald (1963)

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the subsequent arrest and assassination of Lee Harvey Oswald became the center of media attention worldwide. The cameras were rolling when Jack Ruby shot Oswald during his transfer to the county jail.

Such high-profile crimes within days of each other in the era of television amid shock, grief, efforts to regroup, investigate, and inform the public of the developments resulted in chaos

and news reports riddled with errors and speculation. A 1964 report on the assassination from a presidential commission chaired by Chief Justice Earl Warren, commonly known as the *Warren Commission*, concluded that it would have been impossible for Oswald to have a fair trial because of the public prejudice triggered by the news.

The commission established that the police allowed the press free access to the areas where Oswald was moved from his cell to the interrogation room and from his cell to the transfer car, that the media were free to question Oswald on his way back and forth, and that the police shared the details of the investigation with the press. The report also put forward recommendations for the bar, police, and the media to jointly develop a set of ethical standards to guide the flow of information during criminal investigations and trials and ensure that the people's right to a fair trial is not violated.

People v. Boss (1999) and Amadou Diallo/NYPD Trial (2000)

Four plainclothes members of the New York Police Department's Street Crime Unit patrolling a Bronx neighborhood saw a suspiciously behaving man and decided to stop him under the state's stop-and-frisk law, which allowed police to detain and question people without making an arrest under certain circumstances. The stop ended in the fatal shooting of an unarmed 22-year-old immigrant from Guinea in the vestibule of the apartment building where he lived. Amadou Diallo was shot 41 times. Nineteen shots reached their target.

After the shooting, civil rights leader the Rev. Al Sharpton emotionally charged, highly publicized protests, some of which included Diallo's grieving mother. The protests also drew well-known New Yorkers such as the former mayor David Dinkins and actor Susan Sarandon. Both were arrested but later released. Sharpton, by his own account, wanted to attract as much media attention as possible to make the authorities pay attention to activists' concerns. An appellate court panel moved the officers' trial to Albany, New York, arguing that it would be impossible for the officers to receive a fair trial in New York City due to

the protests and heavy news coverage. All four officers were found not guilty of all charges.

Boston Marathon Bomber (2013)

Three people were killed and over 260 were injured when bombs went off at the finish line of the 2013 Boston Marathon. The brothers accused of planting the bombs, Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, were located by the police several days later. Tamerlan, the older brother and the alleged mastermind behind the bombing, was killed in a shootout with police, while the younger, Dzhokhar, was arrested and went on trial.

In 2014–2015, Tsarnaev's defense team filed multiple petitions and motions to move his trial to a different location, arguing that the pretrial publicity was so widespread and the prejudice against Tsarnaev was so strong with so many people affected by the bombings and the subsequent lockdown during the manhunt, that he would not be able to have an impartial jury in Boston. All the petitions and motions were denied based on the logic that exposure to media coverage does not necessarily result in prejudice. The presiding judge screened the jurors, and Tsarnaev went on trial. He was found guilty on 30 federal counts and was sentenced to death.

In 2019, Tsarnaev's team took the case to the First Circuit Court of Appeals to try and lift his death sentence, arguing that he did not get a fair trial in 2015 because the jury was biased by the effects of the bombings and the relentless media coverage. According to the appeal, the jury screening process was flawed; two jurors had failed to disclose during the jury selection process that they had posted or exchanged messages on social media about Tsarnaev or jury selection. In 2020, the appeals court threw out Tsarnaev's death sentence, citing insufficient attention paid to potential juror bias, and ordered a new penalty-phase trial. Later that year, the U.S. Justice Department appealed the appeals court ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Addressing Free Press and Fair Trial Debate

An array of measures taken during the 1960s after the Warren Commission report aimed to limit

what information the police and the attorneys could share with the news media. Examples included a ruling by the State Supreme Court of New Jersey that prevented prosecutors and defense lawyers from talking to the media about confessions, criminal records, or deliberations about a defendant's guilt or innocence. In addition, a committee convened by the American Bar Association investigated how news organizations covered courtroom proceedings in order to develop principles governing conduct for attorneys and limit potential infringement to a defendant's rights to a fair trial. The Advisory Committee on Fair Trial and Free Press was one of six committees that were part of the Special Committee on Minimum Standards for the Administration of Criminal Justice chaired by Justice Paul C. Reardon. The standards issued by the committee in 1968 included recommendations for lawyers and police officials to restrict comment on pending criminal cases. Media groups have taken their own measures to address the issue, including the development of internal ethical standards by a number of media organizations.

More recent arguments over the right balance of free press and fair trial have focused on whether pretrial publicity, especially in high profile cases, can be tied to any locale, considering the reach of the cable and online media, including social networks. In *Skilling v. United States* (2010), the Supreme Court established that only extreme circumstances warrant the assumption of prejudice. Mere knowledge of a case or exposure to media coverage does not necessarily mean individuals cannot make unbiased conclusions based on evidence. Work continues to find a balance between the two fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Ellada Gamreklidze

See also Censorship; Criminal Justice and Journalism; First Amendment; Gag Orders; Press Freedom; Supreme Court and Journalism

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA)

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is an information disclosure statute that provides the principal means of access to records of the executive branch of the United States federal government. The FOIA, codified at 5 U.S.C. section 552, was enacted in 1966 and has been amended since, significantly by the Electronic FOIA Amendments of 1996 and the OPEN Government Act of 2007. This entry discusses the history of the FOIA, its use today by journalists and others, variations in its interpretation, its influence on other governments, and related laws in the United States.

History

The FOIA was necessitated by the dramatic growth of the federal government in the 20th century. A confluence of circumstances brought open-government legislative efforts to fruition in 1966. The U.S. Constitution does not provide a right of public access to inspect or copy government records. The first statute to provide comprehensive public access was the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (APA), of which the FOIA today is a part. Initially, the APA was limited, vesting broad discretion in agencies and permitting access only to “persons properly and directly concerned” with records. Abuses of government secrecy were well publicized and frustrated Congress, journalists, and the public.

Attorney Harold Cross documented government secrecy in a report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, published in the influential 1953 book, *The People's Right to Know*.

Responding to this frustration, Congressman John Moss, a Democrat from California, began in 1955 to press for access reform and to hold hearings on government secrecy. Legislation to expand APA access was introduced in Congress as early as 1957, though no bill gained traction until the APA came under review in 1963. Moss found long-sought bipartisan support for a bill in 1965. Federal agencies unanimously testified against the proposed legislation, and the Department of Justice doubted its constitutionality. Nevertheless, owing in significant part to press editorial pressure, the FOIA passed the Senate, and passed the House unanimously, in 1966. President Lyndon Johnson (1963–1969) signed the bill into law without ceremony at his Texas ranch on Independence Day, July 4, 1966. The holiday was coincidental; the president was unenthusiastic. He issued a signing statement asserting that the FOIA “in no way impairs the President's power under our Constitution to provide for confidentiality when the national interest so requires.”

FOIA Today

The FOIA applies to the executive branch of the federal government, including independent agencies, the military, and the Executive Office of the President, but excluding the president and vice president, and their immediate staffs. The FOIA does not apply to Congress, the courts, nongovernmental recipients of public funding, the District of Columbia, or state governments. As a general matter, the FOIA provides that when any person requests access to the records of a public agency, the agency must provide them unless they come within one of the nine FOIA exemptions. The FOIA also requires that agencies provide information and indexes for public guidance.

Pursuant to the FOIA, “any person” (not just journalists) may request records from a public agency. The agency must fulfill a request that “reasonably describes” the records sought. Records are defined broadly to include not only documents but video and audio recordings, and data stored in

electronic media. An agency must undertake “reasonable efforts to search for” requested records, including automated searching, but need not create new records.

Records must be produced in the form requested as long as the records are “readily reproducible” in that form. An agency may charge a “reasonable” fee for searching, reviewing, and duplicating records, but noncommercial and news media requesters may not be charged for searching and reviewing. A waiver of search and copying fees is available to requesters with noncommercial, journalistic, and other public interest objectives. Agencies are compelled to respond to requests, not necessarily to fulfill them, within 20 working days (4 weeks), absent “unusual circumstances” warranting extension. As a matter of practice, some federal agencies (such as the FBI) are renowned for backlogs running from weeks to years. An agency must offer expedited processing for the requester who “demonstrates a compelling need,” which may include urgent newsgathering.

Exempt from mandatory disclosure under the FOIA are:

1. classified national security records;
2. records of “internal personnel rules and practices”;
3. material specifically made exempt from disclosure according to a statute other than the FOIA;
4. confidential “trade secrets and commercial or financial information”;
5. agency memoranda and letters that would be privileged in litigation (sometimes termed “working papers” or “predecisional” records);
6. personnel, medical, and other records “the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy”;
7. certain law enforcement records, including those which “could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings” and those which “could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy”;
8. reports generated in the supervision of financial institutions; and
9. geological information about oil and gas wells.

The scope of some exemptions is controversial and subject to perpetual litigation. For example,

Exemption 4 balances commercial secrecy in the free market with government accountability, as regulated companies provide volumes of data to government. In 2019, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a bid by investigative journalists to access information about retailers’ redemption of food subsidies. The holding lowered the threshold for commercial actors to resist disclosure of competitively sensitive data, despite the public interest in the accountability of public programs.

Records must be redacted of exempt information before their release. When an agency claims an exemption to support denial of access to records, the agency may produce (indeed, may be compelled by a court to produce) an itemized inventory of undisclosed records and claimed exemptions, termed a *Vaughn index* after a 1973 federal court case.

The FOIA requires that an agency publish in the *Federal Register* rules, procedures, and FOIA forms, as well as a description of its organization. Agencies also must publish online their final orders and opinions; policies and interpretations; staff manuals and instructions, such as they affect the public; annual FOIA compliance reports; and records previously produced under the FOIA that are likely to be requested again. The FOIA authorizes agencies to promulgate and enforce their own internal FOIA policies and procedures, as long as they do not contravene the law. The online publication requirements added by 1996 amendment have led agencies to create “electronic reading rooms,” websites where agencies post information as required by the FOIA and provide additional guidance to FOIA requesters about the agency’s own policies and procedures.

Every federal agency must designate an official to receive FOIA requests. If a requester does not receive a response to a request or believes the agency has improperly claimed exemption, the FOIA requires that the agency provide a process of administrative appeal. For the requester who is dissatisfied with the outcome of an administrative appeal, the FOIA authorizes suit against the agency in federal district court. If a court determines that FOIA noncompliance was “arbitrary and capricious,” disciplinary action may be taken against responsible federal employees.

Interpreting the Law

Influential in interpretation of the FOIA are executive orders of the president, memoranda and policies of the attorney general and Department of Justice, the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS), and the body of federal case law that has arisen from a half-century of FOIA litigation. Executive predilection has vacillated between greater and lesser disclosure. Executive orders of the president in 1982, 1995, and 2003 created and revamped the system for national security classification, leading to fluctuating receptivity to access. At the agency level, attorney general memoranda in 1993, 2001, and 2009 also varied in the approach to FOIA, with the successive documents instructing agencies to employ loose presumptions favoring disclosure, secrecy, and disclosure, respectively, when FOIA exemptions, such as those concerning agency memoranda, are discretionary.

The 2007 OPEN Government Act created the OGIS within the National Archives and Records Administration. Acting as a FOIA ombudsman, OGIS has become an important clearinghouse for FOIA policy and research. The agency administers public education and agency training on FOIA, assesses agency compliance, prepares an annual report on FOIA efficacy, and mediates FOIA disputes.

The federal courts have developed a voluminous body of case law interpreting the FOIA. A key U.S. Supreme Court decision involved journalist requests for access to “rap sheets,” or criminal information histories, maintained by the FBI. In *Department of Justice v. Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press* (1989), the Court stated that the “central purpose,” or “core purpose,” of the FOIA is to inform people about “what their government is up to.” The rap sheets revealed information about private individuals, not about the government, the Court reasoned, so access was denied. Though the case ostensibly involved only the law enforcement-personal privacy exemption, the “central purpose test” proved broadly influential in FOIA interpretation. For example, though *Reporters Committee* was not cited, “central purpose” thinking animated the widening of Exemption 4 in the case discussed earlier.

The *Reporters Committee* decision was also an important interpretation of the FOIA privacy

exemptions because the Supreme Court accepted an argument predicated on “practical obscurity.” The federal rap sheets contained information aggregated from the records of state and local law enforcement agencies, and the information generally was available to the public from those underlying sources. That availability did not preclude application of the federal privacy exemptions, the Court decided, because the geographic dispersion of the source data rendered it practically obscure.

As FOIA turned 50 in 2016, it was swept into the vitriol of American politics on both sides of the aisle. In 2018, the Electronic Privacy Information Center failed in its bid to access tax returns of Republican President Donald Trump and his family in search of evidence of Russian election interference. Conservative watchdog Judicial Watch used FOIA to obtain hundreds of pages of emails sent by 2016 Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, and filed related lawsuits against multiple federal agencies seeking access to other documents from Clinton’s time as secretary of state.

Journalists and the FOIA

Because journalists historically have advocated vigorously for open government, the FOIA is commonly regarded as a law for journalists. But studies of FOIA usage consistently show otherwise. Though precise numbers are difficult to ascertain, estimates place journalist requests at just 5% to 10% of hundreds of thousands of FOIA filings annually. Commercial actors account for a plurality to a majority of requests, which include queries about government contracting and data mining by information brokers. Journalist requests are far outpaced also by requests from individual citizens, including researchers, historians, and the simply curious.

The FOIA is arguably ineffective for many journalists. They complain that the FOIA process is too slow for timely newsgathering because of agency resistance to disclosure, the 20-day time frame, agency backlogs, inadequate enforcement mechanisms, and sluggish courts. Important stories such as the Pentagon Papers in 1971 and the Iran–Contra affair in 1986 were based upon government leaks or investigative reporting, not upon voluntary government disclosures. Critics therefore charge that the FOIA is only as useful as the government is cooperative.

Nevertheless, the FOIA has made countless news stories possible and remains an important tool, especially in historical research and long-term investigative projects. For example, records disclosed under the FOIA brought to public attention the health consequences of dioxin exposure resulting from the use of “Agent Orange” defoliant in the Vietnam War. Public record disclosures were instrumental also in exposing programs of domestic government spying on civil rights activists in the 1960s and 1970s. Access advocates have observed that the existence of FOIA aids journalism even when the law is not invoked, because its presumption of access and potential for litigation encourage the fulfillment of informal requests for information.

Influence

Most states had open records laws before the FOIA was enacted in 1966. Nevertheless, the federal FOIA was influential in bringing about open records laws in the remaining states, and federal court interpretation of the FOIA is influential in state court interpretation of open records laws.

Though the FOIA was not the first such law in the world—it had antecedents in Sweden and Finland—it served as a model for a modern generation of statutory access regimes around the world. Access to information (ATI) is now incorporated as a norm in many national constitutions and is recognized as a human right by the world’s regional human rights courts. In a 2006 case about the environmental impact of development in Chile, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights—in a decision not binding in this respect on the United States—recognized a “right of access to State-held information.” Today, abundant nongovernmental organizations, such as the global Access Now, advocate for ATI within and among nations.

Related Laws

Several federal disclosure laws complement the FOIA. The Privacy Act of 1974 permits persons access to public records about themselves. The Presidential Records Act of 1978 governs access to, and retention of, records of the president and vice president and their immediate staffs. Public access to meetings in the federal government is

provided in limited fashion by the Government in the Sunshine Act of 1976 and by the Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972.

Conclusion

Despite its shortcomings, the FOIA plays a critical role as an instrument for journalists and the general public to ensure government accountability in the United States. As a corollary to the freedom of speech and press embodied in the United States in the First Amendment, the right of access to information has become recognized as essential to a functioning democracy. The FOIA is therefore unusual among U.S. statutes in that it plays a fundamental role in American law and journalism to fulfill the promise of the constitutional freedom of expression.

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See also First Amendment; Free Flow of Information; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Secrecy and Leaks; Sunshine Laws

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FREELANCE WRITERS AND STRINGERS

Freelance journalism, work created by independent writers and stringers, not employed by any one media organization, has long been a career path for journalists who either favored the autonomy of self-employment or considered it a gateway toward full-time employment. The 21st-century media landscape has been shaped by financial, political, and technological upheavals that have challenged this employment model. The role of the freelancer is critical in any discussion of journalism practice, because of the growth in the number of journalists working as freelancers today and the increasing reality that more opportunities exist for journalists outside the newsroom than within. As demand for diverse media content continues to grow, so too have the demands on freelancers seeking to navigate a rapidly evolving landscape. This entry defines freelance journalism and explores how it has changed over time, especially since the popularization of digital media platforms.

Defining Freelance Journalism

The phrase “free lance” dates back to the Middle Ages and was originally coined as a term to describe mercenary knights. A “free” lancer was an available soldier who could defend a lord for a

price. By the turn of the 20th century, the *Oxford English Dictionary* officially recognized the term *freelance* as a verb. The term *freelancing* is now used to describe a person who is self-employed and earns a living by selling their services and skills to different employers.

Freelance journalism is work produced by journalists who are not employed by any one media organization. Freelance journalists are self-employed workers who contract their services to several media companies. This work can comprise news or sport reports, features, investigative stories, opinion pieces, photos, videos, podcasts, and increasingly more often a combination of all. Freelancers produce piecework (work paid for according to the amount produced), for a number of different outlets. Some freelance writers provide copyediting services or produce branded content (sponsored content funded by advertisers), in order to supplement their income. A stringer is a subcategory of freelancer who works under contract for a particular media organization but is not a full-time staff member. Like a freelancer, a stringer is paid for each piece of work that an organization publishes or broadcasts. Freelance journalists are generally paid a flat rate per article produced, or paid by the word.

A *kill fee* is the term used to describe a payment made to a freelancer when a commissioned assignment is cancelled. Larger news organizations often depend on local stringers for breaking news stories, when it’s not possible for them to reach a location quickly. In areas of conflict, locally based freelancers often operate as fixers or news gatherers for media organizations that have closed their international bureaus. Freelancers are used in all aspects of journalism work today, involving every media platform, some of which depend entirely on freelance labor. The increase in freelance journalists comes amid an increasing desire from employers for more flexibility from workers. Paradoxically, while this has resulted in more work opportunities for freelance journalists due to the growth of digital first media companies, it is often for less pay.

Freelance Journalism in an Evolving Media Landscape

From the mid-1990s it was clear that digital technology was going to transform the business

of journalism and play a defining role in its future. One of the key challenges facing the news media since losing its monopoly on information has been competition from both established and new sources offering free online content. This continues to present challenges for an industry reeling from more than a decade of digital disruption, and still searching for sustainable business models in a market saturated with free content. Despite determined efforts by the news industry, the 2019 Oxford Reuters *Digital News Report* reveals just a slight increase in the number of consumers paying for online news, whether by subscription, membership, or donation. The average proportion paying for news was 11% in nine countries surveyed and the findings suggested that most people were unlikely to pay for online news in the future, at least for the kind of news content they were already accessing for free. Growth in the number of consumers willing to pay was limited to a handful of countries mainly in the Nordic region (Norway, 34%; Sweden, 27%) while the number paying in the United States (16%) remained stable after a significant jump in 2017 (often attributed to the so-called “Trump bump”).

But technology alone is not the only challenge facing the news industry in a time of great political and economic upheavals. Indeed, newspaper circulations started to fall in the late 1980s and early 1990s, well before the arrival of the Internet, when old forms of broadcasting began to break up allowing people wider choices of TV and radio. But there is little doubt that the rate of decline in newspaper sales has accelerated since the rise of digital platforms. The shift from traditional modes of delivery to digital and mobile platforms resulted in significant downsizing of editorial staff and an increased reliance on freelance journalists and stringers. The 2015 American Society of News Editors annual newsroom census revealed a 40% decline in editorial staff at U.S. newspapers between 2006 and 2014. According to figures from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in 2018 there were 37,995 reporters and correspondents employed as staffers by newspapers, publishers, broadcasters, and other outlets, while about 83,968 people were self-employed writers and authors, a

category which included those who write for digital news organizations and blogs. The BLS report also predicted that the number of employed reporters and correspondents would decrease by 10% through 2026, while the ranks of freelance writers and authors would grow by 8% during the same period.

This increased reliance on freelancers has meant that freelance journalism is no longer considered an “atypical” form of work in journalism, meaning work that does not offer income or job security, nor health benefits, maternity leave or other benefits attached to permanent jobs. By 2011, the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ) reported the proportion of freelancers working in some parts of central Europe was as high as 60%. A subsequent study, carried out by the EFJ in 2015 revealed how 50% of online journalists working in countries across Europe did not have a full-time contract. In the United Kingdom, the number of freelance journalists increased by 67% from 2000 to 2015 according to a survey carried out by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ). Interestingly, some 44% of those surveyed stated they chose to freelance while 39% said it was a mixture of both push-and-pull factors. In its findings, the NCTJ predicted the rates of self-employment might vary over time and attributed the rise in freelance journalism to a possible “cyclical blip.” However, over four fifths (82%) of those surveyed believed they would be still working as a freelance journalist in 2020.

The NCTJ survey was also supportive of the common perception that freelance journalism earnings are relatively low. While the average pay for all journalists from national data sources in the United Kingdom is £30,884, data from the Freelance Journalist survey, published in 2016, suggested the average freelance earnings was in the region of £19,500, while 44% of those surveyed earned less than £15,000. A survey carried out by the Writers Union of Canada in 2015 revealed that writers’ earnings had declined by 27% from 1998; the average income of the 947 writers surveyed was \$12,879. According to the BLS, the median pay for writers and authors was \$61,820 in 2017, but that figure masks business expenses and benefits, such as health care, which freelancers must independently purchase.

Freelance Journalism Work

Successful freelancers enjoy the flexibility and freedom of being their own boss and the autonomy to pursue the type of work they choose. However, the work of many freelancers, including some of the most successful, is heavily influenced by the challenges of low pay, insecure employment relations, and the amount of unpaid time spent self-promoting, self-branding, and self-marketing, usually on social media platforms. The disappearance of freelance budgets, costly health insurance, and contracts that don't allow work to be resold or offer protection against libel, has made some freelancers less inclined to invest in more time-consuming research-heavy projects, such as in-depth investigative reporting. A survey of investigative freelance journalists called *Untold Stories*, undertaken by the advocacy group Project Word in 2015, revealed how 81% of respondents forfeited hundreds of important public interest reports due to resource constraints. It also highlighted a trend of declining incomes; nearly half the respondents (44%) reported getting paid less and nearly one quarter (22%) by half as much.

Many freelancers adopt a systematic approach to their work where they focus on regular news beats or work that is guaranteed to generate a stable revenue stream. In most markets, freelance journalists are not paid for the time spent researching work but only for the final product produced, so earning capacity is a key influencing factor on the type of journalism work pursued by freelancers. This has implications for journalism's watchdog role in society and the type of news discourse found in the media.

Despite the precariousness of their lives, much of the international research on freelancers indicate that they like their work. For example, 82% of UK freelancers surveyed in 2015 by the NCTJ said they liked freelancing so much, they had no plans to quit. Studies that have taken place in Belgium, Sweden, and Norway also indicated journalists were satisfied with their freelancing life notwithstanding the economic uncertainty, describing it as both a lifestyle and a job. In her study of Canadian freelance journalists, Nicole Cohen discusses that despite the thousands of journalists laid off in Canada between 2008 and 2015, the media force has grown with more

people working as freelancers but often not by choice. Cohen's research highlights the double-edged nature of freelance work, which can be simultaneously precarious and satisfying, risky, and rewarding.

Freelancing on the Frontline

As the news industry continues to weather economic storms, bureau closures and declining staff numbers, freelancers have become an essential part of the profession, in particular for international reporting. A lot of journalism, especially from areas of conflict, is built on the backs of freelancers who are often willing to cover stories that staff journalists are unable or sometimes unwilling to cover. This is often done with no insurance and uncertainty around pay. For freelance journalists working in conflict zones, the increased risk to their safety has elicited debate around how they should manage themselves. The dangers some journalists face, particularly working in countries like Syria, where hundreds of journalists have been killed since the beginning of the conflict in 2011, has seen some news organizations review their policies regarding the use of freelance work. Freelance war correspondent James Foley was beheaded in 2014 after being captured while on assignment in Syria. On February 12, 2015, more than two dozen news organizations and advocacy groups gathered at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism to endorse worldwide freelance protection standards. However, the principles do not address "on spec" work, which is when freelancers offer content to a news outlet that has not been commissioned. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) believe this is an area where editors can get the best of both worlds; enjoying access to content without having to take responsibility for its production.

Even before the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, millions of freelancers were working in systems where they took risks. During lockdown periods and travel restrictions, freelancers, like many self-employed workers, grappled with new ways of remote working. The global economic shutdown sparked by the COVID-19 public health crisis saw many media outlets postpone or cancel freelance assignments, which further exposed the

vulnerability of freelancers who rely on commissioned work. Freelance photographers, sports reporters, travel writers, theater and music critics were among those hardest hit by the widespread cancellation of large-scale public events including sporting events, concerts, and arts festivals. During lockdown periods, even though journalists were classed as essential workers, many freelancers did not have the freedom to report on the public health pandemic in particular “on spec” reporting. This was down to lack of access to vital personal protective equipment needed to cover COVID-19 safely and not having proof of commissioned work. The impact of this affected not only the livelihoods of freelancers but also had implications for public interest journalism especially in countries where mainstream media rely heavily on freelance journalists. In an interview with the CPJ in April 2020, freelance journalist Neha Dixit, the recipient of CPJ’s 2019 International Press Freedom Award, spoke about the difficulties experienced by freelancers in India trying to work during the COVID-19 crisis, because in India there is no independent press body that gives press cards to freelancers. According to Nadine Hoffman, deputy executive director at the International Women’s Media Foundation, which launched a fund to support journalists through the crisis, many freelancers reported cases of media outlets refusing to pay kill fees for stories commissioned before the shutdown or for work that was in process. A survey carried out in April 2020 by the Southern African Freelancers’ Association revealed how more than half of respondents lost 70% of their income, while 33% lost 100% during the shutdown.

Funding Freelance Work

The Internet has made publishing more accessible than ever and freelance journalists are blogging or using other social platforms to promote their work. Freelancers must often compete with academics, business consultants, and industry or medical experts willing to write free articles in exchange for media exposure, to boost their professional profiles. Similarly, freelancers are often lured by the offer of exposure in particular those at apprentice or early career stage, where there are often less opportunities for paid work. The

concept of “hope labor” is sometimes used in studies of this type of arrangement where workers engage in unpaid or undercompensated labor in the hope that other paid opportunities might follow. Payment models used by some online news websites that employ freelance journalists link earnings to website traffic or “clicks,” which can give a publication a competitive advantage, as it does not risk paying a writer more than their content will earn for the site. However, it also means journalists may not risk investing time on a story that does not attract traffic or hit targets. This practice not only raises concerns for the type of journalism work produced but also has questions for labor management relationships, if for example managers of websites that pay writers a bonus based on traffic have an obvious incentive to manipulate traffic statistics to avoid making these payments.

In the past, freelancers were often free to sell the same article to different publications, however some of the current publishing contracts often allow media outlets to republish an article in other publications without paying any additional fees or reproduction costs. The migration to online platforms has also seen story lengths shrink, which means fewer words and less earnings for freelancers who are often paid by word. For freelance journalists seeking out new financing models, controlling the labor process can sometimes trouble the concept of autonomy. The practice of crowdfunding—whereby journalists rely on micropayments from donors to finance their reporting—can sometimes give rise to conflict for those who strongly believe in the journalistic norm of autonomy, but at the same time feel responsibility toward their funders.

The internet, according to the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), a trade union for journalists in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, has not only undermined the prevalent business model for the news industry, but it has devalued what most journalists produce—namely news and other content. The amount of content produced by the so-called citizen journalist, the term used to describe participatory or public journalism and the degree to which smartphone technology has handed everybody the capacity to be an ‘on-the-spot reporter’, and to publish news

and views to the world, has transformed the audience from a consumer to producer role. The use of user-generated content where readers' photos, videos and tweets are used—often without any return bar possible social prestige—has brought new voices into journalism discourse and has also stimulated discussion around the crucial fact-checking role of journalists when gathering and reporting verified information. Some digital publications such as the HuffPost often have a pool of content suppliers who write for prestige, which in turn can lead to the displacement of paid journalists and photographers. Some editors have even approached experienced freelancers with the same request, albeit with limited success as demonstrated in 2013 by freelance journalist Nate Thayer's highly publicized response to an editor at *The Atlantic* who asked him to repurpose a previously published blog piece for their site for free. As Thayer responded, I am a professional journalist who has made my living by writing for 25 years and am not in the habit of giving my services for free to for-profit media outlets so they can make money by using my work and efforts by removing my ability to pay my bills and feed my children. (as cited in Coates, 2013, n.p.).

Freelancing and the Future

Technology is transforming publishing and business models and freelance journalist are continuing to adapt and experiment within this time of great change. Historically, journalists believed in the separation of business and marketing concerns from editorial decisions. Consequently, the administration involved in running a business can sometimes come as a shock to freelance journalists. However, with commissioning budgets slashed; content freely available online; technology, delivery and, payment models constantly changing, freelance journalists, like media organizations, must continue to seek out sustainable business models. Maintaining an active social media presence is considered an essential, if not integral part of work in journalism today. Due to the increasingly competitive nature of the craft, freelancers are often afraid to "switch off" for fear of losing a story to a competitor, including the citizen journalist, blogger, or user-generated content.

This effectively means freelance journalists' commodity is not simply their finished work or content but rather their time spent as almost permanent eyes and ears for the newsmaking industry. For most freelancers this also involves the need to network, self-brand, and build profiles on social media. Moreover, if a key and growing part of the journalism corps—freelance journalists—cannot afford to spend time on investigative reports or public interest stories, this may lead to worrying silences in news discourse, as it leads to journalists only focusing on predictable events that guarantee income. Furthermore, the blurring of consumer and producer in an industry increasingly more reliant on user-generated content has implications for the professional role of journalism in society, as more and more journalists find themselves working as freelancers.

Kathryn Hayes

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Copyright; Crowdfunding; Entrepreneurial Journalism; Employment; Investigative Journalism; Social Media

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FULLER, MARGARET

Sarah Margaret Fuller Ossoli (1810–1850), known as Margaret Fuller, was a journalist, editor, and literary critic. She was the first U.S. woman to work full-time as a newspaper’s book critic and was the first woman to cover war for a newspaper. Her book *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is considered the first major feminist work in the United States. Fuller was an advocate of women’s rights, especially women’s education and the right to employment. An important contributor to the articulation of Transcendentalism, which emphasized the inherent goodness of people, she also encouraged many other reforms, including prison reform and the emancipation of slaves. This entry explores Fuller’s early life and work and her career as a foreign correspondent.

Early Life and Work

Fuller was first taught at home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, by her father, a Harvard-educated lawyer who was elected to several political positions, including one term in Congress. Disappointed that

his first (of nine) child was not a boy, Timothy Fuller provided Margaret a rigorous classical education, including in Latin, of a kind not usually afforded girls; at age seven she was reading Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. Her father forbade her from reading etiquette books and sentimental novels, although her mother taught her sewing. The downsides to this intellectual development were nightmares and sleepwalking as well as other forms of mental and physical suffering, according to her published *Memoirs*. Fuller did have a few years of formal schooling, including at a school for girls. But she felt that she was unlike other women her age, or, for that matter, at all womanly. Fuller therefore studied on her own, learning several languages.

Already when she was in her 20s, Fuller hoped to earn her living through journalism and published works of literary criticism and reviews. Her first piece appeared in 1834 in the *North American Review*. But she was deeply affected by the death of her father due to cholera, and she wanted to take care of her widowed mother and younger siblings, so she sought better-paying jobs. Fuller became a teacher, first at the controversially progressive Temple school in Boston founded by the Transcendentalist and abolitionist Bronson Alcott and then for 2 years at a school in Providence. Although she thought she could not learn from women teachers, her teaching style followed that of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, whom she succeeded at Temple.

In 1839, she returned to Boston, where, inspired by the nascent Transcendentalist movement and conversations with Transcendentalist figures, she launched *Conversations*, widely ranging discussions for women, to compensate for lack of quality education for women. The participants, many of them women’s rights advocates, discussed fine arts, history, literature, and nature, among other topics. Fuller also posed the “great questions” facing women, encouraging her conversational partners to state and examine their opinions. In 1841 Fuller experimented, unsuccessfully in her view, with opening up the series to men, including several major Transcendentalists, who assert that people can generate original insights without deferring to past masters. Transcendentalists emphasize subjective intuition and self-reliance; society and its institutions, they said, corrupted the individual.

Early Journalistic Work

In 1839, a group of intellectuals led by Ralph Waldo Emerson founded *The Dial*, a transcendentalist quarterly. Fuller edited it for its first 2 years. (She never got her annual salary of \$200 and *The Dial* died in 1844 for lack of subscribers and revenue.) Her “Short Essay on Critics” appeared in its first issue. She produced important writing for *The Dial*, including after she no longer was editor. Fuller’s *The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men, Woman versus Women* appeared in 1843. An expanded book version of this, titled *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, appeared as part of Horace Greeley’s “Cheerful Books for the People” series in 1845; a pirated version was published in England and Fuller earned no royalties given the lack of international copyright laws. Considered one of feminism’s major treatises, the essay and book proposed that, consistent with Transcendentalism, everyone has the power to become enlightened. Man was still burdened with selfish desires, according to Fuller. Moreover, having inherited depravity from Europe, America had not achieved equality. This explained the status of women and of Native Americans and African Americans. She urged abolitionists and women’s rights adherents to use similar language and logic. But Fuller proposed that humans were on the verge of a new awakening and women and men, whose souls are the same, would soon be equals. She claimed that each person must be a self-dependent individual. For women to achieve this, men needed stop dominating, but women also needed to remove themselves from man’s dominating influence. Fuller also warned women to be careful in marriage and not to become dependent on their husbands. Fuller also advocated equal educational rights for women, so that women could push for equal political rights and employment, so that they were not confined to what were seen then as “feminine” jobs, such as teaching. By 1893, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* was reprinted 13 times.

Among the admirers of the book were Edgar Allan Poe, Henry David Thoreau, and William Cullen Bryant. Later admirers of Fuller include Eleanor Roosevelt and the many women suffragists, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who credited her as inspiring the

movement, specifically the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848.

But Nathaniel Hawthorne, who previously supported Fuller, criticized her, as did his wife, Sophia Hawthorne, who had attended some of her “Conversations” but now said she disliked the book’s tone and disagreed with Fuller’s characterization of women and men. Fuller, who was widely regarded as overly self-confident and ill-tempered, was apparently the inspiration for two of Hawthorne’s characters, Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter*, and Zenobia in *The Blithedale Romance*. Well after Fuller’s death, her friends were urged to contradict nasty comments by Hawthorne’s son Julian, who wrote in a letter to the *Boston Evening Transcript* that few readers would be grief-stricken at the death of such a dismal fraud and who included in his book about his parents a cruel assessment by Nathaniel Hawthorne of Fuller’s (im)moral character. Thomas R. Mitchell asserts that the son was intentionally setting up Fuller as a fallen “new woman” to heighten the contrast to his manly father and devoted husband with the ideal wife.

Woman in the Nineteenth Century also reflects Fuller’s research for her first book. In 1843, she traveled to several cities on the Great Lakes, where, among other things, she met with several Native Americans. She described her experiences in an 1844 book called *Summer on the Lakes*; she also did research for the book at Harvard College’s library, becoming the first woman allowed to use Harvard’s library.

In 1844, Horace Greeley hired Fuller as a literary critic at the *New York Tribune*, making her the first full-time book reviewer in U.S. journalism and later, its first woman editor. To minimize both expenses and the scandal of working in a largely masculine newsroom, according to Carolyn Mitchell, she lived in and worked from the Greeleys’ home in New York, although she and Greeley often sparred, and was decently paid at \$500 a year. She reviewed American and foreign books, concerts, lectures, and art exhibits. During her 4 years with the publication, she published more than 250 columns, most signed with an “*”. Journalists at the time rarely used real bylines, however, and this does not seem to represent an attempt to hide her gender.

Fuller wrote about many issues besides art and literature, including political and social issues such as slavery and women's rights. Having visited Sing Sing, where she interviewed women prisoners and stayed overnight, she highlighted the problems of prisons and women inmates, many of whom were prostitutes. Fuller's reporting on New York charities exposed the squalor and suffering at an alms house, a mental asylum and the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island. She was just as passionate, or strident, in supporting the rights of African Americans, depicting slavery as toxic.

Career as a Foreign Correspondent

In 1846, the *New York Tribune* sent Fuller to England, France, and Italy, as its first woman foreign correspondent. Between 1846 and 1850, she wrote 37 pieces for the *Tribune*, having been advanced \$120 for her first 15 dispatches. Her reputation and her books, as well as personal friendships and professional contacts, opened doors for her. She interviewed many prominent writers. George Sand, the French writer and Socialist, however, disappointed Fuller, when Sand told Fuller that she chose not to run for the French National Assembly, because women were not prepared for political office. Fuller likewise expressed disappointment with the reactionary politics of the historian, philosopher, and satirist Thomas Carlyle.

Soon after getting to England, she met Giuseppe Mazzini, a journalist, politician, and spearhead of the Italian revolutionary movement that worked for the unification of Italy, as opposed to many separate states, some of which were controlled by foreign countries. Mazzini was then in exile in England, having been kicked out of Switzerland and France. When Fuller got to Italy, in 1847, she met one of Mazzini's supporters, the revolutionary Giovanni Angelo, Marchese d'Ossoli, who involved Fuller more deeply in the revolutionary movement. They became lovers, lived together, and had a son, Angelo Ossoli, in 1848. They may have married, although both scholars and contemporaries are divided about that. Fuller wrote her mother about Ossoli and the baby in August 1849, explaining that she had first kept silent to avoid upsetting her.

The couple even more actively supported the revolution, with the proclamation of a Roman Republic in early 1849. Fuller volunteered at a supportive hospital, nursing the wounded and carrying supplies to the post where Ossoli was fighting. Meanwhile, her "Dispatches from Rome" passionately detailed the bloody French siege of Rome. David Dowling credits her correspondence as the country's sole source of information on Italy's political turmoil and the Risorgimento. When the republicans were defeated, however, Fuller and Ossoli fled Italy. In 1850 they decided to move to the United States. Fuller had already started a book about the rise and fall of the Roman Republic and she hoped to find an American publisher, a British one having rejected it.

A few days before Fuller, Ossoli, and Angelo boarded a merchant cargo freighter, Fuller wrote about her fears, given various omens that gave her a dark feeling and even a vague expectation of a crisis. At sea, the ship's captain died of smallpox. On July 19, 1850, just at the end of their 5-week voyage to New York and less than 100 yards from a large barrier island near Long Island, the ship hit a sandbar. Some passengers and crew members survived. At the urging of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau went to New York to search the Fire Island shoreline. Angelo's body had washed ashore. But the body of neither Fuller nor Ossoli was recovered, nor was Fuller's manuscript on the Roman Republic.

Within a week after her death, Horace Greeley suggested to Emerson that he quickly write a biography of Fuller, believing that public interest in Fuller would soon dissipate. In February 1852, *The Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* was published, edited by Emerson and two other friends, James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing. Much of Fuller's work was deleted or altered and the book omitted details about her love affair with Ossoli as well as an earlier relationship, even as it focused on her character and minimized her work and especially her radical ideas about politics, religion, and sexuality. In any case, while interest in Fuller's importance did fade, the *Memoirs* were reprinted four times by the end of 1852. Fuller's brother also collected many of her writings in two volumes, having omitted several of her letters

from Europe as too radical and socialist; these volumes were also reissued several times. Most of Margaret Fuller's extant papers are at Houghton Library at Harvard and the Boston Public Library, where readers can see how her biographers not only edited her image but also literally cut up her letters to serve the editing process.

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See also Foreign Correspondents; War Correspondents

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GAG ORDERS

A gag order prohibits an individual from speaking or publishing about a particular matter. Although gag orders can take numerous forms, the term is commonly used to describe a court order restricting speech about pending litigation. Gag orders can impact journalists' reporting in two significant ways. First, a court may issue a gag order that directly prohibits members of the media from broadcasting or publishing information about a case. Such a direct restriction on the press is subject to a heavy presumption of unconstitutionality under the First Amendment and will rarely be upheld. Second, a court may issue a gag order that does not apply directly to speech by journalists but that restricts the speech of others—such as lawyers, parties, or witnesses—who journalists would rely upon to gather information about a case.

Most courts have applied a less stringent standard when considering the constitutionality of gag orders on attorneys, parties, and other individuals directly involved in a case. Because such gag orders impede journalists' newsgathering rights, however, courts have often allowed the media to challenge gag orders that apply to trial participants or witnesses, even if those orders don't directly prohibit speech by the journalists themselves. Gag orders may also take the form of statutes, administrative rules, or regulations. This entry further discusses the purpose of gag orders, the different groups to whom gag orders apply,

and media challenges to gag orders imposed on others.

Gag Orders as Tools to Manage Pretrial Publicity

Gag orders limit the dissemination of information about ongoing litigation in an effort to avoid pretrial publicity that may hinder the parties' rights to a fair trial. Gag orders may be issued in both criminal and civil cases. Because gag orders operate as prior restraints on speech, they raise serious concerns under the First Amendment and are generally presumed to be unconstitutional. This presumption may be overcome, however, when the government can show that the order is narrowly tailored to protect a compelling public interest.

In criminal cases, the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees the accused the right to an "impartial jury," which is considered a basic requirement of due process. The U.S. Supreme Court has recognized that sensational and hostile trial coverage can permeate the community from which the jury is drawn to a point where the defendant's due process rights are violated. As such, the Supreme Court has recognized that trial courts have an affirmative duty to minimize the harmful effects of pretrial publicity in criminal cases. (*Sheppard v. Maxwell*, 384 U.S. 333 [1966]).

This does not mean, however, that a jury must consist only of individuals who have no knowledge about the case. The Supreme Court has held that even "pervasive, adverse" pretrial publicity does not automatically lead to an unfair trial.

(*Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, 427 U.S. 539, 554 [1976]). The Supreme Court has noted that judges can use measures short of gag orders to mitigate the impact of pretrial publicity. These measures may include changing the venue of the trial to another location, postponing the trial until media coverage dies down, questioning prospective jurors about information they learned outside of court, and providing clear instructions to jurors that they may render decisions only based on the evidence presented in open court. Because these measures do not implicate the same First Amendment concerns as a gag order, courts have generally held that a trial judge must determine that these alternatives will not adequately protect the right to a fair trial before resorting to a gag order. If the trial judge does issue a gag order, a typical form of gag order may enjoin attorneys, parties, or witnesses from making out-of-court statements about certain matters that the trial court believes may bias the jury pool and endanger the defendant's right to a fair trial.

The Sixth Amendment right to a fair trial applies only to criminal prosecutions. Courts have differed on whether gag orders in civil cases should be subject to the same test as gag orders in criminal matters. For example, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit held that the standard should be the same, noting that because the Seventh Amendment preserves the right to trial by jury in federal civil cases, fairness in jury trials is a vital constitutional right in both civil and criminal cases. (*Bailey v. Sys. Innovation, Inc.*, 852 F.2d 93 [3d Cir. 1988]). The Seventh Circuit, on the other hand, concluded that the concerns about fair trials in criminal cases are stronger than those in civil matters and that restrictions on attorney speech in civil cases should thus be less readily justified by fair trial concerns. (*Chicago Council of Lawyers v. Bauer*, 522 F.2d 242, 257–58 [7th Cir. 1975]).

In both criminal and civil cases, courts have applied different standards to assess the constitutionality of gag orders, depending on whether the orders restrict communications by the media, the attorneys, the parties, or other trial participants.

Gag Orders on the Media

The U.S. Supreme Court has made clear that gag orders that directly restrict the media are

presumptively unconstitutional prior restraints on speech, which are the “most serious and least tolerable infringement on First Amendment rights.” (*Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, 427 U.S. 539, 559 [1976]). In *Nebraska Press*, the trial court sought to limit pretrial publicity regarding the murders of six family members in a small Nebraska town, a crime that attracted significant local and national media attention. Members of the press challenged a restraining order that enjoined them from reporting information about the defendant's confessions or other information that was “strongly implicative” of the defendant's guilt. This included restricting information about the defendant's confession that had been introduced in open court during a pretrial hearing.

The Supreme Court held that the gag order could not overcome the presumption of unconstitutionality. The gag order restraining the media could only be valid, the Court concluded, upon a showing that: (1) there was a clear and present danger of actual prejudice to the defendant's right to a fair trial; (2) alternative means of protecting the defendant's right to a fair trial, such as change of venue, were inadequate; and (3) the gag order would be effective in protecting the defendant's right to a fair trial. The Supreme Court concluded that the trial court had failed to demonstrate that it had considered measures short of an order restricting speech and that there was doubt as to whether the gag order would be effective since rumors could travel by word-of-mouth in the small community where the murders occurred. Finally, the Supreme Court found the gag order defective for additional reasons, including that it prohibited the media from reporting on information communicated in open court hearings and that its wording was impermissibly vague.

Just a year later, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional a trial court order enjoining the press from publishing or disseminating the name or picture of a juvenile defendant in a murder case. Reporters learned the juvenile's name during an open detention hearing, and a news photographer took the boy's photo as he was being escorted from the courthouse. After the boy's name and image were published and broadcast in local media, the judge entered an order prohibiting further dissemination of the name or photo of the juvenile. The Supreme Court held, however, that

the First Amendment did not permit a trial court to bar the publication of widely disseminated information that was obtained at an open court proceeding. (*Oklahoma Publishing Co. v. District Court in and for Oklahoma County*, 430 U.S. 308 [1977]).

Under the demanding standard of *Nebraska Press*, gag orders on the media have survived only in rare cases. In 2004, the Colorado Supreme Court upheld a trial judge's order prohibiting media organizations from revealing the contents of transcripts from closed hearings in the high-profile sexual assault prosecution of a National Basketball Association star that had been sent to the media in error. (*Colorado v. Bryant*, 94 P.3d 624 [Colo. 2004]). The state's high court upheld the prior restraint on publication, finding that the state had an interest of the "highest order" in protecting sexual assault victims' privacy relating to information that would not be admissible under the state's rape shield statute. The state supreme court, however, directed the trial court to make a quick determination as to what evidence from the closed hearing would be admissible and decide whether any or all of the transcribed proceedings could then be made public.

Gag Orders on Attorneys

Given the high bar that must be satisfied to issue a gag order that applies to the media, courts looking to control prejudicial pretrial publicity have instead often turned to gag orders on attorneys, parties, and other trial participants.

The Supreme Court has not addressed the standard for court-imposed gag orders on attorneys. In *Gentile v. State Bar*, however, the Supreme Court held that the speech of lawyers representing parties in pending cases may be regulated under a less stringent standard than the high standard the Court applies to restraints on the media. (*Gentile v. State Bar*, 501 U.S. 1030 [1991]). In *Gentile*, a defense attorney challenged his punishment for violating a Nevada state bar rule that prohibited attorneys from making out-of-court statements in connection with their representation of clients if the attorney knows the statement would have a "substantial likelihood of materially prejudicing" judicial proceedings.

Although the Court concluded that the state bar rule was unconstitutionally vague as

interpreted by the state in *Gentile's* proceeding, the Court held that the "substantial likelihood" of prejudice standard applied to out-of-court attorney speech did not violate the First Amendment. The Court found that there is a heightened interest in regulating speech by lawyers because they are considered officers of the court and have "special access to information" that makes their statements likely to be perceived as particularly authoritative. The Court concluded the rule imposed only "narrow and necessary limitations on lawyers' speech." The Court did not address whether the "substantial likelihood" test was a minimum constitutional threshold or if a less demanding standard could also be applied to attorney speech.

Although *Gentile* involved a state bar rule rather than a court-issued gag order, the Court's reasoning in *Gentile* has been applied by some lower courts to hold that gag orders on attorneys may be evaluated under a more permissive standard than the clear and present danger standard applied to gag orders on the media. Even so, the lower courts have still considered whether gag orders restricting attorneys are narrowly tailored and the least restrictive means of avoiding prejudice. Two years after the Supreme Court's decision in *Gentile*, for example, the Second Circuit overturned a gag order barring counsel for all parties in the World Trade Center bombing trial from publicly discussing any aspect of the case. (*United States v. Salameh*, 992 F.2d 445 [2d Cir. 1993]). Although the Second Circuit noted that the speech of attorneys representing clients in pending cases may be subject to greater limitations than could constitutionally be imposed on the press or other citizens, it concluded the gag order was broader than necessary to protect the defendants' Sixth Amendment rights and the integrity of the judicial system.

In 2014, the Alabama Supreme Court directed a trial court to rescind a protective order that prohibited the plaintiffs' counsel in a group of civil cases alleging fraud by a pest control company from making any out-of-court reference to the circumstances of the cases and to require plaintiffs' counsel to remove all mention of the cases or their facts from their website and social media pages. (*Ex parte Wright*, 166 So.3d 618 [Ala. 2014]). The state high court found the order invalid, concluding it was not narrowly

tailored and did not use the least restrictive means necessary to protect the defendant's right to a fair trial.

Courts have also tried to restrict attorney speech through local court rules. The Fifth Circuit considered an attorney's challenge to a local district court criminal rule that prohibited an attorney "associated with" either the prosecution or defense at a trial from making any out-of-court statement for public dissemination related "to the trial or the parties or issues in the trial." (*In re Goode*, 821 F.3d 553 [5th Cir. 2016]). The Fifth Circuit found that the rule operated as a prior restraint on the attorney's speech, but could be analyzed under the less demanding standard of *Gentile*. Even so, the court held that the rule was unconstitutional as applied to the attorney because it was not narrowly tailored to prohibit speech that was substantially likely to materially prejudice the case and was not the least restrictive means of guarding against such prejudice.

Gag Orders on Other Trial Participants

The Supreme Court has not ruled on the standard to be applied to gag orders that restrict the speech of nonlawyer trial participants, such as parties and witnesses, and lower courts have disagreed about what standard applies in such cases. Some courts have treated gag orders restricting speech by trial participants as prior restraints subject to the same stringent standard that the Supreme Court applies to gag orders against the media. Other courts have approved gag orders on trial participants under a lower standard, requiring only a "substantial" or "reasonable" likelihood of material prejudice. In addition to requiring an actual risk of prejudice, these lower courts have typically required that the trial court demonstrate the order is narrowly tailored and that less restrictive alternatives would not suffice.

The Fourth and Tenth Circuits have held that a trial court can restrain out-of-court statements by trial participants if it determines the comments pose a "reasonable likelihood" of prejudicing fair trial rights. In 2018, the Fourth Circuit applied this standard in evaluating a gag order imposing stringent restrictions on trial participants in a group of civil nuisance suits brought against the hog farm industry. (*In re Murphy-Brown, LLC*, 907 F.3d 788 [4th Cir. 2018]). With only limited

exceptions, the order prohibited the parties, their counsel, and all "potential witnesses" from making any extrajudicial statement to the media relating to the trial, the parties, or the issues in the case that could interfere with a fair trial. The court struck down the gag order on a challenge by the defendant hog farm operator, holding the trial court had failed to show there was a "reasonable likelihood" that a party would be denied a fair trial absent the order. The Fourth Circuit also questioned whether the gag order may actually increase the risk of prejudice, because it prevented parties from "disseminating accurate and timely information" while the media continued to cover developments in the case.

The Fifth Circuit has required a showing of a substantial likelihood of prejudice to justify gag orders on nonattorney trial participants. In 2013, the Fifth Circuit applied this test to invalidate a trial court order requiring the plaintiff police officers to take down a website used to communicate information about their case that contained critical statements about the defendant police department. (*Marceaux v. Lafayette City-Parish Consol. Government*, 731 F.3d 488 [5th Cir. 2013]). The appeals court stated that the case demanded a "nuanced approach" to the balance between "avoiding a tainted jury pool and the rights of parties to freely air their views and opinions in the 'market square' now taking the form of the electronic square known as the Internet." The court held that the trial court erred in concluding that the entire website was substantially likely to cause prejudice.

Other courts require a showing of an imminent threat or clear and present danger to restrict the speech of trial participants. The Sixth Circuit, for example, has held that the "clear and present danger" test that the Supreme Court applied to gag orders on media in *Nebraska Press* also applied to gag orders that restrict criminal defendants. (*United States v. Ford*, 830 F.2d 596 [6th Cir. 1987]).

Finally, where a court seeks to restrict parties from communicating information gained only through the court-ordered exchange of documents and information that is part of the litigation process, the Supreme Court has held that such orders are "not the kind of classic prior restraint that requires exacting First Amendment scrutiny." (*Seattle Times Co. v. Rhinehart*, 467 U.S. 20, 33 [1984]).

Instead, the court may restrict the dissemination of such materials upon a showing of “good cause,” as long as the court does not forbid dissemination of information gathered independently of the court’s discovery rules.

Gag Orders on Jurors and Grand Jury Proceedings

Courts recognize a special interest in protecting the secrecy of jury deliberations that is not applicable to other judicial proceedings. For trial juries, courts have explained that free debate among jurors may be stifled if jurors believe their individual arguments and opinions would be disclosed to a wide audience.

The Fifth Circuit upheld a posttrial order prohibiting jurors in a high-profile criminal trial from being interviewed “concerning the deliberations of the jury” without special permission from the trial judge. (*United States v. Cleveland*, 128 F.3d 267 [5th Cir. 1997]). The appeals court found the order was narrowly tailored because it prohibited only the disclosure of information about the discussions occurring among jurors within the jury room and did not prevent jurors from being interviewed about their own general reactions to trial proceedings. The Tenth Circuit, on the other hand, struck down a trial court’s order prohibiting jurors in a high profile civil case from discussing their verdict “with anyone,” (*Journal Publishing Co. v. Mechem*, 801 F.2d 1233 [10th Cir. 1986]). The court concluded that the order was impermissibly overbroad because it was unlimited in time and scope. The trial judge could not issue such a “sweeping restraint,” the appeals court concluded, absent a compelling reason.

In the grand jury context, the Supreme Court has recognized that the proper functioning of the grand jury system requires confidentiality to protect grand jury witnesses and jurors from potential influence or retribution, guard against the risk of flight by individuals who are about to be indicted, and protect the reputations of individuals who are suspected of wrongdoing but exonerated by the grand jury. In a 1990 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Florida statute that prohibited grand jury witnesses from disclosing the testimony that they gave before the grand jury. The Court held that to the extent the law prevented witnesses from disclosing their own testimony

about information they possessed before they testified before the grand jury, the state could not prohibit witnesses from sharing that information once the investigation has ended. (*Butterworth v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 624 [1990]).

Media Challenges to Gag Orders on Others

State and federal courts have recognized that a news organization may challenge a gag order imposed on another individual when the gag order impedes the news media’s “rights under the First Amendment to gather news . . . and to receive speech from willing speakers.” (*In re The Wall Street Journal*, 601 F. App’x 215 [4th Cir. 2015]). Media organizations have been permitted to challenge pretrial gag orders on trial participants, as well as posttrial orders restricting juror communications. Some courts, such as the Third Circuit, permit such challenges by the media only when there is evidence that a person restrained by the gag order would otherwise be willing to speak. (*United States v. Wecht*, 484 F.3d 194 [3d Cir. 2007]).

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See also Censorship; First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Prior Restraint; Supreme Court and Journalism

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GANNETT

Gannett is the largest newspaper publisher in the United States. Following its 2019 merged with GateHouse, it owned an assemblage of 260 daily newspapers. Despite its size, Gannett’s stock price fell 40% in the first 6 months following the

merger. The deal, financed with a \$1.8 billion loan from a private equity company, led one Wall Street analytics firm to predict there was a one-in-three chance the consolidated company would soon go bankrupt.

Gannett's troubles have not yet been as dramatic as other large newspaper chains, which have been sold and/or broken up, often by hedge funds and asset management firms operating through bankruptcy proceedings. But Gannett's place in the descending fortunes of newspaper chains, while unique, is also a commonplace story of how debt, dropping stock prices, incursions from Internet competitors, and the decline in print-on-paper newspaper circulation has decimated one of the once most profitable industry sectors in the United States. This entry examines Gannett's history, launch of the national newspaper *USA Today* and subsequent acquisitions, and legacy.

History of Gannett

Gannett has been a longtime player in the burgeoning growth of American newspaper chains. In 1906, Frank Gannett purchased a half ownership of the Elmira (NY) *Gazette* as a launching point for buying up smaller dailies throughout the Northeastern United States and beyond. In 1923, he combined his newspaper holdings into a solely owned operation.

The Gannett Company joined the New York Stock Exchange in 1969 and grew to 79 newspapers by 1979. In that year, Gannett acquired Combined Communications, which brought into the fold its first large newspapers, *The Cincinnati Enquirer* and the *Oakland Tribune*, along with seven federally licensed metro television stations. Gannett's national profile also received a boost when its Washington, DC bureau won a Pulitzer Prize in 1980. It sponsored the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan the same year, and the company relocated its headquarters from Rochester (NY) to twin high-rise towers in the D.C. suburbs of Rosslyn, Virginia in 1986.

Founded in 1943, the Gannett News Service provides the company's newspapers with national, state, and local angle news from bureaus across the nation. In the early 1970s, prominent national political columnist, Jack Germond, then Gannett's D.C. bureau chief, described the chain as an

anonymous bunch of "shitkicker newspapers" (Germond, 2005, p. 105). However, with the 1973 ascension of Al Neuharth as successor to CEO Paul Miller—a former Associated Press executive and Gannett's leader since shortly before the death of Frank Gannett in 1957—the company was quickly redesigned for high-profile success in the go-go atmosphere of 1980s' market-driven journalism and publicly traded newspaper chains as top Wall Street performers.

In 1974, Neuharth brought in company loyalist, John Curley, to replace Germond—an important figure in Timothy Crouse's book, *The Boys on the Bus*, about the 1972 Nixon-McGovern campaign press. Some saw the move as symbolic of the newspaper business' transition from raucous presidential press packs and *The Washington Post's* epic-making Watergate reporting to a new corporate environment. Curley was a dedicated news professional, but as Poynter Institute writing coach, Roy Peter Clark observes, he accepted the realities of maintaining a journalistic ethic within a company culture which valued "self-promotion and executive salaries" more than "a common good grounded in excellent news coverage."

Launch of USA Today

The centerpiece of Gannett's rise to reputation was the company's founding in 1982 of its national newspaper, *USA Today*. With its use of splashy color, reader-friendly factoids, and once-over-lightly news content, the paper can be seen as the quintessential product of the marketing principles percolating throughout the industry of the 1970s and 1980s. *USA Today* utilized the latest developments in readership research and computer and satellite technology to make the paper a ubiquitous presence—printed at Gannett newspapers around the country, sold in space-age news boxes, and pushed under hotel doors by the bulk-buying hospitality industry. Its bright and light content and promotional formulas were called *radically innovative* by its many imitators. But others felt the newspaper lent a franchisers' feel to daily journalism and labeled it "McPaper" and "junk food journalism."

The celebrity-seeking Neuharth ensured that his personality was associated with the company's growth and its relentlessly accelerating earnings.

He placed an emperor-style bust of himself in the lobby of Gannett's new headquarters and titled his autobiography, *Confessions of an S. O. B.* Neuharth "liked sticking thumbs in the eyes of the big guys," said Richard Benedetto, a top reporter at *USA Today*, after Neuharth's death in 2013. But he described the South Dakota-born Neuharth's belief in a "journalism of hope" as coming from "the heartland and unity was his vision."

In 1989, Neuharth turned over the chairman's reigns to Curley and left to head the Freedom Forum (as he renamed the Gannett Foundation). Although he was only occasionally heard from (Neuharth tried, for example, to manipulate the company from afar by threatening to sell off the foundation's Gannett stock), he made his last major splash when he engineered the 2008 move of the Freedom Forum's historical "Newseum" to a location close to the White House.

Meanwhile Gannett settled into a less attention-getting, but highly acquisitive, period under Curley's and his successors, Douglas McCorkindale's, Greg Dubow's, and Gracia Martore's, more modest leadership. The company had acquired additional stature when it added admired newspapers—*The Des Moines Register* in 1985, *The Courier Journal* (Louisville, KY) in 1986, and the *Detroit Free Press* in 2005—although some critics felt they lost their professional edge under Gannett's management. Increasingly the action in Gannett was in TV affiliate stations. While typically selling off radio properties it acquired, Gannett had collected 50 local TV outlets by 2015 when the company was split into two: TEGNA, which kept the television properties, and a newspaper company (retaining the name Gannett). This was followed in 2019 by the merger of Gannett's 92 newspapers, plus *USA Today*, with GateHouse's newspaper properties. Even though GateHouse investors hold a 50.5% interest—and its top official is former GateHouse president, Mike Reed—the consolidated company also kept the name Gannett.

In recent years, Gannett has accelerated digital growth by expanding its role in streaming video, online marketing, software management, and cloud-based computing. *USA Today*—which has a huge online readership but generally provides only a small percentage of Gannett's revenue—has seen a big drop-off in print-on-paper

advertising. But the newspaper is used to provide company synergy, and its national reporting has been incorporated as inserts in some of Gannett's larger newspapers. Nonetheless Gannett is viewed like other legacy media companies as encumbered with its "old" media structures and habits. Its newspapers have been followers rather than leaders in adopting paywalls or state-of-the-art websites. The coronavirus pandemic delivered a blow to the core of *USA Today's* target markets—affluent travelers, the hospitality industries, fans of sports statistics, and business news. This has trapped the newspaper within digital, demographic, and industry forces. Its news content is not substantial enough to beat out its national competitors, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, or *The Washington Post*, and its niche on the Internet not financially secure enough to fend off competitive threats. *USA Today* is an "oddly mid-market, Middle American medium with flyover country warmth," says the NiemanLab's Ken Doctor. The newspaper has "personality," he adds, "but not of this era."

One can see Gannett as a pacesetter within the newspaper industry's successes in the 1970s and 1980s, but falling behind in addressing newspapers' contemporary challenges. Gannett has continued to be a leader in promoting women, diversity in management, and press freedom issues. *USA Today* survives—but largely to perpetuate the company's brand. Gannett's many one-city newspapers have carried on without closing shop as in other cities. However, its unsparing budget and staff cuts throughout the 2000s have provided the "gravitational force" that has continuously pulled Gannett newspapers "back to the middle of the pack," Clark says.

Legacy

In historical terms, Gannett has a mixed legacy. The company has been an adroit utilizer of federal tax and inheritance laws favorable to chain acquisitions. But it also has been accused of using monopolistic tactics in its business practices, which triggered congressional hearings in 1977. It has improved some of its one-city newspapers but taken advantage of federal joint-operating agreements and left markets when faced with

competitor resistance. As it purchased more local TV affiliates, the company's effort in the late 1980s to expand *USA Today* into a national TV show was a bust. The company's attempt in 2016 to buy the Tribune Company fell through after depressed Gannett earnings reduced the value of its stock offer. This was followed by a narrow escape from a hedge fund-supported takeover company known for hollowing out distressed newspapers. As a final blow, the Newseum was closed by the debt-laden Freedom Forum in 2018. The totality of this has meant Gannett has not escaped the crushing damage to publicly traded newspaper groups—and, while it now sits atop the sector, it does so with a tarnished image.

Doug Underwood

See also Media Ownership; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; *USA Today*

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GATEKEEPING

The term *gatekeeping* refers to the process by which information can be included or excluded by a mediator prior to reaching an audience. It has been conceptualized both as a normative journalistic role and as a theory. The concept was initially developed by David Manning White in 1950 through a published article “The ‘Gate Keeper’: A Case Study in the Selection of News” in *Journalism Quarterly*. White was inspired by the work of social scientist Kurt Lewin, who used the term to describe the organizations that could affect the distribution of food. As this entry shows, gatekeeping has proven to be a resilient concept in mass communication theory. Long before digital technology challenged the assumptions of numerous theories, gatekeeping theory had already been adjusted and reshaped in relation to changes in media.

The theory emerged from the observations made during the legacy media era—an era in which the content decisions for a mass audience were made by editors and, it was assumed, passive audiences would simply receive the content presented. In its earliest iteration, gatekeeping theory sought to understand how news was selected for publication in legacy media. Given this tie to legacy media, it is then unsurprising that theory has been critiqued—the theory’s vitality would seem to be inextricably tied to the vitality of legacy media. After all, while White’s “Mr. Gates” could only make room for one story out of every ten in the news, contemporary news platforms have either lessened or eliminated restrictions on the amount of content. Yet the theory has remained viable in part because the theory’s foundational interest in accounting for the fact that not all information is equally available. Through the lens of this foundational interest, gatekeeping then refers to the factors that inhibit or promote information flow. This remains essential in discussions of our contemporary mediascape. The transition in gatekeeping, Timothy Vos argues, has not led to the “termination of gatekeeping” (2015, p. 11).

It is at times postulated that gatekeeping is less consequential if such an array of gates is available, yet, as Vos points out, the array of gates does nothing to affect change in the role of the individual gatekeeper. Journalists generally argue that their function in the gatekeeping process includes tasks ranging from serving as a public forum to checking abuses of power—certainly these are also roles performed elsewhere. Hence, while many gates may be available, this does not change the gatekeeping role journalists play in news selection—and given the amplification of elite sources on social media and elsewhere—in some ways their role may be *more* valuable as opposed to less.

Rather than becoming obsolete, gatekeeping has been drawn upon in recent years as a concept useful for calling attention to the role played by digital platforms in the presentation of news, through supplementary concepts such as “algorithmic gatekeeping” or “gate programming.” These concepts subtend the argument that the process of gatekeeping is increasingly being done by artificial intelligence and computers. As Peter

Bro notes, there are three different models of gatekeeping characterized by information, communication, and elimination. In the information model, journalists decide what news is included or ignored in the news media as a result of interaction with news sources—the aim in this model is to provide the public with information. In the second model, gatekeeping occurs through a facilitative process through which citizens and decision makers interact with journalists and collectively help produce the final news story—the aim in this model is ensuring communication. In the third model, journalists are left out of the process. Citizens and decision makers interact directly through means of social media technologies and can produce and publish news of their own. This final model, Bro argues, actually represents a return to the bygone era of direct communication where powerful institutions took it upon themselves to communicate directly with citizens.

White’s initial study concluded that it was the personal traits of editors that motivated the selection of news, and while this finding was heavily critiqued, it served as a basis for research emphasizing the role of newsrooms routines and practices and newsroom socialization in gatekeeping news. Indeed, this finding has proven to be so helpful in the development of gatekeeping theory that, more than 70 years later, William P. Cassidy argued that routine forces had a greater impact on gatekeeping decisions for journalists than individual factors. One of the routines natural to the gatekeeping process is the application of a set *rubric* for assessing newsworthiness. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge argue that 12 values including “frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness” (1965, p. 70) have served as a means through which journalists assessed newsworthiness. A central question of gatekeeping has always been that, given the diversity of journalists, and the diversity of news organizations, how is it that journalists are capable of “producing such a narrow range of news messages” (Vos, 2015, p. 7)? In contemporary research, this concern has morphed into an examination of the wide array of gates—an array of gates that can allow information to the public even if hundreds of gates have been closed to the information.

In classical gatekeeping theory, there are five levels of analysis: individual, communication routines, organizational, social institutions, and social system. The individual level of analysis concerns the characteristics of the individual gatekeeper, such as is represented in the classic study by White, and might look at the communicative products of individuals such as emails, blog posts, and social media status updates. According to David DeJuliis, the communicative routines level of analysis concerns the “practices of a profession embodied in instincts and news values and judgments” (2015, p. 9). This routine level is where the application of news values comes into play with the values of newsworthiness, and the practice of the inverted pyramid style of writing shared throughout the journalistic field. The organizational level of analysis is where news organizations differ—the media environment affecting a community newspaper would naturally differ from that of a daily, city newspaper. The social institution level of analysis focuses on the actors on an organization, such as advertisers, governments, and activist groups; media outlets may adjust their news in relation to the expectations of such social institutions. Finally, the social system level of analysis focuses on the most abstract forces of culture, ideology, and economics on gatekeeping.

So, for example, in a research study on a national level newspaper, the study might acknowledge the social system in which the newspaper has operated—taking into account the media system and the underlying paradigm. At the institutional level, research scholars often look at the texts resulting from institutions—the sort of metajournalistic discourse—in order to assess the gatekeeping process. The organizational and routine level of analysis might apply ethnography and interviews in order to understand the media environment and the routines that operate within it. The communicative and individual levels of analysis might apply the use of surveys and interviews in order to understand the application of news values and how an individual selects stories.

In a synthesized model of gatekeeping proposed by Shoemaker and Vos, the authors argue that the constructs of gatekeepers, gates, forces, and channels are as relevant now as they were when the concept was first proposed. This model argues that raw information flows through three

gatekeeping channels: sources, media, and audience. Information enters the source channel through experts, commentators, and observers. The media channel is entered by reporters, editors, and production staff. The source and media channels flow together to offer news content. The third channel—that of the audience—takes information from news content and social media. In this model, messages move through blogs, news outlets, and public relations agencies, and in each, boundary gatekeepers make decisions about what information to allow into their channel.

Such research is not only valid but imperative in the contemporary mediascape, where content aggregators play an outsized role in the presentation of information to the public. Journalists play an essential role in processing raw information to be presented to the public, thus amplifying the work of the content aggregators. Furthermore, the research also clarifies the reality that significant amounts of information never move through a journalistic gate. This then raises the question of the processes occurring in computer-oriented gatekeeping. Altogether this suggests that the vitality of the concept is well supported given its implication for journalistic practice, news literacy, audience engagement, and news values.

Gregory Perreault

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Media Conglomerates; Self-Regulation

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GERMANY

Journalism in the Federal Republic of Germany has both a long tradition and a contemporary foundation that places it consistently at the top of the list of countries favorable to journalists and press freedom.

With a population of 83.1 million, the Federal Republic of Germany is the largest country on the European continent. A founding member of the European Union, Germany has maintained a robust economy and attracts immigrants from Europe and beyond. Twenty percent of the population are of immigrant background. German is the official language of this federalist parliamentary republic. Its media system is a blend of public and commercial broadcast, as well as print and online-only outlets and is considered democratic corporatist. With more than 41.4 million households in Germany alone and with large German-speaking populations in neighboring Austria and Switzerland, it represents a significant media market.

This entry offers a history of journalism in Germany leading up to the contemporary news media system. It also provides an overview of the nation's print, online, and broadcast journalism traditions; media ownership and regulatory issues; press freedom and education; and explores some future developments of journalism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

History

Journalism in Germany, as in many European countries, has a long history. Prejournalistic forms

of news production and dissemination were common during the Middle Ages and into the early modern age. These were random exchanges of information delivered by poets and bards. Printer, publisher and inventor of the printing press and moveable type, Johannes Gutenberg, born in Mainz, Germany around 1400, is credited with initiating the printing revolution in Europe. By the 1600s correspondence journalists published news bulletins and reports, mostly unedited, in dozens of small, regional papers with a circulation of no more than 200–300 each.

While the Enlightenment brought with it a more intellectual citizenry, censorship of newspapers during the 1700s prompted the emergence of various forms of narrative journalism written by what scholars have called *part-time literary journalists* whose work was published in magazines and weeklies. Physical newsrooms and dailies, journalists as full-time professionals, and editing became the norm after the German Revolution of 1848–1849 and into the latter part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century.

The Third Reich brought an end to the free press in Germany. Under the National Socialist regime, publishing houses were seized and news stories were limited and censored under a policy called *Gleichschaltung*, requiring all sectors of society, including news organizations, to follow party line.

Journalism in the 20th Century

Following World War II, the fate of the free press in Germany depended on the licensing requirements imposed by the allied powers in each of the occupied zones. They determined who could resume or begin publication and under what conditions. The Soviet Union issued the first license to the East German *Berliner Zeitung* in June 1945. In August of that year, the United States granted the *Frankfurter Rundschau* permission to publish.

France, Britain, and the United States had not been as strategic in their plans to revive journalism in what would become the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), as had the Soviet Union in the East where hand-picked publishers and editors were installed, laying the groundwork for a largely state-controlled media system in the future German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Radio stations in the British occupied north began operating as early as 1945 and, following the publicly financed model of Britain's BBC, a network of regional radio and television broadcasters began to take hold. In 1950, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (ARD) [Working group of public-service broadcasting of the Federal Republic of Germany] was founded, building cooperations between the regional entities, with the ARD as national broadcaster. Economic and political independence as well as a mission to provide unbiased information to all citizens, financed primarily with monthly fees paid by all households with a radio or television set, were the pillars of this construct. Although advertisement has since become an important second source of revenue for these public stations, the public service mission has not changed. A second, national broadcaster, *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* (ZDF) [Second German Television] was founded in 1963.

Print publications like the weeklies *Der Spiegel* [Mirror] and *Die Zeit* [Time], dailies like *Der Tagesspiegel* [Daily Mirror] and *Die Wirtschaftszeitung* [Business Newspaper] received licenses, as did the publishing house *Springer Verlag* in Berlin. The *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (dpa) [German Press Agency] was founded in 1949 and remains Germany's largest press agency. By September 1949, a general license to publish was extended throughout West Germany.

Journalism in a Divided Germany

Until German reunification in 1990, the two news media systems differed fundamentally. In the GDR, licenses to publish and broadcast were given only to parties and large organizations. Some privately run newspapers survived for a few years after the war, but by 1953 they were shut down. Although press freedom was formally included in the constitution, restrictions imposed on journalists essentially muted the notion of freedom of information and expression. The dominating papers in the GDR were the party organ *Neues Deutschland* [New Germany] and the youth organization FDJ's *Junge Welt* [Young World]. Many citizens of the GDR turned their television antennas toward the West and tuned into West German programs.

The Federal Republic of Germany's constitution, ratified in May 1949, included an article guaranteeing freedom of expression and communication. Article 5 specifically guards against state censorship of the press, the arts and the sciences. The news media landscape that developed was pluralistic and largely decentralized, with regional newspapers, as well as national news outlets, primarily print and the previously mentioned network of public service broadcasters providing both regional and national coverage. The 1950s and 1960s saw a surge in tabloids, fueled by the Axel Springer publishing house and its flagship daily paper *BILD Zeitung*. The 1970s saw a concentration of media outlets and by the 1980s commercial interests began to change the publishing and broadcast landscape. The public-service broadcasting system became what is known as a *dual system*, allowing for advertisement and commercial broadcasters to coexist within the publicly funded system.

Reunification brought little change to the media landscape in the Federal Republic. Many journalists who had worked under the state-controlled system in the GDR left the industry, while some found employment in the West. The regional broadcasting network now had member institutions like *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg* (rbb), a merger of the West German *Sender Freies Berlin* (SFB) [Station Free Berlin] and the East German *Ostdeutscher Rundfunk Brandenburg* (ORB) [East German Broadcast Brandenburg]. In 1991, the *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk* (mdr) became the broadcast network covering three states in the former GDR, Thuringia, Saxony, and Saxony-Anhalt, thereby completing the takeover of the media system by the Federal Republic. Journalists from the former East German states continue to be underrepresented in newsrooms, particularly at the leadership level.

Deutsche Welle (DW) [German Wave], founded in 1953, is a government-funded, yet independent international broadcaster, producing radio and television programs in 30 languages.

Journalists

Employment statistics for journalists in Germany are not particularly reliable. According to 2019 census data, there were 87,175 newsroom employees such as editors, reporters, authors, and

editors-in-chief, of which 52.8% were women and 5.3% were not German. Sixty percent of the 1,732 interns working in newsrooms are women. The majority (77.8%) of newsroom employees are between 25 and 55 years old. Seventy-six percent work full-time and 24% are part-time employees. Fifty-nine percent have a university degree. In 2018, the number of freelance journalists was estimated at 27,000, a decline of 3,000 compared to the 2015 census. Full-time freelancers earn approximately €26,000 per year, compared to €52,000 for full-time employees. Women in this category earn an average of €41,700, whereas men earn €57,000 per year, that is, male journalists earn 27% more than female journalists. A pay gap also exists between print and online journalists, with print journalists earning €3,800 per month compared to the €3,600 their online colleagues take home every month. Most journalists are employed by daily print and online news organizations.

Although several collective bargaining agreements have been negotiated with unions specific to the profession, for example *Deutscher Journalisten Verband* (DJV), *Deutsche Journalistinnen und Journalisten Union* (dju), in recent years publishing houses have avoided adhering to these agreements by canceling agreements, by outsourcing projects or by creating separate business entities that fall outside of the unions' purviews. Employees of public broadcasters, much like civil servants, are compensated along rigid pay scales, although there is always room for negotiation.

Regulation

The German constitution or Basic Law [*Grundgesetz*] includes several articles that provide a framework for a free and independent press. Article 5 specifically addresses citizens' rights to freely express their opinions and to engage in uncensored and free press activities and publication. Although constitutionally guaranteed, the German government has not always honored this article. For example, in 1962 journalists working for the weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* were prosecuted and accused of treason after reporting critically about the German defense department. Charges were dropped and the affair resulted in a number of resignations including that of the Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss.

While several articles of the *Grundgesetz* constitute the equivalent of the United States Constitution's First Amendment, each German state or *Bundesland* has its own state press laws. Yet there are no substantial differences and all aim, on one hand, to protect citizens from unprofessional and unethical reporting practices and on the other hand to guarantee uncensored professional news reporting activities. Some of these guarantees include right to information laws and source protection.

In 1956, German journalists founded a press association [*Presserat*] in order to protect press freedom and to uphold professional standards by establishing an ethics code [*Pressekodex*] understood as a form of voluntary self-corrective. State laws regulating press freedom lean on the framework established by this press association. The *Presserat* is comprised of two professional membership organizations and two newspaper and magazine publishing associations and is largely membership financed. Since 1976, the German government has been making annual contributions, mandated by law, to the association. Complaints against news organizations and journalists who are seen as having violated the *Presserat's* ethics code are discussed and voted on four times a year. An official reprimand must be published by the news organization but has no legal consequences. In 2019, the association received 2,175 complaints and issued 34 official reprimands. According to the *Presserat*, inaccurate reporting, victim identification, and protection are more often cited than in previous years. The number of complaints received has been increasing since 2017.

Broadcast Journalism

The German broadcasting market is divided into two competing playing fields—public, fee-financed, partly commercial, bound by law to certain standards of content and private, commercial, driven by audience demand. The states have a strong role in public broadcasting, their parliaments vote on broadcasting laws. They control the supervisory entities that represent stakeholders such as parties, unions, and churches and agree on the stations' annual budgets and fees that every household is required to contribute. The fees are meant to guarantee public broadcasters' independence from

profit orientation and their commitment to the common good as opposed to daily swings in mood or taste.

When more frequencies became available through advances in cable- and satellite technology, the Federal Constitutional Court [*Bundesverfassungsgericht*] in a 1981 ruling allowed commercial programming. This resulted in the establishment of private radio and television stations. The intent was to deauthorize broadcast television and to broaden media power by letting in market forces. Since then the private sector has developed into a second force in the media landscape, clearly distinguishable in content and appearance from public radio and television.

Fifty percent of viewers in 2020 tuned into public broadcasting channels with the ARD reaching a market share of 11.3% and its regional channels 13.3%, whereas ZDF reached 13% overall. The two major commercial television groups, ProSieben Sat.1 and the RTL Media Group Germany, had a market share of 16.7% and 21.8%, respectively. Pay TV is becoming more popular. The ProSieben Sat.1 flagship channels ProSieben and Sat. 1 reached market shares of 4.3% and 6% while the RTL Groups' flagships RTL and VOX came in at 8.4% and 4.8%.

International streaming and on-demand platforms have not only profoundly changed viewer habits, they have also challenged classic broadcasting structures and pose a strategic challenge for both public and private German broadcasters who must defend their user fees and modes of revenue generation.

Print and Online Journalism

327 daily newspapers were published in Germany in 2019, with 1,452 local editions amounting to a print circulation of 13.52 million. In addition, 17 weeklies with a total print circulation of 1.61 million and six Sunday papers with a circulation of 1.74 million were published that year. This represents a slight decline over the previous decade. On the other hand, there were 698 online news sites in 2019, showing a steady increase. Yet advertisement revenue for daily newspapers has seen a sharp decline as Internet use has risen significantly, without the necessary increase in online advertisement sales.

Weekly news magazines have a strong tradition in Germany. *Der Spiegel*, *Stern*, and *Focus* are three of the most read titles among the 1,625 popular and consumer magazines on the market. Of these, 40% were sold through subscription and 46% through retail sales. The continued and rising interest in weekly, in-depth news coverage has benefited those publications that have offered ePaper editions and that are experimenting with online payment models. One beneficiary of these strategies, along with young, online readers who engage with longform journalism, is the weekly *Die Zeit*, based in Hamburg.

Most German media organizations and publishing houses are located in the former West Germany and are owned by West Germans. A notable exception is the *Berliner Zeitung*, the paper first issued a post-war license to publish by the Soviet Union in 1945. In 2019 multimillionaire investor Holger Friedrich, a native of Potsdam in the former FRG, and his wife Silke purchased the paper, only to be criticized for using it as a platform to publish their own opinion pieces.

German print and online news organizations are owned by a relatively small number of publishing companies. Among them are Axel Springer, Bauer Media, Bertelsmann, Burda Media, and Holtzbrink, followed by several companies focused on local news media such as the Madsack Media Group. Bertelsmann is by far the largest of these, with interests not only in newspaper and magazine publishing but also in radio and television (RTL Group), book publishing (Penguin Random House), music (BMG), in education, printing, and investments. Two thirds of its nearly €18 billion total revenue in 2018 was generated outside of Germany.

Regulation of Media Ownership

In keeping with its federalist structure, Germany's regulation of broadcast media concentration and competition is up to individual state media authorities [*Landesmedienanstalten*]. Mergers, for instance, must be approved by the *Kommission zur Ermittlung der Konzentration im Medienbereich* (KEK), a commission that determines whether or not a merger might result in market domination defined as controlling more than 30% of TV audiences or reaching a market share of

25% if the company also holds shares in another company related to the media industry. Several companies have tried to circumvent these regulations, for example by establishing holding companies. Regulation of newspaper and magazine ownership is also aimed at preventing monopolies, yet crossmedia ownership structures have put regulators to the test. In 2015, for instance, ProSiebenSat1, Germany's largest commercial broadcaster and Axel Springer SE, the largest European newspaper publisher, attempted a merger in the hopes of creating a €14 billion European digital hub. The project was dropped due to numerous regulatory concerns. Two years earlier, Axel Springer had sold the majority of its local newspapers and magazines to the Funke Media Group and purchased the television news broadcaster N24.

While Bertelsmann, a media conglomerate active in 50 countries as media, education, and service provider, has consistently ranked first among Germany's top-earning media companies, followed by public broadcaster ARD, ProSiebenSat1, and Axel Springer SE have held positions three and four. The landscape began to shift when in 2019 U.S. private equity investor KKR launched a successful takeover of Axel Springer.

The four largest telecommunications companies are Deutsche Telekom, Vodafone Deutschland, Telefonica Deutschland, and the E-Plus Group. Deutsche Telekom is Europe's largest telecom and ranks 6th globally. Although broadband accessibility in Germany is above the European average, its necessary expansion has been deemed a political priority. Several ministries have been charged with implementing the *Digital Strategie 2025* that aims to expand gigabit networks and infrastructures to every region, community, and household by 2025.

News Agencies

The leading news agency is the Deutsche Presseagentur (dpa) [German Press Agency], founded in 1949. It is based in Hamburg with a large news office in Berlin and regional offices throughout Germany and bureaus worldwide. It is a shareholder owned, private LLC. Thomson-Reuters and the Agence France-Presse (AFP) follow dpa and its subsidiaries in supplying German news

media organizations with subscription-based news services.

Nonprofit Organizations and Investigative Journalism

Germany hosts several efforts in collaboration, crowdsourcing, and nonprofit investigative journalism. *Correctiv*, a nonprofit newsroom has been shifting attention to local reporting using data journalism and crowdsourcing in their investigative stories. The foundation funded newsroom that was founded with an initial donation of €3 million in 2010 has since published the results of their international collaborations and cooperations with public broadcasters and magazines.

Netzwerk Recherche (nr) was founded in 2001 as a nonprofit association of investigative journalists. It organizes seminars and an annual conference that attracts national and international speakers and offers workshops, for instance on data journalism, security, and press freedom.

Journalism Education

There are close to two dozen journalism schools in Germany. Some are operated or sponsored by news organizations that place students as interns in newsrooms across platforms as part of their training, others are privately run academies. These competitive programs range between 1 and 4 years and provide both theoretical and practical training, networking, and job placement opportunities. Students are paid, much like apprentices in other industries. There are a number of universities offering journalism as a course of study as well.

Press Freedom

According to the press freedom watchdog organization Reporters without Borders, Germany continues to offer journalists a secure working environment. Yet several worrisome developments are noted. Attacks on the press, particularly from right-wing groups and supporters of populist movements who harass and threaten journalists, have increased since 2015. In addition, overly enthusiastic efforts to control online hate speech, have resulted in the removal of

content and data. Concerns have also been raised over laws penalizing journalists' use of information that has been leaked to them. Finally, mergers, buyouts, and newsroom closures may limit the availability and diversity of opinion crucial to a free and healthy press.

Controversies

Germany has not been without media scandals. In 1988, for instance, journalists turned a hostage situation in the city of Gladbeck into a spectacle, entering the hostage-takers' vehicle for an interview, guiding them out of town as they tried to make their escape. Unethical conduct of a different kind was at issue in 1983 when the magazine *Stern* published what they claimed were Adolf Hitler's diaries. The editors had paid millions for these fakes in a case that remains one of the largest media scandals in German history. At least two instances of reporters simply making up interviews that never transpired, have been made public, yet none shook the German media establishment as deeply as the case of the award-winning reporter Claas Relotius, who had produced numerous feature stories for *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit*, *SZ-Magazin*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, and several others. When a colleague tried to alert his editors at *Der Spiegel*, he was not believed. It was not until two Fergus Falls, Minnesota citizens who felt that Relotius had falsely portrayed their town, wrote a scathing article about him, that he confessed. An internal investigation was conducted, and personnel changes were made at the magazine. *Der Spiegel* profusely apologized to its readers and published its professional standards along with a promise to strictly adhere to them. The overemphasis on narrative journalism that relied heavily on description and the obsession with producing award-winning long-form stories were blamed and promises were made never to let this happen again. Whether the 2019 incident has long-lasting effects on trust in the German news media is an important question for future research. Despite the many challenges, surveys indicate that the majority of German news media consumers continue to place their trust in established news outlets.

Future Developments

Readership has been shrinking across news publications, while public broadcasters struggle to attract younger audiences. Shrinking revenues, diversification of portfolios, and take-overs are rapidly changing the German news media landscape and will continue to do so. Although news consumption during the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020 increased noticeably, many news organizations offered their content for free during the crisis. These newsrooms put journalists on furlough, cut their hours or their jobs altogether. As media companies search for new sources of revenue, traditional boundaries limiting and regulating media concentration will shift. In 2020, for instance, the tabloid *BILD Zeitung* was awarded a license to offer livestreaming services, further accelerating the demise of specialized media outlets. Calls for more diversity in newsrooms that do not reflect the evolving and increasingly multiethnic population persist while anti-immigrant, populist, and right-wing parties simultaneously accuse mainstream news media of lying and acting as mouthpieces for the establishment and government interests. Gender equality in the newsroom will also continue to be a topic after the initiative ProQuote demanded at least 30% women in newsroom leadership by the year 2017, subsequently raising their demand to 50%.

Tensions between regulations guaranteeing freedom of expression, data privacy, and protection from hate speech on social media platforms will continue to strain a system that has consistently ranked high in freedom of press rankings.

Karin Assmann

See also Bertelsmann; Deutsche Welle; Europe; Germany; Gutenberg Press; International Journalism; Journalism Education; Labor Unions in Media; Media Ownership; Public Television Journalism

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GOOGLE

Google is an important actor in the media and technology landscape in the 21st century with profound impact on news media and journalism. This entry discusses the history of Google, controversies surrounding the company, and the interactions between Google and the news industry.

Google is a multinational technology company headquartered in the United States. Its core service

is its search engine service Google Search, which is by far the most popular search engine in the world, with more than 90% market share. As of 2019, the Google home page was ranked number 1 in global Internet traffic and engagement. In addition, Google provides over a hundred Internet-related services and products for individuals, businesses, and developers, with many of its products important parts of people's everyday lives in the digital era with billions of users around the world. For example, Gmail, Google's free email service, is the most dominant online email service with over 1.5 billion users worldwide; YouTube, the video sharing site that Google acquired in 2006, has 2 billion monthly unique users globally; and Google Maps is the most popular mapping app in the United States.

History

Google Inc. was founded in 1998 by Sergey Brin and Larry Page, both of whom were PhD students at Stanford University's Computer Science Department. The company was based on the founders' research in web search and data mining with the goal of making it easier to find high-quality information on the web. The name Google was a play on "googol" (10^{100}) to reflect the company's goal to make huge quantities of information available to everyone. On September 4, 1998, Brin and Page incorporated the company in their friend Susan Wojcicki's garage in Menlo Park, California. In March 1999, Google Inc.'s headquarters were moved to downtown Palo Alto, California, and then settled in a complex of buildings known as the *Googleplex*, in Mountain View, California. In 2020, Google had offices at over 78 locations across North America, Latin America, Europe, Asia Pacific, Africa, and the Middle East.

Google was a privately held company when it was founded in 1998. The company grew rapidly since then. In March 2001, Brin and Page hired Eric Schmidt as Google's first CEO to help them manage the booming business. Three years later, Google went public on August 19, 2004, at its initial public offering price \$85 a share. Google sold 22.5 million shares and raised over \$1.9 billion in the offering. Shares of Google rose 18.05%

to \$100.34 at the close on its initial public offering date. In 2015, Google restructured its business with Alphabet as the parent company and Google as its leading subsidiary. After the reorganization, Google had a new CEO, Sundar Pichai, who joined Google in 2004, while Page and Brin became the CEO and president, respectively, of Alphabet. In 2019, Page and Brin announced they were stepping down from the top roles at Alphabet but would remain on the board, while Pichai would become CEO of both Alphabet and Google.

Google profits primarily from online advertising. Google's advertising programs such as AdSense and DoubleClick Ad Exchange allow Google to play an intermediary role between website owners who produce online content and advertisers who seek online advertising space by matching text and display ads to the content and visitor interest of the given website. Advertisers pay Google based on the clicks of their advertisements, which they can track through Google Analytics. According to the financial results announced by Alphabet on February 3, 2020, Google's revenue reached \$160.743 billion in the 2019 fiscal year, among Alphabet's \$161.857 billion total revenues.

Controversies

As Google grew rapidly, there have been many controversies around the company. These controversies cover a large variety of issues, ranging from antitrust, privacy, copyright, censorship, labor practices, energy consumption, and much more. As far as its key services are concerned, some scholars found that its algorithms that determine Google's search results bias toward popular websites. Google was also found to focus more on Western perspectives than non-Western perspectives. In other cases, Google was involved in controversies about gender and race bias. For example, in 2014, Emily McManus, then managing editor of TED, searched for "english major who taught herself calculus" on Google, and Google suggested "Did you mean: english major who taught himself calculus?" The incident triggered wide public criticism of Google. Google responded by attributing such suggestions to issues related to its algorithms. In addition, Google is also criticized about its role

in the spread of misinformation, hate speech, and other harmful information through its platforms, especially its video-sharing site YouTube.

While a technology company, Google has played a big role in U.S. politics. For example, Google as well as other large technology companies were found to have closely collaborated with political staffers and actively shaped political communication during the 2016 U.S. presidential primary and general election campaigns. Since the 2016 U.S. presidential election, however, Google has been under fire in the political realm. In 2018, then U.S. President Donald Trump claimed that Google search results were "rigged" to be biased against conservatives when users searched for Trump-related news. In 2020, the U.S. Justice Department and multiple states' attorneys general filed three different antitrust lawsuits against Google, alleging the company engaged in anti-competitive practices to maintain its dominance in online search and advertising.

Pressure to regulate Google and other large technology companies also has come from the U.S. Congress. In 2018, Pichai testified before the House Judiciary Committee on its data collection, use, and filtering practices, addressing allegations of political bias and censorship and concerns over data privacy and hate speech. Earlier that year, Google declined to send a representative to a Senate hearing on foreign election meddling.

Outside the United States, in June 2017, European Union (EU) antitrust regulators fined Google a record 2.4 billion euros (\$2.7 billion) for abusing its market dominance. Google appealed, and in 2020 told a court that the EU's antitrust enforcer had no legal grounds for imposing the fine. In January 2019, the CNIL, the French data protection watchdog, fined Google \$57 million under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), claiming that Google failed to comply with the GDPR in terms of the transparency and consent requirements involved in user data use. Google said the company is studying the decision to determine its next steps.

Google and News Industry

Google's practices and technologies have a profound impact on news media and journalism.

First, the development of Google and other technology companies has introduced new business models that challenge news media's financial sustainability in the digital age. News media in the United States traditionally depended on advertising revenue as their major revenue source to support the expensive cost of producing news. In the digital age, however, advertisers spend more money on online advertising than on the traditional advertising that brings in more revenue for news organizations. The newspaper sector, in particular, has been hit badly by this trend.

Since the early 2000s, the growth of online advertising has correlated with the decline of the newspaper industry's advertising revenue. The decline in advertising revenue and newspaper circulation has led to a surge in newsroom employee layoffs and newspaper closures. Since the second half of the 2010s, Google and Facebook have built their duopoly to dominate the digital advertising market with Google leading the market share. In 2019, Google and Facebook made up a combined 60% of the digital advertising industry in the United States, up 3% from the previous year, which was roughly \$65 billion in revenue. Google accounted for about 36% of the digital advertising market. Since 2018, Amazon's market share has grown quickly to catch up to the Google-Facebook duopoly.

In addition to the financial impact, Google has also influenced news production, distribution, and consumption. In the digital age, Google and other large technology companies have become important distribution channels for news. More people, especially young people, are getting their news from digital platforms, such as search engines, social media, and mobile apps. As Google has become many people's starting point to browse the web and seek information, news media's online presence to a great extent depends on how well their news performs in Google's search results. As a result, some newsrooms have adopted the search engine optimization (SEO) strategies, such as strategically using keywords in news headline writing, to improve the visibility of their content in search results. Critics express concern that such strategies serve commercial interests at the cost of editorial standards, while others argue that SEO rules highlight the basic facts in news. At the

same time, there have been critical reflections in newsrooms in terms of how to balance technological adoption and journalistic values.

Due to these digital developments, there has been a complex relationship between Google and news organizations. While Google and the news media compete for advertising resources and audience attention, they also depend on each other to serve their respective needs in the digital information flow. Google depends on news media for news information and news media depend on Google for referral and online traffic. In fact, Google's news-related business started early in its history. One of the landmarks of Google's news endeavors was the launch of Google News in 2002.

Google News

Google News is Google's news aggregation service at the URL news.google.com. Google does not produce news itself. Instead, it aggregates news from news sources worldwide; it then processes and presents the news based on its own computational algorithms. This process is mostly automated. As of 2019, Google indexes over 80,000 news sources worldwide. Google claims that it sends over 10 billion clicks to publishers' websites per month. Data from 2020 shows that Google News is one of the most popular news websites in the United States with about 150 million unique monthly visitors. Google News is available in 127 countries globally covering 65 different languages.

Google News was launched in 2002 in its beta version. Its founder Krishna Bharat was a Google employee who joined the company in 1999. Bharat left Google in 2015 but rejoined Google in 2019 as a distinguished research scientist. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, Bharat attempted to develop an automated news aggregator that could crawl and aggregate news across different news sources. Bharat told people who interviewed him that this idea was inspired by his experience and observation during 9/11 when he found people were not able to get news about the attacks from different perspectives. He and his team first tested an internal version inside Google. After the success of the

internal version, Google rolled out Google News in its beta version about 1 year after 9/11. Google News was out of beta in 2006. Now Google News has become one of the earliest and most long-standing Google products.

Google News provides news organized in a range of news sections, such as U.S. news, World, Business, Technology, Entertainment, Sports, Science, and Health news. Google News has experienced several redesigns since its launch. Two major redesigns occurred in 2010 and 2017. In 2018, Google announced the new, AI-powered Google News, which uses real-time artificial intellectual and machine learning technologies to organize news. In that year, Google also introduced its new Google News mobile app that merged and replaced old apps such as Google Play Newsstand and Google News & Weather.

The Google News layout looks very different from the way it appeared when the site first launched in 2002. For each news section, there are story cards that hold related news stories about certain news topics. Users can click on the news headlines, which will lead them to the original news story. Users can also choose to go to the news website that publishes the given news story, share a news story via Facebook and Twitter, or save the news story for later. Google News also has a search function that allows users to search news topics, locations, and sources. In addition to the standard news sections, Google News also has features such as “Your local news,” which aggregates news from local news outlets depending on users’ geographic information; “Fact check,” which puts together a small group of fact checking pieces from news organizations and fact checking websites; and personalization features such as “For you,” which recommends news for users; “Following,” which allows users to follow certain news topics, locations, or sources; and “Saved searches,” which can save users’ search history. These features require users to log in to their Google accounts to get personalized news based on users’ preferences and behavior patterns.

What and how news is displayed on Google News is determined by Google’s own algorithms. Once news is automatically collected across different news sources worldwide, it is input into Google’s algorithm system as raw data. News is then labeled and clustered based on various

predefined features. Google algorithms score news items based on different criteria and formulas, and rank the news in certain orders. Google and other large tech companies’ algorithms are very complex systems. Since tech companies often keep their algorithms secret, algorithms are considered a black box, meaning that the public or other outside parties are not able to scrutinize how these algorithms are designed and made to function. Given that algorithms are powerful in determining what information the public is exposed to, some scholars argue that in the digital age, large tech companies such as Google are able to share news media’s gatekeeping role through algorithmic gatekeeping.

While Google claims Google News is a free of charge and ad-free news aggregation service, observers pointed out that the news aggregator might not make money on its own, but benefits Google in various nonmonetary ways, such as traffic and search. Google’s then vice president Marissa Mayer estimated in 2008 that Google News brought Google \$100 million in revenue, about 0.7% of Google’s total revenue in that year. Based on this claim, in 2019, the News Media Alliance, an organization that represents over 2,000 American newspapers, released a study estimating that Google made \$4.7 billion from the news industry in 2018. While critics held that the study’s methodology was flawed as the figure was an extrapolation based on Mayer’s comment in 2008, the study has been cited in support of legislation proposed in the U.S. House to allow news publishers a 4-year antitrust exemption to collectively negotiate with dominant platforms regarding how their content may be distributed.

Google and Copyright

How Google manages news through its news aggregator has triggered disputes between Google News and news publishers in different parts of the world. Many of these disputes focused on copyright. In its early history, Google crawled across the web to get news without having to pay news publishers. On Google News, Google displayed at least three elements of the news for each news story: news headline, news photo, and a short paragraph of news snippet.

Google’s news aggregation service concerned many news publishers. In the United Kingdom, for

example, Rupert Murdoch, the founder of News Corp, publicly accused Google and other technology companies of stealing from news publishers and profiting from their content without compensating publishers fairly. In 2010, News International, News Corp's UK subsidiary, blocked Google and Google News from indexing content of its newspapers. But given Google's power in determining news media's online visibility, the block only lasted for a short period of time. Ten years later, in January 2020, Murdoch's News Corp launched its own news aggregation service, Knewz, to compete with Google. In 2021, Google reached an agreement with News Corp. under which it will pay to distribute the company's news articles.

Google News Initiatives

In addition to Google News, Google, since the second half of the 2010s, has launched a series of initiatives worldwide to develop its news business. These initiatives are under the umbrella Google News Initiative (GNI). In March 2018, Google announced that GNI would invest \$300 million over 3 years aiming at, according to the GNI website, "building a stronger future for journalism." GNI works with news media in three ways through Google products, partnership, and programs. Google claims that its products address many challenges in the news industry in the digital age, including content distribution, revenue growth, data and infrastructure management, and reporting; and it encourages news organizations to use Google products to grow their digital businesses. In addition, Google builds partnership with the broader journalism community, including news organizations, publisher associations, journalism research organizations, and more.

Another important approach that GNI used to expand its partnership network is to offer various programs in the form of training workshops, online courses, fellowships, and awards. GNI has also developed a university network of over 200 universities around the world, through which Google is able to work with partner journalism schools and provide Google training to journalism educators. As of 2019, these training, fellowship, and university networks covered the United States, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Some

observers saw GNI as Google's public relations effort to sweeten its relationship with the news industry. In the aftermath of the disputes between Google and European news publishers, for example, Google, through its Digital News Initiative, invested 150 million Euros from 2016 to 2019 to fund projects for digital news innovation in 30 European countries.

Qun Wang

See also Antitrust; Censorship; Copyright; Digital Advertising; Facebook; Privacy; Search Engine Optimization (SEO); YouTube

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GOVERNMENT, FEDERAL, U.S., COVERAGE OF

The press has long been dubbed the “Fourth Estate” of U.S. government for the active role the media play in informing the electorate, but also in holding institutions and those of influence and power accountable to the people. In the spirit of watchdog journalism, news outlets are charged with keeping the federal government honest and transparent.

The ever-changing news landscape continues to evolve, bringing new challenges to legacy news outlets and introducing new digital platforms used by political elites to communicate their agendas and policies, but also by journalists as a means of information gathering and as a means of disseminating news. Nonetheless, coverage of the federal government continues to be shaped by mainstream news outlets with national influence: newspapers (such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*), network television news, cable news, news magazines, public television and radio, and political talk radio. In addition, specialized news outlets such as The Hill, Politico, Roll Call, and Congressional Quarterly contribute to national coverage of the beltway. Emerging digital news sources also play a role in covering the federal government and influencing the national discourse, including Vox, BuzzFeed, and the HuffPost. Political blogs such as

the liberal Daily Kos and the conservative Drudge Report, which cemented its credibility by breaking President Clinton’s Monica Lewinsky scandal in 1998, also play a role in informing the public and shaping the national conversation.

In 2020, many of the tried and true news norms and routines persist. For example, the U.S. news media continue to gravitate to conflict-driven coverage of the federal government; the tone of coverage continues to skew negative. This is especially evident in the adversarial relationship President Trump cultivated with the national news media. Second, U.S. news is more focused on domestic policy than foreign policy, and international events that hold direct implications for United States interests are more likely to receive coverage. Third, the emphasis on “official sources” in news coverage of the federal government persists, especially on matters pertaining to foreign policy. Fourth, journalists often emphasize the gamesmanship of politics, meaning policy is often conveyed to the public through a “game-frame” focused on which political elites and which parties are “winning” on a particular issue. These strategic narratives of political coverage are especially pervasive as financial constraints present challenges to covering the government, and as newsrooms become more attentive to audience metrics and audience retention. This entry examines U.S. government media coverage of the White House, Congress, and Courts. It also examines the impact of this coverage on public opinion.

The White House

Of the three branches of government, the executive branch is covered most extensively by the national news media. The most visible in U.S. politics is the president and key members of their administration, including the vice president and secretary of state. The relationship between the White House and the press corps has historically been a tenuous one, but also a reciprocal one.

Information flow has traditionally channeled through the communications staff, the press secretary, the White House briefing room, and routine press conferences. Although approximately 8,000 media personnel hold accredited press access, press conferences are typically attended by a few

dozen seasoned journalists; the White House briefing room holds up to 49 reporters. Since 2004, some bloggers have been able to obtain press credentials to cover various facets of the federal government. Reporters working the White House beat typically obtain information through press releases, press conferences, media briefings, leaks, and working various sources within the beat. Social media has also emerged as a dominant source of White House information. President Obama first utilized social media platforms to break policy news. For example, in 2015 his administration rolled out a paid family and sick leave policy on LinkedIn in efforts to reach working parents. Perhaps no president has relied as heavily on social media to disseminate White House information than President Trump, whose prolific use of Twitter has circumvented more traditional avenues of reaching the electorate. Journalists have treated presidential tweets as newsworthy; and President Trump has responded to mainstream media coverage—often with disdain—by taking to Twitter.

Despite the adversarial relationship between President Trump and political journalists, some critics contend that journalists are too cozy with Washington insiders to effectively serve as watchdogs of the federal government. James Fallows has suggested that journalists have more in common with the political elites they cover than the public they're serving. Others argue that the tone of reporting is unnecessarily antagonistic. Nonetheless, the research has shown that coverage often skews negative in tone; however, journalists are trained to treat conflict as newsworthy. The binary political system of the U.S. lends itself to no shortage of conflict and polarization, and President Trump has often embraced or incited conflict through his policies and rhetoric. Given that news is also event-driven, scandals within the White House and a polarized 2020 impeachment of President Trump underscore the somewhat hostile relationship between the press and the president. Nonetheless, effectively fulfilling the watchdog role of the press often means relentless and unabashed pursuit of truth.

News reporting of the White House provides a public service in keeping the electorate informed, but also keeping the president apprised of public

opinion and public priorities. Effective coverage of the White House is a necessary part of maintaining a healthy representative democracy. The news media provide an important platform for the White House to communicate policy, and advance agendas. In turn, political journalists help to make the presidency more transparent and more honest, holding the office accountable to the public.

Congress

Congressional coverage is often more complicated than the presidency. The grunt work of policymaking takes shape in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. Nonetheless, the Congress typically generates less news coverage than the presidency. Coverage of Congress is a task shared by both national and local news outlets; however, some members of Congress receive little to no attention from national outlets.

The 100-seat Senate generally receives more news attention than the House, which has 435 voting members. Party leadership and those chairing high-profile committees are more likely to make the news. Congressional members who generate conflict within their parties also attract news attention, as journalists respond to conflict within their beat and the novelty of those who vote against their party interests. Senior members of Congress, especially those with active legislative records, often hold more influence and generate more news coverage. This is also true for moderate-leaning members who, at times, vote against the wishes of their political party. For example, Senator Susan Collins (R-ME) and late Senator John McCain (R-AZ) had long been considered a moderate courted by members on both sides of the aisle. Freshmen congressional members who are novel in some way (through social identity, youth, or their path to politics) may also generate news. Members of Congress who adopt populist rhetoric and or positions, and look to move their political party ideologically can also be adept at generating headlines. This is evident in the success Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) has had in generating news attention. Congressional members are more consistently covered by the local media within their home state and the local media within the districts they represent. Those local news

outlets are more likely to have a better understanding of the issues and policies affecting the constituencies of congressional members.

National news coverage of Congressional policy has been uneven at best and noticeably absent, at worst. Journalists working the Hill acquire information from news briefings, press releases, building a rapport with sources, and through social media. Although the news media devote more attention to domestic policy than foreign policy, policy news is often delivered through a “game-frame” that is focused on which policy-makers and political party are “winning” on a particular legislative issue. Such coverage is concerned more with the strategic implications of the legislative actions of Congress over the nuts and bolts of the policies. For example, coverage of health care reform focused attention on the infighting between the two parties and what the Affordable Care Act signaled for President Obama’s legacy and his political capital. Game-frame coverage seems amplified by interpretive cable news programs that deliver information through an often biased, or partisan, lens. Even in an era of 24-hour news, news coverage of Congress has been light on policy specifics—a trend also attributed to market demands and audience preferences.

The Courts and Beyond

The third branch of the federal government, the judicial branch, typically receives far less coverage than the executive and legislative branches. The way in which the courts conduct business and the legal expertise required to effectively cover the judicial branch both explain why the news media have historically devoted less coverage to the courts. As such, the public has often held more respect for and trust in the judicial branch; however, research shows that as the visibility of U.S. Supreme Court justices increases, public trust in the Court has begun to decline (mirroring trends for other federal institutions). Nonetheless, news coverage of the courts continues to lag behind coverage of Congress and the White House.

For one, the U.S. Supreme Court deliberates behind closed doors. The highest court in the land is shrouded in secrecy, and provides little access to the press. The Supreme Court does not hold news

conferences and the nine justices rarely grant media access. While the press is not privy to the deliberative process of the Supreme Court, court opinions—both majority and dissenting—do generate news. Newsrooms also devote fewer resources to covering the judicial branch; only a few dozen journalists are assigned to the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition, few journalists hold the legal expertise to effectively cover the judicial branch and effectively synthesize legal jargon for a general news audience. But given that journalists are trained to follow and cover conflict, the courts still generate national news.

U.S. Supreme Court cases that are highly controversial or split among the justices generate more coverage due to their inherent conflict. For example, the 2010 *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* case generated considerable coverage due to the polarization of the issue. Conservatives argued that the courts were correct in affirming money as a protected speech, while liberals suggested the decision placed democracy for sale. Game-framed news coverage was prevalent in news attention to the 2012 U.S. Supreme Court’s narrow decision to uphold individual insurance mandates stipulated in President Obama’s Affordable Care Act. Landmark social issues can also generate considerable news. In 2015, extensive coverage was devoted to the Court’s impending decision on same-sex marriage; the divisive court voted 5-4 that states must grant and recognize marriages to same-sex couples. In short, split and controversial court decisions are more likely to generate substantial news. The decisions made by the 94 district courts and 13 circuit courts may also generate news, especially if a decision sets unusual precedent or is likely to be followed with an appeal.

Also noteworthy are the lengthy and, often polarizing, appointment processes and subsequent congressional hearings for Supreme Court justices. An appointment of a new justice is newsworthy, but especially so when that appointment is controversial. For example, the sexual assault allegations made by Christine Blasey Ford during Brett Kavanaugh’s 2018 hearings dominated the mainstream news agenda, particularly cable news, and ignited a firestorm of commentary on social media. With the increased polarization in the political climate, high-profile judicial appointments are likely to

generate controversy and heightened news scrutiny.

Lastly, news coverage must also hold various departments and arms of the federal government accountable. Also under the purview of the Fourth Estate are the Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Justice Department, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and the Department of Education, among several others. Coverage of these departments are often uneven and are largely event driven. For example, stringent immigration policies under the first term of President Trump placed new media attention on U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and immigration policies. While some journalists are assigned these various department beats, widespread national news attention remains inconsistent as newsrooms grapple with reduced resources.

Effects on Public Opinion

Despite changes to the news landscape and disruptions to traditional platforms of information, the news media continue to play an influential role in informing public opinion. Even in a more fragmented information environment, legacy news outlets still exert influence through its agenda-setting powers. In other words, government policies and issues emphasized by mainstream news still convey their importance to the public, although this influence on public opinion may become more indirect as people turn to social media for news.

News narratives also have a hand in shaping public attitudes by framing events and issues. These frames can affect how the public evaluates public officials and various federal offices. News frames, which emphasizes certain characteristics (or attributes) of an event over others, help to build the political agenda and can influence the behavior of legislators or shape public opinion. This power to shape public opinion was underscored when news anchor Walter Cronkite began questioning the Vietnam War. The power of the national press corps can work in either direction—it can facilitate public opposition to policy or rally support for it. For example, the news media was later criticized for echoing the frames of political elites in its coverage of the War in Iraq following

the attacks on September 11, 2001. In a related example, the news amplified the homeland security frames of the White House in covering President George W. Bush's PATRIOT Act in 2001, neglecting the civil liberties frames used by the legislation's opposition (subsequently resulting in a 98-1 vote in the U.S. Senate).

As news organizations continue to grapple with consolidation in the news business, they must navigate their political beats with fewer resources and with less public support. The erosion of public trust in the institution of news has helped create a climate where fake news has a market and disinformation moves with ease through the online environment. What is more, Pew Research Center reported that in 2018 those using social media as a primary source of news and information (20%) outpaced those utilizing print newspapers as a primary source (16%). Therefore, journalists work tirelessly to hold federal institutions accountable in environments that are increasingly hostile to news professionals and as they serve a public that is less willing to support traditional news platforms financially and less willing to put its faith in the Fourth Estate.

Jason Turcotte

See also Democracy and the Media; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; News Audiences, U.S.; North America

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GOVERNMENT, STATE, U.S., COVERAGE OF

Journalistic coverage of state governments in the United States encompasses a broad spectrum of reporting on legislative, executive, and judicial affairs; civic and public safety issues; and elections. Like reporting on local governments, statehouse reporting has important implications for the effective and transparent function of government, for responsible use of public funds, for public information, and for public debates about issues and legislation. While newspapers lead in the staffing of statehouse press corps, changes in the news industry have led to a decline of dedicated journalists reporting on state governments—a gap into which nontraditional media, particularly public and nonprofit organizations, have stepped in the 2010s and early 2020s to provide focused coverage.

This entry explores the scope of reporting on state government, the status of statehouse reporting by traditional media, the growth of nontraditional and nonprofit reporting, and the corollary role of public information offices working to

facilitate media coverage on behalf of state-level executive, legislative, and judicial entities.

Duty of the Media in Coverage of State Government

Through power granted by the Constitution, state governments have jurisdiction over matters not specifically allocated to the federal government. This power includes intrastate commerce, the conduct of elections, and the administration of public health, safety, and welfare programs. Like the federal government, state governments can make and enforce laws, charter financial institutions and corporations, collect taxes, and regulate property. State executive departments collaborate with federal agencies in the administration of federally funded programs encompassing public welfare, education, transportation, safety and emergency response, law enforcement and corrections, and more.

Considering the direct and important impact of state governments on the lives of those within their jurisdiction, journalists play an important role in serving citizens when they report on the conduct of elected officials, the responsible functioning of state agencies and administrators, the transparent use of taxpayer dollars, public policy debates, and elections. The media thereby fulfills a number of traditional functions, specifically serving as a public watchdog, investigating wrongdoing, and ensuring government accountability. These functions are supported by sunshine laws in every state, mandating most government proceedings and records are accessible, much like the Freedom of Information Act at the federal level.

Journalists report on the wide-ranging responsibilities of state governments by investigating the many offices, agencies, and individuals that comprise them, a complex ecosystem of budgets, power, and jurisdiction. Coverage may begin with the governor's office and the executive branch, typically consisting of a lieutenant governor and senior office-holders, such as a secretary of state, attorney general, and others. The news media may also cover the executive departments that fall under the governor's office, including areas such as agriculture, commerce, environment, and health, with multiple agencies within each department. Coverage of state legislatures, which in all

cases but Nebraska comprise two houses, is highly demanding, as sessions may last several months to a year, as legislation and issues are actively debated, and as dozens to several hundred members formulate opinions, take votes, and pursue political agendas. Members of the media must be properly credentialed for access to legislative sessions. In some states, such as Alabama and Tennessee, access to the chambers is guaranteed by the state constitution. In others, the media may be allowed by tradition into specified areas, such as a press gallery or designated seating on the chamber floor. Where or when the media is not allowed into legislative chambers, alternate accommodations may be provided in onsite press rooms with audio or video feeds. The news media may also cover the state judiciary, comprised of courts at multiple levels, and their dispensation of civil and criminal cases.

State Government Coverage by Traditional Media

Newspapers have long led the coverage of state government with full-time or part-time reporters assigned to legislative affairs, executive offices, and emerging issues. Since the 19th century, the press has recognized the unique responsibility and discrete role of statehouse reporters, with several states forming Legislative Correspondents Associations (LCAs). New York's LCA, founded in 1890, Ohio's LCA established in 1893, and Pennsylvania's in 1895 are among the oldest in the country, chartered during a period of active professionalization of the industry as a whole. Representing journalists from newspaper, radio, television, digital, and wire service organizations, the Massachusetts State House Press Association has been accrediting and representing reporters in the Commonwealth since 1909, through power granted by the state legislature.

Where staffing and funding levels permit, reporters may be assigned to a state government entity or to a legislative or political beat. Sometimes reporters specialize not by governmental division but by news topic area—health, education, or environment, for example. Larger newspapers, especially those based in a capital city, may have a dedicated statehouse bureau or staff. The *Sacramento Bee's* Capitol Bureau, as one example,

has multiple reporters who cover the statehouse, which conveniently lies less than a mile from the newsroom. The Minneapolis *Star Tribune* typically has four individuals devoted to news from the Minnesota State Capitol. Highly circulating newspapers not located in the state capital may have dedicated reporters as well, but typically fewer, with the *New York Post*, as of 2021, maintaining one full-time and several part-time or general-assignment reporters in Albany, while *The Wall Street Journal*, with a different scope of coverage, employed one full-time capital reporter as of 2021. Midsize newspapers located in a capital region, such as the *Olympian* in Olympia, Washington, and the daily *State Journal* in Frankfort, Kentucky, may feature regular state government reporting, even though, overall, smaller newspapers are less likely to have journalists on duty at the statehouse.

For those media outlets that do not or cannot maintain their own regular statehouse reporters, national or state-level wire services provide regular coverage of state governments. The Associated Press maintains statehouse reporters in all 50 states and has actively recruited for these positions in recent years, as part of a collaboration with the nonprofit Report for America, a national service program for journalists. Gannett, the media holding company that owns *USA Today*, has expanded its statehouse reporting with capitol bureaus in multiple states. Massachusetts offers an example of a state-level news service, the State House News Service, a privately owned company that has covered state government since 1894.

While newspapers still deliver the largest share of statehouse reporting, television and radio also provide news from the halls of government. Television stations are more likely to support dedicated reporters within a capitol bureau when they lie within a capital region such as Raleigh, North Carolina, or Topeka, Kansas. While media consolidation may challenge the extent of local news reporting, some broadcasting companies are taking steps to ensure statehouse coverage. In Missouri, for example, the Nexstar Media Group announced the 2020 launch of a Jefferson City news bureau, to be housed inside the Missouri capitol building, providing television broadcasts and digital news to audiences across the state.

Public and state-funded television and radio stations can be important sources of news from state governments as well, with some offering original news programming in addition to livestreaming of legislative sessions. South Dakota Public Broadcasting, as one example, streams legislative and committee sessions, but also provides reporting on health care, education, and other public policy issues. In California, Capital Public Radio has a state government beat and public affairs programming that explores legislative policy and politics. Funded by the state's Broadcast Educational Media Commission, Ohio's Statehouse News Bureau provides written and multimedia reporting on legislative issues and events of public interest to public television and radio stations, including a weekly radio news program, "The State of Ohio." New Hampshire, Missouri, and Illinois are additional states where NPR-affiliated public radio stations have at least one long-term, dedicated statehouse editor or reporter.

Because of the importance and complexity of statehouse reporting, journalists are most effective when they have a deep and long-standing understanding of the issues. To prepare young reporters for these roles, some journalism schools offer one or more courses focusing on the field to strengthen students' ability to research and analyze state-level topics. Some programs include on-site reporting in statehouses or from government agencies. Courses may also explore specialized breaking news, documentary, and investigative reporting skills in areas pertaining to state government, such as public policy, health, environment, politics, and elections.

Decline in Statehouse Reporting by Traditional Media and Rise of Nontraditional Media

Studies in the 21st century indicate a slide in the number of reporters assigned to cover state government since the late 1990s. The 2014 study by the Pew Research Center, the most comprehensive profile of the statehouse corps of reporters, found the total number of statehouse reporters had declined by 35% since 2003, and that those remaining were more likely to be part-time and less experienced, leaving a knowledge gap that could impact the quality and depth of reporting.

The research also found that more than two-thirds of U.S. newspapers and more than four-fifths of television news stations did not assign reporters to cover state government at all, leaving regional and local media to rely on wire service stories and often on content provided by state public affairs staff. Such sources mean not only that news coverage will be less localized but also that it may lack the nonpolitical, investigative impulse that upholds government accountability.

Moving into this space are nontraditional and nonprofit news media. This category includes organizations spawned by traditional media outlets as well as digital-native platforms, with many characterized as self-funded or nonprofit. Citizens in many states, including Texas, Illinois, and Georgia, now benefit from multiple independent news organizations that provide journalistic expertise and often award-winning content from their state capitals. While some of these platforms lean slightly or strongly toward an ideological perspective, others strive to present balanced news coverage. In 2020, for example, multiple leading media organizations in Pennsylvania, including the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and Pittsburgh's *TribLIVE*, teamed up to form SpotlightPA, an award-winning newsroom employing a dozen investigative reporters and editors in Harrisburg, the state capital. SpotlightPA operates beside other watchdog media in the Commonwealth, such as the digital-only *Pennsylvania Capital-Star* and the longstanding Pennsylvania Cable Network, which touts itself as the nation's largest privately funded public affairs broadcast network. The *Capital-Star*, in fact, is part of States Newsroom, a syndicated network of affiliated and partnering news organizations in an expanding field of more than 20 states. Yet many nontraditional media reporting on state government are independent, as is the comprehensive *Nevada Independent* website; the digital-first *Texas Tribune*, founded in 2009, which boasts the largest statehouse bureau in the nation; and the Sacramento-based CalMatters, which provides statehouse coverage spanning reporting, data visualization, and multimedia content. Also providing strong statehouse reporting is *Capitol News Illinois*, a nonprofit initiative from the Illinois Press Foundation. Funding for such initiatives comes from public and private grants, donations, and subscriptions.

The Role of Public Information Offices

Although the relationship has often been strained, the media and state governments share a common duty to promote an informed citizenry and have long worked cooperatively to meet this goal. Communication staff housed in the governor's office and executive branch agencies, in state legislative bodies and the offices of individual legislators, and in the state judiciary use a spectrum of public relations tactics to support the media in their reporting duties. These tactics may include online newsrooms, news releases and media advisories, backgrounders and policy briefs, multimedia content, press conferences, and more. But as the number of statehouse reporters has declined in the 21st century, and those remaining are less likely to be full-time or long-term, government public affairs officials occupy a more prominent role in providing content to journalists—and increasingly, circumventing the media altogether, by providing news directly to citizens. With this expanded control over the flow of information, public affairs staff take on some proportion of the gatekeeping and agenda-setting roles traditionally ascribed to the media.

A press secretary or communication director typically leads the governor's office in its efforts to engage the media. Through a website or direct request, journalists can acquire an array of prepared news and announcements related to state budget and economic data, staffing and appointments, legislation, and current events, along with policy statements, speech transcripts, and proclamations. Content may be released as often as several times a day. In times of crisis, governors' offices may be a central point of information for media and the public, as in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic, when state governors such as Andrew Cuomo of New York and Mike DeWine of Ohio held daily press briefings and issued regular public health notices. Officials and agencies within state executive branches, likewise, are also supported by communication or public affairs offices that oversee a regular flow of news and information for the use of the media as well as the public.

State legislators and legislatures seek to promote media coverage of legislative action and

issues by providing a similar range of resources that identify and promote story ideas. Through their communication staff, individual legislators may participate in interviews or press conferences, provide news releases and policy statements, enable access to recorded legislative sessions, develop multimedia content, and more. Legislative bodies in each state, similarly, may maintain a director or office of communication to provide news content, but a corollary role is to facilitate the participation of media in legislative sessions by providing resources and protocols for reporters. The Montana State Legislature's communication office, as one example, provides a comprehensive website that provides information on members and legislation, as well as targeted guidelines for journalists, including credentialing, logistics such as parking and capitol workspaces, links to resources, and more. State legislative party caucuses may also provide media resources, or generate more politically charged, issues-oriented content in the form of blogs and podcasts.

Although public affairs staff may not be as visible in the judicial as in the executive and legislative branches of state governments, public affairs staff in the state judiciary not only provide public resources but also issue news, resources, and guidelines for the media. In Nevada and many other states, the media can find opinions, policies, hearing schedules, and even press releases online. In states such as Pennsylvania and Nebraska, media coordinators may be found at the county, district, and state levels, and in states such as Michigan, public information offices actively manage public inquiries and media relations for the state supreme court. With traditional media often assigning coverage of judicial news to general assignment reporters, some states are now providing print and digital educational resources to instruct reporters on legal issues, terminology, and procedures.

Looking to report on state executive, legislative, or judicial affairs, members of the media thus will find plenty of resources thanks to state public affairs staff. But while story ideas and supporting material are indeed at-the-ready, this content cannot replace the independent scrutiny, thorough investigation, and, ultimately, public accountability that results from a robust news media assigned to the statehouse.

Future Concerns

As the media landscape continues to shift, there is growing recognition of the urgent need for regular, objective, and expert reporting on state governments. Both traditional and nontraditional media organizations are responding by finding creative ways to fund and deliver meaningful content in the midst of widespread industry cutbacks. Yet new technologies, new platforms, and new collaborations are spurring a new era of statehouse reporting. And while state public affairs offices maintain a constant flow of information to the media and the public, there is reason to expect continued expansion of nontraditional media as important players in this field, protecting journalism that serves the public interest, promotes engagement with the political process, and holds state agencies and officials accountable.

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See also Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Local Journalism; News Deserts; Nonprofit Media; Political Reporters; Press and Government Relations

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GRAHAM, KATHARINE

Katharine Meyer Graham (1917–2001) was the publisher of *The Washington Post* from 1969 to 1979 and served in a leadership capacity at that newspaper for nearly 30 years, from 1963 to 1991. Her tenure included taking the Washington Post Company public, the *Post*'s publication of the Pentagon Papers, and coverage of the Watergate break-in and President Richard Nixon's criminal involvement. In 1998, she won a Pulitzer Prize for her best-selling memoir, *Personal History*. This entry traces the course of her life from her youth, her subsequent marriage to Philip Graham, through her years at the *Post* and her retirement; the entry concludes with a brief overview of her memoir and of the 2005 biography of Graham by Robin Gerber.

Early Life and Marriage

Graham was born in 1917 in New York City, the fourth child of the wealthy and cosmopolitan Eugene and Agnes Meyer. Eugene was a prominent financier who held several government positions during and after World War I, moving

between New York and Washington. Agnes had been a reporter at the *New York Sun* early in her career and continued to write, lecture, and lobby for political causes throughout her life. The Meyers had four girls and one boy, and Katharine was said to be the stoic Eugene's favorite, the one most like him. She also suffered as the continual butt of her mother's jokes about her supposedly plain appearance and intellectual deficits, a teasing that she and others believed affected her self-confidence for years.

In 1933, while Graham was attending Madeira, a private girls' school in Virginia, her father bought the struggling *Washington Post* at a bankruptcy auction and settled permanently in Washington. The newspaper had been founded in 1877 and had had several owners. Meyer intended for the paper to become politically independent and journalistically professional. He began to achieve that goal in his tenure as publisher, from 1933 to 1946, and the *Post* continued to prosper under the leadership of his son-in-law and daughter, growing into a nationally important newspaper.

After graduating from Madeira, where Graham was involved in student government as well as the newspaper, she attended the women's college Vassar in upstate New York for 2 years. She grew restless at the small liberal arts college and transferred in her junior year to the University of Chicago, from which she graduated in 1938. She had worked on newspapers in high school and in college, and after her college graduation took a job as a reporter at the *San Francisco News*. After a few months, her father convinced her to return to Washington, DC, where she joined him at the *Post* as part of the editorial page. There she edited Letters to the Editor, proofread, and wrote editorials. It seemed for a short time that she might be groomed as her father's successor as the publisher of the *Post*, since her brother—the most likely candidate based on his sex—was to become a doctor. Graham's future at the newspaper quickly changed when she married a man whose charm, energy, and ambition made him the family's choice to take over stewardship of *The Washington Post*.

Philip L. Graham, whom Graham married in 1940, was a Harvard Law School graduate, originally from Florida, and at the time of his marriage had been hired to clerk for the liberal Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. The couple lived

near Georgetown, where they enjoyed an ever-widening circle of professional and social friends who helped make their home a center of entertainment, gossip, and liberal intellectual life in the capital. From 1943 to 1952, the Grahams had four children: Elizabeth, known as *Lally*; Donald, whom the family decided would succeed his father at the *Post*; William; and Stephen. During this time, Graham was primarily a wife, mother, and homemaker. Her husband served in the Army Air Corps during World War II and in 1946 took over as the publisher of *The Washington Post* when his father-in-law, Meyer, became the first president of the newly established World Bank. Meyer served for 6 months, and when he returned to the *Post* he did so as chairman of the board, while Phil stayed on as publisher. The Meyers, especially Agnes, doted on their son-in-law, even arranging for him to have more of the voting stock of the family company than did his wife.

From 1940 to 1963, Graham supported her husband and kept as quiet as possible his increasingly erratic behavior and drinking, diagnosed as manic-depressive illness (now called *bipolar disorder*). Graham remained in the background—an active helpmeet to her husband and Washington hostess but inactive in the running of the newspaper or its acquisitions. By 1963, under Phil Graham's leadership, those acquisitions included the *Post's* rival newspaper, the *Washington Times-Herald*; the local CBS-affiliated radio station, WTOP; *Newsweek* magazine; television stations in Florida; and a joint news service with the *Los Angeles Times*. In August 1963, Phil Graham, after years struggling with mental illness and while conducting an indiscreet affair with a one-time *Newsweek* employee to whom he tried to transfer his ownership of the *Post*, shot and killed himself at the Grahams' country home in Virginia.

Leadership of The Washington Post

Graham spoke often of feeling unprepared for her leadership role at *The Washington Post* in the wake of these events but nevertheless decided to take over as the chief executive of the company until her son, Donald, then at Harvard College, could succeed his late father. In a few years' time, it was clear that Graham had become more than a

placeholder for her son, as she took over the Washington Post Company in her own right. In 1969, she took the title of publisher as well as president and embraced her role as an influential player in Washington media and politics.

One of her most significant early actions as president of the *Post* was hiring Benjamin C. Bradlee in 1965 as she worked to put in her own management team. Bradlee had briefly worked for *The Washington Post* in the late 1940s, and in 1965 he was at the Washington bureau of its subsidiary *Newsweek*. Graham and Bradlee edged out the two men who had run the newspaper since World War II, Alfred Friendly and J. Russell Wiggins, and Bradlee ran the newsroom as his own for the next 26 years. In her mission to grow the profits as well as the imprimatur of *The Washington Post*, Graham continued the strategy of making acquisitions that her late husband had pursued, most significantly, in 1966, buying a one-third stake in the influential *International Herald Tribune*.

Graham interfered little with the news and editorial judgment of her employees at *The Washington Post*, instead letting them pursue stories as they wished. Along with her closest business partner, Frederick "Fritz" Beebe, the chairman of the board of the Washington Post Company, she instead focused on growing their business and making it profitable. She also ran interference with the public officials—including Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon—who were frequently angry at the *Post's* news coverage. On June 15, 1971, Graham took the Washington Post Company public, making it answerable for the first time to Wall Street shareholders. Worries about the newspaper's finances and its new status as a public company weighed on her as she and the staff of *The Washington Post* decided what to do in the publication of the Pentagon Papers, the Defense Department's classified history of the war in Vietnam. The *New York Times* had secretly acquired the papers and on June 13, 1971, had begun printing their series of articles and classified documents, until a government injunction prevented them from further publication. The *Post* meanwhile acquired its own copy of the Pentagon Papers, as had other newspapers, and needed to decide whether to risk its own injunction and legal battle. On June 18, Graham and her staff decided

to publish the classified documents and, after two issues, were enjoined, as well. The resultant Supreme Court decision in *New York Times Co. v. United States*, decided together with *United States v. Washington Post Co.*, held that the government had not overcome the “heavy presumption against” prior restraint of the press, and that publication of the Pentagon Papers could continue. The move did not hurt the paper financially, and Graham and the *Post* leadership felt vindicated by the Supreme Court’s decision, while also feeling that the Court did not go far enough in ensuring future press freedom.

Prior to the Pentagon Papers publication and as far back as his time in Congress and as vice president in the 1950s, Nixon had had poor relations with the press, in general, and with the *Washington Post*, in particular. When Graham’s newsroom decided to pursue the story of the June 1972 Watergate break-in and the White House’s connection to it, she refrained from interfering. She remained committed to her newsroom’s independence and the public service journalism her father had valued, despite pressure from the White House to stop the relentless coverage of Nixon’s wrongdoing. Pressure came in the form of a Federal Communications Commission investigation into the *Post*’s ownership of two Florida television stations, as well as barely veiled threats that Graham received through acquaintances in the administration, including Henry Kissinger, with whom Graham remained friends even after Watergate. The *Post*’s coverage of Watergate earned the newspaper a 1973 Pulitzer Prize for public service journalism as well as national fame through the publication of *All the President’s Men*, by the two *Post* reporters who had covered the story, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, and through the 1976 Robert Redford movie of the same name, starring Redford and Dustin Hoffman as Woodward and Bernstein. Graham was not featured as a character in the film, reportedly a result of her at one point trying to stop Redford from making the movie after having initially agreed to cooperate. Graham was eventually preserved in celluloid in 2017 in *The Post*, a movie about the Pentagon Papers in which Meryl Streep portrayed Graham.

Criticisms and Reflections on Her Own Life

Although Graham served as a role model for young women in business and media and achieved several “firsts”—including becoming the first female director elected to the board of the Associated Press and the first female chair of the American Newspaper Publishers Association—she has been criticized, and was later self-critical, for not being supportive enough of women’s workplace equality. In her memoir, written in the 1990s, Graham acknowledged that she had attributed any difficulties involved with her work to herself as an individual and not to structural biases against women. In 1970, when women at *Newsweek*, a magazine by the Washington Post Company, sued their employer under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, Graham declined to become involved with the negotiations.

In 1972, employees at *The Washington Post* filed suits with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII, this time separate suits for both sex and race discrimination. The *Post* ultimately settled those suits and put affirmative action measures in place, but Graham had been critical of employees who took legal action instead of working with management. She only later acknowledged that employees had likely tried to talk with management for years without result and that she had been shortsighted.

Another criticism of Graham was for her anti-union labor practices. To counteract an anticipated pressmen’s strike in 1975, she brought in nonunion employees that a former *Post* editor had arranged secretly to train. Although the striking pressmen from Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union had damaged the printing presses before leaving, Graham arranged to have the newspaper printed at the presses of six smaller newspapers while her own presses were repaired. *The Washington Post* successfully published without the pressmen. By February 1976, management had won, the strike ended in failure, and the pressmen of the *Post* were no longer unionized. The *Post* had assured its profitability with millions of dollars in savings from labor costs, earning Graham the reputation as either a profit-seeking union buster or a shrewd businesswoman, depending on who was viewing her.

Eugene Meyer had always intended for his grandson, Donald, to take over *The Washington Post*, and in 1979, after serving at the *Post* and *Newsweek* in a variety of editorial and business positions since 1971, Donald Graham succeeded his mother as publisher of the *Washington Post*. Graham remained with the newspaper, as CEO of the Washington Post Company, until 1991.

In the 1980s and 1990s, while she stepped back from the daily running of the newspaper, Graham continued to entertain friends, colleagues, and eminences at her famous Washington dinner parties, as she had done with her husband, and as her parents had done before them. She also wrote her autobiography, personally conducting interviews with people who had been in her life and drafting the book herself over 7 years. For years, Graham had refused to cooperate with writers producing stories about her of which she had not approved, and, in the case of one unauthorized biography published in 1979, convinced the publisher to recall and destroy 20,000 copies. She apparently had objected to the author's assessment of *The Washington Post's* connections with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which were not as official or nefarious as the author suggested, but which were also so deeply embedded in the Graham family's personal-professional networks as to be ethically problematic. Despite a reputation of not being transparent, Graham's *Personal History* was well-received as a surprisingly candid, introspective, and well-researched memoir that in 1998 won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished biography or autobiography by an American author.

In 2001, at age 84, Graham died after falling and becoming unconscious at an elite media retreat in Sun Valley, Idaho. A 2005 biography by Robin Gerber tells the story of her life through the prism of her role as a business leader and CEO and is a narrowly focused but useful companion book to *Personal History*. Graham's autobiography nevertheless remains the conclusive history of her life and a fascinating account of a woman who felt herself ill-prepared for the outsized role she eventually inhabited in the media world.

Kathryn J. McGarr

See also First Amendment; Pentagon Papers; Press and Government Relations; Publishers; *Washington Post*, *The*

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GRAPHICS

Graphics, also referred to as *infographics*, are visual elements used to explain information (as in a news story) in a way that text, photos, or video alone would not be able to do. Graphics present information in a more concise, succinct way. With the launch of *USA Today* in the 1980s and the development of the Internet, graphics have become a vital part of news presentation.

In 2019, Edward Tufte, an authority on graphics history, estimated that between 4 and 10 trillion graphics were used worldwide annually. With an increasing focus on news online ("web-first"), most experts expect the overall number of news graphics, including those used in television news, to continually grow.

This entry provides an overview of the use and development of graphics for news. It describes the common elements and types of graphics, and the impact technology has had on the creation and presentation of graphics.

Graphics for News Presentation

Graphics should be easy to understand. The best graphics do not call attention to themselves, but rather become an integral part of the story they support. Those looking at a graphic should not worry about how it was put together, but focus on

the information it provides. While some interpret graphics in print media to include photographs, most media organizations make a clear distinction between the two, often having separate departments for each. Collaboration between the two is common and stories often contain both graphics and photos.

Graphics may accompany a story, or may stand alone. Reporters and/or editors usually play a key role in developing graphics, since they provide the needed information. They also decide when a story needs a graphic. Information for the graphic is rarely repeated in a story to save space. Since graphics are supposed to replace text, most present information in a visually creative way, rather than relying on extensive use of text. Most media companies hire specialists not involved in the layout or editing of a story to create graphics on a regular basis.

While illustrations can be humorous, they still need to fulfill a specific informational goal. Knowing the purpose of any graphic, then, is central, as is the data on which it is based. In recent years, data have become more widely available, through websites such as Data.gov, the federal site launched in 2009 with the aim of providing the public with more data generated by the U.S. Executive Branch. With that, the field of data journalism—using data to tell the story—has created a renewed and increased interest in the use of graphics as a way of explaining significant and complicated numbers and information in more understandable and manageable ways for the public, making the data itself an increased focus of the storytelling.

New technologies have provided a huge boost to the use of graphics in journalism, by making their creation easier, quicker, and less expensive. News outlets continue to use now-traditional tools such as Adobe Illustrator and Photoshop to create graphics. However, a number of new websites and online tools have made graphics easier to produce and more widely used recently.

Common Elements in News Graphics

Most effective graphics, whether in print or online, share five basic elements:

1. The *headline*, or *title*, provides a short, clear introduction to the graphic, calling people to

read it. Often headlines in graphics can be confusing, calling for further explanation in the graphic itself.

2. The *chatter*, or *brief*, presents additional information explaining the graphic or its reason to be. It may serve as a complement to the headline.
3. *Art* is the visual core of any graphic. It may include a pie chart, map, one or more photos, or a meld of photos and graphic features.
4. The *source* explains where the information contained in the graphic was originally acquired. This may be the name of an organization, the title of an article or book, or other sources.
5. The *credit* lists the artist and/or publication that created the graphic.

Types of Graphics

Nowadays, graphics are often split into two main types: static and interactive. Static graphics contain fixed elements that do not require reader contact. Interactive graphics, on the other hand, depend on reader input—a click, scroll or more data—in order to present statistics or other information, and may vary depending on the reader input. Whether statistic or interactive, graphics now may include animations, sound, video, or other multimedia capabilities.

There are six most common categories of graphics: maps, tables, charts, timelines, illustrations, and breakout boxes.

1. *Maps* are the most common type of journalism graphic. They help answer questions about the location of places cited in stories; the distance between places; or the geography, typography, or other spatial relationships. Maps may focus on specific subjects, such as weather or population information.
2. *Tables* provide information usually displayed in columns and rows, with headings usually running horizontally across the top, and the categories listed vertically on the left side. Tables allow readers to compare two or more subjects, and can sometimes include much text. Tables may also include photos or drawings, to help illustrate the different categories or subjects.

3. *Charts* are, in a sense, graphic tables. There are three common types of charts: fever or line, bar, and pie charts.

A fever or line chart shows one or more continuous lines connecting several points on a grid. This helps illustrate changes in quantity or amount over time. A fever chart can contain multiple lines comparing elements over time. Stock market trends are often presented using a fever chart.

Bar charts, as the name suggests, present information by using bars to compare two or more items. All bars in a graphic extend in the same direction (either vertically or horizontally) and follow the same scale, allowing ready comparison of the measures illustrated.

Pie charts demonstrate all of a given category, as well as how different subcategories make up the whole. Each subcategory is represented by a “slice” of the pie, usually separated from others by lines and the use of different colors or markings.

4. *Timelines* illustrate how a trend of events developed over time. They nearly always include some measurement of time from moments to weeks or years. Timelines are especially useful in tracing developing events and are essentially graphic chronologies.
5. *Illustrations* or drawn pictures help add information to a story in a clearer fashion than text or photographs. Cartoonists use their illustrations to make comments by enhancing a person’s physical features to playfully poke fun at—or strongly satirize—their subjects. During the 2008 U.S. presidential elections, for example, illustrations often showed Barack Obama with large ears.
6. *Breakout* boxes present information by highlighting parts of the text in an attention-grabbing way. These may include highlighted quotes, a list of questions and answers; a fact box, listing an event’s time and location; a brief biography of a person; or checklists. Page designers often create breakout boxes as they lay out a publication, with the input of editors and reporters.

Development

In modern history, many consider Williams Playfair, Scottish engineer and political economist, the father of graphics. Joseph Priestley is credited with creating the first timeline. In 1806, *The Times* of London used maps to explain how a murder took place in a victim’s mansion in 1806, marking the beginning of graphics in news media. In the United States, the first newspaper maps appeared in the 1860s, to clarify important battles during the Civil War. The *Chicago Tribune* was the first newspaper to create a graphics department, in 1974.

USA Today

The best-selling newspaper in the country, *USA Today*, brought with it a revolution in the use of graphics right from its first issue in 1982. A committee was assembled in 1980 to design prototypes for the newspaper—then code-named “NN,” for “Nation’s Newspaper.” It included Gannett CEO Al Neuharth; Ron Martin, then editor of the *News American*; future deputy managing editor of design J. Ford Huffman; and designer George Rorick, among many others. Around 30 people worked in assembling prototypes for what would become *USA Today*.

Four prototypes were presented between 1981 and 1982. When the *USA Today* was launched on September 15, 1982, it introduced several new graphic elements that American newspaper readers had not previously seen. Perhaps the most famous was the color weather map. The idea was simple: run a wide map across the page and put weather patterns in it. Artist Ray Stanczak, editor John Bodette, and J. Ford Huffman did the first *USA Today* map.

Internet Influence on Graphics

Since it became a commercial medium in 1995, the Internet has changed how graphics are used in news media. The *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* was one of the first newspapers to present graphics online. Leavett Biles, graphics director at the paper, created the multimedia graphics department. The department launched its first animated graphic online in late 1996. It was a Christmas

project for the Science page of the online edition of the newspaper, created using the Macromedia Director and Shockwave programs.

Since then, a number of new tools, including various websites launched since 2012, have been developed that allow for easily creating even more interesting and captivating graphics. Those, however, now often require graphics specialists who also know coding, in order to properly adapt the tools to their needs.

Some graphics, for example, currently include animations, whether through long videos, short animated GIFs—first introduced online in the mid-1990s, but further popularized with the advances of mobile media since 2013—or even micro-animations (small, subtle animations that highlight very specific parts of a graphic).

Whereas, in the past, graphics had to be constrained to the width of a printed page or spread, the Internet and new mobile devices such as smartphones and computer tablets now allow graphics to expand through multiple screens. A common effect currently used in many online news graphics is Parallax, a technique developed for websites in the mid-2010s, where the background of graphics scroll at a lower speed than the information and images on the foreground, creating a 3D effect for the reader.

As the technology advances, the media are expected to not only enhance their graphics in print—by using, for example, more powerful 3-D software—but also online. News graphics online often now incorporate some personalization, inviting the visitor to enter personal data. Others use the concept of “interactive discovery,” requiring the visitor to click on specific areas of the graphic to enable more information, or allowing them to interact with the graphic to tailor the information they receive. Some news outlets have started, since 2018, experimenting using virtual reality to present graphics, creating an even more immersive and interactive experience for the reader.

Still, experts in the field predict that, no matter the technology, the future of graphics will be data driven, with the data and its analysis being the cornerstone of creating the news graphics.

Danny Paskin

See also Data Journalism; Data Visualizations; Internet: Impact on the Media; Maps in Journalism; Photography; *USA Today*; Virtual Reality; *Wall Street Journal, The*; Weather Journalism

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GUTENBERG PRESS

The phrase *Gutenberg press* signifies a 15th-century technological innovation in publishing based on the use of a printing press featuring both moveable metal type and automatic inking to create multiple copies of text in large quantities. The use of ink and type to make impressions in printing

for publication was not a new process; the Chinese had used wooden block presses to create books as early as the 8th century CE. The problem with using wooden blocks was the short lifespan of the blocks, requiring frequent replacements. In addition, most of the blocks required the ink to be replenished by hand after only a small number of impressions. The limited lifespan of the images and the slow process of inking greatly reduced the utility, as well as increased the cost, of early press printing as a means of mass distribution of reading matter. The Gutenberg press created a means of more quickly and efficiently producing quality images with a reduced cost of production using an improved mechanical process. The descendants of this form of printing press still operate today, employing a vast array of modern technological improvements for printing.

This entry traces the origins and historical development of printing and moveable type and its effects on society generally, including efforts by established social institutions to control the flow and content of information that thereby became available to an increasingly literate public. Among the more transformative effects of wider access to the Bible was the questioning of religious doctrines and practices by reformers such as the German theologian Martin Luther, leading to the Protestant Reformation. Also described are the effects of the greater abundance of information, provided by a proliferation of broadsheets and newspapers, on the growth of mercantile activity and commerce generally, as well as increased participation of the general citizenry, especially the growing middle class, in political and civic affairs that were formerly the preserve of royalty and the landowning aristocracy. Following a section describing the advent of copyright protection for authors and publishers and the development, the entry concludes with a discussion of the modern technologies that have vastly extended the reach of mass communications far beyond that of the Gutenberg press, from radio to television to the digital computer and the Internet, and the resulting acceleration of social change across the globe.

Historical Development

The estimation is that Johannes Gutenberg and his partner, Andreas Dritzehn, started using the press

circa 1436 CE in Gutenberg, Germany. European presses previously used woodblock techniques largely as an extension of printing technology developed in China before the 7th century CE. Wooden presses required that blocks be hand carved and, between impressions, hand inked, while the new Gutenberg press used a metal matrix with movable type for setting, quick interchangeability, and reuse. Gutenberg, who was trained as a goldsmith, used his knowledge of metals in designing the new press. He was the first printer to utilize an alloy composed of tin, lead, and antimony in the casting of the type. This new alloy helped produce a durable metal type that resulted in higher-quality prints even after repeated use. Gutenberg's new process used a metal press with a much longer lifespan than its wooden predecessor and incorporated a mechanical means to automatically ink the type and images before pressing on to the paper or cloth.

The use of movable type, essentially the use of elements—individual letters, words, or phrases—that could be replaced individually, was new. The movable type permitted customization and alteration of print without the need to create a completely new block. The type would be placed in a special matrix, an adjustable metal frame, that held the type during the printing process. Gutenberg's type case contained an estimated 290 separate word boxes that housed letters, special characters, punctuation marks, ligatures, and other necessary symbols for printing. The physical press was an adaptation of the screw press commonly used in winemaking to crush grapes (replacing the ancient practice of persons stomping on grapes with their feet to crush them during the wine making process). To create print, Gutenberg would arrange the moveable type on a matrix, mount the matrix on the modified screw press, coat the matrix with ink, and lower the matrix until the type makes contact with the surface that was being printed on (typically paper, vellum, or cloth). The net result of the combination of metal press, automatic inking, and moveable type created a mechanical process that greatly increased the speed of printing. At the same time, the process reduced the cost of the materials. The development of the Gutenberg press to many represents the greatest technological innovation of that millennium because of the

various social, political, and economic impacts of the technology.

The process, once developed, provided a device quickly adopted and replicated in cities across Europe. Within a few decades, printing presses numbered in the hundreds, leading to the production of millions of volumes each year (compared with the tens of thousands previously). The ease of printing continued to increase dramatically the number of volumes of printed material available for reading; the increase was as much as a hundredfold. The importance of the press rose with the growth of literacy outside of the church and the aristocracy, within the rising middle class, including artisans and businessmen. The production of books not only made literacy possible (by increasing the number of educational materials) but also increased the value of literacy by generating a body of work that people could read. The improved economic status of the population provided the resources to purchase the available work. In combination, the changes in business, economic, and social practices enabled the Gutenberg press to exert a profound influence on social development. For example, a geography book once owned by Christopher Columbus is now on display in a Spanish museum, having been printed using movable type.

With the greatly decreased cost of reproduction of reading material and the accelerated speed of printing came the capacity to produce a huge number of books. The formation of libraries and the generation of bookstores grew with the rise of literacy. The idea of repositories of information, originally a primary role of monasteries, took on a civic or municipal function and became a practice of the burgeoning professional class. The function of libraries moved from the church to the state or city-state, thereby altering one element of power, the control over information.

One of the societal effects of the printing press was the ability to produce a wider range of materials for specialized audiences as well as for public education. Books dealing with, for example, techniques for fishing, books filled with bedtime stories or poetry, books of advice about agriculture became possible because an audience existed for the works and had the means to purchase them. Specialized audiences within the scientific community could create journals that allowed for the

regular exchange of ideas across vast distances. Such books and journals are credited with giving rise to the scientific revolution that started after the 1543 printing of the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*). The usefulness of books on topics related to commercial development provided the basis of information that would eventually support both the exploration of the world and the industrial revolution. Technical drawings and manuals became easy to produce, permitting wider distribution of scientific breakthroughs and new manufacturing processes.

Religious Awakening

Probably the most influential or important book published by the press was the Bible. The Gutenberg Bible became synonymous with use of the printing press as well as the distribution of material associated with religion. The reduced cost and broader distribution of the Bible created both a benefit as well as a need for literacy. A rising middle class of merchants and artisans provided a ready market for books. One of the justifications for greater public literacy was the ability to read passages of the Bible, essentially increasing the scope of religion by enabling people to consume the original material. A printed Bible was easy to transport and permitted greater outreach by missionaries. The existence of a class of persons outside of the aristocracy with enough means to purchase books created an income opportunity for those producing the materials.

One of the effects of mass distribution of the Bible was a sense of entitlement on the part of individuals to read and interpret Biblical text. Such increased access to religious information facilitated to some degree the development of personal and shared orthodoxies inconsistent with a dominant or centralized view of faith. This, in turn, enabled the rise of a challenge to the Catholic Church from Martin Luther (1483–1546), an ordained priest, monk, and theologian. Luther's calls for church reform created the basis for the growth of religious populism, which ultimately challenged the primacy of the authority of the Catholic Church by creating the potential for decentralization.

The reaction by the Catholic Church in the Vatican as well as by secular authorities led to a focus on censorship and control of the press as a means of controlling the population. The Church then imposed the requirement for its imprimatur (Latin for “let it be printed”) to be granted in order for any book to be published. Without the prior approval of the Church, the authors and publisher risked the charge of heresy for publishing and distributing materials considered a challenge to the Church. The question of religious control of the press over all books served as one clash between secular and religious authority over the control over published material.

The primacy of the Church’s view was not restricted to religious text; the Church passed judgment on books dealing with politics and science. For example, the publication of a book expressing the astronomer, physicist, and engineer Galileo Galilei’s (1564–1642) heliocentric (sun at the center) view of the solar system challenged the official doctrine of geocentricity (earth at the center of the solar system), resulting in Galileo’s being sentenced by the Inquisition to house arrest on the charge of heresy. The Catholic Church’s view of all printed materials as relevant to religious dogma created a challenge between the desire for control by the religious authorities and the desire for independence by other elements of the social system. The religious leadership resolved the issue by evaluating all materials in religious terms, thereby often frustrating scientific progress.

The Gutenberg press permitted the rise of the use of vernacular languages for printing as opposed to Latin, used by the Church for documents and publications. Previously, most texts were printed in Latin, a shared language across much of Europe, and the official language for printed documents. The printing press made possible the printing of materials in the local language (e.g., French, English, German, Polish, Italian) and permitted a wider influence of written materials requiring no specialized literacy. The preference for the use of a local language reinforced a sense of nationalism and the separateness of the individual nations (city-states) while simultaneously providing the basis for national unity within the countries by creating the potential for a sense of shared information using a shared language.

Broadsheets and Newspapers

By reducing the cost and difficulty of publication, the Gutenberg press facilitated the generation not only of books but also of materials with shorter lifespans, such as broadsheets and what eventually became newspapers. Concurrently, with the growth of trading and connections between countries, the desire for news increased as the importance of issues such as exploration, taxes, and wars became apparent to a wider audience. This expansion of mercantile activity resulted in a shift in the feudal order of European society, with the prosperity of the new middle classes now rivaling the longstanding social and economic dominance of the hereditary land-owning aristocracy and forcing a redistribution of political power. Understanding the positions of municipal and secular leadership became a focus contributing to the rise of nationalism by generating popular understanding of shared interests. The citizenry became better informed and could therefore become involved in civic affairs and look after their interests on that basis.

The capacity to rapidly publish many copies of a given text allowed the producers of broadsheets and other printed ephemera to generate a disposable product. Thus began the profession and industry of journalism as means of finding and producing information for consumption by the general populace. Over time, the effect was to gradually accelerate the pace of change in those societies where literacy was advancing.

The growing distribution of broadsheets, pamphlets, and newspapers proved especially useful to certain elements of the society (guilds, political parties, government leaders, particular industries, and commercial interests), creating the basis for advertising as a technique for making potential buyers aware of products and for familiarizing potential supporters with political issues from a perspective that often favored specific interests. The Gutenberg press ultimately made possible the distribution of information related to local business conditions and opportunities, and as a means of political persuasion.

Growth of Censorship and Press Control

The development of the urban press also entailed a perceived need for the censorship of news

considered a threat to the existing social order. Controlling information became a central concern for both religious and secular authorities, particularly in response to any statements critical of the royals, the aristocracy, the Church, or governmental actions. Martin Luther, discussed earlier in this entry, used the press to produce copies of his 95 Theses and subsequent broadsheets to challenge the views of the Church, ultimately leading to his excommunication in 1521 by Pope Leo X and to his subsequent designation as an outlaw and heretic by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

In the centuries that followed the Protestant Reformation in Europe, marked by a succession of religious and territorial wars and conflicts, arguments in favor of public access to information contested with arguments supporting the desire of established institutions to limit or suppress information seen as contrary to their interests. In the 18th century, the British Crown's restrictions on American colonists' liberties led to the War of Independence, and subsequently to the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees a press free from government regulation and control. Indeed, the only specific industry mentioned in the U.S. Constitution was the press, to which the nation's founders granted as wide a set of freedoms as possible in order to ensure the establishment and maintenance of a free society.

Development of Copyright and Intellectual Property Law

The new ease with which the press could replicate an existing text meant that books produced by one company could be copied (exactly, or with desired changes) and then mass produced by a different press. This meant that writers (whether of fiction or nonfiction) as well as publishers of original work could reap little benefit from their efforts, since other presses could reproduce material without compensating the originators.

The development of legal copyrights and the concept of intellectual property ownership reflect the protection of value of the investment involved in the creation of textual material. The principle that intellectual work becomes property when expressed in writing represented something new as well as the reality of value that the Gutenberg

press had created by having made printing relatively cheap and quick.

Broadcast, Internet, and 3D Printing

The advancement of technology for communicating and distributing information continued with invention of the telegraph and the telephone in the 19th century; the invention of radio, television, and the electronic, digital computer in the 20th; and the rapid growth in the use of the Internet and platforms/servers in the new millennium. Whether such changes will prove as foundational as the Gutenberg press is for future historians to decide. Today's technologically enabled distribution of information continues to exhibit the initial centralization, decentralization (proliferation of sources), and subsequent recentralizing of the means of distribution of information as competitors are bought out and subsumed by larger corporate entities.

Project Gutenberg, founded in 1971, is the oldest digital library and is named to commemorate Gutenberg's legacy. The goal of Project Gutenberg is to digitize, archive, and disseminate cultural works by translating physical publications into eBooks. Most of the eBooks hosted by Project Gutenberg are in the public domain and free of charge, thereby promoting the spread of literacy by providing a large audience access to publications that further the legacy of the original Gutenberg press.

As we have seen, the Gutenberg press gave rise to the development of journalism as an industry, thereby introducing a major historical shift in the means of producing and distributing information that continues to this day. The central themes of access, censorship, participation, and diversity remain as vital and essential as they were 500 years ago. The forms and technologies of communication, and their range of applications continue to develop, as do the depth and breadth of societal effects and their implications. The current questions about restrictions on 3D printing for various designs (such as firearms) can be understood simply as an extension of the fundamental issues that arose with the origination of the Gutenberg press. Thus, the idea initially represented by the Gutenberg press, namely the capacity to increase the distribution of knowledge and decentralize

control of the flow of information, remains a driver of technological and social change throughout the world.

Mike Allen and Daniel Casey

See also Access to Media; Censorship; Copyright; Distribution; Local Journalism; Printing; Religion Journalism

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HARD VERSUS SOFT NEWS

While the terms *hard* and *soft* news are somewhat loaded, they represent the extreme ends of a continuum of standards in news value. Broadly speaking, most news stories can be separated into two types: the immediate and serious, and the less immediate and often less serious. Of course, there are nuances within each category, and the terms *hard* and *soft*, as well as *serious* and *less serious*, carry with them a wealth of value judgments about the legitimacy of journalistic efforts in relation to various subjects.

Hard news is the embodiment of the “watch-dog” or observational role of journalism. Typically, hard news includes coverage of political, economic, or military significance, or social issues with political, economic, or military implications (such as crime coverage and stories about political demonstrations). Hard news stories also carry temporal imperatives—hard news indicates events that are current and time sensitive.

Soft news, then, is everything else. The term *soft news* can be (and has been) applied to human interest stories, arts and entertainment, sports, celebrity gossip, society pages, and similar topics. In general, soft news stories are seen as less time-sensitive and covering topics that are not viewed as seriously or as having as great a societal impact as hard news coverage. Another way to think of soft news is as feature material. If the conventional wisdom about hard news is that its major

purpose is to inform, then it follows that the major purpose of soft news must be something else—to entertain, perhaps, as well as to inform. In the words of journalism historian Frank Luther Mott (1952), a hard news story is “interesting to human beings,” while a soft news story is “interesting because it deals with the life of human beings” (p. 58).

This entry introduces the concepts of hard and soft news and examines some common critiques of the terminology.

The Rise of Soft News

With the public inundated with news from a vast array of venues and media, from newspapers to television to the Internet, consumers often turn away from news entirely. Beginning in the 1950s but sharply escalating in the late 1970s, in order to offset the loss of readers and viewers, news organizations sought to increase the amount of entertaining, human interest stories they presented—and the manner in which those stories were presented. Dramatic content, faster presentation, shorter stories, and more happy endings became commonplace in the 1980s. Especially in cable news, in which demands of the 24-hour news cycle dominate the information landscape, more sensationalistic and “softer” news items are included, not only to attract and retain viewers, but simply to fill the hours of the day.

Sensationalism is often linked with soft news, although certainly not all soft news is

sensationalistic, and there is ample opportunity for hard news to be sensationalized. Media outlets do not have to simply focus on shock value, name recognition, or human interest to be sensationalistic—hard news stories can be sensationalized by focusing on emotional or dramatic elements of a story at the expense of context, background, or other information that may be more relevant to the public at large.

However, while this trend increased significantly as media venues proliferated toward the end of the 20th century, tabloid media and their sensationalistic leanings found roots as early as 1919. Published by Joseph Patterson and Robert McCormick, the *New York Daily News* focused primarily on scandals—the sexual peccadilloes of local well-knowns, violent crime stories, and the like. Its major rival, the *New York Post*, has taken the *News*'s sensationalistic, soft news-prominent approach and amplified the shock value with garish headlines and questionable photo doctoring. Then again, the *News*' influence is not simply limited to other tabloids; many of the particular stylings of the *New York Daily News*, such as the prominence of photography in its layout and extensive gossip and entertainment sections, have been adopted by major daily newspapers across the country such as *USA Today*.

To be fair, soft news does, in fact, attract viewers who might not normally take notice of daily events. However, the rise in soft news has also had significant impact on the public's perception of the quality and importance of news coverage overall. Despite efforts to attract more consumers, overall consumption of news (through almost all venues) is down and declining compared to years past. Public political engagement decreases as soft news coverage increases, as has been noted by scholars and media critics. According to Thomas Patterson (2001), soft news weakens "the foundation of democracy by diminishing the public's information about public affairs and its interest in politics" (p. 2). As the public's interest in public affairs and politics diminishes, consumption of news media decreases as well—with stark ramifications for democracy as a whole. According to a 2019 Pew Research Center poll, newspaper readership declined from 48,597,000 Americans to 28,554,000 Americans between 2008 and 2019; radio news listenership suffered a similar loss,

with decreases every year from 2008 to 2019. In addition, local television news viewing decreased by as much as 15% per year between 2008 and 2019. The largest blow, though, has been struck to network nightly television news, in 2019, only 5.2 million people, on average, tuned in to network news programs. Newspaper circulation has not reached levels so low since the 1940s; local television news is in a fairly steady decline. The only news sector in which there is marked growth is in cable news, and most cable news channels are programmed with a steady offering of soft news—sensationalized opinion in shorter segments with quicker paced presentation rather than traditional reporting. Whether it is because there are simply too many news outlets and it all becomes white noise, or because media critic Neil Postman was correct when he stated we are "amusing ourselves to death," public consumption of news as a whole is in rapid decline.

The format of presenting hard news is changing as well. Conventionally, hard news newspaper articles follow the inverted pyramid format of information structuring. That is, the journalist places the most important and interesting portions of the story near the beginning, with the less critical information coming at the end of the story. In this manner, readers can be sure they have most of the pertinent information in just the first paragraph or two of the story. However, as soft news styling has slowly crept into nearly every corner of journalism, the traditional inverted pyramid is being replaced by more narrative forms. Compared to the newspapers from as recent as the 1980s, nearly the entire contemporary newspaper is significantly softer than before. The "soft lead-in" to hard news stories is now fairly standard across news platforms, as stories begin with more descriptive and colorful tones before shifting into the more traditional reporting style.

As hard news reporting changes, so too does the nature of a great deal of soft news. Sports coverage is the most visible of the "serious" soft news genre, with its entrenchment in both print and broadcast news sources. The advent of ESPN, *Sporting News*, and other completely sports-related media outlets lends credibility and a hard news-type focus to the presentation of sports information. While entertainment news continues to maintain a softer approach, the legitimacy of

celebrity happenings, movie openings, record deals, and the like (as featured on programs such as *Entertainment Tonight*) have markedly increased in prominence with the expansion of entertainment coverage by many newspapers and entire networks devoted to entertainment news.

Coverage of the mid-2009 death of pop music star Michael Jackson provides an example of “gang” journalism—mobs of reporters and 24/7, often breathless, continuing coverage of every possible angle of the story, repeated endlessly. Where hard news was not available, speculation often filled in—or person-on-the-street interviews—to provide a measure of what viewers think. The Jackson story led evening network newscasts for several days, and again at the time of his funeral, and filled countless newspaper columns and even more cable news hours, blogs, podcasts, and tweets. The story was almost impossible to avoid and, argued some critics, crowded out other (often more important) stories.

Journalism has appreciably blurred the distinction between hard and soft news. The Pulitzer Prize has been awarded often in recent years not to breaking news presented in the traditional inverted pyramid format, but to the real stories of people’s lives as events unfold around them. Even in the wake of national disasters and tragedies, such as Hurricane Katrina in 2005 or the shooting of more than 30 people at Virginia Tech University in 2007, it is not the traditionally structured, “just-the-facts” approach that has been rewarded by the Pulitzer Prize committee, but the stories told through people’s faces, in their own words, that have impressed and moved the award body. For example, the Pulitzer for National Reporting was given in 1948 to the *Minneapolis Tribune* for stories on the Truman administration’s plan to “impose secrecy about the ordinary affairs of federal civilian agencies in peacetime”; in 2001, *The New York Times* received the same award “for its compelling and memorable series exploring racial experiences and attitudes across contemporary America.” In 1998, the *Los Angeles Times* received the Pulitzer Prize for Breaking News Reporting for its coverage of a bank robbery that led to a police shootout; in 2005, the award was given to the *Star-Ledger* for its coverage of the New Jersey governor’s announcement that he is gay and had an affair with a male lover.

Criticizing Terminology

The terms *hard news* and *soft news* are fraught with issues of vagueness and value relativity. One of the major criticisms of a distinction between the two is that, in the age of increasing media intrusion into the private lives of public figures and widespread access to media-producing technology, the line between what is public and private has blurred significantly in contemporary society. For example, a story regarding an uncovered tryst between a political figure and a prostitute would be hard news, as it may lead to the political figure’s resignation and possible prosecution. If the tryst was a legal one involving, say, the politician’s secretary, however, the story drifts into “soft” territory. In either case, the affair may constitute both political and social discussion.

The distinction between time-sensitive and -insensitive news is also not universal. For example, while sports are considered soft news, the reporting of breaking scores or player news often requires timeliness. A review of the weekend’s latest Hollywood release is sure to appear in the arts and entertainment section of major metropolitan dailies. Conversely, not all hard news stories require immediate distribution. An analysis of a candidate’s political platform, the reporting of this year’s crime statistics, or an article on the development of a particular technology may not need to be reported immediately. Soft news sometimes means feature or “evergreen” material that can run on slow news days. One manner in which researchers attempt to distinguish between hard and soft news is by examining the tone and style in which stories are delivered in an effort to discern if the intent is to inform or entertain—or, as is increasingly the case, both.

Finally, different news organizations make different judgments about what constitutes serious or timely news. There is no universal standard that signifies a clear distinction between hard and soft news. For example, if a major player in the National Football League is sentenced to prison, it would seem this would be a hard news report on the outcome of a criminal investigation. However, it could also be considered soft news, as the loss of a star player impacts the team’s ability to compete. This, in turn, becomes an economic issue, because the loss of the player could harm team revenue,

making the story, once again, hard news. The conviction of the player has legal, social, and business ramifications, which places it somewhere between the hard and soft labels.

Concluding Thoughts

The lines between hard news and soft news are not nearly as clear as they once were. There is a rapidly growing middle ground in which even hard news has adopted a more entertaining, human interest-oriented style, and in which some soft news has taken on a more serious, information-oriented tone. The major driver of the distinction, at this point, appears to be the market, and at this point in history, nearly all mass-distributed news is market driven. The “infotainment” style has come to dominate news presentation as news organizations chase the dollar as vigorously as they chase the story. Informing the public and entertaining the public are not only not mutually exclusive; in contemporary society, they are inextricably linked. As the chasm between hard and soft news shrinks, and the narrative blends in with the inverted pyramid approach to form a combined or melded category, the terms *hard* and *soft news* may slowly disappear altogether.

Christopher Bell

See also Entertainment Journalism; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Lifestyle Journalism; New Journalism; News as Narrative; News Audiences, U.S.; News Values; Newsroom Culture; Sensationalism; Sports Journalism; Tabloid Television

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HAVAS

Havas was the world's first news agency, and after a century of operation, formed the core of the present Agence France-Presse.

Origins

Charles-Lewis Havas (1783–1858), a Frenchman of Hungarian background, began to develop an informal network of European reporters (today they would be called *stringers*) in 1825 to report about European financial and political events for French businesses, banks, and a few newspapers. Havas himself initially acted as translator. In 1832, he created the Bureau Havas in Paris, with an office located not far from the main post office, the French stock exchange, and several newspaper offices. A growing staff (which briefly included Bernhard Wolff and Julius Reuter, both of whom would go on to form their own news agencies) assembled financial news from other European capitals (some transmitted by semaphore telegraphs), translated it, and distributed it by messenger or mail to client newspapers in France and elsewhere.

Havas soon took over two small competing news bureaus. With approximately 200 client newspapers and a subsidy from the government, in 1835 the growing operation became known as the *L'Agence Havas*, usually recognized as the inception of the world's first news agency. By 1840, it was sending and receiving some news

reports by pigeon, enabling same-day news from London and Brussels to appear in major Paris newspapers.

By 1845, Havas operated as an effective monopoly in France and began to utilize the electric telegraph, initially with a line newly installed between Paris and Rouen. The founder retired a year later and his son Auguste-Jean took over direction of the expanding operation. In 1852, Havas took over a budding advertising agency, allowing the merged entity to provide both news and advertising to client papers and spreading the cost of operation. For many years, the advertising side of Havas helped to support the expense of newsgathering.

Beginning in 1860, Havas began news correspondence with South America, and in the 1870s with much of Europe. In 1879, family control ended with sale of the growing news and advertising agency to a Paris banker.

News Cartel

As early as 1856, Havas, Reuter in Britain, and Wolff in Germany signed an exchange agreement to share financial news from their own countries. It soon expanded to general news, and in 1859 to an agreement to create joint offices in different cities, subject at different times to the imperialist moves by the countries' respective governments.

By 1870, the three agencies established a cooperative news cartel, soon dubbed "The Ring," each agency taking responsibility for part of the world (Havas took the French colonies plus news of Spain and Portugal, Italy, and all of South America where no national agencies developed until after 1900), thus eliminating overlapping reporting and their related costs. All three made effective use of the growing web of undersea cables as well as land telegraphy and were accordingly often called *wire* services. With some changes, the cartel agreement was renewed in 1890 and again in 1914.

By World War I, Havas occupied a semi-official role in France. While the agency was a primary source of wartime news, it could issue only those stories approved by the French military command. Havas also refused to carry German military communiqués. Havas faced growing competition from new national news agencies after World War I.

A multiple address radio system was introduced in 1931 (thanks in part to government

financial aid), allowing Havas news to be more efficiently (and far less expensively) distributed across both Latin America and Asia. By 1933, a dedicated shortwave transmitter near Paris carried the service to some 2,000 newspapers worldwide, using automatic teleprinters. Any recipient could theoretically use such services, not just those with Havas subscriptions. However, with them, Havas was able to compete for a time with American news agencies in Latin America.

Teleprinters were also used by newspapers and radio stations within France (which relied almost totally on Havas for their international news), keyed to an extensive network of dedicated telegraph lines. Within the capital city, messengers and telephone links were used to distribute news. Havas controlled the national agencies in Spain and Italy until the mid-1920s. It received government financial support through the budgets of several ministries.

Demise

With the occupation of much of France by the German army in June 1940, however, Havas, cut off from many of its usual sources and clients, and operating from a country (and its colonies) in disarray, largely closed down. Indeed, many of its personnel became part of the French Resistance. News from Paris was controlled by Germany until 1944.

In August 1944, as Allied forces cleared Paris of the occupying German forces, the remains of Havas gave way to form the core of a new publicly owned Agence France-Presse.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Agence France-Presse; Cables, Undersea; Reuters; Telegraph

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HEALTH AND MEDICAL JOURNALISM

Health journalism provides news, analysis, and nonfiction narratives about issues of personal and public health. Print and digital journalism outlets across varying media types frequently cover news and advice about health matters directed to a lay audience. Indeed, health stories are some of the most prevalent and popular stories that run in the consumer media. Health news dovetails with several other journalism beats, including politics, business, public life, science, environment, sports, and lifestyle. Such stories are also referred to as *medical journalism*, *health reporting/writing*, and *medical/health news*. This entry examines historical precedents, the production and consumption of health journalism, and critiques of the form.

A Distinct Field

Health journalism is not a recent phenomenon in the United States. In fact, two prominent examples from the turn of the 20th century show just how enduring the fixation on health maintenance has been. Luther H. Gulick wrote for magazines (such as *Good Housekeeping*) and authored a 1907 book, *The Efficient Life*. Gulick obsessively outlined how to live a more vital, healthy life through good personal habits and mental attitude; he advised on how to battle common ailments; and he deemed prevention to be the “distinctively modern attitude toward disease.” Another was Bernarr Macfadden, a crusader for wellness and health, who wrote more than 100 health books and published a magazine called *Physical Culture* (founded in 1899) which included articles about nutrition, vitamins, fitness, and natural foods (decrying the “white bread curse”), remarkably similar to contemporary prevention coverage. A

focus on personal health was further entrenched by the birth of the “therapeutic society” in the 1930s, which appealed to a generally healthy, middle-class audience. Interest in health, especially from the historically therapeutic audience, has only continued to grow.

While health journalism in some cases grew under the umbrella of science writing and faces similar translational challenges, it is now considered to be its own field of reporting. Although information in science news is often relevant to health stories, the distinction is that science events have less direct bearing on individual action and are rarely given service-oriented treatment.

Health journalism is a primary source for the public to learn about personal health, medical developments, and health-related policy. Medical personnel often deal with patients’ questions and attitudes that are direct results of their exposure to mass-mediated health information (including direct-to-consumer [DTC] pharmaceutical advertising). Policymakers also rely on journalistic accounts of health to inform their decisions on laws and regulations. Because health journalism can have an impact on so many citizens, physicians, and legislators, media and medicine scholars analyze many facets of the field.

Health journalism is also a magnet for pharmaceutical and health care industry advertising dollars. The path from prescription products not being advertised to consumers before the early 1980s to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration’s revising the regulations on DTC advertising in 1997. Over the following 20 years, spending on DTC advertising tripled (totaling \$9.6 billion in 2016), and DTC advertising pays off with a \$9 return of every \$1 spent on advertising. Regulations on DTC advertising have emerged, distrust in pharmaceutical companies is high, and physicians have mixed responses on how DTC ads inform patients. From the journalism perspective, the explosion of pharmaceutical advertising has brought about an increase in editorial health content.

How It Is Produced

Health journalists’ primary function is to translate often technical medical science or health policy information into lay language. Although some

health journalists have a specialized background in medicine (as a physician or registered nurse, for example), many health journalists have not practiced medicine and come to the topic through other journalistic endeavors. Organizations to which people who produce health journalism belong include the Association of Health Care Journalists, the American Medical Writers Association, and the European Medical Writers Association.

Some scholars have investigated how health journalists do their work. Although many journalists lack specialized training in covering health news, they learn much of what they do on the job. Many health journalists consider the absence of a medical background a boon to their ability to present information in an understandable way. Rewording medical jargon, interpreting statistics, and extracting meaning from peer-reviewed articles are some of the skills that constitute their work as translators.

To explain health information, journalists use many tools. Journalism often serves as the public's only contact with people working in technical fields, and the presence of medical researchers and specialty physicians in journalistic health articles is no exception. Journalists often interview "experts" to help explain information in a clear, credible, and quotable manner. Depending on the subject, such authorities can include physicians, lead investigators for a medical study, nurses, trainers, malpractice attorneys, policymakers, psychologists, authors, nutritionists, spokespeople for pharmaceutical companies, social workers, and hospital administrators.

Another approach that health journalists use to present a story is interviewing "real" people to provide more of a human element or narrative component. Such people are experts in their own right, considering they have often suffered from a certain disease, faced a problem with the health care system, or participated in a clinical trial, among other experiences. Journalists often introduce a story with what is called an *anecdotal lead* (or *lede*) to hook the audience with a personal account or question and then get to the more complicated details later in the story. Journalists find that these personal stories give readers or viewers a way to identify with the issue and possibly diminish any stigma associated with it. Some

research has shown that audience members who read a personal narrative (instead of statistics, for example) are more likely to remember and take action upon the health information.

Data and statistics from medical research, which help impart credibility and explain risk factors, often surface in health stories. To help audiences understand data or other complicated medical ideas, stories will also include infographics or other visually informative elements (e.g., photos, videos, graphs, charts, tables, illustrations). Journalists also try to reword or define technical terms and often use metaphors or analogies to get across a concept that may otherwise be difficult to grasp.

Many health journalism stories include *mobilizing information*, another term for the how-to advice that offers directions for behavior or resources for additional information. The perception is that audience members want useful, practical tips they can use to take action. At times, health stories can be so condensed that the main focus is the takeaway information as opposed to the background research.

Where journalists get their story ideas and what they choose to cover is a central factor in their work. They often locate story ideas in recent medical journals, news releases from the federal government (e.g., the Centers for Disease Control, the National Cancer Institute), social media, newly published books, audience feedback, announcements from nonprofit advocacy organizations, press releases from universities, and other competing journalism outlets. Some story ideas stem from recurring calendar-based events (e.g., Breast Cancer Awareness Month). Pharmaceutical companies and for-profit health care organizations also jockey for coveted editorial space and airtime through publicists who seek source-initiated news. Sifting the good science from the bad is a challenge for health journalists in that they receive constant appeals, often via press releases, for coverage.

Health journalists cover topics that range from the hard-hitting, such as fraud in medicine or hospital mortality rates, to the more personal, such as deciphering nutrition labels and recommended screenings for cancer. These topics include, but are not limited to, research findings, health care policy, wellness/prevention, patient care, diseases,

public health, infrastructure, malpractice, pharmaceuticals, diet, and exercise. Considering how health journalism is disseminated, digital media excel at covering breaking health news, while print may be better for interpreting in-depth health information. Medical information is continually evolving as new research emerges; therefore, potential story topics are nearly infinite.

How Health Journalism Is Consumed

Health journalism is a form of health communication to the public. Although early definitions of health communication restricted it to medical settings (patient–physician communication) or public health campaigns, the focus has broadened to include health journalism.

What readers and viewers do with the information that health journalism provides is of paramount importance. Scholarship on how the audience evaluates and uses health reporting, however, is notably lacking. The extant research has shown that health journalism likely has its main impact in alerting readers to the existence of a health problem or new discoveries. It is unlikely that audience members will make a health behavioral change based only on information they learn about through health journalism. Especially with the pace of social media feeds, audience members often do not fully recall health information they get through news media and what they do recall and attend to is filtered through how it relates to them and their current attitudes and behaviors. Before making a behavior change, readers often seek more information online and consult an interpersonal source, such as friends, family, or a medical practitioner. The idea that health information could be a “magic bullet” for changing people’s health behaviors is flawed, though it plays a cognitive role in the decision-making process. The availability of substantial amounts of health information is not proof that audience members actually act on it.

As in other fields, there has been a surge in web use for learning about health. The widespread use of the Internet has prompted new paradigms in health communication and information seeking. Most web health sources are not affiliated with journalistic outlets. This is a logical extension of the fact that many people who search online are

motivated by a particular health situation, while those who read or see health journalism are often not seeking specific health information. People’s individual health needs are too specific and time dependent to coincide perfectly with a health journalism piece, which is one reason why most stories appeal to a general audience seeking prevention or wellness information.

Challenges

There are several critics of health journalism who offer valuable comment about both process and product. Physicians and scientists have criticized journalists for misleading the public with incomplete, incorrect, oversimplified, or premature medical coverage. Some researchers believe that poor health reporting constitutes a public health threat. Many of the problems that are commonly cited, such as simplification, single-source stories, premature reporting, and sensationalism, exist because health stories must satisfy traditional news values, such as impact, timeliness, and conflict. Moreover, some of the exaggeration found in health news stories has been traced back to press releases about the medical science findings and to the original research articles. One reason why people heavily criticize health journalism is because the stakes are assumed to be higher with such reporting than with most other subjects. Inaccurate medical reporting can cause panic, cultivate false hopes, or influence an individual’s health decisions.

Several scholarly studies have examined the quality of health journalism. Content analyses of accuracy, scientific evidence, and representations of risk have found health journalism to be lacking on each measure. The crux of the critique from those who seek to accurately present scientific findings is that health journalism is oversimplified. Original medical research is so reduced by the time it reaches audience members that it can be erroneous or misleading. Any caveats or expressions of uncertainty are downplayed or removed. Furthermore, because evidence of medical research rarely appears in full, the public cannot weigh the quality of the information. This, however, presumes a reader or viewer who has a high level of health literacy, which might not be representative of much of the general public. A concept of health

literacy, or a person's ability to obtain, understand, and act upon health information, is percolating among health journalists whose ideas of the audience members are factored into nearly every level of reporting. Using the lens of a moderately health-literate reader, a health journalist would likely simplify health information to make it comprehensible.

Scholars have also argued that most commercial media outlets cannot adequately respond to public health problems for two reasons. For one, informing people about health problems is not the panacea that many idealize it to be given that behavior change is a complex process. Also many health problems cannot be solved by individual action because they are related to social and environmental factors. These broader health problems are undercovered in health journalism because these are complicated and controversial, and they provide little direction for individual action.

Essentially, there is a gulf between the democratic function of making medical information understandable and the scientific function of advancing knowledge. All is not lost given that researchers have shown much health journalism to provide accurate and reliable health information. Thus, for many, journalism outlets are valuable vehicles for health communication.

In addition, several attempts to address these critiques have been made. Ongoing training for professionals, published field guides, and media criticism scorecards (e.g., those offered by Health-NewsReview.org until 2018) all serve to improve health journalism.

A separate but related problem is the spread of misinformation via nonjournalistic outlets, such as mock news sites, personal blogs and websites, social media memes, disinformation campaigns, bots, and viral videos, among others. Fact-checking websites that use credentialed expert crowdsourcing have sprung up to assist the public in deciphering evidence-based information from unsubstantiated claims (e.g., HealthFeedback.org, Metafact). In addition, some social media platforms have taken steps to block the spread of false health messaging (e.g., antivaccination misinformation). Although the spread of false health information long predated the term *fake news*, such as dangerous patent medicine advertising in the late 1800s and tobacco companies bankrolling sham cigarette

studies in the 1950s, the decrease in editors and fact checkers has permitted the proliferation of more deceptive health information.

Concluding Thoughts

Critiques help make clear why studying the production and consumption of health journalism is important to understanding the communication of complex issues. Sometimes derisively referred to as *soft news*, or *lifestyle journalism*, it is clear health journalism should not be so easily dismissed. Another reason why health journalism is important is that some audience members do act on the behavioral advice they encounter. This possibility is part of what drives health journalists to provide accurate information, and it also intensifies the significance of their work.

Health journalism, along with information received from family, friends, medical professionals, and websites, helps to shape an individual's perceptions about health and keeps people informed about health-related policies.

Amanda Hinnant and Yoorim Hong

See also Environmental Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Lifestyle Journalism; Risk and News; Science and Technology Journalism

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HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH

William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) is one of the most controversial and disparaged names in journalism. Hearst was a wealthy editor, publisher, entrepreneur, politician, art collector, and studio owner whose career helped define several periods of innovation and excess in American news media. He was a vigorous, larger-than-life character to whom the barnacles of media myth are firmly attached. That Hearst wielded such dark power as to foment a war is but one example. This entry examines Hearst's career, his journalism, his political aspirations, his private life, and his legacy.

Early Years and Rise in Journalism

Hearst was born in San Francisco in 1863, the only son of a Missouri farmer, George Hearst, who struck it rich as a mining entrepreneur in California. His doting mother, Phoebe, was a Missouri schoolteacher before her marriage. Afterward, she became a philanthropist and suffragist who hoped her son, who was shy and somewhat aloof, would settle into a place in high society. Although he enjoyed the trappings of privilege and wealth, Will Hearst opted for newspapering. After leaving Harvard University without a degree, he took charge of the *San Francisco Examiner*, which his father had acquired in part to promote his political ambitions. (George

Hearst was a U.S. Senator for four years.) Will Hearst was not quite 24 years old when he became proprietor and editor of the *Examiner* in 1887. It marked the origin of what is today a New York-based diversified media giant.

Hearst turned the *Examiner* into an aggressive, well-written, and self-promoting newspaper. He unselfconsciously gave the *Examiner* the tagline “Monarch of the Dailies” as it became the market leader. Its success was due in part to a diet of crime and corruption stories and in part to Hearst's inspired hiring decisions. Notably, he brought to his staff Ambrose Bierce, a gifted and lacerating essayist and short story writer whose column in the *Examiner* ran for years. Bierce recalled how Hearst, in offering him a job, spoke in a small voice redolent of “the fragrance of violets made audible.” Another important hire was Annie Laurie, the pen name of Winifred Black, a “sob sister” whose columns supposedly were so melodramatic they made readers weep. Annie Laurie was a lifelong devotee of Hearst and remembered the *Examiner* fondly as “a place full of geniuses” who happened to be newspaper people.

Hearst's work in rejuvenating the *Examiner* was preparatory for a cross-country move to New York City, where he intended to challenge for newspaper supremacy. Hearst understood that establishing himself in the country's largest market was key to establishing a media empire. In September 1895, he paid \$150,000 to acquire the money-losing *New York Morning Journal*. He dropped “Morning” from the title and promptly stirred up a newspaper scene marked by the advancing age and absenteeism of editors and owners who had towered over the city's journalism for years.

Prominent among them was Joseph Pulitzer, whose techniques Hearst had admired if not copied. Pulitzer, the owner-publisher of the *New York World*, was in such chronic poor health that he rarely was in New York after 1890, the year the copper-domed World building was opened along Press Row in lower Manhattan. Until his death in 1911, Pulitzer traveled almost ceaselessly, seeking to recover his health while running the *World* remotely, in barrages of letters and telegrams. Remote control also was practiced by James Gordon Bennett Jr., the bon vivant publisher of the

New York Herald. Bennett, known as *Commodore*, spent most of his time in Europe where sailing yachts and mixing cocktails were among his favored pastimes. Charles A. Dana of *The Sun* was another of the prominent journalists of the post-Civil War period. By the time Hearst arrived, Dana was in his 70s and in failing health. He had begun to distance himself from the day-to-day operations of his feisty newspaper.

Journalism of Action

Even with the eclipse of its most prominent figures, the New York market was still highly competitive and scarcely welcoming to upstart newcomers. For Hearst, the *Journal* had to stand out, had to be made irresistible. He often succeeded, offering a rich variety of accounts on the front page about crime, high society, politics, and sports. The stories were often accompanied by multicolumn line drawings and bold headlines. The *Journal's* appearance and content were vivid, provocative, and sometimes sensational. Hearst took to calling his approach "the new journalism" and, later, the "journalism of action." By that, he meant that newspapers had a responsibility to go beyond routine gathering, reporting, and interpreting of the news. They were obliged to take a conspicuous role in confronting the failings of government and society. The *Journal* injected itself as a prominent actor in solving murder mysteries, delivering charity, and filing court injunctions to block suspected abuses of municipal government.

It was a heady, activist style of daily journalism that borrowed indirectly from an 1880s theory in Britain of "government by newspaper" and mixed attention-grabbing stunts and adventures with uninhibited self-promotion. Such flamboyance helped make enemies among Hearst's rivals who saw presumption and arrogance in the journalism of action. They were not entirely mistaken. The *Journal* after all once proclaimed that the journalism of action represented "the final state in the evolution of the modern newspaper."

A high moment in Hearst's journalism of action came in October 1897 when Karl Decker, a reporter for the *Journal*, helped plan and bring about the jailbreak in Havana of Evangelina Cisneros, a 19-year-old Cuban political prisoner. She had been held without charges for more than a

year, suspected of plotting to kidnap and kill a senior Spanish officer in Cuba. Cisneros claimed the officer made an unwelcome sexual advance on her. Decker, who was ostensibly the *Journal's* correspondent in Havana, was under Hearst's orders to secure her freedom. To pull off the caper, Decker tapped into a clandestine smuggling network in Havana for crucial assistance. U.S. diplomatic personnel in Cuba lent quiet support.

After hiding in Havana for 2 days, Cisneros was dressed as a boy and smuggled aboard a passenger steamer bound for New York. Hearst organized an enthusiastic reception for Cisneros; a crowd of 75,000 people turned out to welcome the young refugee. Her jailbreak was a stunning if ethically dubious coup and the *Journal* played it up dramatically. Cisneros was "epochal," the *Journal* said, a "supreme achievement of the journalism of action."

Hearst's journalism of action was again on vivid display at the close of 1897, when he threw for New Yorkers a New Year's Eve celebration to mark the consolidation of Gotham's five boroughs into a mega-city. City officials were not inclined to celebrate; the outgoing mayor was a foe of consolidation and suggested a mock funeral would be more fitting. Hearst stepped forward to put on what the *Journal* called a *great carnival* featuring "volcanoes of fireworks and floods of pulse-quickenning music" near City Hall Park and Press Row. Perhaps 100,000 merry-makers braved rain, freezing rain, and snow to join in what the *Journal* called the "luminous starting point from which the history of the expanded New York will be dated."

The celebration costs the contemporary equivalent of at least \$500,000, which was emblematic of Hearst's willingness to spend money (or, more accurately, to draw on the fortune his mother had inherited after his father died in 1891) in making the *Journal* stand out. He sometimes paid lavishly to lure high-priced talent to his staff, to the annoyance of his rivals. He also recruited prominent names in literature and art for an assignment or two. Mark Twain went to London for Hearst to write about Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. Richard Harding Davis, a novelist, playwright, and up-and-coming war correspondent, went to Cuba for Hearst in early 1897, to report on the island-wide armed rebellion against Spanish

colonial rule. Davis was paid \$3,000 for a month's work—the equivalent in 2020 of more than \$90,000.

Accompanying Davis to Cuba was Frederic Remington, the celebrated artist of the American West who was to draw sketches for the *Journal* of scenes of the rebellion. The Davis-Remington pairing was awkward and strains quickly emerged, in part because of long delays in reaching the island. At the urging of the headstrong Davis who disliked working in pairs, Remington left Cuba six days after arriving. The circumstances of Remington's departure have given rise to one of the most tenacious myths in American journalism.

According to an unsourced account published 4 years later by James Creelman, an unabashed admirer of Hearst who was in Spain when Remington was in Cuba, the artist asked permission to come home. He supposedly cabled Hearst from Havana, stating: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return."

In reply, according to Creelman, Hearst declared, "Please remain. You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war" (Creelman, 1901, pp. 177–178).

Hearst's purported vow to "furnish the war" has become one of the most memorable and often-repeated lines in American journalism. It probably is the single comment most often attributed to Hearst. But the presumed Remington-Hearst exchange is almost certainly apocryphal because

- the telegrams supposedly sent by Remington and Hearst have never turned up.
- the anecdote founders on an internal inconsistency: Why would Hearst pledge to "furnish the war" when *war*—the Cuban rebellion against Spain—was the reason he sent Remington to Cuba?
- Spanish censors in Havana rigorously controlled incoming and outgoing telegraphic traffic and likely would have intercepted—and no doubt publicized—Hearst's incendiary vow, had it been sent.
- Remington left Cuba for New York, despite the supposed instructions from Hearst to "remain." Upon his return, Remington's sketches were given prominent display in the *Journal*—not the kind of treatment Hearst likely would have extended to an insubordinate artist.
- Hearst's supposed response to Remington ran counter to his newspaper's editorial position on Cuba in early 1897. The *Journal* then was not calling for U.S. armed intervention in Cuba. The newspaper's editorials at the time were anticipating the *collapse* of Spain's military efforts to put down the rebellion.
- the anecdote's sole original source, Creelman, had serious credibility problems. His reporting about a massacre in China was pointedly disputed by an official U.S. government report in 1894, for example. Creelman, moreover, never explained how he learned about the presumptive Remington-Hearst exchange.
- Creelman intended the anecdote as a compliment to Hearst's activist, forward-looking journalism. Creelman did not offer the anecdote as condemnation.

Over the years, the anecdote was transformed from compliment to evidence of Hearst's supposedly malign power. The dubious "furnish the war" vow has been frequently invoked to buttress a related and similarly tenacious myth, that Hearst and his newspapers brought about America's war in 1898 that expelled Spain from Cuba. The claim is simple enough: the sensational and exaggerated content in Hearst's New York and San Francisco newspapers supposedly stirred war fever in the United States to such an extent that American intervention in Cuba became inevitable. Congress declared war in April 1898, and the conflict was over in less than 4 months. Spain was ousted from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

The myth that Hearst brought about the Spanish-American War lives on as an easy-to-grasp explanation about the derivation of a long-ago conflict. Serious historians of the conflict have dismissed the interpretation as superficial, media-centric, and deeply flawed. The war with Spain was the upshot of a three-sided impasse. The Cuban rebels fighting for independence would settle for nothing less. The Spanish would not acquiesce and imposed harsh measures in trying to put down the rebellion. Americans were horrified by the humanitarian disaster Spanish policies brought to Cuba and stunned by the mysterious explosion in Havana harbor in February 1898 that destroyed the battleship USS *Maine* and killed

266 U.S. naval personnel. Americans could no longer tolerate the disruption just 90 miles from their shores. Diplomacy failed to resolve the impasse; war ensued.

Hearst and his newspapers did not create the differences that resulted in the three-sided impasse. He and his newspapers had nothing to do with the imposition of Spanish policies that caused widespread death and dislocation in Cuba. The contents of Hearst's newspapers were not somehow transformed into military action. Hearst's newspapers did not summon Americans to arms in 1898. The conflict with Spain was assuredly not "Mr. Hearst's war."

Hearst did, though, spend heavily to cover the Cuban theater of the war and traveled to the front himself aboard a refitted fruit steamer—accompanied by a crew, cooks, reporters, a photographer, pressmen, and two female vaudeville performers (one of whom was his future wife). Hearst's timing was propitious. He arrived in time for the climatic land battle of the war near Santiago de Cuba and the naval engagement 2 days later that destroyed the Spanish fleet. A group of beleaguered Spanish sailors who had left their burning ships even surrendered to Hearst as his steamer maneuvered off southeastern Cuba. It was part terrific timing, part farce. In a way, it was the journalism of action gone to war.

Political Ambitions

The war's end left Hearst in a downbeat mood. Unlike his emergent rival, Theodore Roosevelt of Rough Riders fame, Hearst did not return to a hero's welcome in New York. It is sometimes said Hearst had encouraged the war as a cynical means to build circulation and reap the profits. War-related reporting did attract readers, but at considerable cost: Advertising fell off. Wholesale newsprint prices surged. The *Journal* figured its war-reporting expenses topped \$750,000—the equivalent today of almost \$23 million. His papers were losing money.

The war's aftermath was accompanied by a broad letdown across American journalism. A conflict with Spain over Cuba had been anticipated for many months and, rather abruptly, it was over. Spain had given up. An unexpected legacy of the war was that the United States

became a colonial power, a contradiction of its long-standing foreign policy. In the Philippines, one of the country's new possessions, a nasty insurgency went on until 1902.

For a while, Hearst toyed with the idea of seeking the Democratic nomination for New York governor in 1898. He had lived in the state only 3 years and demurred. Roosevelt won that election in a tight race. Hearst kept edging into politics while nursing national ambitions. In 1900, he became president of the National Association of Democratic Clubs. Two years after that, he was elected to the first of two terms in Congress from a New York City district. To support his ambitions and the Democratic party, Hearst expanded his newspaper holdings to Chicago, launching the *American* in 1900. It was a step in Hearst's pursuit of a nationwide media empire. Within a few years, he had started newspapers in Boston and Los Angeles. The expansion of titles increased Hearst's national standing, but it had a stifling effect on the journalism of action. Instead of honing and developing that paradigm, Hearst politicized his newspapers. They became platforms for his political ambitions, which reached a height in 1904.

Hearst sought the Democratic nomination for president that year, spending heavily to build a campaign organization that would deliver delegates' votes at the party's national convention in St. Louis. Hearst's platform was pro-worker, pro-union, and anti-monopoly. After early successes, Hearst's bandwagon stalled. He failed to win the backing of William Jennings Bryan, whom Hearst and his newspapers had eagerly supported for the presidency in 1896 and 1900. In voting at the convention, Hearst came in second to Judge Alton Parker, a conservative. Parker in turn was drubbed by Roosevelt in the 1904 general election. Hearst settled for reelection to Congress. It was to be his last electoral victory.

Hearst was never especially popular in New York City journalism, given his flamboyance and chronic self-promotion, and unpopularity carried over to local and state politics. During the first decade of the 20th century, Hearst twice ran for mayor of New York City and lost both times. He ran for New York governor in 1906 and lost. By decade's end, Hearst returned to expanding his media holdings, adding magazines and, later, a motion picture studio and radio network to what

was becoming a nationwide empire. In the 1920s, Hearst commissioned a headquarters building for his company—a six-story structure near Columbus Circle in New York City which, in the early 21st century, became the base for a glittering corporate tower that is the headquarters of the privately owned Hearst Corporation.

The early Hearst, the ambitious young publisher on the make in San Francisco and New York, invariably was a more fascinating character than the later Hearst, the aging media tycoon and art collector who became vigorously anti-communist, traveled extensively in Europe, and dabbled some in foreign affairs. Hearst once said as much, in recalling his early years in journalism. “Those were wonderful days, and happy achievements of youth,” he wrote in a column for his newspapers late in life. “No grandiose performance of later years ever equaled them in satisfaction. Life was not ‘one damn thing after another’ then. It was one wonderful adventure after another. . . . There was delight in work, happiness in service, joy in life—for we were young” (cited in Whyte, 2009, pp. 465–466).

Hearst's Private Life

Hearst always seemed ready to tweak or flout social convention. He did so in marrying Millicent Willson, a former vaudeville performer nearly 20 years his junior. Hearst had courted her for several years (and took her to Cuba in 1898 aboard the refitted steamer). Together they had five sons. She left Hearst in the 1920s after he became involved with a stage and screen actress named Marion Douras, who was better known as Marion Davies. Hearst never divorced Millicent but never returned to her after Davies became his companion. Davies was hostess for the lavish parties that Hearst sometimes threw at his opulent but never-finished castle at San Simeon, not far from the coast in central California.

Hearst's complicated private life was scandalous by norms of the time and became grist for Orson Welles's portrayal in *Citizen Kane*. The film was not a biopic and took liberties in depicting Hearst, his career, his parents, his wife, and his mistress. Hearst mustered his considerable clout in media circles and tried to block the film's release. He failed. *Kane* came out in 1941 to mixed reviews and was not a commercial success.

Years later, after Welles's genius was acknowledged, *Kane* gained recognition as one the finest motion pictures ever made. But it was a misleading caricature of Hearst. As biographer David Nasaw (2000, p. 574) wrote, Hearst “never regarded himself as a failure, never recognized defeat, never stopped loving Marion or his wife. He did not, at the end of his life, run away from the world to entomb himself in a vast, gloomy art-choked hermitage” as did the movie's lead character, Charles Foster Kane.

Hearst died in August 1951 and was buried in the Hearst family's private mausoleum south of San Francisco. His legacy endures notably in the Hearst Corporation, a diversified, multibillion-dollar media giant. The company's holdings include *Esquire*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Popular Mechanics*, and numerous other magazines; newspapers in Houston, San Francisco, and elsewhere; television stations, and financial stakes in cable television channels such as ESPN. It is a conglomerate that projects a modest corporate profile—a profile in decided contrast to the flamboyance of its founder and namesake, William Randolph Hearst.

W. Joseph Campbell

See also Media Conglomerates; Publishers; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents; Yellow Journalism

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HEMINGWAY, ERNEST

Novelist Ernest Hemingway, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, began his writing career as a journalist and continued writing nonfiction—dispatches, long-form pieces, and memoir—for the rest of his career. Although he occasionally made derisive comments about journalism and its practitioners, he also acknowledged the role his reporting played in forging his distinctive and oft-imitated style.

Early Life

Born in 1899 in Oak Park, Illinois, Ernest Miller Hemingway was the son of a physician, Clarence Hemingway, and Grace Hemingway. He was the second of six children and grew up as the only male child until his brother was born 16 years later. He was thus his father's companion on regular hunting and fishing trips to Michigan, adventures which inspired some of his early short stories.

Journalism Career

He worked on his high school newspaper and yearbook, which gave him a taste for journalism. After graduation, he went to work for the *Kansas City Star*, where he was immersed in the practices of professional journalism. The inverted-pyramid style—which required that the most important elements appear first in the story—was taught by the *Star*'s editors. Hemingway cited the *Star*'s terse style guide for reporters as a lifetime influence on his writing. He followed the guide's instruction to write using short vivid sentences and to omit superfluous details.

Hemingway left his job at the *Star* after 6 months to enlist as an ambulance driver during the First World War. After 2 months in Italy, he

was injured in a mortar attack, which was so serious that hospital doctors considered amputating his leg. After returning home, he found that his war experiences created a gulf between himself and his parents and left home for a job in Toronto.

While in Canada, he had made an alliance with the *Toronto Star*, marking a return to journalism. Soon after his marriage to Hadley Richardson in 1921, he returned to Europe as the Paris correspondent for the *Toronto Star Weekly*.

As European correspondent, Hemingway proved himself as a reporter, covering war in Greece and witnessing the burning of Smyrna. He covered hard-news stories, but also published comic tales of the French for the amusement of Canadian readers.

In Paris, he strayed a bit from the rigors of the style drilled into him by the *Kansas City Star* editors. He became part of the expatriate literary crowd—Ford Madox Ford, James Joyce, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Gertrude Stein, among others. Moving away from the conventions of everyday journalism, he developed a dry, comic style for his lifestyle pieces about Europeans.

Literary Career

Soon he began to pursue a more literary career, publishing a chapbook of poetry and a slim volume of stories with a lower-case title, *in our time*. Fitzgerald became Hemingway's champion and recommended Hemingway to Charles Scribner, who had published Fitzgerald's first novel, *This Side of Paradise*. By 1926, Hemingway had joined Fitzgerald as a Scribner author, working with editor Maxwell Perkins (who would also guide Thomas Wolfe and James Jones). Hemingway's first novel, *The Torrents of Spring*, was a minor work, but later in 1926, *The Sun Also Rises*, his first major novel, appeared.

Hemingway began to publish his novels and story collections, which together comprise one of the most significant bibliographies of 20th century American Literature. After *The Sun Also Rises* came the novels *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), and *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952).

After he published his second major novel, *A Farewell to Arms*, in 1929, and then two book-length nonfiction books: *Death in the Afternoon*

in 1932 and *Green Hills of Africa* in 1935. Both were memoirs concerning two of his major occupations: bullfighting and hunting. The success and popularity of Hemingway's novels made him into an international celebrity.

Commingle Journalism and Literature

But Hemingway never fully left journalism—or rather his personalized version of journalism—behind. Simultaneously with *Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of Africa*, Hemingway contributed personal reportage to *Esquire*, a new magazine founded by Arnold Gingrich. Gingrich urged him to stick to stories of hunting and fishing, in line with the theme of this new men's magazine. The “letters” (as they were called) were often like diary entries.

One of the most successful of these pieces was “Monologue to the Maestro,” in which a young acolyte from Minnesota—dubbed “the Maestro” because he plays violin—treks to Key West, Florida, to learn about writing from Hemingway. It is comical, but it also contains a telling comment about Hemingway's view of journalism. When the protege asks Hemingway about what differentiates serious writing from mere reporting, Hemingway says, “If it was reporting they would not remember it.”

Hemingway tells the Maestro that what gives writing life is the ability to describe action and events in such a way that readers then visualize what the writer is describing, becoming a collaborator in the storytelling. The reader's imagination, Hemingway lectures, will complete the picture. The element of immediacy—vital to daily reporting—is soon lost and in order for a piece of writing to endure, it must be “round and whole and solid,” as Hemingway says.

Even when he was ostensibly back in the world of reporting, his status as a celebrity affected his reporting. An example is Hemingway's coverage of the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*. By the time he left for Spain as a correspondent in 1938, Hemingway had made it clear that he would not be an impartial reporter. He had signed on to produce a documentary to raise money for the cause of the rebellious peasants. This role as a fundraiser for one of the warring sides in the conflict compromised his journalistic credibility.

In much of his writings, Hemingway employed a direct, I-was-there reporting style. It was also not unusual for Hemingway to place himself at the center of the story. His stories from Spain often delve into his gathering of information, allowing readers to see the under-the-surface levels of his storytelling. In his journalism, Hemingway often resorted to direct-address.

Hemingway returned to journalism in his last years to write “The Dangerous Summer,” a series for *Life* magazine about the son of the bullfighter who had inspired a character three decades before in *The Sun Also Rises*. Hemingway produced a huge manuscript, which the editors spread over three issues. It was not published in book form for a quarter century.

A Moveable Feast (1964), his memoir of Paris in the 1920s, was filled with stories of his colleagues Fitzgerald, Stein, and others. A collection of his journalism dating from his *Toronto Star* days, *Byline*, appeared in 1967. A later collection, *Dateline: Toronto* (1985), collected previously unpublished pieces. *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005), though a memoir, was the complete manuscript of a book that had been published in 1999 as a novel, *True at First Light*.

Private Life

Hemingway was married four times—three times to journalists: Pauline Pfeiffer worked for *Vogue* in Paris, Martha Gellhorn was a celebrated war correspondent, and Mary Welsh, whom he met in London while they were both covering the Second World War. He had three sons: John, known as Jack, with first wife Hadley Richardson; and Patrick and Gregory, with Pauline Pfeiffer.

His most fecund years were in Key West, where he finished *A Farewell to Arms* and wrote most of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In the decade between the appearance of those books, he published two nonfiction works (*Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of Africa*), a novella (*To Have and Have Not*), and two story collections (*Winner Take Nothing* and *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories*, which also contained the script for a play). He produced two documentaries about the war in Spain intended to raise money for the revolutionaries. This is also the era when he contributed regularly for *Esquire*.

He was remarkably productive, yet also maintained an active life as a sportsman and tavern raconteur. He made friends with fishermen, handy-men, and others, reveling in the live-and-let-live ethos of the village at the end of the road.

He later moved to Cuba but left for his final home, in Idaho, in 1959. It was there, in the village of Ketchum, where he took his life by gunshot on July 2, 1961.

William McKeen

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Men's Magazines; War Correspondents

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HERSEY, JOHN

Reporter and novelist John Richard Hersey (1914–1993) created *Hiroshima* (1946), cited as the greatest work of American journalism in the 20th century. This book was a harbinger of the “new journalism” explosion of the 1960s, yet

within a few years Hersey had become a critic of the form. His fiction and nonfiction were driven by a concern for social justice, and he served as one of the greatest practitioners and the brooding conscience of the literary journalism movement he helped inspire.

Early Years and Education

Born in 1914 in Tientsin, China, Hersey was the son of American missionaries Roscoe and Grace Hersey, who were posted overseas by the YMCA. Hersey spent his early years in China, but at the age of 10 he returned to the United States with his parents, to Westchester County, New York. He finished his secondary education at Hotchkiss School in Connecticut and then enrolled at Yale University.

At Yale, Hersey made the football squad, and future president Gerald Ford was a teammate. Hersey also worked on the *Yale Daily News* and was a member of the secret society, Skull and Bones. As was the case for any Yale student who distinguished himself at the *Daily News* in that era, Hersey was offered summer work at *Time* magazine while still in college. Henry Luce, founder of the Time-Life empire, had a nearly identical life to Hersey's—born to American missionaries in China, Luce's educational and career path followed the same trajectory, a quarter century before. At Yale, Luce had worked alongside classmate Briton Hadden at the *Daily News* and they partnered to create *Time* magazine in 1923. A decade later, Hadden was dead and Luce had turned the company he started with a classmate into an empire that included *Fortune* and *Life* magazines.

Luce regarded Hersey as something of a protégé, but Hersey and Luce diverged radically on politics. Luce's inherent conservatism was offensive to Hersey, who bespoke classic liberal values. At first, Hersey resisted Luce's efforts to bring him into the Time-Life fold. After college graduation in 1936, Hersey studied at the University of Cambridge for a year, and then returned home to become personal secretary to Sinclair Lewis, the first American writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature. Working for Lewis was a trial. The elder writer was in decline, and his early triumphs, including *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922),

were in the rear-view mirror. His writing was skidding downhill and Lewis often was drunk. Hersey's duties included mixing drinks and driving for Lewis. Yet this difficult apprenticeship exposed him to the life of a writer.

Eventually, Hersey joined *Time* magazine, where his dispatches were printed without his byline, which was the magazine's style. The magazine's prospectus had vowed that the contents would appear to readers as if written by one person, for one person. There was no room for a writer's voice or ego. This meant that Hersey and other reporters for the magazine were subject to the editing of Whitaker Chambers, whose position at the magazine gave him license to revise the copy of liberal reporters to reflect Luce's conservative worldview.

Early Works

Posted in Asia as the Second World War began, Hersey's ambition to write substantive nonfiction surfaced with his first two books of reportage, *Men on Bataan* (1942) and *Into the Valley* (1943), which was a hybrid of reporting and memoir. Written while employed by *Time*, Hersey worked Herculean hours to make publishing deadlines. The stateside audience sought stories from Bataan and Guadalcanal—though fellow journalist Richard Tregaskis beat Hersey to the publishing punch; *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943) came out nearly a month before *Into the Valley*. Both of Hersey's books had been best sellers.

After a return to the states, Hersey was deployed to the European theater by *Time* and covered the assault on Italy. This time, he produced a work more substantial than his slim nonfiction books from the Pacific. As he reported for the magazine, he felt a growing fictional narrative inside drawn from his experiences. He produced *A Bell for Adano* (1944) quickly, producing what critic Diana Trilling called "our first fiction of the American government of Italy" (Treglown, 2019, p. 81).

The book was soon adapted for the Broadway stage and for film. Celebrated journalist Damon Runyon, then hospitalized and silenced by throat cancer, passed a note to one of his bedside visitors, *New York Post* columnist Leonard Lyons. "Do you know Hersey?" Runyon wrote. "He is the

best writer that has come out of the war so far" (Treglown, 2019, p. 88).

Journalist and Literary Figure

Hersey's reputation was growing and the warm reception for his first novel—which would win the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1945—made him ponder his future in journalism. He was with *Time*, but was being courted by *The Saturday Evening Post*. However, if he wanted to write journalism and build a literary reputation, the publication that made the most sense for a professional alliance was *The New Yorker*.

Luce was dangling the prospect of a major job—maybe even *the* top job—at *Time*. Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Post*, wined and dined the writer and his wife. But it was Hersey's experience working with the celebrated editors at *The New Yorker* that helped make up his mind.

Hersey and his wife Frances Ann Cannon met with her old boyfriend, John Kennedy, in New York. Kennedy was back from the Pacific, where he had lost his command, PT-109, one of the small wooden patrol-torpedo (hence PT) boats in the South Pacific. Kennedy's craft was sunk, and he and his crew had made it to a nearby island, Kennedy towing an injured crewman using a rope through his teeth. It was a 3-mile swim in treacherous water and, sitting in a New York nightclub months later with Hersey and his former girlfriend, he shrugged off the accomplishment. Hersey, however, smelled a story. Kennedy was embarrassed by the episode—he had lost his boat, after all—but was willing to talk to Hersey for a story, as long as the reporter talked to all of the other survivors to get a fuller picture. Hersey tracked down the crew and got the story but found *Time* magazine disinterested. Hersey had earlier done a feature for *Life* about PT boats and Luce wanted something new.

So Hersey took the story to *The New Yorker*. One of its top editors, William Shawn, had been at the nightclub when Kennedy first unfurled the story to Hersey. Shawn impressed Hersey with his meticulous editing of "Survival," as the story was titled in the magazine. Not long afterward, when Kennedy's older brother Joseph Jr. was killed in a plane crash, father Joe, the family patriarch, seized upon "Survival" as the foundation for the

hero-narrative that would lead his second son to the U.S. presidency.

The experience working with such precise and careful professionals as Shawn and *The New Yorker* founding editor Harold Ross so impressed Hersey that he determined that magazine would be his new home. He withdrew from an exclusive relationship with Time-Life and foresaw a future as a novelist with ties to America's preeminent literary magazine.

The war ended in Europe and then in the Pacific, after the annihilation of two Japanese cities in August 1945. From the moment Hersey learned the horrifying news, he knew he wanted to write about the devastation. Although he still felt an allegiance to Time-Life and all that Luce had done for him, he knew that whatever he wrote about the use of atomic weapons for *Time*, the editors would pervert his article into a testament of American might. Telling this story for *The New Yorker* made more sense to Hersey. Luce put the full-court press on his protegee, telling Hersey it was time for him to step into management. To Hersey this made little sense, as he was becoming recognized not just as a journalist but as a literary figure. Nonetheless, Luce agreed to co-finance (with *The New Yorker*) a Hersey trip to China and Japan.

To make himself morally and contractually free, Hersey resigned from Time-Life immediately after the war ended, but there was an understanding that he would remain a contributor. Indeed, from China, he filed stories for both magazines. But he was on a trajectory for Japan and the aftermath of the bombing.

Hiroshima

On the journey from China to Japan, Hersey read Thornton Wilder's novel, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1927). It told of six people, five of whom are killed when a rope bridge in the Andes collapses in 1714. The characters are all connected in some way. The sixth character, a priest, sees the tragedy and is left to muse on the nature of a God who would allow such a thing to happen. Hersey claimed that Wilder's book gave him the narrative structure he would use for the story he had not yet reported, the story of Hiroshima survivors.

He arrived in the decimated city in May 1946 and began interviewing somewhat indiscriminately.

He needed the six characters, and the first people he found were the Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto and Father Wilhelm Kleinsorge, a Jesuit from Germany. These two clergymen led him to others who would become Hersey's primary characters: a clerk, a widow, and two physicians. Whether his characters were a good demographic representative of the survivors was not the issue. They all had compelling stories.

In part to set up the drama—but also to fit into the methodical, slow-to-reveal style of *The New Yorker*—Hersey introduced them all in the first paragraph, dwelling on their names, not readily familiar to American readers: Toshiko Sasaki, a clerk; Masakazu Fujii, a physician; Hatsuyo Nakamura, a widow; Wilhelm Kleinsorge, a German priest; another physician, Terufumi Sasaki; and Kiyoshi Tanimoto, a minister.

Already a novelist, Hersey knew how to build dramatic tension. After introducing his characters, he crosscut between them as a screenwriter would, building tension. Although he was describing the most chaotic moments in human history, he wrote with detachment. Instead of instructing readers how to feel about the death and destruction, he presented the narrative in clinical language. He wrote of horrific events—of flesh slipping off of bone, of humans vaporizing . . . just disappearing—and yet never once did the language rise to the level of hysteria. His goal was not to insulate readers by feeling *for* them, but in forcing them to feel. Paradigms seemed to present themselves. For example, Toshiko Sasaki, the clerk, is saved when she turns her head from the window at the moment of the bomb's noiseless flash. She is thrown to the floor, and a bookcase collapses on top of her. To conclude the opening portion of the narrative, Hersey presents the young woman's plight to demonstrate the realities of the world that has just irrevocably changed. The bookcase right behind Sasaki collapses on top of her, horribly twisting her leg. The irony is not lost on Hersey. As he wrote at the end of the first segment of *Hiroshima*: "There, in the tin factory, in the first moment of the atomic age, a human being was being crushed by books."

Hersey wrote quickly, starting on the manuscript while returning from Japan by steamer. *The New Yorker* editors realized that to serialize the work

might dilute its impact or trivialize it. Ross and Shawn decided to make it the entire editorial content of the magazine's August 24, 1946, issue. It was published in book form that fall by Alfred A. Knopf and to date has never been out of print.

In 1999, New York University polled historians, educators, and journalists and the conclusion was that Hersey's *Hiroshima* was the greatest work of journalism in the 20th century.

Prolific Career

Hersey began a long and prolific career as a novelist. He revisited the key elements of his life, including the Second World War—*The Wall* (1950), about the Warsaw Ghetto; *The War Lover* (1959), about a pilot who thirsts for battle; the role of American missionaries in *The Call* (1985); and relations with Asia in *A Single Pebble* (1956) and *White Lotus* (1965). His occasional forays into journalism included *Aspects of the Presidency* (1980), in which Gerald Ford, his former football teammate, gave him unprecedented access to the White House.

His other major work of journalism was *The Algiers Motel Incident* (1968), which was—to borrow a marketing phrase from Truman Capote—a “nonfiction novel” about the killing of three young people during a racially charged riot in Detroit in 1967. Unlike *Hiroshima*, Hersey did not withhold his feelings about the injustice in the story and the killings, carried out by police.

Legacy and New Journalism

With *Hiroshima*, Hersey had created a template for the “new journalism” (or literary journalism) revolution that would be inaugurated in the 1960s. However, at the end of that decade, he felt that too many writers had played fast and loose with the facts. In “The Legend on the License,” which appeared in *The Yale Review* in 1986, Hersey took many practitioners of literary journalism to task—primarily Tom Wolfe, whose book on the space program, *The Right Stuff* (1979), had irked Hersey with its errors and inventions. The legend on the license—the imaginary license borne by journalists—was that “none of this is made up.” Hersey thought his descendants had gone too far.

Hersey divorced his first wife in 1958 and married Barbara Day Addams the following year. In addition to his writing career, he served as master of Pierson College at Yale and had five children. He died March 24, 1993, in Key West, Florida.

William McKeen

See also Literary Journalism; Luce, Henry Robinson; New Journalism

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HOAXES

Several well-known anecdotes in journalism have their roots in hoaxes—those dubious, inventive, and diverting tales that have buffeted the news media from time to time over the decades. Prominent media hoaxes have included published reports about exotic life on the Moon, about an 8-year-old heroin addict in Washington, DC, and about a 15-year-old computer hacker turned extortionist.

Media hoaxes can be thought of as dramatic, outrageous, clever, or sensational inventions (Boese, 2002, p. 2). They are deliberate deceptions circulated, wittingly or otherwise, by news outlets

or propelled by digital media. Typically, they are calculated fabrications bearing familiar markers of legitimate news reports. In prominent cases, hoaxes have ruined reputations, brought upheaval to newsrooms, and lingered in the popular consciousness as reminders of media credulity and fallibility.

Hoaxes speak both to the gullibility and the guile of journalists, and several factors help explain their emergence. Eagerness for career advancement, lax supervisory oversight, competitive pressures, shoddy reporting techniques, and an inability to fulfill personal expectations are among the reasons. Hoaxes usually reside on the cusp of plausibility: They may seem extreme but are not so outlandish as to be unbelievable on their face.

This entry discusses several infamous hoaxes perpetrated by practitioners in radio, print, and digital media.

Janet Cooke's "Jimmy's World"

Probably no media hoax was more stunning or consequential than Janet Cooke's 2,250-word saga about an 8-year-old boy in Washington, DC, who supposedly was a third-generation heroin addict. Cooke's vivid but bogus report was published on the *Post's* front page in September 1980, beneath the headline, "Jimmy's World." It won a Pulitzer Prize for feature writing.

Cooke's story began this way:

Jimmy is 8 years old and a third generation heroin addict, a precocious little boy with sandy hair, velvety brown eyes and needle marks freckling the baby-smooth skin of his thin brown arms.

He nestles in a large, beige reclining chair in the living room of his comfortably furnished home in Southeast Washington. There is an almost cherubic expression on his small, round face as he talks about life—clothes, money, the Baltimore Orioles, and heroin. He has been an addict since the age of 5.

The story was immediately controversial. Local police mounted an extensive, citywide search for "Jimmy" that went on for 17 days. At one point,

the mayor announced, in error, that the boy was known to authorities and receiving medical treatment. But "Jimmy" was never found and, the mayor later said, "I've been told the story is part myth, part reality" (Green, 1981b).

The hoax of "Jimmy's World" might never have been unmasked had the *Post* not nominated Cooke's story for a Pulitzer Prize for Feature Writing. When it won, the Pulitzer committee released biographies of the award-winners. Cooke's contained details that were at odds with what a former employer, the *Toledo Blade*, knew about her educational and professional background. Among other discrepancies, Cooke claimed to have graduated magna cum laude from Vassar College. Vassar said she had attended classes there for a year.

She was grilled about the discrepancies by the *Post's* top editors, including Watergate legends Ben Bradlee and Bob Woodward, but insisted the "Jimmy's World" story was no hoax. Finally, when left alone with another editor, David Maraniss, Cooke confessed, saying, "There is no Jimmy and no family. It was a fabrication" (Green, 1981b). Cooke, then 26-years-old, resigned. The *Post* gave back the Pulitzer.

"For The Post, it was inexcusable," wrote Bill Green, the newspaper's ombudsman, noting that before publication, "none of the editors pressed Cooke for confidential details on the identity of 'Jimmy' or his family. Reporters with doubts about the story discussed their skepticism among themselves rather than taking it up the line to editors who might have taken action. Some Post staff members, however, did express suspicions to editors who weren't listening. While some reporters and editors were talking up their doubts, The *Post's* top news executives, unaware of newsroom anxieties, were nominating 'Jimmy's World' for journalism's highest award, the Pulitzer Prize" (Green, 1981a).

Spectacular hoaxes are rare but can be quite disruptive when discovered—as the separate cases of Jayson Blair of *The New York Times*, Stephen Glass of *The New Republic*, and Jack Kelley of *USA Today* all suggest.

Jayson Blair

Jayson Blair was a driven, substance-abusing young reporter for *The New York Times* who in 5

years moved from intern status to filling high-profile national desk assignments. In covering those events—which included the shootings by snipers who terrorized Washington, DC, in 2002—Blair fabricated or lifted material from other news outlets in at least three dozen stories. What the *Times* later called a “remarkable run of deceit” ended in the Spring 2003 when Blair, then 27, was found to have plagiarized portions of an article published in a Texas newspaper.

He resigned and the scope of his scandalous ways soon unfolded. An internal investigation at the *Times* determined that Blair had repeatedly “misled readers and Times colleagues with dispatches that purported to be from Maryland, Texas and other states, when often he was far away, in New York. He fabricated comments. He concocted scenes. He lifted material from other newspapers and wire services. He selected details from photographs to create the impression he had been somewhere or seen someone, when he had not” (Barry & et al, 2003, p. 1).

The *Times*’ most senior newsroom leaders, Executive Editor Howell Raines and Managing Editor Gerald Boyd, both of whom had boosted Blair’s short career, resigned 5 weeks after Blair quit the *Times*. In an interview several years after his fabrications were exposed, Blair said fear and anxiety about not fulfilling his expectations, and the expectations of others, led him to plagiarize and fabricate articles for the *Times*.

Stephen Glass

A few years before Blair’s unmasking, a rising star at *The New Republic* was found to have committed serial fabrication in what has been called “the most sustained fraud in the history of modern journalism” (Bissinger, 1998). The fabulist was Stephen Glass who in the late 1990s was celebrated at *The New Republic*—and in journalism circles in Washington, DC—for stories on edgy topics that brimmed with colorful detail, provocative quotes, and eccentric characters.

His was an astonishing rise to prominence. But his career collapsed swiftly after a reporter for what is now Forbes.com began questioning Glass’s article highlighting a 15-year-old computer hacker who extorted protection money from a California software company. The story, titled “Hack

Heaven,” was published in *The New Republic* in May 1998. It was a complete hoax.

In subsequent fact-checking, *The New Republic* found that 27 of 41 articles Glass had written for the magazine were fabricated, at least in part. One of them, published in April 1998, told of a convention in suburban Washington that sold knickknacks and memorabilia about Monica Lewinsky, a former intern whose affair with President Bill Clinton nearly cost him the White House. Among the purported items on display was an inflatable sex doll with the word *intern* across its chest.

Glass, who was 25 when unmasked, wrote bogus articles for *Harper’s* and other magazines. *Harper’s* later determined that much of Glass’s nearly 8000-word article in 1998 describing his experiences as a phone psychic was “based on fabrications.” *Harper’s* repudiated the story in what was the venerable magazine’s first-ever retraction.

Jack Kelley

Cooke, Blair, and Glass were rising or aspiring stars who became fabulists. All of them were in their 20s. By the time Jack Kelley’s serial fraud was exposed in 2004, he had climbed the ranks to become a well-regarded international reporter for *USA Today*. During his 21 years at the newspaper, Kelley’s editors had nominated his reporting for a Pulitzer Prize five times.

Kelley never won, but his entry was a finalist in 2002 for the award in beat reporting. Included in Kelley’s entry was a graphic account of a suicide bombing at a Jerusalem pizzeria in August 2001. The article contained the following passage, which later was found to be exaggerated:

Three men, who had been eating pizza inside, were catapulted out of the chairs they had been sitting on. When they hit the ground their heads separated from their bodies and rolled down the street.

No adult victims were decapitated in the attack, a subsequent review of Kelley’s work determined. The review, conducted by three outside journalists after a *USA Today* staff member submitted an anonymous complaint, also found that no fewer

than 20 of his stories contained fabrications and that at least 100 passages had been taken without attribution from other publications.

The evidence also “strongly contradicted Kelley’s published accounts that he spent a night with Egyptian terrorists in 1997,” that he had “watched a Pakistani student unfold a picture of the Sears Tower and say, ‘This one is mine,’ in 2001,” and that he had joined in “a high-speed hunt for Osama bin Laden in 2003,” *USA Today* reported (Morrison, 2004).

Kelley insisted he had not fabricated his reports. But evidence of his deceptions was compelling. He was 43 when he quit under pressure in early 2004. Karen Jurgensen, the editor, and Hal Ritter, the managing editor for news, resigned a few months later.

Claas Relotius

No two hoaxes are quite alike, but reminders of the Kelley case emerged years later in the fabrications of Claas Relotius, an award-winning reporter for Germany’s respected *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine. Some of his work bore a decidedly anti-American streak and included made-up stories such as the tale about a woman who criss-crossed the United States to attend executions of death-row criminals.

Another article for *Spiegel* presented a mostly fictitious report from Fergus Falls, Minnesota. Relotius had spent several weeks there, researching an article about small town life during the presidency of Donald Trump. His article in 2017 ran to more than 7,000 words and was studded with falsehoods. Among them was reference to a sign advising, “Mexicans Keep Out.” Another was that the town’s theater still showed the patriotic film *American Sniper* years after its release.

Many of the fictions could have been easily detected but perhaps because they reflected anti-American stereotypes, they eluded *Spiegel*’s fact-checking staff. “The biases that Relotius stoked in his stories,” argued a writer for the *Atlantic* who is familiar with Germany, “are ones that Europeans, and Germans in particular, have voiced about America” for many years. “Relotius told them what they wanted—what they expected—to hear about America” (Kirchick, 2019).

The fabrications came to light after another journalist made known his reservations about Relotius’s methods while collaborating on a prospective story about vigilantes near the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona. Relotius, who was 33 when unmasked in 2018, conceded to making up portions of no fewer than 14 articles for *Der Spiegel*. He had fabricated “on a grand scale,” the magazine later conceded, describing the scandal as “a low point” in its 70-year history.

“Hitler Diaries”

The Relotius case brought to mind the sensational “Hitler Diaries” hoax of 1983, when Germany’s *Stern* magazine and the London Sunday Times began serializing portions of 60 volumes of diaries purportedly written by the Nazi leader before his suicide in 1945. The diaries had been pronounced genuine by British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper but soon were found to be crude fakes, written on paper made after World War II.

A German dealer in Nazi memorabilia was accused of forging the diaries and went to jail for fraud. So did the German reporter to whom *Stern* gave \$3.1 million to acquire the journals. He claimed they had been retrieved from a barn in East Germany.

“A Gay Girl in Damascus”

The Internet can be a fertile place for hoaxes, as the case of “A Gay Girl in Damascus” demonstrates. “Gay Girl” was a web log supposedly written by Amina Abdallah Arraf, a 25-year-old Syrian-American lesbian. The blog’s postings purported to document Amina’s social life in Syria and her anti-regime views.

“Gay Girl” gained an international following during a 4-month run in 2011 before it was found to be the creation of Tom MacMaster, a 40-year-old married man from Georgia. He was studying in Scotland for a master’s degree. MacMaster’s hoax unraveled soon after he posted word that Arraf had been taken captive by men believed linked to the regime of President Bashar al-Assad. The news sparked an international outcry which, after a few days, gave rise to suspicions about the veracity of the site’s content.

MacMaster said he created “Gay Girl,” and Arraf, as a roundabout way of expressing his views about Syria. “I found that when I argued, debated and made points that I knew to be factually sound on issues relating to Middle East by myself, I got pushback,” he told *The Washington Post*, which was instrumental in his unmasking (Flock & Bell, 2011).

“It started as a casual thing, but it steadily grew,” he said of his hoax, adding, “I always knew that it was a role playing game for me. I just never expected it to get so out of hand” (Flock & Bell, 2011).

Orson Welles’s *The War of the Worlds*

Occasionally, a notable media moment is remembered as a hoax even if it was not necessarily intended as deception. A classic example is the radio dramatization of *The War of the Worlds*. The program aired over CBS Radio on the eve of Halloween in 1938 and made clever use of simulated but urgent-sounding news bulletins that said Martians wielding deadly heat rays were invading Earth. Ground zero for the attack was a hamlet in central New Jersey, near Princeton.

Orson Welles, the program’s 23-year-old director and star, had minimized disclaimers during the program but denied he meant to terrify listeners. At a news conference the morning after the broadcast, Welles said it was unfathomable anyone could have mistaken the broadcast for an alien invasion.

By then, a tenacious media myth was beginning to take hold: The radio show had incited nationwide panic and mass hysteria. This erroneous notion was promoted by newspapers eager to chastise radio—the new media of the day—as unreliable and prone to sensationalism. Newspaper headlines across the country told of terror and panic caused by Welles’s show. But evidence for such characterizations was exceedingly thin, and media scholars now reject the notion the program set off anything akin to mass panic or hysteria (Pooley & Sokolow, 2013). Available evidence about the show’s audience indicates that most listeners recognized it for what it was—imaginative entertainment on the radio.

Welles’s show is recalled in the United States at Halloween every year. It also was recalled in

Belgium in December 2006, when RTBF, the country’s public television station, reported the abrupt dissolution of the linguistically divided country and the abdication of its royal family. RTBF broadcast blurry footage purportedly showing the king and queen leaving the country. Flanders, the Dutch-speaking northern half of the country, was reported to have proclaimed independence.

It was a hoax, “done up to look as authentic as possible, complete with real reporters conducting live interviews with real politicians about the imaginary news,” *The New York Times* reported (Bilefsky, 2006). RTBF said the report was intended to provoke debate about the future of the majority French-speaking country. The prime minister’s spokesman was little amused, however. “It’s very bad Orson Welles,” he was quoted as saying.

The Great Moon Hoax

The hoax best remembered across the decades is perhaps *The New York Sun*’s six-part series in August 1835 about intelligent life on the Moon. The sensational stories, ostensibly excerpts from the defunct Edinburgh *Journal of Science*, described man-bats and other exotic lifeforms supposedly flourishing on the Moon. Authorship of what is called the *Great Moon Hoax* has been attributed to the newspaper’s editor, Richard Adams Locke. It is impossible to say how credulously the articles were received at the time, but the *Sun* embellished so lavishly that suspicion lingers that it was less a hoax and more a case of satire done too well. István Kornél Vida offered that interpretation several years ago, writing that Locke probably did not intend to perpetrate a hoax but to mock claims of the time that life flourished elsewhere in the solar system. “His satire failed not because it was bad,” Vida argued, “but because it was too good” (Vida, 2012, p. 439).

W. Joseph Campbell

See also Deception; Ethics; Fake News; Plagiarism

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HUMAN-INTEREST JOURNALISM

Human-interest journalism deals primarily with ordinary people who have experienced some sort of emotional drama the audience can relate to. Human-interest journalism is part of what is often labeled soft news, a form of journalism that deals primarily with emotional storytelling, entertainment, ordinary people, and everyday life. Soft news, and thereby human-interest journalism, is traditionally contrasted by the fact-centered and objectivity-driven hard news coverage of current affairs, related to topics like politics, international affairs, the economy, and science.

This entry presents the origin of human-interest journalism, the various forms it has taken in print, broadcast and online media, and discusses the critique and defense of such journalism. Human-interest journalism has broadened the scope of journalism beyond politics and current affairs and contributed to making individuals, emotions, and the personal part of public discourse. This process started with the printed press and escalated in broadcast journalism especially in commercial news networks and later in online media. Some scholars argue this development has increased the public's interest in politics and current affairs, while others argue it has trivialized public discourse and rendered journalism irrelevant.

The Origin of Human-Interest Journalism

In *News and the Human Interest Story*, first published in 1940, Helen MacGill Hughes argues that human-interest journalism emerged as a vital ingredient in the commercialization of the press, starting with the penny press in the United States in the 1830s. The discovery and exploitation of human interest made newspapers relevant to the general public and not only elites, thereby contributing to a huge increase in circulation and sales of newspapers, according to Hughes. The term “human-interest” was first used in *The New York Sun* (established in 1833) to describe short accounts of tragic or comic happenings in the lives of ordinary people.

The initial purpose of human-interest stories was to provide entertainment. However, they had a deeper social function as they embedded normative ideals of good and bad, wanted and unwanted social conduct. In her analysis, Hughes shows how human-interest stories often were based in core emotions like passion, betrayal, loyalty, and ambition and established moral order and guidelines for how such emotions should be handled by the individual in socially acceptable ways. As such, early human-interest stories shared genre attributes with the folklore and ballads of previous times, which also established moral order and guidelines for social behavior.

During the yellow press era in the United States starting at the end of the 19th century and later eras of tabloid journalism in both the United States and Europe, the emphasis on the individual, personal, emotional, and morality embedded in the early human-interest stories spilled over to other areas of journalism. The so-called newspaper war between Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* and William R. Hearst’s *New York Journal* was key to this development, as the competition between the two newspapers caused increased use of sensationalist reporting emphasizing emotions and moral conduct of individuals related to, for instance, crime reporting and politics. This development was further escalated with the so-called muckraker journalism at the beginning of the 20th century in the United States, in which the personal lives and moral conducts of the elite were scrutinized, resulting in several public

scandals involving high-profile politicians and businessmen.

In its initial phase, human interest journalism was an integrated part of the general news in newspapers. It was not until newspapers were sectioned and objectivity became a dominant norm in news reporting in U.S. journalism at the beginning of the 20th century and later in Europe that the hard news/soft news dichotomy was established, and human-interest journalism was separated from other forms of news. The hard news/soft news divide meant that detached, facts-based news on politics and current affairs were placed in separate sections of the newspapers, while human-interest stories and other soft news were sectioned elsewhere.

Types of Human-Interest Journalism

Human-interest journalism has developed in many directions beyond the original short stories related to ordinary peoples’ dramatic and emotional experiences. One important development is related to feature journalism or feature writing in the United States and reportage journalism in Europe, which both developed as genres in which the journalists themselves exhibited personal and emotional behavior in their writing. Feature stories and reportages are human interest genres in two respects: (1) They are often concerned with experiences of ordinary people, just like other human-interest stories, and (2) they establish intersubjective connections between the writer and the reader through personal, subjective language and/or inclusion of the writer’s own experiences and observations. Many well-known fiction authors in both Europe and the United States have doubled as feature writers or reportage journalists for newspapers and magazines. Examples include August Strindberg, Knut Hamsun, Emile Zola, and Ernest Hemingway. This direction of human-interest journalism was further developed during the new journalism era in the United States in the 1960s and in later forms of literary or narrative journalism in many journalistic cultures around the world.

A second direction can be found in profiles. A profile is a journalistic genre that aims at capturing the person behind the public persona and giving the audience a glimpse of this person’s private

life. Public figures like politicians, successful entrepreneurs, businessmen, and celebrities are common subjects of profiles. Joseph Pulitzer made profiles an important ingredient of the *New York World* during the newspaper war at the end of the 19th century and instructed his journalists to paint vivid pictures of their profile subjects' domestic, private life, including their wives, children, and pets. The development of profiles in U.S. journalism is strongly connected to the rise of celebrity culture, while profiles in Europe find its origin as much in an interest in the lives of ordinary people.

A third direction of human-interest journalism can be labeled case-driven journalism, in which a hard news topic is exemplified with a case, typically an ordinary citizen who is affected by the hard news topic. This could, for instance, be pictures and interviews with someone who is affected by a natural disaster, a war, or similar current events, or it could be a story on how new economic policies, new legislations, or similar current affairs affect an ordinary family. Such human-interest stories serve as cases that illustrate a general phenomenon, and they can be published as separate stories or as integrated parts of a longer story on the general phenomenon in question. Such human-interest stories are therefore a reporting strategy more than a specific genre of journalism. Case-driven human-interest journalism was an important part of the tabloidization of journalism during the 20th century in both the United States and in Europe. A fourth direction, which was also important to the tabloidization of journalism, can be found in broadcast journalism, especially in commercial news networks, which started to use human-interest stories in their programming to provide the audience with entertaining and upbeat endings to their news casts. Such short human-interest stories typically involve ordinary people whom the audience can connect with, and they are produced with the aim of making newscasts more popular and less focused on problems and conflicts.

Online and social media have introduced additional directions for human-interest journalism. The utilization of user-generated content in the form of, for instance, audience comments to news stories or armature images in online newspapers provided new avenues to include personal

experiences of ordinary citizens in news coverage. The rise of practices like citizen journalism have had similar effects. Blogs and social media have also provided journalists with new platforms to not only publish and distribute journalism but also to express themselves in more subjective and personal ways. Moreover, software and tools to measure audience behavior and engagement with news have provided newsrooms with sophisticated ways of monitoring and analyzing what their audiences are interested in. This development has made journalism more aware of the wants and needs of audiences, and newsroom priorities are to an even greater extent than before organized around catering to these wants and needs as they are expressed through audience metrics. This development means that human-interest has become a strategy as much as a form of journalism in modern, digitized newsrooms.

Critique of Human-Interest Journalism

Human-interest news has often been portrayed as a form of journalism that ruined "proper" journalism because of its emphasis on ordinary people, emotions, and personal affairs instead of politics and other current affairs of perceived public interest. From the 1970s and onward, when commercial television diffused in the United States and Europe and newspapers had to adapt their news production to the new competition, scholars increasingly argued that editors and journalists sacrificed their mission of reporting on topics of public interest and instead became preoccupied with catering to the wants and needs of the public. Such critique was linked to the rise of tabloid, commercial, and popular journalism, in which human interest news was—and still is—a key ingredient. A notable example of such critique can be found in Bob Franklin's 1997 book *Newzak and News Media*, in which the author argues that the commercialization of journalism had led to increased emphasis on sensational reporting, scandals, personalization, and emotions, all of which were masked and defended by the industry as human-interest stories, and which, according to the author, resulted in a "dumbing down" of journalism. Consequently, journalism failed at addressing the deeper, structural layers of societies, according to Franklin and other critics. Topics like

climate change, poverty, war, international affairs, culture, and the economy would either be deprioritized because they are difficult to cover with a human-interest angle, or they would be reduced to individualized anecdotes, said the critics.

Critics also argued that with an increased emphasis on human interest, journalism diverted attention away from politics and other matters of public interest over to lifestyle and leisure issues, consumer interests, celebrities, and entertainment. An early and seminal example of such critique can be found in Neil Postman's 1985 book *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, in which the author argued that the news, especially broadcasted news, had been reduced to entertainment programming that could no longer be taken seriously. Moreover, journalistic coverage of politics were no longer about political ideas and arguments, but about the personalities of politicians, according to Postman and other critics. In more recent years, after the popularization of the world wide web and the changes to media markets and financial structures of journalism caused in part by the rise of global enterprises like Facebook, Google, Amazon, and others, critics have argued that journalism has become even more dependent on exploiting human interest news to sustain commercial success. The result has been a crisis in journalism in many countries, in which critics argue that journalism has left its societal mission of critical, independent reporting on current affairs to an even greater extent.

Defense of Human-Interest Journalism

The critique of human-interest journalism stands in stark contrast to how this form of journalism has been portrayed by, for instance, authors of handbooks on journalism and in more practice and audience-oriented research. Such scholars often portray human-interest as a form of news that made journalism more aware of what interested the public instead of just being based on elitists notions of what the audience *should* be interested in. In her 1940 book, Hughes argued that adding human-interest stories became a way of introducing journalism and news to people who otherwise would not be interested. As such, human interest stories taught people to read newspapers, according to Hughes. Others have argued

that adding a human-interest angle increases journalism's relevance, since people connect better with topics if the journalistic coverage contains a personal or emotional dimension that resonates with their own lives. This argument has been central to journalists' defense of human-interest journalism from the 19th century until today. A typical example can be found in former *Washington Post* journalist Walt Harrington's 1997 book *Intimate Journalism*, in which the author advocates for more reporting on everyday life in journalism because it "preserves journalistic integrity, expands the report, connects readers emotionally to their newspaper and makes journalists seem less like the unfeeling, uncaring hit men many people wrongly believe them to be" (p. XIV).

Moreover, journalists and scholars alike stress that human-interest stories and human-interest angles have increased the diversity of journalism, both related to the types of stories and topics covered, and by the sources used and voiced heard through journalism. Since human-interest stories often give voice to ordinary citizens, it may contribute to counterbalancing the perspectives offered by elite sources and thereby enhancing a diversified public sphere and creating greater opportunities for participatory democracy. Other scholars have argued that human-interest journalism, with its emphasis on personal narratives, morality, and guidelines for social behavior, create social cohesion which in turn might strengthen feelings of connectivity and social belonging.

Final Thoughts

Human-interest journalism has been a central part of journalism since the early 19th century. It was a key ingredient in the popularization of the press, as it connected news to ordinary people on an emotional and personal level. Human-interest journalism has expanded the formats, topics, sources, audiences, and practitioners of journalism beyond the domains of politics and the elites. It has been, and still is, of great importance to the commercial success of journalism in print, broadcast, and online media. Critics, on one hand, argue that human-interest journalism has turned journalism into entertainment and thereby undermined its core social function of providing people with the information they need in order to

perform democratic citizenship. The defenders of human-interest journalism, on the other hand, argue that this form of journalism has enhanced democratic diversity and participation, since more people get involved with journalism as both participants and audiences.

Scholars have also pointed to the fact that the assumed divide between hard and soft news does not withstand the test of empirical investigations. Hard news increasingly includes soft news elements and vice versa. Human-interest and emotions are often key ingredients in both award-winning pieces of investigative journalism and everyday reporting on matters of public interest. Furthermore, journalists and editors tend to view journalism on current affairs—be it on politics, the economy, foreign affairs, science, or other topics traditionally classified as belonging to the hard news domain—that does not manage to connect to audiences through a human-interest angle, as unsuccessful reporting. Much of what is considered good journalism today is therefore a mixture of hard news and human-interest elements, thereby rendering the hard/soft news dichotomy an unprecise description of journalistic formats.

Steen Steensen

See also Infotainment; Lifestyle Journalism; Literary Journalism; New Journalism; Penny Press; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television; Yellow Journalism

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND JOURNALISM

Journalism is a prime beneficiary of the human rights system that was established globally after World War II. Meanwhile, freedom of the press (or media freedom) is considered to be a cornerstone of all other human rights, as it enables their very possibility by providing a platform to defend their existence and flourishing. Journalism empowers citizens to criticize flaws in the implementation of human rights and make their demands to have the rights protect the public.

Although derived from the fundamental human right of freedom of expression, freedom of the media has become—at least in international affairs—a human right of its own. It remains the most important and visible manifestation of the right to free expression. There are particular reasons for the universal protection to freely exercise journalism. The dominant approach in explaining special guarantees for media freedom is based on an axiomatic argument that it is a condition for the press to play its inherent role of a public watchdog to take its influential place as the Fourth Estate. It thus contributes to the democratic process and the protection of all human rights through disseminating information and ideas on political issues and other issues of public

interest. Such information and ideas facilitate understanding issues relevant to democracy and empower citizens' participation in political life.

Journalism largely shapes the way that the public comes to understand current developments surrounding human rights. There are numerous examples of reporters, often at a risk to their lives and well-being, exposing fraud and abuse of power, and spotlighting discrimination, slavery, election-rigging, and arbitrary arrests, among others. Such stories, once known to the wider public, set the stage for redress of human rights violations and holding the powers that be accountable. At the same time, journalism, no matter how free, independent, and pluralistic it is, remains an empty word if other human rights, such as that of liberty, equality before the law, freedom of association, or the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, among others, are not respected.

This entry examines the significance of human rights journalism, the challenges associated with reporting on human rights issues, the rise of citizen journalism, and journalists' ongoing role as human rights defenders (HRDs).

Significance of Human Rights in the Contemporary World

Human rights embody the dignity, equality, and the worth of the individual. Globally, the recognition of human rights is the product of the victory of the Allies in World War II. The United Nations (UN), which was established in 1945, then noted that the war was caused, in particular, by the gross violations of human rights by the aggressor states. Therefore, it was decided that a set of shared fundamental human rights should lie at the foundation of the postwar system of the international order.

At first, such rights were formulated and enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). Then, following long discussions, these standards were further promoted in binding treaties, both at regional and UN level. First and foremost, they are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which both entered into force in 1976. Of great importance for the

post-Cold War understanding of the role of human rights is the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993. Taken together, these acts have established an international order intended to limit the ability of rulers to violate, or allow others to violate, human rights of their fellow citizens.

This order, in particular, means that observance of human rights is a matter of direct and legitimate concern to all states and does not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the state concerned. All human rights are supposed to be treated in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis. While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds may be borne in mind, it is the duty of states, regardless of their political, economic, and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

All human rights and fundamental freedoms are universal, inalienable, indivisible, interdependent, and interrelated. They also mutually reinforce democracy and development.

Journalism as Free Expression and Communication

Journalism can be seen as a skill, a talent, or a passion to pursue the truth and to inform others, using modern mass communication technologies, so as to empower the public with knowledge on matters of societal interest and facilitate access to information and ideas. In this sense, by the start of the 21st century, journalism has transformed from a profession to a function of disseminating information of public interest to a mass audience. While some commentators claim that this role has gradually diminished, it remains generally recognized. Other scholars also point to the need for stronger quality and accountability in journalism, linking it, in particular, with the requirements to better inform the public on matters of public interest and to contribute to the plurality of ideas.

Journalism is also a form of free expression, which itself is a fundamental human right. Journalists benefit from freedom of the media, freedom of information, and the overarching right to freedom of expression, enshrined under Article 19

of the UDHR and Article 19 of the ICCPR. Hence comes the vested interest of journalists to protect and promote the human rights order.

With the end of the Cold War and the appearance of modern technologies came international recognition of the new status of freedom of the media in relation to freedom of expression and freedom of information. Freedom of the media was raised to the level of a fundamental human right of its own significance, which has developed beyond the more traditional scope of freedom of expression. As in the case of other internationally recognized human rights, states have an obligation not just to observe, but also to enable and advance this freedom.

It is widely held that journalism allows the exercise of freedom of the media to be in conflict with other human rights, most often, the right to privacy. A popular case to illustrate such a conflict is the 2011 scandal with the News Group Newspapers company in the United Kingdom. It was caused by illegal hacking of telephones in the pursuit of stories by reckless and intrusive media company executives, editors, and reporters. Consistent investigative reporting by the journalists of *The Guardian* daily originally met with denials from the media company, finally led to a public outcry, resulting in a number of resignations among the executives and reporters from the News Group Newspapers, as well as in a police investigation, together with a parliamentary and a formal government inquiry. Once the evidence was disclosed that several outlets of the media company were involved in phone hacking, including the phone of a murdered teenager, and that journalists bribed police for information, criminal charges were brought against the offenders. This all led to the closure of one of Europe's best-selling weeklies, *News of the World*, after 168 years in print, and the demise of the national media self-regulation body, the Press Complaint Commission, that had failed to properly address the issue.

Although such cases do happen in the journalistic practice, generally speaking, interaction of freedom of expression with other rights is rather instrumental for coherent understanding, consistent interpretation, and wider implementation of the latter. It happens when journalism builds a sense of populations being human-rights holders.

Reporting Human Rights

Evidence suggests that there is a growing news interest in human rights since the early 2000s. Human rights issues have become news in their own right, as the human rights angle gained legitimacy in the newsrooms to bring various types of stories. The news media initiate and follow public and policy debates by raising awareness and interpreting individual human rights cases as issues for the public at large, generating empathy for the victims of abuses, forming public opinion that will demand the authorities to take remedial actions, to be, in their turn, duly reported on by journalists. Journalism increasingly approaches issues of asylum and migration, terrorism, health care, education, and social services in the human rights context.

In line with the general understanding of criteria for newsworthiness, Howard Tumber and Silvio Waisbord consider that human rights and their violations generally make headlines when the following conditions are met: (1) those affected are individual political and legal rights, (2) events relate to armed conflicts, (3) large-scale abuses are perpetrated, (4) there is easy access to sources and victims, (5) powerful players and geopolitical forces are stakeholders in amplifying public awareness, (6) better-off and urban populations are primarily affected, and (7) local and international organizations are active in gaining media attention. Consequently, under other circumstances, a range of otherwise relevant issues are likely to be downsized or even absent in the news media.

Like with many other topics that journalists cover, there are solid grounds to criticize the media for lack of accuracy, knowledge, and understanding of the human rights issues being reported on. Research conducted by the International Council on Human Rights Policy pointed to the following three areas of concern: (1) inadequate understanding by journalists of human rights law and existing mechanisms; (2) inadequate attention given to human rights as a dimension and category in domestic stories, such as on child abuse, refugees, unemployment, sexual, or racial discrimination; and (3) lack of historical, political, social, and/or local context in human rights stories, even when there is no urgency in their

reporting and there is time for journalists to develop such a context.

Public service media (PSM), while conceptually not necessarily designed to facilitate human rights, significantly contribute to their full enjoyment in society, primarily freedom of expression, but also the right to education, the right to freedom of association, and the right to public participation. PSM and community media contribute to protecting human rights by providing platforms for the diverse voices in society, in particular, those populations that may otherwise be marginalized or “forgotten,” thus heeding its strong voice for equal rights for all.

Attempts to limit the role of the media as a public watchdog endanger human rights in general. In authoritarian countries, journalists may not report on occurrences of human rights violations “at home.” Critical voices are stifled with oppressive criminal defamation and national security laws, intimidation of independent journalists, and/or governmental control of dominant news outlets.

Citizen Journalism and Human Rights

Today, journalism as it has been known for centuries is in crisis, which is caused by technological changes that weaken its traditional sources of revenue. Citizen journalism, a new phenomenon, fills the gap caused by the lack of professional journalism, a result of drastic staff cuts in news outlets, in particular the elimination of overseas bureaus and local correspondents. The gap—under other circumstances—would limit the scope of around-the-globe coverage on human rights and make it possible for their numerous violations to go unreported.

However, as technologies that were once exclusively used by a limited number of professional journalists become widely available, millions all over the world, usually without formal journalism skills, step forward to play an important role in the gathering and dissemination of information essential for the exposure of human rights violations.

Citizen journalists readily report from zones of military conflict or unrest, that are often inaccessible to conventional journalists, or where authorities or other parties involved in the conflicts specifically target professional journalists. Their

reports, often in the form of videos and other images, are then sent to social networks and/or the media, often with the aim of serving as proof of violations of human rights, including rights of the press. They are professionally assessed in newsrooms for accuracy before being further disseminated through news channels. Bloggers, additionally, raise topics of human rights abuses and attract popular support, when, for example, they call for public accountability of officials. Questions are often asked however of the quality of journalism produced by nonprofessionals and their observance of basic ethical standards.

Through blogs and social network channels, such as Telegram, citizen journalists reported on the mass rallies and marches that erupted in Belarus following the announcement of the results of the presidential elections in August 2020. Their images and other accounts chronicled systematic violations by the secret services and the police of the human rights to peaceful assembly, dignity, and freedom of expression and association.

Because of the potential impact that citizen journalists can have by reporting on human rights violations, those individuals are often threatened and attacked in an attempt to silence their critical voices.

Journalists as HRDs

The press, though generally not considered to be a public institution, performs an essential function of serving the general public. It has the power to publicize and prompt debates on the issues of societal concern. Freedom of the media, at least in Europe, presumes and even requires certain public services on behalf of journalists, by expecting them to play a watchdog role. In return, European law provides a protective requirement for any limitations on free speech to be “necessary in a democratic society.”

Although the professional activity of many journalists does not involve human rights work all the time, it occasionally links to the defense of human rights, most often the right to free expression and free media. In this regard, journalists and other media workers can be considered as HRDs when, through their reporting, they promote human rights in general and/or strive to protect the rights of others by raising public awareness. This happens

when journalists report on war-time atrocities, environmental issues, corruption, torture, impunity of perpetrators of crimes, human trafficking, migration, or forced evictions. Quite often, journalists consider themselves to have a moral obligation to report on these issues from a pro-human rights perspective.

The Declaration on HRDs (adopted by a UN General Assembly resolution in 1999) underlines the right of everyone to have access to information as to how human rights and freedoms are given effect in national systems, to seek and disseminate relevant views, information, and knowledge, to study and discuss opinions on their observance, both in law and in practice, as well as to draw public attention to those matters.

There is a significant overlap between groups of journalists and HRDs. When the latter report on social media and disseminate online appeals, they can as well be classified as journalists. This should allow them to claim and benefit from the protection mechanisms that traditionally apply to journalists.

Many journalists join civil society organizations, advocating for the rights of certain groups of people, such as vulnerable minorities, and make their democratic activism publicly known. As a result, there is a certain dissolution of the distinction between journalism and activism with regard to human rights violations, seemingly undermining integrity of the journalists. A closer look at this phenomenon allows claiming that such committed journalism in favor of human rights does not contradict professional standards but rather underscores them.

Andrei G. Richter

See also Access to Media; Democracy and the Media; Fake News; First Amendment; Fourth Estate; Free Flow of Information; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Press Freedom; Theories of Journalism; Trust in Journalism

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HYPERLOCAL JOURNALISM

Since the early 2000s, the practice of hyperlocal journalism has emerged from the informal, community, experimental, amateur edges of journalism practice to become significant in discussions of the future of the local and regional press. In countries with a market failure in the provision of local news, hyperlocal journalism has been viewed as a possible way to fill the gap and carry out the important roles of holding local power to account and bringing communities together.

With such hope invested in hyperlocal journalism, one might expect it to be easy to identify precisely what it is and what makes it such a powerful contender to solve critical issues of the future of local news. However, the reality is that a very wide set of practices and contexts are encompassed in the term. This entry discusses the defining characteristics of hyperlocal journalism, aspects that have been the focus of researchers as they study the value of the form and future possibilities for hyperlocal journalism.

Defining Characteristics

“Local” can mean different things to different people depending on where they live. For

communities living dispersed in rural areas, local may be a term used to refer to someone living 50 kilometers away. Thus, a local newspaper in some parts of the world could cover a large geographic area. In contrast, a city might have local titles that cover the entire city, or if it was a big city, local titles that covered specific groups of neighborhoods.

In the United Kingdom, a distinction made between the regional press (often covering more than one city or county) and the local press (usually confined to one city). In broadcasting, the use of local is often dictated by the footprint of transmission technologies, which often ignore political boundaries between regions. When considering hyperlocal journalism in geographic terms, one would expect the localities being covered by a hyperlocal newspaper to be smaller than those covered by a local newspaper. Many hyperlocals cover single villages or postal code areas and research in the United Kingdom has noted how many have emerged in small towns that have lost their mainstream local newspaper through closure.

The geographic has not been seen as the only defining aspect of hyperlocal journalism. Writing just as the term was gaining wider currency in 2011, Emily Metzgar and colleagues argued that being community-oriented and independent marked hyperlocals out just as much as their focus on place. Further, these were operations that were indigenous to the web and motivated to do original reporting by filling gaps in existing mainstream coverage in order to promote civic engagement. Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller, writing in 2016 and reflecting on the emerging research into the field, laud the civic intent behind the hyperlocal movement, noting that what drives those creating extremely local news is an authentic desire to champion place and develop social bonds between citizens.

Hyperlocal is more a subcultural practice than it is a journalistic one, not so much driven by journalistic norms, but cultural ones. It's not burdened by overheads or company debt but is lightweight in operation, often staffed by volunteers driven by a desire to champion their "patch" and defend it from the sometimes-negative gaze of the mainstream. Reputational geographies are at stake and hyperlocal journalists know which side they're on.

Examining the Value of Hyperlocal Journalism

Issues of place-making and community have occupied the focus of much scholarly work in the field. Within the wide range of experiments and approaches to hyperlocal journalism in different territories, there seems to be a hope that a model that points to a community-led future for local news might emerge. Research has been focused on understanding the value of the form in three ways. Firstly, as a participatory space for citizens to engage in news creation and circulation. Secondly, as an alternative public sphere of communication that could offer a genuine challenge to mainstream news production that many have argued has become debased through cutbacks, reliant on clickbait news to drive traffic to its ad-heavy websites. Thirdly, as a space for enterprise through which new business models for sustainable public service news might develop.

Citizen Participation

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, something of a utopian discourse emerged about the potential of the internet to give voice to ordinary people via blogs and emerging social media platforms. Dan Gillmor, in his influential 2004 book *We the Media*, makes the connection between the alternative radical press of the late 18th century and what seemed like an inexorable rise of bloggers and citizen journalists in the early 21st century. In each case, people turned to the latest technology to find wider audiences for personal concerns and citizens shifted from consumers to users of news. Into this vibrant networked public sphere came those who focused on everyday local, and indeed hyperlocal, issues. The hyperlocal journalism on these websites often elevated ordinary and seemingly insignificant events to the level of news. This banal content that so often features in hyperlocal journalism presented something of a challenge to established ideas of what news is.

Research in the United Kingdom saw how such everyday stories were often the most reshared and liked on social media: lost pets, the opening and closing of shops, minor traffic holdups, the activities of small community groups, requests for recommendations of tradespeople, and a host of other seemingly trivial news items. Content

focused on local politics and other formal civic matters were often covered but rarely got the same levels of engagement.

Hyperlocal journalists drew on well-established, but perhaps no longer affordable, journalistic practices such as walking a “beat.” In research by David Harte and colleagues in the United Kingdom, journalists mentioned working from local pubs and cafes and building up relationships in order to find a steady supply of news items. These relationships have been theorized as being reciprocal in nature. At one level, there’s a direct exchange of information from audience to producer but in a more developed, sustained reciprocal relationship audience members becomes networked nodes themselves, using social media to not just exchange information but to act on it and create real-world impact in their communities.

An Alternative Public Sphere

If the potential for developed citizen participation was a key aspect of hyperlocal journalism, then so too was the sense that what was emerging was a renaissance in the radical alternative local press; or at the least, the development of alternative local information ecologies. Radical and alternative news has always been a feature of the news landscape and has been the focus of much research. Counterculture movements in the United States and Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s saw a flourishing of radical magazines and newspapers, many focused on local communities. Offset lithographic printing had become widespread and relatively cheap by the early 1960s, placing it within financial reach of community and small political groups. Hyperlocal journalism may not share the radical, alternative edge of some of the content of these publications, but they do share a similar resistance to established production hierarchies and in their positioning of citizens as participants.

Tony Harcup has outlined how the alternative local press of the 1970s, in the United Kingdom at least, operated as something akin to an alternative public sphere, engaged in a hegemonic struggle with a homogenized public sphere where news services act in the interests of big business and elites rather than ordinary citizens. Hyperlocal journalism, as much as other alternative journalism movements, can offer alternative ways of seeing,

against which mainstream media can be judged. The ability for audiences to see their everyday lives and places reflected back to them in hyperlocal journalism is itself something of a radical act, given that mainstream local journalism is either absent or no longer sufficiently local.

Enterprise and Innovation

Without a doubt, hyperlocal journalism has become a lively space to develop new models of journalism enterprise. The wide range of models used to sustain fledgling publishing operations have included the purely volunteer-led, crowd-funding, co-operative-based, profit-focused, or grant-funded. Forms of subsidy for hyperlocal journalism have been central to its sustainability to date and have come largely via the provision of free labor or philanthropic grant funding. Some government-funded initiatives have supported experimentation in the hyperlocal sector in the hope of finding a solution that would support other market entrants. Success has been mixed and the attitudes of hyperlocal publishers to financial sustainability has been variable, with some welcoming the market opportunity that presents itself as the mainstream press retreat from the local advertising market, while others offer vociferous resistance to any form of income generation, rejecting in particular established advertising-based funding models. They seek instead to operate within a civic discourse that situates them as public servants more than news entrepreneurs and this, as much as anything, has raised issues about long-term sustainability of these hyperlocal news operations.

Yet hyperlocal journalism isn’t simply the preserve of the small-scale entrepreneur or not-for-profit sector. There has been a move from the term being solely used to describe citizen-led, place-based news services to becoming a description of a market opportunity which has attracted the interests of large news corporations. With falling print circulations, the newspaper industry has attempted to develop novel digital products to appeal to readers who no longer purchase printed newspapers. These services have been geared at trying to reclaim advertising funding that has been drifting from the sector since the beginning of the 21st century. Their success has been variable with some closing due to overreliance on citizen

journalism contributions, while others have been little more than rebadged versions of existing content or curated material from social media.

One newspaper executive described in 2013 how their hyperlocal platform, rolled out across towns and villages in the United Kingdom, would primarily be about “harvesting” content rather than creating original news stories. Technology companies have also entered the hyperlocal market, spotting the chance to compete with these news companies for local advertising income, creating products that make the most of the geo-locative affordances of mobile phones. Here too though success has been limited with Hess and Waller putting the failure of commercial operations down to a misunderstanding of what makes more amateur operations a success. That is, sustainability comes from the enjoyment of being at the margins, from participating in a cultural activity as much as it comes from producing news content.

Hyperlocal Possibilities

Hyperlocal has become something of an umbrella term to describe a range of mainstream and non-mainstream news operations. What they have in common is the belief that there’s still value to be had in engaging people in news about the everyday aspects of where they live. It would seem that the economic value is limited with the few financially successful operations relying on free or cheap labor and surviving on modest incomes. Some subsidy may be on the way, be it via governments concerned about the democratic participation of citizens, or

global internet companies looking to deflect from their role in spreading fake news and offering redress for their soaking up of local advertising revenues.

That hyperlocal journalism has attracted so much interest from scholars is due to the ways in which it offers a space for innovation and passion in equal measure, where citizens give voice to their concerns and find like-minded others who can help sustain their operations and find audiences for their content.

David Harte

See also Alternative News Media; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Entrepreneurial Journalism; Local Journalism; New Media; User-Created Content

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IMAGES, OWNERSHIP OF

Copyright law is central to the ownership of photographs, yet photography has consistently been a cause of dispute in the context of how copyright law should be applied to this subject matter. Starting from the early days when photography was struggling to be regarded as an artform rather than merely a mechanical process, questions continue to be asked about whether and how copyright should protect photographic expressions particularly those of a more functional nature. The law on the ownership of images has become more settled in recent years yet it is not without its controversies with the increasing awareness and use of the fair use provisions under U.S. law, the complexes of issues of authorship and ownership under the works for hire doctrine and also due to the realities inherent in the move from an analog to the digital environment. The latter development has hugely improved the ease of dissemination of images but has also consequently allowed for more prevalent use of unauthorized images.

Photography and Copyright Law

Photography has been a troublesome subject matter when it comes to copyright law. From the outset, there has been a tension as to whether the act of taking a photograph is either a creative act of authorship or, as photography was widely viewed at its outset, simply an engagement with a process of mechanical reproduction. In *Burrow-Giles*

Lithographic Co. v. Sarony (1884), the Supreme Court clarified the status of photographs under copyright law. This case concerned a photograph of the Irish playwright and poet Oscar Wilde. It centered on the question of whether a photograph, in this case one taken by the renowned portrait photographer Napoleon Sarony, was a work of authorship protectable by copyright. Sarony had sued the Burrow-Giles Lithography Co. over their unauthorized sale of large numbers of the photograph in question. The defendants argued that photographs did not involve authorship and were therefore simply the result of a mechanical process and lacked originality.

Copyrightable works must demonstrate *authorship* in order to be protected. This is according to the U.S. Constitution which provides the basis for copyright protection with Article 1, Section 8, stating that Congress has the power “[t]o promote the progress of science and useful Arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.” Thus, works must be *writings* of an *author* in order to be protected. A core requirement for copyright protection is that works must be *original*. The originality requirement was also grounded in constitutional provisions by the Supreme Court in both the *Burrow-Gilles* and *In Re Trade-Mark Cases* (1879) decisions.

In deciding that photographs should be protectable subject matter under copyright law, the Supreme Court in *Burrow-Giles*, Christine Haight Farley in her 2004 article, “The Lingering Effects of Copyright’s Response to the Invention of

Photography,” has noted, “the Court focuses only on the pre-shutter actions and processes. In this way, the work of the author would appear to be entirely separate and distinct from the work of the machine.” The Court stating that Sarony,

gave visible form by posing the said Oscar Wilde in front of the camera, selecting and arranging the costume, draperies, and other various accessories in said photograph, arranging the subject so as to present graceful outlines, arranging and disposing the light and shade, suggesting and evoking the desired expression, and from such disposition, arrangement, or representation, made entirely by the plaintiff, he produced the picture in suit. (111 US 53, 55, 1884)

The Court held the photograph therefore to be original as it was the product of the *intellectual invention* of the photographer and thus copyrightable under the aforementioned constitutional provisions. After the judgment in *Burrow-Giles*, the Copyright Act was amended in 1865 to expressly extend protection to cover photographs and photographic negatives. Section 102(a)(5) of the Copyright Act of 1976 now specifies protection for “pictorial, graphic, and sculptural works” and under the definitions contained in Section 101 of the act it is expressly stated that this category includes photographs.

There has historically been some tension between competing notions of originality in the U.S. Courts. Some Courts favoring an approach that simply demanded that a work be independently created while others requiring a work to have some element of creativity in order to gain copyright protection. The Supreme Court in *Bleistein v. Donaldson Lithographing Co.* (1903) dismissed considerations of aesthetic merit in originality analysis and held that to gain copyright protection works must not be copied but also that an extremely minimal, almost negligible, amount of creativity was required to satisfy the originality standard. Justice Holmes stated,

The copy is the personal reaction of an individual upon nature. Personality always contains something unique. It expresses its singularity even in handwriting, and a very modest grade of art has in it something irreducible, which is one man’s

alone. That something he may copyright unless there is a restriction in the words of the act.

Originality was purposely left undefined in the 1976 act but the Supreme Court in *Feist Publications, Inc. v. Rural Telephone Service Co. Inc.* (1991) endorsed a creativity standard and reaffirmed the constitutional status of the originality requirement *stating*, “the constitutional requirement necessitates independent creation plus a modicum of creativity.” The Court continued to state that “[t]he sine qua non of copyright is originality.” The *Feist* Court also acknowledged that the threshold was a low one stating, “[t]o be sure, the requisite level of creativity is extremely low; even a slight amount will suffice. The vast majority of works make the grade quite easily, as they possess some creative spark, ‘no matter how crude, humble or obvious’ it might be.”

The Copyright Act of 1976: Ownership and Reuse of Images

The 1976 act states that “copyright in a work protected under this title vests initially in the author or authors of the work.” Section 106 of the 1976 act grants authors including photographers the exclusive rights to reproduce, create derivative works of, distribute, and publicly display their works. In a recent high-profile case, *Naruto v. Slater* (2018), taken by the animal rights group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, they sought to argue that Naruto, a macaque who had taken a selfie photograph when it pressed the shutter button on a camera, had copyright of the resulting photograph. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeal held that the monkey did not have standing, the case reaffirms the principle that an element of human authorship is necessary for copyright protraction to arise. It should be noted also that while copyright registration is not a prerequisite for protection, which begins when a work is fixed in a tangible medium of expression, it is necessary if one wishes to bring an infringement suit in relation to U.S. works. Since February 2018, the U.S. Copyright Office has also changed its rules on group registration, the new rule allows for the registration, through the Office’s electronic registration system, of groups of both published and unpublished

photographs, up to a total of 750 in each claim. This change may well be of help to photographers in the fast-paced digital news environment of today.

Work for Hire

In the United States, under Section 201(b) of the 1976 act, the general rule that initial ownership of copyright in works created as part of an individual's job responsibilities is well established, the employer being treated as the author of the work unless it is expressly agreed to be otherwise in writing. This gives an employer the right to the entire work with the employee retaining no ownership rights whatsoever. The definition of works for hire in Section 101 of the 1976 act is inclusive of commissioned works, and these may be considered works for hire if two conditions are met. Firstly, the work must be in one of nine specified categories of works including, for example, supplementary work, collective works, translations, motion pictures, or other audiovisual works. Secondly, the parties involved must "expressly agree in a written instrument signed by them that the work shall be considered a work made for hire." While the aforementioned nine categories appear, *prima facie*, to be narrow in their apparent exclusion of many artistic works, it has also been argued that a broad interpretation of categories such as *supplementary work* and *collective works* could encompass a large number of works completed by freelance artists.

While the foregoing illustrates that there are two distinct categories for works for hire, some courts have failed to follow the intent of Congress and blurred the distinction between these. This blurring centered on the issue of where the line should be drawn between who is an employee and who is an independent contractor. The Supreme Court was eventually called on to rule on the issue in *Community for Creative Non-Violence v. Reid* (1989). This case concerned a claim by the charitable organization Community of Creative Non-Violence (CCNV) to the copyright in a statue named *Third World America*, which was constructed by the sculptor (Reid). CCNV had commissioned Reid to create the sculpture, which depicted homelessness in the United States. CCNV supplied some plans and sketches to Reid. CCNV,

however, argued that this was a work for hire situation and that they were an employer and therefore owner of the copyright in the statue. Central to this case was whether Reid could be considered an employee, and, on that point, the Supreme Court ultimately stated,

In determining whether a hired party is an employee under the general common law of agency, we consider the hiring party's right to control the manner and means by which the product is accomplished. Among the other factors relevant to this inquiry are the skill required; the source of the instrumentalities and tools; the location of the work; the duration of the relationship between the parties; whether the hiring party has the right to assign additional projects to the hired party; the extent of the hired party's discretion over when and how long to work; the method of payment; the hired party's role in hiring and paying assistants; whether the work is part of the regular business of the hiring party; whether the hiring party is in business; the provision of employee benefits; and the tax treatment of the hired party.

The Supreme Court held that notwithstanding the fact that CCNV had exercised some control over the execution of the work Reid was an independent contractor as, among other things, he had hired his own assistants, he had supplied his own tools, was paid a flat fee and did not receive employee benefits. It is clear therefore from this judgment that a clear contractual basis for works carried out on a freelance basis, including the work of photographers, is necessary in order to avoid ambiguities that may lead to disputed status and thus ownership of copyright.

On this issue, two further cases also need to be noted. Firstly, *New York Times Co. v. Tasini* (2001) where a group of freelance authors took an action against *The New York Times* and a number of other publications on the basis that they had placed articles by the authors on three online databases. The Supreme Court held that such uses were a separate exploitation of the works in question and not merely a *revision* of their collective work, which would not have necessitated separate permissions. The ruling meant that freelance authors would be able to

engage in negotiations in relation to the electronic uses of their works. Despite this seeming victory for freelancers however, publishers often have large bargaining power when negotiations are conducted and even before *Tasini* authors were often presented with broad contractual provisions including electronic uses of their work that they had little choice but to accept in many circumstances. This may still be the practical reality post the *Tasini* decision.

The Supreme Court in *Tasini* held that for a use of a work to be considered a revision, it would have to appear in its *original context*. Subsequently in the case of *Faulkner v. Nat'l Geographic Enterprises Inc.* (2005), Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held that the publication of a digital archive that contained photographs and previous articles by *National Geographic* on digital formats such as DVDs and CD-Roms was a privileged revision of those works and therefore the authors' consent was not required, as the publication had merely created an *electronic replica* of the works.

Fair Use

The 1976 act also enshrines the doctrine of fair use, which provides defenses for the use of copyright works, including photographs, without permission in certain circumstances. Section 107 of the 1976 act states that fair use is not infringement, it then lists six illustrative purposes that may qualify as fair uses (criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching, scholarship, and research) and four factors to be weighed when considering if the use is fair or not:

- (1) the purpose and character of the use, including whether such use is of a commercial nature or is for nonprofit educational purposes;
- (2) the nature of the copyrighted work;
- (3) the amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole; and
- (4) the effect of the use upon the potential market for or value of the copyrighted work.

Fair use also provides a defense against infringement of the limited moral rights provisions under Section 106A of the Copyright Act of 1976, which

seek to protect the attribution and integrity rights of some artists dealing in limited editions of their work. This would include still photographic images used for exhibition purposes, but the protections only relate to works that are produced in editions of up to 200. These rights were introduced by the Visual Rights Artists Act in 1990.

A number of high-profile court decisions have explored how far the fair use doctrine may allow the reuse of photographic works. Two of these cases concern the work of the well-known appropriation artist Richard Prince. Prince has a noted history of practicing on the boundaries of what is infringing under copyright law. His most famous work is arguably *Untitled (Cowboy)* (1989), which involved rephotographing and then modifying Marlboro cigarette adverts that featured their famous cowboy figure. His work often involves photographing or scanning of the works of others and the near verbatim recontextualization of those photographs. Prince has been the subject of a number of legal suits that have highlighted his complex relationship notions of authorship. *Prince v. Cariou* (2013) in the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit is perhaps the most high-profile of these cases. Prince was accused of appropriating photographs taken by the photographer Patrick Cariou of a Rastafarian community in Jamaica. Prince only made what could objectively be seen as very minor visual changes to the original photographs and then he claimed them as his own work. The Court held that Prince's use of 20 of the 25 works was fair use (five others being remanded for further consideration) on the basis that they were sufficiently transformative in terms of the original photos. Ultimately, the case was settled in 2014 after the Supreme Court denied a petition for a writ of certiorari, but the case is still seen as an extreme application of the fair use doctrine, which favors those who reuse copyright works to the detriment of rightsholders, in this instance photographs.

A second case concerned the 2014 *New Portraits* series exhibition by Prince in which he made copies of photographs that had been posted on social media and minimally transformed them by placing brief whimsical comments under the images. Prima facie, the *New Portraits* works employed much less obvious visual authorship by Prince when viewed in conjunction with his

previous use of Cariou's photographs. In the District Court for the Southern District of New York case, *Graham v. Prince* (2017), that court ruled against Prince in relation to his use in *New Portraits* exhibition of a photograph of a Rastafarian taken by the photographer Donald Graham. The image of the Instagram post was consequently displayed, among other places in a gallery and on a billboard. The court denied a motion from Prince to dismiss and went on to strongly indicate that the use of Graham's work would not be considered fair use in any subsequent hearing. It remains to be seen in the future whether courts will continue to employ the more expansive approach to fair use as seen in the *Prince v. Cariou* litigation.

Digital Developments and Ownership of the Image

Two other more contemporary developments related to the ownership of photographs are the increasing prevalence of licensing to image databases and the role of social media in the creation and dissemination of journalistic images. The move from analogue to digital in recent decades has both increased the ease of distribution of images but also made unauthorized use of copyright works more difficult to control. Photographers have also increasingly used watermarks and metadata as a method of identifying and protecting their works.

Firstly, the digital age has heralded the increasing influence of large online stock imaging library services. These enterprises deal with images concerning a very broad range of subject matter compared with the previous more proliferated landscape containing a number of smaller more bespoke firms dealing with specific subject matter areas. Getty Images (at first called *Getty Investments*) was founded in 1995 and by 2007 was the leading player in the industry. The use of such services has led to ever more streamlined licensing processes with ease of use for both the owner of the copyright and those wishing to use it. The rights management model of licensing, essentially the licensing of the image on the basis of each usage, is what was previously widely used. Other models have since developed, such as the royalty-free model, which allows for

nonexclusive repeated specified uses. The terms and value of the license may depend on the material in question and what one intends to do with it. Subscription-based licensing services for images are also available. Getty also offers an embedding option for noncommercial users, which allows free and legal access to 66 million images.

Secondly, distinguishing between the professional and the amateur photographer has become more difficult in the current digital environment. With the increasing pace of the news cycle, the role of images captured by the amateur, accidental, and citizen journalists is becoming of increasing importance. This development has also placed pressure on the practice of publications having in-house photographers. A 2017 study for the Tow Centre for Digital Journalism at Columbia University titled "Amateur Footage: A Global Study of User Generated Content" highlighted a number of issues with the use of material from members of the public. It highlights that a number of licensing companies are now dealing with the licensing of such images as well as that the approach to gaining permission from those who take these images may vary greatly. Ranging from written agreements drawn up by lawyers to the more legally dubious method of simply retaining a screen grab of an affirmative reply on social media to a request to use images.

Final Thoughts

The established copyrightability of photographs has now, in statutory terms at least, clarified many issues surrounding the ownership of images. Notwithstanding this, some uncertainties remain, for example, in the form of the fair use doctrine, often expansively applied. In light of the contrasting approaches of courts highlighted in this entry, it remains to be seen how court decisions in the future will apply the doctrine. This is particularly so given the new uses of works that many digital practices now allow.

The work for hire doctrine has been the subject of some clarification by the courts, but this may ultimately have limited implication for those seeking to retain copyright ownership to images. This is due to the realities of bargaining power and leverage in the publishing environment, and apparent

gains in the courts may have limited implications when it comes to the actual marketplace realities.

Lastly, the ever-developing digital environment has concurrently facilitated an ease of both dissemination of images and their infringement as well as altering licensing practices and changing the structure of many business models to which the dissemination of images is integral. It has also created uncertainties around ownership and permissions for the use of images that need to be resolved.

Shane Burke

See also Copyright; Photo Agencies; Photography; Photojournalists

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IMMIGRATION, COVERAGE OF

The presumed influence of mass media on public attitudes about immigration combined with the rising salience of immigration as a political issue makes it important to understand patterns in immigration coverage. As many citizens do not come into direct contact with immigrants or immigration in their daily lives, they are reliant on information sources such as the mass media.

The literature on immigration coverage by the mass media is rich and diverse. This entry offers an overview of the dominant approaches and most common findings in research on news media depictions of immigration. Most studies have examined a set of distinct attributes of news coverage of immigration, among which its salience, tone, and framing are most relevant. These theoretical perspectives are briefly discussed. Next, the entry looks at agenda setting and framing as key political communication theories that explain why immigration news matters and how it may affect public opinion and citizens. The entry concludes by identifying a set of challenges and possibilities for journalists with regard to immigration coverage.

Rise of Immigration as a Political Issue

In recent years, immigration has climbed high on the political agenda across Europe and the United States. According to Gallup data from 2019, 23% of Americans said immigration was the most important problem that their country was facing, which was a new high and indicated that Americans' worries about immigration had amplified. Eurobarometer figures reveal similar trends for Europe, especially for 2015 and 2016 in the wake of the refugee crisis. Parallel to its rising salience, immigration has become an increasingly polarizing issue in Europe and the United States. While many citizens acknowledge the benefits that immigration can bring along for the host society in terms of—among others—economic revenues and cultural diversity, public opinion remains negatively biased with regard to (mostly illegal) immigration. Media scholars have started to examine patterns in coverage of immigrants and immigration in the mass media and news in particular as a

contextual-level factor that may shape citizens' opinion on immigration. While the literature on immigration coverage is comprehensive and diverse, a set of commonalities can be observed. Most studies either focus on the salience of immigration as a topic in the news or on the attributes of immigration coverage (e.g., tone and framing).

Attributes of Immigration Coverage

In 2015, global news headlines were dominated by the shocking picture of Alan Kurdi—a 3-year-old boy of Kurdish descent who drowned on September 2, 2015, while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe. This image has traveled all over the world, sparking fierce responses from political leaders across the world on how to handle immigration. For many, the picture of Alan Kurdi developed into a symbol marking the 2015 refugee crisis that burst out in Europe, illustrating the power that mass media—news in particular—can have setting the political agenda and shaping public opinion. In particular, the salience, framing, and tone of news on immigration matters.

Salience

Many studies consider the salience of immigration in news coverage, adopting an agenda-setting perspective while analyzing immigration coverage and its ramifications for public opinion. By covering immigration, journalists signal that immigration is a relevant political issue that warrants attention. These studies analyze the share of immigration coverage in comparison to other news topics. The salience of an issue is exactly what is needed to motivate political action: If the death of Alan Kurdi had not been that visible in the news, it would probably not have provoked political reactions.

Generally, one can draw three main conclusions on the salience of immigration. First, immigration is a salient topic compared to other topics, and this has increased over time, but it largely fluctuates and often relies on momentum. Second, the salience of news on immigration is partly inspired by real-life developments. For instance, immigration coverage seems to rise after a terror attack. Still, the amount of immigration news does not always fully align

with reality. A comparative study examining immigration coverage in the Netherlands and Belgium found that even when actual refugee flows were decreasing, this trend was not mirrored by news coverage. Third, individual actors (e.g., immigrants, refugees and ethnic, racial, or religious minorities) remain underrepresented in news media compared to their share in the population. Still, this trend is gradually shifting, which may be linked to trends in society of rising emancipation of immigrants and media regulation.

Tone

Tone is a vital attribute of immigration coverage as it adds an evaluative component to messages disseminated by journalists. Studies typically distinguish between positive, negative, mixed (i.e., a combination of positive and negative) and neutral tone. As is asserted by John Zaller especially unidirectional and uniformly negative messages are likely to affect citizens' opinion. If news on immigration is skewed to the negative, this can (re)activate hostile attitudes toward immigrants because the messages people select from form an overwhelmingly negative information environment. Prospect theory by Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky also outlines that citizens are risk-averse and have a primordial need to protect themselves, clarifying why people are more responsive to negativity and why journalists often rely on negativity and on conflict. In line with this trend, immigration coverage is overwhelmingly negative, although differences depending upon the type of immigrant group, outlet, genre, and country have been noted.

It has been argued that negativity is a key characteristic of news as it is journalists' duty to report on what is going wrong in society, to signal problems and to hold political leaders accountable. Even when considering this tendency toward negativity as a given, coverage of certain immigrant groups tends to be more negative than coverage of natives, implying that there is something distinctively negative about news of immigrants. For instance, the issue of immigration and integration has been ranked the third most negatively covered issue in political news reporting in democracies. Moreover, in one study focusing on the United Kingdom, 31% of the headlines about Muslims had a negative tone compared to headlines on Jews (2%) and Christians (13%).

Framing

Framing, or how issues are packaged in the news, is a heavily debated concept that has been often applied to immigration coverage. Typically, a distinction has been made between generic- and issue-specific frames. While generic frames can apply to any news topic, issue-specific frames have been specifically developed to study immigration news.

In terms of generic framing, episodic and thematic framing are most relevant. While episodic framing illustrates an issue via considering an individual case, thematic frames cover issues in-depth by adopting a general outlook and offering background information. For instance, a news story on the drowned boy Alan Kurdi focusing on his life trajectory and journey is an episodic frame. News stories that show figures and report statistics, giving a bigger picture and focusing on broader patterns of immigration (and reasons for it) are so-called *thematic frames*. The first (episodic) is more prevalent: Most immigration news stories are framed episodically, focusing on rare events or specific situations and reporting on individual cases to illustrate a broader trend. Often, background information on the reasons for immigration is lacking, and societal implications or causes are neglected.

Other generic frames in immigration news that are routinely reported are human interest frames (i.e., focus on emotional and personal cases) and the victimization *versus* the perpetrator frame. News stories such as those about Alan Kurdi, or those published in 2018 detailing how hundreds of Latinx children were forcibly separated from their parents after families crossed the border into the United States without authorization, have a “victim” angle to them. News coverage of the disturbances during New Year’s Eve 2015 in Cologne are a prototype example of the perpetrator frame, as are narratives about the return of “Syria fighters” or supporters of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria to their host countries in Europe to commit attacks. Indeed, immigrants are significantly more often depicted as victims and perpetrators than natives. While the perpetrator frame seems to be a steady ingredient of coverage, a victim frame seems particularly present at the beginning of a

news cycle, fading away once the novelty of the issue has worn off. This also applies to news coverage of the 2015 refugee crisis.

Apart from generic frames, many studies have examined issue-specific framing of immigration. The most common are “threat frames” that either adopt a cultural, economic, or safety angle while covering immigration and essentially portray immigration as a threat to the host society and its inhabitants. In a cultural threat frame, immigration is being depicted as leading to a “clash of cultures,” focusing on the need for assimilation or on distinct values that are supposedly held by immigrants. For instance, immigrants with a Muslim background have been depicted as not respecting human rights, such as gay rights and equality between men and women.

Economic threat frames document the costs of immigration by emphasizing public spending, freeloaders, rising poverty, or competition on the labor market (“They steal our jobs”). Criminal frames, finally, portray immigration as a security threat, linking it to crime, violence, and terrorism, of which news on alleged violence in the marches to the United States of Latinx immigrants are illustrative. These frames have been found both in U.S. and European coverage of immigration, and there is an ongoing debate on which threat frame (i.e., cultural, economic, or criminal) is most prevalent. Of course, the opposite of threat frames has been documented too: frames underlining the benefits of immigration in terms of diversity and economic revenues, but these are significantly less common.

Differences Across Outlet, Genre, Group, and Context

While generally a negativity bias can be noted in coverage of immigration and a tendency toward the use of threat frames is evident, many of these findings are context-specific. Differences across outlets, genres, groups, and context (time and country) can be noted. The type of outlet plays a role: Newspapers discuss issues such as immigration more in depth compared to television and online news. Newspapers pay more attention to background information and make more use of thematic framing, while television and online

reports of immigration mainly use episodic frames, focusing on individuals and emotions. Likewise, print media report slightly more favorably on immigration than online and television news.

Genre-specific differences also exist. For instance, broadsheet newspapers and hard news programs pay more attention to contextualizing immigration and thematic framing compared to tabloids and soft news programs, which mainly focus on emotions and sensational aspects. Similarly, ownership matters as publicly financed outlets (e.g., public broadcasters in Western Europe) are more balanced in their reporting than their commercial counterparts. Also, the ideology of news outlets is relevant as liberal newspapers and broadcasters report more positively about immigration than their conservative competitors.

The salience, tone, and framing of coverage depend upon the immigrant group: Groups that are more culturally distinct are subject to more negative and threatening coverage than others. Finally, context in terms of geography and time is key: Dominant trends in immigration coverage differ between countries (dependent upon their history and experience with immigration and in terms of the type of immigrant groups that are being targeted). In the United States, Latinx immigrants are a major immigrant group, while in Western Europe the focus is mostly on people from the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and North Africa. Finally, immigration coverage is not static but evolves over time as social norms change. Recent studies sketch a different picture compared to earlier studies by showing that the tone and framing of immigration coverage can evolve and follow trends in society.

Immigration Coverage and Public Opinion

The rationale underlying studies of depictions of immigration is grounded in the assumption that media messages have great potential to shape public opinion. Media effects studies have adopted this as a premise to examine the cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral effects of exposure to immigration coverage. While the earliest studies have verified correlations between exposure to immigration news and public opinion using survey

data, recent studies have empirically examined the causal mechanism using advanced methods (e.g., time-series analysis, panel data, experiments). The implications of immigration coverage for public opinion are discussed here primarily from the angle of the agenda-setting and framing theories, media effects theories found in political communication literature. Both are relevant mechanisms in journalism that need to be considered.

Agenda setting and framing start from the idea that the salience, tone, and framing of immigration coverage can sway public opinion on immigration. For instance, high salience of immigration in the news could put the issue high on the public and/or political agenda and nestle the idea in people's minds that immigration is a relevant issue that needs to be addressed by the country's leadership. Attention to this issue in journalism can help to draw attention from the public and from politicians.

Studies have observed close connections between the salience of immigration coverage and public worries about immigration. Framing effects studies, in turn, have found effects of exposure to threat frames on public opinion, emotions, and behavior. For instance, exposure to a certain threat frame on immigration can (re)activate the interpretation of immigration in line with the frame. Confrontation with a criminal threat frame (e.g., on riots or on terrorism) results in more agreement with statements that immigration threatens safety. Of course, the strength of the effect depends on a set of features, such as the repetition and duration of the frame, people's predispositions (e.g., political orientation, knowledge, intergroup contact), and on how typical a threat frame is for the immigrant group involved. The negativity bias is persistent as threat frames have strong effects and their effects are difficult to neutralize.

When discussing effects of immigration coverage, qualification is warranted. Just as with all media effects, citizens' prior predispositions play a role as well and not all citizens will be as easily influenced: high levels of education, more political knowledge, and ideology can play a key role in counterbalancing the effects. Moreover, nowadays the possibility of self-selection and selective exposure is relevant to consider. This possibility sheds

doubt on the causal mechanism: It could well be that people who are already negative toward immigration decide to watch news outlets that are widely known to be critical of immigration.

In the United States, people who watch Fox News usually already have hostile views on immigration, making it difficult to disentangle the causal mechanism and settle the “egg or the chicken” question. Similarly, individuals are less ready to accept news messages that explicitly contradict their predispositions. Probably, effects of exposure to immigration news are likely a reinforcing spiral with causality running in both directions. Finally, it is extremely challenging to isolate media effects and most studies cannot be conclusive about the duration of media effects. Indeed, many of the effects tend to be modest in size and coexist alongside other, alternative explanations.

Challenges and Opportunities for Journalists

Nowadays, society is rapidly changing due to new technological advancements, which has implications for the work of journalists. These developments can give rise to challenges but could also be an opportunity for journalists. Due to the rise of social media and the growth of user-generated content, journalists’ gatekeeping role is under pressure. Thus, journalists have a key role to play in fact-checking and have a duty to critically reflect on the credibility of the content and sources of news messages. Preserving this gatekeeping role is more relevant than ever, particularly when covering polarized issues such as immigration, because some actors may have incentives to deliberately spread negative or biased news stories. Similarly, in times of social media, journalists and news media organizations need to be vigilant for disinformation and actively mobilize to reduce the likelihood that fake news stories spread. The setup of fact-checking platforms (e.g., FactCheck.org) can be an efficient tool to fight misinformation and eliminate fake news.

The presence of a strong public broadcaster (as in most Western European countries) and of strong independent, nonpartisan news outlets can provide a counterbalance to ensure reliable, objective, and nuanced coverage on immigration. They tend to report on issues more in-depth and set the

standards for commercial players. At the same time, due to the high choice environment, people can pick which type of (news) media to consume, making this a challenge.

More diversity in the voices and sources in immigration news can help to stimulate different perspectives. It remains a challenge to actively incorporate views of immigrants and to grant a voice to vulnerable groups in society. The latter is crucial as news representation can have an emancipatory effect, and mass media depictions can also affect how immigrants perceive their own role and position in society.

Finally, in a market with elevated competition, autonomy in selecting news sources and the rise of “niche” media, one needs to be wary of selective exposure and self-selection into particular news on immigration. People tend to consume news that already coincides with their opinions. Combined with the possibility of compiling one’s own media diet, this makes it difficult to expose viewers to distinct and diverse viewpoints on immigration. Being aware of these risks and possibilities helps to create awareness of the role and responsibility of journalists in immigration coverage.

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See also Agenda Setting; Ethnicity; Europe; Framing; Polls and Public Opinion; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

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INDECENCY AND OBSCENITY

Indecency and obscenity deal with words or images concerning sexuality that are considered so offensive, inappropriate, or harmful, that they should be legally banned or restricted. *Obscenity* is the legal term for content that is judged so offensive because of sexual or excretory content that it must be banned and criminalized. The exclusion of obscenity from protections under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is one

of the *de facto* cornerstones of American freedom of expression policy. Many of the major censorship battles of the 19th and 20th centuries were fought under the banner of obscenity. *Indecency* is a newer legal concept, covering material not meeting the obscenity threshold, yet viewed as inappropriate or harmful for minors. *Pornography* is a broader term, referring to writing and images designed primarily to arouse sexual desire; pornography may or may not be determined to fall within the narrower categories of obscenity or indecency.

Obscenity and indecency laws often highlight cultural conflicts. For example, indecency battles in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, involving attempts to restrict what children might see or hear, reflected and arose from fundamentalists' frustration with increasing explicitness of television and the Internet. Those indecency conflicts in turn echoed the obscenity battles that began in the late 19th century, as Anthony Comstock and others sought to impose Victorian morality on increasingly bold and unconventional writers and artists. Changing social mores and the freedom of expression principles of the First Amendment have often, but not always, prevailed over restrictive laws.

Censorship and Obscenity in Western Traditions

Throughout Western civilization, people have been concerned about whether certain literary or artistic content was so inappropriate or harmful that it should be censored. In the Republic, Plato suggested that it was the duty of parents to “expose their children to good material and shield them from bad material” and the duty of the state to do the same for its citizens. American civil liberties lawyer Morris Ernst, who fought many censorship battles in the early 20th century, took the position that censorship is inappropriate because morality is internal, citing Paul's Epistle to Titus in Christian Scriptures: “To the pure, all things are pure; but to the defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure. Indeed both their minds and their consciousness are defiled” (Titus 1:15).

Sexual content in art and literature was common in antiquity, and strict laws on obscenity are products of the age of printing. In his *Areopagitica*, John Milton explained that he found no

evidence of the suppression of any book in antiquity solely based on obscenity. Prior to the printing revolution of the 1500s, state censorship, if any, generally focused on other areas. As Judge Curtis Bok described it in his 1949 decision in *Commonwealth v. Gordon*,

Censorship, which is the policeman of decency, whether religious, patriotic, or moral, has had distinct fashions, depending on which great questions were agitating society at the time. During the Middle Ages, when the church was supreme, the focus of suppression was upon heresy and blasphemy. When the State became uppermost, the focus of suppression was upon treason and sedition. The advent of technology made Queen Victoria realize, perhaps subconsciously, that loose morals would threaten the peace of mind necessary to the development of invention and big business; the focus moved to sexual morality.

Modern obscenity laws can be traced to the Puritan demand for strict sexual standards. Initial efforts by Puritans in England to restrain *licentious* and *hurtful* publications failed in 1580. A century later, the case of Charles Sedley of Kent initiated the legal thinking that led to obscenity laws. Sedley, after a long bout of drinking, appeared naked on a tavern balcony in London and pantomimed a series of indecent proposals to the passing public. He was prosecuted in 1663 for breach of the peace, and this theory was later used against printers of allegedly indecent materials. The law's development was slow, with the obscenity theory rejected in 1708. In 1727, however, anti-Catholic parodist Edmund Curll was convicted for what might be considered a modern obscenity offense, based on his book explicitly describing licentious behavior in a convent.

Even after Curll's case, however, obscenity prosecutions were rare and sexually explicit writings were commonplace. For example, John Cleland's book, *Fanny Hill: Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, which many years later became the subject of obscenity prosecutions in the United States, was published and distributed in England in 1749 with only a mild judicial slap on the wrist for the author, and no restraints on its wide and profitable distribution.

Early American Practices

In colonial America, censorship initially focused on theater. It is not clear whether sale of obscene literature was even a crime in America prior to the Revolution. Colonial intellectuals freely read books like Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Ovid's *Art of Love*, and the works of François Rabelais. Washington Irving called one of the popular books of the early federal era, Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple*, a case of *licentious ribaldry*—an indication that licentiousness in books was tolerated.

By the early 1800s, however, several states adopted obscenity statutes, other states recognized obscenity as unlawful under common (judge-made) law, and these laws were applied to books and other written content. A few states, like Massachusetts, set up censorship boards and retained draconian censorship standards well into the 20th century (until 1930, the Massachusetts obscenity statute forbade the sale of any book “*containing* obscene, indecent language”).

By the mid-1800s, obscenity prosecutions focused on pornography and overt discussion of sexual matters. Prosecutions were generally aimed at works viewed as exploitive but not recognized writers. Massachusetts banned *Fanny Hill* in 1821. Artists and recognized writers were often effectively given more leeway. Some of Walt Whitman's passages in *Leaves of Grass* shocked American Puritans and English Victorians, and some of those passages were challenged by authorities. However, the controversy only helped Whitman in the public eye and his book was eventually published.

Comstockery in America

In British law, obscenity first developed under common law, but in 1857, Parliament enacted the Obscene Publications Act, also known as Lord Campbell's Act, which provided for seizure and summary disposition of obscene and pornographic materials. The 1868 case of *Regina v. Hicklin*, concerning an anti-Catholic pamphlet, brought that act before the courts. In *Hicklin*, Chief Justice Cockburn of the Queen's Bench held the material within a publication was obscene under the law if it “had a tendency . . . to deprave and corrupt

those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.”

The *Hicklin* test, which judged works by their possible effect on the most vulnerable, rather than a work’s probable audience, favored prosecutions. It focused on the challenged portions, not the entirety of the work. Thus, under *Hicklin*, if any portion of a work was judged to be obscene, the entire work could be outlawed. It created a subjective standard, leaving each judge or juror to their own judgments as to depravity, corruption, and immorality. Finally, it included no consideration of the author’s intentions.

After *Hicklin*, more and stricter obscenity laws were enacted throughout the United States, particularly after Anthony Comstock began his censorship efforts. In 1873, Comstock, a moral crusader with narrow Victorian and Puritanical views, founded the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, which became his platform for encouraging and aiding obscenity prosecutions and other means of policing public morality. In doing so, he followed the model of the Society for the Suppression of Vice formed earlier in London, and he in turn inspired the Watch and Ward Society in Boston. Comstock and his cohorts lobbied for and drafted statutes (popularly known as *Comstock Acts*) that criminalized explicit sexual material. New York passed such a law in 1868, and the federal Comstock Act of 1873 made illegal the delivery by U.S. mail, or by other modes of transportation, of “obscene, lewd, or lascivious” material, as well as materials dealing with birth control and abortion. The law authorized severe penalties and empowered the Post Office to censor and confiscate objectionable materials. Comstock boasted that within a year, several hundred thousands of pounds of books were destroyed.

Comstock societies were not mere advocacy organizations. They acted as a kind of auxiliary police force, actively searching for materials they deemed objectionable and building cases on their own. Comstock became a special agent of the United States Post Office, and he and leaders of other societies for the Suppression of Vice served in a sense as *de facto* prosecuting attorneys. Their threats alone often suppressed publication or distribution of materials they deemed objectionable.

The activities of these societies became known as *Comstockery*, and they continued vigorously even after Comstock’s death in 1915.

As various Comstock laws were tested in the courts, they were upheld, with U.S. Courts generally following the *Hicklin* precedent from England. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Rosen v. United States*, approved the *Hicklin* test, finding it “quite as liberal as the defendant had any right to demand.” Comstock and his cohorts had the green light to actively enforce censorship well in to the early 20th century. As one judge noted, between 1870 and 1930, obscenity law was “on the social anvil.”

The first publication of a portion of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* in the United States illustrates the climate under Comstockery. A literary journal, *The Little Review*, published two excerpts from *Ulysses*. The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice obtained a copy of the journal, declared it obscene, and effectively forced a criminal prosecution of the two editors of the journal, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap. Their lawyer, perhaps recognizing the perilous legal standard and social hostility to his clients’ publication, argued that the passages were not obscene because they were too difficult to understand. The editors were found guilty, and the two issues of the journal banned.

Emergence of Free Speech Concerns

When American obscenity law first developed in the 19th century, the First Amendment was relatively dormant and undeveloped. When First Amendment defenses were raised in obscenity cases, they were quickly dismissed, with obscenity deemed outside the scope of free speech protection. Even within a First Amendment model hostile to obscenity, however, libertarians began fighting in the early 20th century for more liberality in what was allowed, and meaningful procedural protections. Judge Learned Hand questioned the *Hicklin* test in 1913, noting it reduced the treatment of sex “to the standard of a child’s library.” Anti-censorship lawyers began litigating vigorous defenses, forcing courts to at least consider evidence of the need for discussion and resources on such important topics as sex education and contraception.

The second *Ulysses* case, litigated in 1933 before U.S. District Judge John Woolsey in New York City, represented a turning point. The literary-minded judge, armed with expert approvals of the work (craftily inserted into the case by Ernst, the publisher's lawyer), cleared the book of obscenity and in so doing propounded a standard quite different from *Hicklin*. Judge Woolsey considered the sincerity and artistry of the author, evaluated the book as a whole, and judged it not according to possible effects on the "least vulnerable" but upon "a person with average sex instincts—what the French would call *l'homme moyen sensuel*." He found nothing in *Ulysses* to constitute "dirt for dirt's sake" and therefore concluded that the book was not obscene. The court of appeals affirmed, similarly finding that the book did not "promote lust or portray filth for its own sake." The victorious publisher, Random House, then published *Ulysses* as part of its Modern Library series and included Judge Woolsey's decision in the front matter of the book for more than 50 years. Many U.S. courts followed Woolsey's standard.

By the mid-20th century, obscenity law was effectively out of control. Standards were unclear, prosecutions were inconsistent, and prejudice and political pressure continued to create chilling effects and influence decisions by judges and juries. Some works that have later become accepted as classics, like Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* (1925), were found obscene and banned, and other literary landmarks, like Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (1955), were severely threatened by prosecutions. Comedian Lenny Bruce endured four prosecutions on obscenity charges, and he was ultimately convicted. Throughout the century, civil liberties lawyers, including Ernst, Charles Rembar, Martin Garbus, and Edward de Grazia, regularly defended challenged works, and while they won some and lost some, their challenges raised important literary, policy, and constitutional defenses. Their work chipped away at the absolutism of the Comstock era, and led courts to recognize both procedural and substantive defenses, and the need for a narrower understanding of obscenity with more room for literary freedom. Finally, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart's statement in *Jacobellis v. Ohio* in 1964—"I know it when I see it"—highlighted both the difficulty of

line-drawing and the marginal legitimacy of Victorian obscenity law in an increasingly creative and pluralistic society.

Supreme Court Sets Standards

The U.S. Supreme Court began addressing many obscenity cases in the mid-20th century. A key decision in 1952, *Joseph Burstyn Inc. v. Wilson*, recognized that motion pictures were a legitimate artistic medium, with the same First Amendment protection as traditional literature and art. The case involved a New York law that allowed a censor to forbid the commercial showing of a motion picture film that the censor deemed *sacrilegious*. Although the case did not involve obscenity, it led to the demise of state motion picture censorship regimes, which most often relied on obscenity determinations.

In *Roth v. United States*, in 1957, the Supreme Court for the first time tackled a definitional standard for obscenity. The case involved two book-sellers convicted of obscenity, under a standard similar to those in the *Ulysses* case, with the works judged as a whole, based on community standards applied to likely readers. Writing for a court divided in several ways, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. reaffirmed that obscenity fell outside First Amendment protection, since by definition it is "utterly without redeeming social value." At the same time, he recognized that "sex and obscenity are not synonymous" and that "Sex, a great and mysterious motive force in human life, has indisputably been a subject of absorbing interest to mankind throughout the ages." As a result, the "standards for judging obscenity" must "safeguard" publication and receipt of allowable sexual content.

The *Roth* ruling laid bare the difficulties of judging obscenity and the divisions on the court. Justice Brennan defined obscenity as material that dealt with sex in a manner "appealing to prurient interest," meaning "a tendency to excite lustful thoughts" and create "lascivious longings." But lustful thoughts were closely connected to sex, that "great and mysterious motive force in human life." Chief Justice Earl Warren's concurrence warned that obscenity prosecutions could be used to suppress "great art or literature, scientific treatises, or works exciting social controversy," and

“the line dividing the salacious or pornographic from literature or science is not straight or unwavering.” Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black warned of making legality “turn on the purity of thought which a book or tract instills in the mind of the reader.”

Consistent with *Roth*’s focus on safeguarding free speech, later decisions created procedural protections against censorship. In *Smith v. California*, in 1959, the Court held that a bookseller who did not know, or has reason to know, of obscene materials on his shelf could not be found guilty of knowingly selling obscene materials. In *Freedman v. Maryland*, in 1965, the court prohibited censorship of films without due process.

The court continued to struggle with defining obscenity. In *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, in 1964, it overturned an obscenity conviction based in showing of an acclaimed French movie. In a trio of cases decided in 1966, including one which overturned a Massachusetts finding that *Fanny Hill* was obscene, the court settled on a three-part test: “the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole” must appeal to prurient interest in sex, it must be “patently offensive” under contemporary community standards, and it must be “utterly without redeeming social value.” The new standard failed to provide clarity. Eventually, beginning with its ruling in *Redrup v. New York*, in 1967, the Supreme Court began deciding cases solely based on the tally of a majority of justices, each applying his own standard.

Miller v. California

In 1973, the Supreme Court, with a far more conservative cast due to the appointments of President Richard M. Nixon, created a new obscenity standard in *Miller v. California*. Both *Miller* and its companion case, *Paris Adult Theatre v. Slaton*, dealt with explicit pornography, with sexual activity with genitals prominently displayed. The new standard focused on (a) the average person, applying contemporary community standards, (b) whether that person would find that the work depicts sexual conduct in a patently offensive way, and (c) whether the work, taken as a whole, lacked “serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.” The two big changes were *community* standards, and the requirement of *serious* social

value (a much higher standard than the utter absence of redeeming social value).

The *Paris Adult Theater* case, concerning a theater that admitted only adults and fully warned of the sexual content within, gave the court the opportunity to expand the privacy right recognized in *Stanley v. Georgia*, which in 1969 the court had held that “If the First Amendment means anything, it means that a State has no business telling a man, sitting alone in his home, what books he may read or what films he may watch.” But the court determined instead that the *Miller* standard would apply to all commercial exploitation of pornography.

The *Miller* test was no panacea, however. The very next year, in *Jenkins v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court reversed the determination of courts in Georgia that a mainstream movie, *Carnal Knowledge*, was obscene. The court cautioned that the showing of that film “is simply not the ‘public portrayal of hard core sexual conduct for its own sake, and for the ensuing commercial gain’ which we said was punishable.”

Commissions and Social Science

One might think that obscenity policy could be settled through scientific investigation of what, if any, sexual content, leads to harmful consequences in readers or viewers. But this judgment can only be made by people, and people (perhaps especially those appointed by politicians to fact-finding commissions) tend to bring their own preconceptions to any study. The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, appointed by President Johnson in 1970, found no harm to society or individuals from the consensual distribution of sexual materials to adults. But a similar commission appointed by President Ronald Reagan, known as the Meese Commission, reached the contrary result in its 1986 report, concluding that the nation was “pervaded by sexual explicitness” that inflicted psychological harm on children and caused violence against women.

Special Concerns and Rules for Children

Supplementing basic obscenity law, U.S. courts have adopted special rules applying to children as recipients or subjects. In *Ginsberg v. New York*, in

1968, the Supreme Court recognized a category of “obscenity as to minors,” in which the standard obscenity test is adjusted to material suitable for minors, and lacking value for minors. Even more significantly, in 1982, in *New York v. Ferber*, the Supreme Court recognized a new exception to the First Amendment in the case of child pornography—pornographic works in which children were used as actors. The Court found special protections against child pornography necessary because the creation of such works abused children and needed to be disincentivized. In subsequent years, child pornography became the primary focus of pornography prosecutorial efforts, particularly after general obscenity prosecutions dropped off because of increasing public acceptance of pornography.

Indecency

Indecency was a latecomer on the legal scene, but by the late 20th century, it became the primary tool for those seeking to limit sexual and vulgar content from electronic communications, in the interest of protecting children. The federal Communications Act regulating broadcasting always contained a provision allowing regulation of *indecent* material. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) enacted rules banning indecent material (material judged inappropriate for children) from the broadcast airwaves when children were likely to be watching. The Supreme Court in 1978 upheld those rules in *Federal Communications Commission v. Pacifica Foundation*, a case involving a radio broadcast of comedian George Carlin’s “seven dirty words” routine.

The Internet became an indecency battleground when it opened up to widespread commercial use in the 1990s. In 1996, Congress passed a Communications Decency Act, extending *Pacifica*-like restrictions to Internet content. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and American Library Association promptly challenged it in court, and the Supreme Court in 1997, in *Reno v. ACLU*, struck down the law as too vague, overly restrictive on a promising new medium, and incompatible with society’s “interest in encouraging freedom of expression.” (One unrelated law, codified within the Communications Decency Act, Section 230 covering intermediary liability,

remained on the books after *Reno*.) A later attempt at indecency regulation of the Internet, the Child Online Protection Act, similarly was held unconstitutional in 2004.

The indecency battleground shifted back to the television set in the early 21st century, as cable television (not covered by the indecency rules because cable signals do not enter homes involuntarily over the airwaves) carried more and more explicit content. Broadcast shows liberalized their own content in response. But fundamentalist groups, including particularly the American Family Association led by Rev. Donald Wildmon, directed thousands of complaints to the FCC. In 2001, that agency enacted rules that defined indecency to cover even fleeting nudity or fleeting expletives. A rift developed between these conservative FCC rules and the content being created by many TV producers (and the appetite of the television audience for more cutting-edge and explicit content).

A number of incidents testing the new limits arose in the early 2000s. One case involved a fleeting showing of the singer Janet Jackson’s breast during the halftime show of the 2004 Super Bowl. Another arose out of the musician Bono’s extemporaneous utterance, “This is . . . fucking brilliant,” upon the announcement in a televised 2003 ceremony that he had won a Golden Globes award. A scene on the TV show *NYPD Blue* showed the nude buttocks of an adult woman for about seven seconds and for a moment the side of her breast. Yet, another case involved a so-called teenage orgy scene in the show *Without a Trace*, which involved hardly any nudity, but a lot of suggestiveness. The FCC judged the scene indecent and fined the TV stations that broadcast it during the forbidden pre-10 p.m. time period. Because the program was broadcast at 10 p.m. in the Eastern and Pacific time zones, and 9 p.m. in the Central and Mountain time zones, fines fell only on stations in the less populated middle of the country—a result that highlighted the arbitrary applications of many FCC indecency judgments.

When several of the test cases on fleeting nudity and fleeting expletives were appealed, the restrictive FCC rules were ultimately overturned by the Supreme Court, in *FCC v. Fox*, in 2012, on the grounds that they were unconstitutionally vague. The Court, however, left little guidance for

creating sufficiently clear indecency rules that could be applied to an entertainment culture accustomed to explicit content. The issue reverted to the FCC, but that agency was reluctant to reopen this culturally divisive issue. Even by 2020, there were no new FCC indecency rules, and *Pacifica* remained the sole substantive precedent. Because neither cable TV nor the increasingly popular streaming services like Netflix were covered by the broadcast indecency rules, those rules became increasingly irrelevant to the 21st-century video consumer.

Interplay With Other Laws

Several feminist scholars have sought to cover discrimination or violence against women under the umbrella of obscenity law, but such a law was struck down in 1985 by a circuit court in *American Booksellers Association v. Hudnut*. In the early days of obscenity law, books judged obscene were left unprotected by other laws, including copyright, but under a 1979 precedent, even obscene movies may enjoy copyright protection.

Changes in Technology and Public Acceptance

While moralists (like Comstock) believe that precepts against obscenity and indecency follow from natural law, the empirical evidence suggests that legal developments follow changes in social outlooks. Liberalization of obscenity law in the late 20th century followed the sexual revolution, represented by the birth control pill, women's liberation, and overall increasing sexual freedom in society and sexual explicitness in popular art. By the 21st century, new technologies like videotapes, digital cameras, and the Internet (including its streaming video services) further dramatically changed acceptance of the taking, viewing, and sharing of explicit sexual content.

Modern Americans have been regularly exposed (from videos and the Internet) to material far more explicit than those involved in landmark cases like *Roth* and *Miller*. The commercial success of the pornography industry, and its infiltration into mainstream businesses like hotels, indicates that many Americans actively consume pornographic content. Law follows

social reality, albeit with some delay; and as a result of these realities, obscenity prosecutions have become more infrequent, and convictions, even in conservative communities, usually occur only for the most extreme content, such as content involving children or extreme deviant practices. By the early 21st century, technological and social changes had effectively made adult obscenity obsolete.

Final Thoughts

The changes in obscenity and indecency law in the United States over the centuries illuminate tensions within American society, the difficulties inherent in enacting morality into law, the consequences of censorship, and the influence of social, artistic, and technological currents. While First Amendment freedom of expression principles are key elements in determining obscenity and indecency policy, religious, avant-garde, and majoritarian thinking, and commercial activity, all significantly affect both laws and practices. While battlegrounds (e.g., theater to books to movies), and theories of censorship (obscenity *vs.* indecency), shift over time, the inherent cultural conflict between control and liberality may be inherent in human nature. Obscenity and indecency laws are likely to continue to evolve together with the influences that create and oppose them.

Mark Sableman

See also American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); Censorship; Criminal Justice and Journalism; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of

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INDIA

India is one of the biggest media markets with 17,000 registered daily newspapers, 866 private and 49 state-run television channels, and 850 radio stations. It produces on an average more than 1,000 films a year in various Indian languages. India is the second biggest consumer of Internet and mobile technology in the world. The advent of satellite and digital technologies, and globalization after the 1980s, transformed the media industries in India from state-run, closely regulated entities into a highly competitive marketplace. The changing media landscape necessitated the expansion of regulatory regimes to deal with the emerging challenges of new technologies, market practices, and public interest concerns such as tariffs, access, and privacy.

While the initial stages of expansion brought in new players, the television and print media markets are witnessing increasing consolidation of ownership, leaving an oligopoly in control of major media, even as large numbers of smaller entities enter and exit the market. This entry discusses the origins and development of the news

media system in India, and the factors contributing to its growth. It then outlines the sectoral developments in print, radio, television, and online media in India. It concludes with discussions on representation of India's minority groups in the media and the state of media freedom.

Origins and Development

Newspapers and radio were introduced to India during the colonial era. The first newspaper, *Bengal Gazette*, was started in 1760 by a young Irish man named James Augustus Hicky whose journalism exemplified the eternal, unresolved issues of journalism's relationship with society and with power. Hicky served time in prison for exposing corruption in British East India Company, saw his press confiscated, and he died penniless. His short foray into public communication was soon followed by a variety of publications by Indians for social reform, women's emancipation, and for political mobilization both in North and South Indian provinces and in the many languages spoken across India. The 19th-century social reformer Raja Rammohan Roy is also recognized as an early pioneer of journalism. He started the Bengali newspaper *Bengal Kaumudi* and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* in Persian in 1822.

By the early 20th century, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, and B. R. Ambedkar began using the print media both for social reform and political mobilization for freedom from colonial rule. Although low literacy in early 20th-century India meant limited circulation, the print media played a significant role in setting the stage for the Indian independence movement.

Wireless radio broadcasting appeared in India, a British colony, in 1923 soon after its deployment in Britain. By the time of the Second World War, both print and radio were well-established, and the film industry began to take shape with indigenous production houses. The films and print publications run by Indians were found subversive enough to warrant censorship laws. In 1947, at the time of India's Independence, there were six radio stations and barely 330 newspapers. Television came only in 1959.

Less than 3 years after independence, in January 1950, India gave itself a constitution that declared it a sovereign, democratic republic. Later,

socialist secular was added to this. The first general elections were held with adult franchise in 1952, and since, India has remained a bastion of democracy in South Asia despite many challenges, bolstered by free media. The Indian courts have held that the freedom of the press derives from the right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1) of the Indian Constitution.

The formation of India and Pakistan in 1947 upon independence from Britain was followed by religious riots and the internal displacement of 12 million people across the new borders. There were 562 independent princely states and some border states such as Kashmir and Nagaland that had to be integrated into the new nation under various instruments of accession. India encompassed nearly 1,600 languages, 22 of which are recognized as official languages, and six major religions. Media were seen as having an important role in unifying the linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of identities under the new flag of India and the new Constitution.

Factors for Media Growth

Post-1947, changes in the socioeconomic profile of the population led to rapid media expansion. According to the first census in India after independence, about 18% of the population was literate. By the 2011 census, this had risen to 74%. Even though economic disparities persist, the growth of the economy and per capita income has helped in the robust growth of television and print media, especially in regional language markets.

Until the 1990s, when India began to open up its economy to global influences, the broadcast media were state-run monopolies, and print media circulation was restricted to the smaller percentage of educated elite. The winds of global change swept in, transforming the entire media landscape. The expansion of print media led to price wars between leading newspapers in major markets, resulting in a reduction in subscription revenues and greater dependence on advertising.

By 2020, 915 TV channels (866 private and 49 state-run TV channels) reached 836 million viewers from 197 million households; radio reached 226 million listeners. As of 2019, newspapers had

a readership of nearly 400 million and digital media had 449 million users.

Use of the Internet in India was constrained by limitations of technology but has expanded since the 2010s following the unveiling of new digital technologies and widening access to mobile phones. One survey found India ranked 122nd globally in Internet penetration in 2020, reaching 51.7% of the population, though it ranked second after China in terms of the number of users at 687.6 million.

Between 1995 and 2015, the Indian media and entertainment industry grew and diversified into a highly competitive and profitable market. The impact of the global economic crash of 2008 was short-lived on the Indian entertainment industry as the Indian economy withstood its fallout. However, in 2016, the Indian government withdrew from circulation high-value currency notes, which adversely impacted agriculture and small- and medium-sized enterprises that provide employment to nearly 90% of the population. The sudden loss of purchasing capacity had an immediate impact on the advertising industry.

A gradual recovery of the economy began in 2018. The introduction of addressability and digitization helped the television sector to improve its subscription revenues. However, the COVID-19-induced national shutdown in 2020 resulted in suspension of print editions of newspapers, shutting down of less profitable sister publications, and suspension of film and television shoots, which led to large-scale job losses across media.

Print Media

Early Years

The newspaper industry was in the private sector from the beginning in India. From the early years after independence, newspapers started by freedom fighters, social reformers, and political parties coexisted with the bigger newspapers run by prominent entrepreneurial families such as *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Gujarat Samachar*, *Mathrubhumi*, *Andhra Patrika*, *Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times*, and *Indian Express*.

The First Press Commission of India in 1954 mentioned 330 daily newspapers with an overall circulation of 2.5 million. In 2020, according to

the Registrar of Newspapers for India, of the 143,423 registered publications 19,782 are daily newspapers.

There are variations in literacy across regions, genders, and caste groups, but education in regional languages is a state policy. The unintended consequence of increasing literacy was the rise in media consumption in regional languages. The language media market has seen steady growth in the 2010s, bucking the trend of the global print media decline. Technological advances in printing and improvements in transport and transmission infrastructure were the other factors that accelerated and expanded the reach of print media to remote areas in India. Print media analysts predict potential growth for several more years as literacy rates continue to increase.

Status

The Hindi newspaper *Dainik Bhaskar* with 58 editions and a combined daily circulation of 5,119,720 is ranked third globally. *The Times of India*, which publishes in the English language with 34 editions, claims a daily circulation of 4,334,769, has been the largest circulated English daily for decades and has figured in the top 10 list globally.

The 2019 Indian Readership Survey report of the Media Research Users Council puts the newspaper readership at 425 million. Of this, Hindi dailies had 186 million readers, while the readership in other Indian languages was 211 million.

Inflection Points

There have been two inflection points in postindependent India that have changed the course of media industries. In 1975–1976, a national emergency was invoked by then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Constitutional guarantees of free speech, assembly, right to life, and liberty were suspended, and the media was subjected to censorship. The ferment that followed after the Emergency was lifted and fresh elections were held in 1977, unleashed a wave of resistance and gave rise to civil society movements for women's rights, human rights, environmental campaigns, and a host of other forms of cultural dissent. Each of these movements saw its reflection and

articulation in media, in addition to a continued debate on the freedom of speech and expression.

The second inflection point was 1991, when India joined the globalization project and began to open its markets and borders to foreign entrepreneurs. Until 1991, the news and information domain and its control were closely identified with national sovereignty and national integration.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The media industry was not insulated from the push toward globalization of the rest of the economy. Although this tendency was more visible in the broadcast industry, the possibility of non-Indian citizens investing in or controlling print media became a matter of debate some 40 years after 1955, when the government decided to restrict ownership and control of media entities to Indian citizens. Initially the newspaper industry resisted FDI and managed to restrain liberalization tendencies of the government for its own industry even as a majority of the mainstream newspapers advocated opening up of the economy in all other sectors. FDI is capped at 26% in newspapers and periodicals dealing with news and current affairs, but 100% FDI is allowed in Indian entities publishing technical and scientific publications.

Ownership

The Second Press Commission (1982) was constituted after the Emergency in 1978, reviving the debate about diversity and plurality of ownership of media. The First Press Commission in 1954 had raised the issue of ownership of newspapers following the concentration of major newspapers in the hands of a handful of big business houses. The two major questions—Whether the newspapers in a newly independent India can be run by foreign individuals, and whether newspapers can serve the interests of a nascent democracy if they are owned and controlled by big business houses, continue to engage media observers in India.

Registrar of Newspapers for India data show that of the 30,117 publications reporting to it, 26,750 are owned by individuals and account for 68.06% of total circulation. Joint stock companies (2,084 newspapers) account for 26.26% of

circulation. Many of the major newspaper entities also publish general and special interest magazines and have forayed into radio and television industries. The Press Council of India (PCI), headed by a retired Supreme Court judge, is the only regulatory body for print media. The PCI is only an advisory body, exerting moral pressure on media houses without any authority to ensure compliance.

Radio

Early Years

Radio appeared in India as a club activity of the expatriate British community in India. Soon the economics of running the stations compelled the takeover in 1930 by the imperial British government in India. Expertise, both technical and managerial, from the BBC came to India to make the operations viable. All India Radio (AIR) was christened by Lionel Fielden in 1936 and soon a technical blueprint and a coherent plan for programming emerged.

AIR's aspiration was to shape itself into a public broadcaster, structured like the BBC, autonomous and accountable to Parliament. However, first under the British colonial rule and then after independence, the system remained firmly under the control of successive governments, making it a state-run broadcaster paying its political obeisance to the ruling dispensations and not a public broadcaster independent of political interference. Broadcasting remained a state monopoly by law in India until the 1990s, when private entities began to be permitted.

Programming and news were two major areas of AIR's relationship with its audience. Carrying on the preindependence tradition of audience segmentation, a host of program slots catering to workers, women, farmers, youth, and children became features that remain to this day. A wide sweep of cultural programs from classical to folk music and drama became staples and were popular. Much of the programming was guided by the national objectives of inclusivity, secularism, and diversity, which aided in the project of national integration. By 1952, community development programs began to be implemented and the

government explicitly recognized radio, for the first time, as an instrument and an ally.

Attempts at Autonomy

The Indian National Congress led the national government up to the mid-1970s. In 1975–1976 when the Emergency was imposed, the limitations of the news operations of AIR came under scrutiny and became an election issue. The demand to make broadcasting autonomous caught the public imagination. When the first non-Congress government was formed in 1977, a committee headed by the eminent journalist B. G. Verghese was formed to suggest ways to make broadcasting structurally autonomous from the political parties in power. Twenty years later, in 1997, AIR came under the Prasar Bharati Corporation when the Prasar Bharati Act was adopted by Parliament. Autonomy for news operations never came to fruition and cut-backs in funding and preference for technocrats instead of creative broadcasters in recruitment further weakened the public service mandate AIR set for itself.

Localizing, Entry of Private Channels

Efforts at localizing began in AIR in 1984 with the first medium wave local station at Nagercoil in Tamilnadu, which in 1997 switched its transmission to FM. The AIR network now has 86 local stations catering to underserved ethnic communities. The radio industry experienced a revival when the 386 private FM stations entered the market, mainly broadcasting popular music. Private radio stations are not allowed to generate and broadcast news. They have been recently allowed to carry news feeds from AIR. All radio stations are also required to follow the broadcast code of AIR as a license requirement.

Status of the Industry

As of 2020, AIR had one national channel, 129 regional channels, 86 local channels, and five community radio (CR) stations reaching out through short wave, medium wave, FM, satellite, and digital technologies. AIR originates programming in 23 languages and several dialects covering 99% of the population.

The rapid expansion of access to smartphones with FM radio and Internet access has opened newer vistas for the industry. The radio industry has been experimenting with new technologies such as podcasts and streaming to reach out to more segments of audiences. FM radio has been allowed 49% FDI.

CR

CR is set up and managed by local communities and institutions, unlike the local stations that the state-run Prasar Bharati commissions. The range of transmission also tends to be smaller than the local FM radio stations. CR policy was first announced in 2002 limiting the stations to educational institutions. In 2006, nongovernmental organizations were allowed to start CR stations after a decade-long legal and advocacy battle. There are now 289 operational stations. Being small stations that cater to a limited geographical area, setting up the stations, and meeting operational costs poses challenge to their viability.

Being the first broadcaster to appear in India, AIR set the framework for programming strategies, audience segmentation, and genres for nearly 60 years since its inception in 1923. In the early years of television in India, the vision for broadcasting prevalent in AIR was transferred to television, mostly because the formative years were guided by personnel from radio. Opening the broadcasting industry to commercial entrepreneurs, along with technological changes, has radically transformed radio and TV content since the 1990s.

Television

Early Years

Television came to India in 1959 when the Dutch company Philips donated its demo equipment that was brought to a trade fair in Delhi. Television was considered a luxury for a poor country like India that was involved in nation building after a long period of colonial rule. Until 1975 when the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), a one-of-a-kind experiment in collaboration with NASA, was launched by the Indian Space Research Organisation to test its

potential as a medium for education and social development, television remained a low priority.

The television wing was christened Doordarshan in 1976 and launched as a separate entity after the conclusion of SITE. Although a slow expansion process began with stations and transmission towers, it was in 1982 that color television was introduced ahead of the Asian Games in Delhi. In 1984, the Indian government began installing a transmitter a day to scale up the reach.

In 1986, transmission networks began in each state of the country around local language programming hubs to move away from Delhi-centric coverage. The first national commercially sponsored soap operas, like *Hum Log*, were launched in the mid-1980s to a positive public response, followed in the late 1980s by serialized epics such as *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*. For a decade, state-run television captured the imagination of the viewers with entertainment programming that celebrated some of the best literature and arts in the country.

Entry of Cable TV

By the mid-1980s an informal, unregulated cable industry began to emerge in metro cities. Cables were run from a central hub to apartments where popular movies on VHS were shown to residents. Indian viewers in some cities saw the first Gulf War live in 1991, ramping up the clamor for access to global media. India began its economic reforms in 1991 and was compelled to relax norms to allow foreign transmissions that were hitherto illegal.

Global Winds and New Regulation

In 1991, the entry of foreign channels began when Hutchison Whampoa Group of Hong Kong began transmissions across Asia on ASIASEAT with Prime Sports, MTV, BBC, and Star TV. ZEE TV was the first Indian enterprise to buy space on that satellite for Hindi programs. In South India too, major media houses such as SUN TV and Eennadu began their foray into television. The entry of satellite channels triggered the rapid expansion of the cable industry that grew from 1.2 million households in 1991 to 11.8 million in 1994. The cable television industry, which had several small entrepreneurs that

skirted the law in providing connections to homes, was brought under the Cable Television Networks Regulation Act in 1995. The law required the registration of all such operators, setting down minimum standards of technical service and a program code. AIR and Doordarshan were brought under the Prasar Bharati Corporation in 1997 with the Prasar Bharati Act. In 1997, the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India was constituted by an act of Parliament to regulate an increasingly complex broadcast industry. TRAI holds policy consultations, and regulates tariffs, interconnection, and quality of service. In 2000, the TRAI Act was amended to establish the Telecommunications Dispute Settlement and Appellate Tribunal for dispute resolution among stakeholders.

In 2000, the government of India changed the laws to allow uplinking and downlinking broadcast signals from Indian soil, which led to the rapid growth in the number of news television channels across the country. Of the 866 private television channels, 383 are news channels.

Today, Indian television viewers have access to global channels such as BBC, CNN, Star TV, and Al Jazeera. Major global entertainment companies such as Viacom, Disney, Sony, and Star TV produce and distribute entertainment programs in regional languages through diversified niche programming. Franchises such as *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*, *Big Boss*, and *Indian Idol* jostle with film and entertainment programs made by Indian channels. Sports and devotional content have emerged as major profit centers for both the Prasar Bharati Corporation and the private companies offering bouquets of specialized TV channels.

New Distribution Systems

The increase in the numbers of channels triggered revenue sharing wars between distributors and the channels that have resulted in a series of inventions and innovations. The emergence of multisystem operators (MSOs) became inevitable as the local cable operators' capacity to invest in technology to supply hundreds of channels came under stress. There are 1,664 registered MSOs and over 100,000 local cable operators providing transmission services to the 836 million viewers. The government of India allows 100% FDI in cable and DTH platforms.

The 2010s saw the push for digitization of broadcasting that expanded the carrying capacity and the quality of signal, in addition to addressability where each individual user is accounted for. The Digital Addressable Systems and the Conditional Access Systems are expected to bring transparency to revenue sharing within the industry and expand choices to the consumer. The industry was beginning to reduce its dependency on advertising and increasing subscription revenues gradually since 2018.

Traditional media such as radio, TV, and newspapers have been dependent on advertising from the government as a major source of their income. This has been an important means of state control of media content, as was commercial advertising.

Ownership

India does not have cross media ownership regulation and does not have a robust system to address monopoly tendencies. Two major trends were observed in the television industry since the mid-2000s. When the television market began rapidly expanding, it was the owners of already entrenched newspapers, such as *Eenadu*, *The Times of India*, and *Anandabazar Patrika*, that started news and general entertainment channels, consolidating already existing heft in the market in print media with television. *The Hindi* and other regional language television and print media account for a large share of ratings and advertising revenue.

Television in various language markets in India also is largely owned by families and not by companies listed on the stock markets, which allows the family enterprises to maintain greater opacity in operations and regulatory conformity. In a lightly regulated environment, corporate governance and transparency of operations have been a much-debated issue in the industry.

The second phenomenon is the ownership of media enterprises emerging mostly from sectors such as real estate, infrastructure, and nonbanking finance companies. Each round of general elections in India since 2000 has seen the emergence of new television news channels started or supported by individuals with overt or covert political affiliations. Analysts have found that less than 4% of the 383 news channels are profitable. This

combination of political and economic power with control over information dissemination in a democracy has become an issue of concern.

Self-Regulation

The television industry, both entertainment and news segments, are regulated by self-regulatory mechanisms that have evolved over the years with varying degrees of success. Broadcasting Content Complaints Council under the Indian Broadcasting Federation regulates content of non-news channels while news content is regulated by the News Broadcasting Standards Authority under the News Broadcasters' Association. Advertising is regulated by the Advertising Standards Council of India. All registered channels are not members of broadcasters' associations and some powerful media houses who were members quit when the regulator received complaints about their channels, thus undermining the self-regulatory process.

The slowdown of the economy that began in 2018 resulted in news organizations closing bureaus and reducing the number of journalists on staff. The COVID-19 lockdown that began in late March of 2020 came before the economy, media, and advertising industries recovered from the 2018 slowdown, and intensified the crisis in media industries, further reducing advertising revenue and leading to job losses.

Online and New Media

Most newspapers and television news channels in India have a web presence now. Some major newspapers such as *The Hindu* have tried going behind paywalls. Television entertainment has given rise to aggregators that offer serials and entertainment for time-shift viewing. According to the FICCI 2019 report, Indians spent 30% of their phone time on entertainment. "Catch-up TV," content of major broadcasters viewed online after the broadcast, accounted for 70–90% of total viewing, and online video viewing grew by 25% to 325 million in 2018. Over 95% content viewed is in regional languages, leading to streaming media services also known as over-the-top (OTT) services investing in regional language content. There are 30 OTT platforms in India.

While news channels are struggling to break even, the online news audience grew to 245 million in 2019, according to the industry group FICCI. As of March 2019, 637 million people in India subscribed to an Internet service, with robust growth of rural subscribers. Of those with a subscription to an Internet service, 536 million had broadband Internet. In 2018, 340 million owned smartphones. Games surpass entertainment, music, and news in download of apps and time spent.

Since 2016, there has been a gradual increase in individuals starting Internet-based channels to offer news commentary, entertainment, and film and literary criticism through blogs and videos. There has been a rapid increase in user-generated content.

The year 2019 saw the emergence of a diversified market of OTT platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Hotstar that opened up opportunities for original content. Aha, Arre, Hoi-choi, and several other platforms have opened up opportunities for original content production in regional language markets. These platforms have been launching independent, experimental films made in Indian languages, giving the Indian content global access through subtitling. OTT platforms for music such as Gaana and Spotify have started streaming services in India.

Representation in Media

India has been occasionally riven by religious, caste, and ethnic conflicts for centuries. Populations practicing minority religions, and caste groups considered lower in the social hierarchy practiced in India, have had less representation in power structures and in the media establishments. Recent research has shown endemic underrepresentation of women, marginalized castes, and religious minorities in mainstream media enterprises that leads to exclusion of those perspectives. Since 2000, the mainstream media in India has come under greater scrutiny, including in significant work by scholars such as Robin Jeffrey, for neglecting to address the lack of representation of some sections of the population and rendering the needs of the poor, minority, and marginalized groups invisible in public discourse.

Freedom of the Press

The true test of robust media in a democracy is the extent of freedom the media enjoy. India was ranked 122 in 2010 in the World Press Freedom Index published by Reporters Without Borders but had slipped to 142 in 2020. Instances of journalists being killed (18 in 2018), arrested, and harassed for their work are increasing. In 2019, journalists and editors were threatened, arrested, or killed, and in Kashmir, media were completely shut down with all access to Internet cut for nearly 6 months.

Since 2014, editors-in-chief of prominent national newspapers, *The Tribune* and *Hindustan Times*, have been forced to resign. Journalists losing jobs for ground reporting, instances of journalists being threatened, cartoonists charged with sedition, and netizens being accused of “hurting religious sentiments” in their social media posts have been on the rise. Persecution through arrests and nonbailable jail sentences have become frequent, undermining the constitutionally guaranteed rights to free speech, life, and liberty.

Padmaja Shaw

See also ABP News; Asia, South; Pakistan

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INDIGENOUS NEWS MEDIA

Indigenous media refer to news reporting by and for Indigenous communities. In the United States, organizations such as the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) are partnering to amplify Indigenous journalists globally. As a result, Indigenous media are thriving.

“Indigenous” is the collective term used globally when referring to communities. However, in Canada, for example, Indigenous peoples may refer to some communities as “First Nations.” In the United States, “Native” and “Indigenous” are preferred in some communities over “Native American,” as these terms reflect the original inhabitants of their areas. NAJA notes it is important to ask the tribe and its members the best way to reference them to support sovereignty and self-determination.

This entry focuses primarily on Indigenous media in the United States, where more than 570 tribes are federally recognized and 60 additional tribes are recognized by states but not by the U.S. government. Topics covered include social media, freedom of the press, coverage by non-Indigenous media, guidelines for reporting on Indigenous communities, and support for future Indigenous journalists.

Society and Social Media: Indigenous-Supported Media

In terms of digital media, social media are not a new concept for many Indigenous communities. In 2018, Mark Trahant (Shoshone Bannock), a long-time award-winning journalist, received the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism Carr Van Anda Award. The award was named after a *New York Times* managing editor and Ohio University alumni, Carr Van Anda. Trahant, now editor of *Indian Country Today* (ICT), outlined eloquently from his research how social media is nothing new for Indigenous communities:

If you have ever been to the Southwest, the ancient Pueblo villages are still intact, most of them built around the 11th century. They had devised an extraordinary communication system built on roads. Pueblos were so aligned, in fact they can see it on satellite today, that they could communicate village-to-village with lights. Lights would go on. Lights would go off. One common zero. And, that is essentially the internet. (“Mark Trahant,” 2018)

In his speech, Trahant also discussed how social media started the first revolution in the United States—the one in 1680. Trahant noted how Pueblo communities protected themselves against Mexican invasion. He said a rope with many knots passed from village to village; each village untied a knot. When all the knots were out of the rope, the communities knew it was time for the revolution. The spreading of messages with signs and symbols didn’t stop in just one area of the country. The *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, was printed in syllabary and English. Its mission was to keep Cherokees informed and united. A different form of connectivity can be seen today by searching #NativeTwitter, but the message is still the same—attempting to reach and hear from and about Indigenous people and communities.

Indigenous Media and Journalists

ICT, a national media network, focuses on the message first, which today translates well for mobile technology. To understand ICT, its history

needs unpacking. Tim Giago (Oglala Lakota), editor for *Native Sun News Today* and the first president of the NAJA, originally founded the *Lakota Times*, the name of which he later changed to *ICT*, highlighting its national coverage. In a March 2018 opinion piece on Indianz.com, Giago wrote about frustration with editorial freedom at the publication he started in 1981 and later sold to the Oneida Nation in 1998. Six months before Giago’s editorial, during NAJA’s national conference, Indian Country Today Media Network (ICTMN) won several awards, and as the conference started, the media outlet ended. Now editor, Trahant rallied conference attendees for an impromptu session on ways to reestablish recently shut down ICTMN.

Five months after the conference, the National Congress of American Indians began housing the organization, naming Trahant as its editor. Then, on April 5, 2019, *ICT* announced its move from Washington, DC, to the Cronkite School of Journalism in Phoenix, AZ. Since this move, *ICT*, which dropped the “Media Network” from when it was with the Oneida Nation in New York, rebranded itself as “Digital. Indigenous. News.” Since the move, the San Manuel tribe announced a donation of US\$1 million to support the organization. *ICT* now has national correspondents as well as bureaus in Washington, DC, and Alaska. It also includes well-known names in Indigenous journalism, such as Karen Lincoln Michel (Ho-Chunk Nation), Patty Talahongva (Hopi), Mary Annette Pember (Red Cliff Band of Wisconsin Ojibwe), Joaquin Estus (Tlingit), and Dalton Walker (Red Lake Anishinaabe), as well as former NAJA student fellows and now journalists, Jourdan Bennett-Begaye (Diné), Aliya Chavez (Kewa Pueblo), and Kaitlin Onawa Boysel (Cherokee Nation). In fall 2019, the Associated Press began running *ICT*’s coverage as part of its wire services, which includes, at times, coverage from other U.S. tribal presses.

Today, NAJA includes more than 700 members, including non-Native journalists. Hundreds of Indigenous journalists work for either tribal or nontribal forms of media, such as newspaper, digital, radio, documentary/film, and/or public relations. In 2017, the first established Indigenous affairs desk at a non-Native press emerged at *High Country News* (HCN) by Tristan Ahtone

(Kiowa). HCN is based in Colorado but has reporters all over the country. Ahtone grew the one-person desk to a team of five Indigenous journalists and one non-Indigenous journalist, trained in covering Indian Country. Ahtone wrote in June 2018 seeking pitches for the desk stating HCN searched for content beyond stereotypical stories. There are guidelines today on how to pitch to the desk, including the examples of effective stories. Reports covered in the past year by HCN ranged from a Navajo punk rock band, a drag show, a stick ball tournament, to one tribal politician's support toward, what some might find surprising, a federal politician. Ahtone became editor in chief of the *Texas Observer* in 2020, where he again established an Indigenous Affairs desk. In 2020, KOSU, a central Oklahoman public radio station, also added an Indigenous Affairs desk with Allison Herrera (Salinan).

Non-Indigenous Media Issues

Meanwhile, outside of newsrooms with an Indigenous affairs desk, "otherness" still contributes to non-Indigenous media's assumptions, factual inaccuracies, and decontextualized news coverage.

NAJA continues to produce content and advisories noting when non-Indigenous media produce poor coverage. The organization offers ethics training to newsrooms and conducted these workshops in outlets such as *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*. When independent non-Indigenous media methodologies don't seem to add up in research and reporting—and, unbiased professional organizations such as the American Psychological Association have noted harm connected to terms repeated in this coverage, specifically connected to mascots—the NAJA board addresses the shortcomings in its newsletters, advisories, and social media messages, along with contacting the transgressing news organization to offer collaboration and/or training.

NAJA advisories created the "bingo card," a list of words often used together to produce stereotypical Indigenous news coverage. NAJA recommends reporters check their coverage against this card. The bingo card includes the following words: alcohol, dancing, a warrior, sexual assault, vanishing culture, reference to the ancestors, drugs, a casino, something sacred, unemployment, horses, spirits or ghosts, diabetes, addiction, drumming, broken families, "plight," poverty, violence, dying language, a reservation, singing, poor education, and suicide.

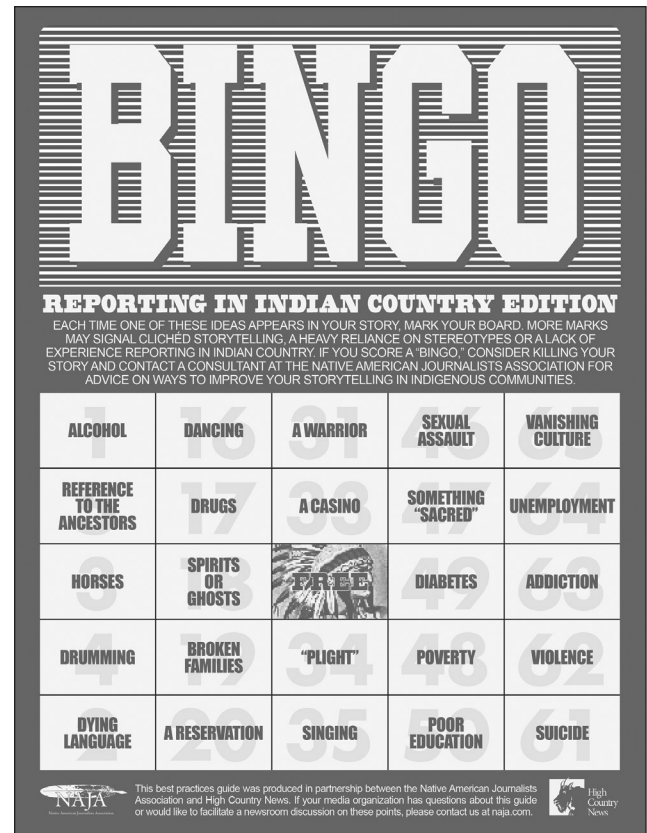


Figure 1. Bingo Card, Reporting in Indian Country Edition

Source: Native American Journalists Association, reprinted with permission.

spirits or ghosts, drumming, diabetes, addiction, broken families, plight, poverty, violence, dying language, a reservation, singing, poor education, and suicide (see Figure 1). The best practices guide's concept: If you have five words aligned horizontally, vertically, or diagonally that would make you win while playing bingo, then you aren't winning in covering Indigenous communities.

Other issues NAJA has addressed with guides include reporting on the Violence Against Women and Indian Child Welfare Acts. Both topics are heavily impacted by and reflect the complexities of tribal jurisdiction. Reporting advisories on Violence Against Indigenous Women (VAIW) and Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) assist in understanding the gaps in databases and tracking VAWI, which the U.S. Department of Justice notes is mainly done by non-Native men. The issue leads to problems in seeking convictions and pursuing coverage because

of complex jurisdiction issues where the state has none, the tribes have limited amount, and federal prosecution declinations are high due to a variety of issues.

Gaps between tribal and federal law have led some to create online databases to track issues themselves. In the case of MMIWG, nonprofit organizations, like the Urban Indian Health Institute out of Seattle, analyzed cases across cities and provided content to journalists to help them understand and detail their latest research in reports. Sovereignty is connected to both jurisdiction and the freedom of the press in Indian Country. If someone is not familiar with reporting on Indian Country, they must understand and unpack the important elements of sovereignty, not a term that can be explained in just a few sentences. So, reporters need to spend time to understand sovereignty and its connection to what they are covering—rather than assuming. At sovereignty's root is the following: Tribes determine what is best for them. A tribe determines its members. Tribes have their own languages, laws, and religions, and each is unique.

Freedom of the Press in Indigenous Communities

Connected to self-governing is freedom of the press; but not all Nations endorse this concept in monolithic ways. Press rights differ according to the tribe. NAJA, led at the time by former president and former John S. Knight Fellow at Stanford University, Bryan Pollard, created the Red Press Initiative, funded by the Ford Foundation. To research this topic, NAJA partnered with the Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters Without Borders, the Democracy Fund, the Indigenous Media Freedom Alliance, and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. The Red Press Initiative examines “accurate and contextual reporting” and specifically where tribal members receive their news and how staff, politics, advertising, and budget may impact what is reported on and by whom.

Still on the political radar today is *Muskoke Media*, which won the free press award from NAJA in 2016. In late 2018, the Muscogee (Creek) Nation National Council revoked its press

freedoms during an emergency meeting. The department's then manager, Sterling Cospo (Muscogee Creek), voluntarily stepped down as it reverted toward being a public relations arm of the tribe. Since then, there has been reinstatement legislation attempts after the initial repeal. Cospo then went to work as a program manager for NAJA. In 2020, the Muscogee Nation restored free protections to its tribal code, according to NAJA, and in 2021, it added a ballot voting question that if this constitution amendment passes, would require its citizens to approve any free press law changes.

Meanwhile, another former *Muskoke Media* employee, who was editor before the free press ordinance became law in 2015 and later a Muskoke Media board member, Rebecca Landsberry-Baker (Muscogee Creek), has worked for NAJA for almost 8 years, serving as executive director for close to 5, as of 2020. To amplify visibility of the redaction of Muscogee (Creek) press rights, the NAJA board and staff disseminated information to NAJA members, sharing information on future bills, votes, and the impact on the tribe. The advisories included citing the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

It is also the position of NAJA that Principal Chief Floyd and members of the Muscogee (Creek) National Council are in violation of UNDRIP which states in Article 1: “Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.” This includes the right to freedom of opinion and expression. (“NAJA asserts,” 2018, para. 9)

As of 2021, NAJA has highlighted three free presses: Cherokee, Osage, and The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde. The *Cherokee Phoenix* had the first independent press act in 2001. The *Phoenix* has also won NAJA's Elias Boudinot Free Press Award, awarded almost annually along with hundreds of other NAJA media awards at its annual National Native Media Conference. At times, the conference is in partnership with other national media and other organizations, such as

last year when it partnered with the Fourth Annual Conference on Native American Nutrition.

Reporting on Indigenous Communities

In general, NAJA recommends that reporters refer to a tribe specifically. On its website, it lists Indigenous terms as well as an Indigenous *Associated Press News* style guide. In short, these state that one Indigenous person should not speak for all Indigenous people. As reporter and NAJA board member, Graham Brewer (Cherokee Nation) stated, tribes shouldn't be lumped together even in news headlines. On his Twitter page, Brewer, who in 2021 became an NBC News Digital reporter, gives an example of rewriting an April 2019 *The Washington Post* headline that read:

This Native American inscription was found deep inside a cave. Two centuries later, scholars think they understand its meaning.

Brewer's rewrite:

This CHEROKEE inscription was found deep inside a cave. Two centuries later, scholars think they understand its meaning.

The NAJA guide also notes that Indigenous is spelled with a capitalized I, as it refers to people, not plants. NAJA has also been expanding itself and its guides internationally, partnering with the Global Investigative Journalism Network to create a downloadable guide with tools for Indigenous investigative journalism. In 2021, NAJA released reporting guides for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities in three languages: English, Spanish, and French.

Like most newsrooms, sourcing is essential when covering Indigenous communities. In a 2020 NAJA Media Spotlight report, the organization's research found non-Indigenous news often relied on officials and non-Indigenous sources to speak for Indigenous people and communities. Another stark finding: "More than half of national media coverage of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. surveyed relied on clichéd themes and stereotyping terminology." (NAJA Media Spotlight, 2020, para. 2). However, there was an upside to the

findings, a national news network reposted Associated Press stories by a former NAJA president and *Seattle Times* reporter Mary Hudetz (Crow), who then worked for the Associated Press. Having this sort of representation in non-Indigenous newsrooms can be highly valuable to non-Indigenous media who have struggled with covering Indian Country.

Next-Generation Indigenous Journalists

Leaders like Hudetz, as well as other NAJA, members have laid the groundwork to advocate for and support the next generation of storytellers in Indigenous and non-Indigenous newsrooms. NAJA crafted a pathways program to support students and professionals. At the student level, programs cover high school, undergraduate, and even graduate students (for college credit). For the student fellowship, prior to the National Native Media Conference, students are paired with a mentor and attend webinars held by journalism experts, while hosted by a NAJA student mentor-in-training who has already been through the student fellowship at least once. During the conference, the students cover the event as well as stories connected to Indigenous people and communities. Some students continue this work for college credit; and in connection with their university, they may receive it for undergraduate or graduate credit. As part of the pathways system, students may return as a NAJA fellow; however, students must submit a portfolio showing how they grew since the conference and detail their next hopeful steps in the program. Several layers to the pathways system are student and professional focused. Pathways also support transitioning members between fields or professionals new to the business.

In terms of Indigenous people in non-Indigenous news organizations, the numbers are stark. On average, these numbers, as the American Society of News Editors' census pages note, have been over the years in the decimal points of less than 1%. Partnerships between professionals and student organizations can provide an entryway to more inclusivity within non-Indigenous news organizations.

For example, several NAJA partnerships materialized through academia. Columbia University provided funds to support student attendance at the NAJA national conference. In 2021, New York University's journalism institute offered full tuition scholarships to one of its 10 graduate-related programs. On a smaller scale and before the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, Ohio University, at one point, created within its journalism school a Scripps Scholar with NAJA. These funds supported a NAJA college student fellow attending in a leadership capacity the Scripps journalism school's high school workshop and also the NAJA national conference. While at Ohio University, the student learned about a possible graduate or another form of advanced degree. Through another initiative, NAJA's sustaining membership, universities or organizations may join and receive incentives, such as multiple memberships as well as opportunities to conduct webinars with all members. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, universities such as Arizona State University offered to host the 2020 national NAJA conference.

Within the journalism industry—and in academia—complaints emerge about the difficulty some non-Indigenous news managers have finding Indigenous students or Indigenous reporters. However, organizations such as NAJA could provide these organizations with a list of Indigenous reporters. For example, the Institute for American Indian Arts has journalism alumni who have excelled, including two NAJA board members, Christine Trudeau (Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation) and Ahtone. Haskell Indian Nations University has in the past won numerous awards at the Native American National Media Conference. Some of these students go to Haskell and are taught by Rhonda LeValdo (Acoma Pueblo), a former NAJA president and a working journalist serving as a host for Native Spirit 90.1 FM KKFI-KC and as a reporter for *National Native News*.

More than 30 tribal colleges exist in the United States. The Center for Native American and Indigenous Research (CNAIR) at Northwestern University's director is a NAJA member, Dr. Patty Loew, (Bad River Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe) and CNAIR's associate director community outreach and engagement, Pamala Silas (Menominee/Oneida) is a former NAJA

executive director. NAJA has also reinvigorated its Project Phoenix high school program in a certificate form; curriculum may be added to current existing high school programs at universities to professional national news organizations. So, there is a full circle support in the pathways system, from high school through advanced graduate degree to professional jobs in transition in order to support Indigenous voices engaging and providing ethical content.

Final Thoughts

As academics and newsrooms think about reporting on Indigenous people and communities, as the 2020 NAJA Media Spotlight report highlighted, they should think about who is speaking about Indigenous communities and in what ways. Sourcing, frames, and visuals matter from the headline to the hashtag. There are Indigenous people in every facet of journalism and public relations, such as Jennifer Bell (Citizen Potawatomi Nation), the Director of Public Information at Citizen Potawatomi Nation to freelancer Lenzy Krehbiel-Burton (Cherokee Nation) who has written for tribal to local to regional to national media outlets, including tweeting a reporter's notebook of events, as they happened when covering tribal council meetings from her handle @lenzykb.

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See also Diversity in Journalism; Journalism Awards; Journalism Education; Social Media

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INDONESIA

Indonesia's news media serve a population of over 267 million people, most of whom live on the archipelago's main island Java. Indonesia is home to the largest community of Muslims in the world and has a linguistic diversity of more than 700 languages. The development of media and journalism in the country was strongly influenced by its historical, cultural, political, economic, and legal contexts. News media have operated under tight political restrictions for decades until Indonesia, after a peaceful revolution and takeover by a reform government in 1998, started its—still unfinished—transition to democracy.

Indonesian news media and journalism have been particularly influenced by the advancement of communication technologies and the popularity of the Internet. The Internet, which in the 1990s was used to spread critical journalism content at the time when the news was subjected to tight political control, has become the most popular channel as its affordances allow easy access to news and information. It also influenced journalists' work routines, providing better access to news sources and more options to sell and promote news products. In 2020, the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) indicated that about 64% of the country's population, or around 170 million people, have access to the Internet, with a majority of them accessing it through mobile phones.

Easy access to the Internet also aided the birth of citizen journalism through social media channels. During the 2014 presidential elections, as well as during the 2017 elections for Governor of Jakarta, social media have demonstrated significant power in the public sphere by driving citizen journalism and social activism. While this situation democratized the production and flow of news in Indonesia's public sphere, it also had several adverse consequences, such as easy spread of content promoting sectarianism and racism. Furthermore, journalists are still targets of violent attacks. In 2017, the Alliance of Independent Journalists, for instance, reported between 20 and 80 attacks on Indonesian journalists per year over the last decade, many of which were perpetrated by police and the military.

This entry offers a brief history of journalism in Indonesia and a description of journalists in the country based on recent survey data.

Journalism and Media in Indonesia: A Short History

The history of Indonesian journalism dates back to the early 20th century and is closely related to the rise of nationalism during Dutch colonial rule. The first Indonesian newspaper, *Medan Prijaji*, started publishing in 1907. Along with other newspapers that came around at the same time in different parts of the country, newspapers were used to spread nationalist ideas and feed emerging nationalist movements, such as Budi Utomo and

Perhimpunan Indonesia. However, after the crash of the communist uprisings in the mid-1920s, colonial authorities tightly suppressed journalists and the press.

When Indonesia declared independence in August 1945, political journalism started thriving again. Within the first few years of Sukarno's presidency (1945–1967), at least 124 newspapers were newly founded. No censorship existed due to the transitional period from Dutch and Japanese occupation to the Indonesian government, while at the same time, media supporting the Dutch colonial rule continued to exist with the sole purpose of propaganda. Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), a chain of state-run radio channels, was established in 1945. Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) followed in 1962. The launch of the first communication satellite in 1974 supported the emergence of private radio stations across the country. Private radio stations were permitted to operate under strict government control. Private television stations started broadcasting in 1988.

The government began experimenting with press restrictions in the mid-1950s with various types of laws. The 1956 military regulation, for example, enabled authorities to imprison journalists based on charges of defamation of the president or vice president or for disseminating any kind of news that the government believed could create social chaos or political unrest. Several newspapers, such as *Abadi*, *Pedomani*, and *Nusantara*, were banned from operation around this time. The New Order regime under President Suharto, who rose to power in 1966, imposed even stronger restrictions on the press. Additional regulations included publication licenses for all kinds of print media, restrictions on the formation of journalists' associations, and the introduction of the development journalism paradigm as a professional norm to the practice of journalism. Under the notion of "*Pancasila* journalism" (*Pancasila* is Indonesia's official national ideology), journalists were expected to support national development as well as to educate the public and avoid any reporting that could ignite interethnic, interreligious, interracial, and intergroup conflicts (commonly abbreviated SARA). Those who chose not to follow this norm and disobey state restrictions risked their media licenses and, in a number of cases, faced imprisonment. Government control

over the media, which was instituted through a separate Ministry of Information, influenced journalists' perceptions of their roles and nurtured a common practice of self-censorship and "writing between the lines" for several decades.

Journalists started enjoying press freedom only after President Suharto lost his power in 1998. The reform government introduced a new, liberal Press Law in 1999, abolished the Ministry of Information, and, with the 2008 Public Information Transparency Law, marked an open government by guaranteeing journalists access to government information. The government also allowed the establishment of an independent Press Council in 2000, marking the introduction of a media accountability framework. Since then, the number of media outlets increased rapidly after the fall of the New Order government. The number of print media, for example, skyrocketed from 289 in 1997, the year before the New Order government lost its power, to 1881 in 2001. The number of radio stations doubled between 1998 and 2002. The number of private television stations also increased to 10 national channels. These stations then rebroadcast their programs through local television stations across the country. Around this time, more individuals owned media outlets that offered journalism content and more media institutions employed news producers and journalists who were not necessarily trained.

Online-based journalism took a different path in 1994, with former journalists from banned media outlets (such as *Tempo*, *Detik*, and *Editor*) using the Internet as a way to support a free flow of information and alternative voices. The formal status of state-run RRI and TVRI also changed to public service media. In addition, the government established an independent broadcasting commission to self-regulate the country's broadcasting system and allowed the creation of independent journalist associations. Since then, at least 29 independent journalism associations have been established. These organizations also have teamed up to create an Indonesian journalism code of ethics.

Recent years have seen an increased concentration of media ownership and intensified ties between media owners and political parties. Despite media ownership being redistributed from the cronies of former President Suharto to a larger

number of media entrepreneurs, media ownership tends to be dominated by oligarchs with political ambitions, which is particularly true for larger national television channels. Under such circumstances, Indonesian journalists often cater to the needs of the archipelago's economic elite and their political allies. This situation has not only threatened press freedom and freedom of expression, but it also opened the door for unethical practices in journalism.

Journalists in Indonesia

The development of media and journalism also impacted training and education for journalists. Prior to the reform era, formal education through journalism majors in higher education was not available. Professional journalists learned by doing or enrolled in short journalism courses offered by professional journalists. International organizations tried to fill the gaps by introducing new journalism practices through foreign trainers. However, such media development efforts turned out challenging due to the often different, if not incompatible, value systems shared by the trained journalists and by their trainers who came from different cultures. Today, journalism has been widely offered in university settings as well as in further professional education. As of 2021, the National Accreditation Body for Higher Education (BAN-PT) listed 12 accredited journalism programs run by universities across the country. In addition to the degree programs with accreditation, there is a plethora of journalism-related study programs offered by the numerous private universities and institutions of higher education below university level (notably, academies and universities of applied sciences).

According to a 2015 survey by Nurhaya Muchtar and Masduki, there are approximately 42,000 journalists working across the archipelago. Only a relatively small proportion of the 663 interviewed journalists were women (21.5%). On average, Indonesian journalists are 34.4 years old and obtained a relatively high level of education, overwhelmingly a bachelor's degree. Most interviewed journalists held full-time job positions (69.2%), another 8.2% of the respondents indicated that they had part-time employments, and 17.2% worked as freelance journalists.

Indonesian journalists are fairly experienced. On average, they have worked for 8.5 years and about half of them have more than 7 years of professional experiences. Most journalists work on various topics and subjects (66.6%), only a third of the journalists specialize in a specific area of coverage, such as politics, health, or economy. Most journalists are members of a professional association (69.5%). Job satisfaction and professional commitment remain reasonably high—despite low pay and often difficult working conditions.

With regard to their perceptions of professional roles, Indonesian journalists find it most important to report things as they are, educate their audience, promote tolerance and cultural diversity, let people express their opinions, and advocate for social change. According to Thomas Hanitzsch and Dedy Nur Hidayat, journalists very much embrace the idea of journalism serving as a Fourth Estate in democracy, and they are strongly oriented toward impartiality, neutrality, factualness, verification, and credibility. The partisan style of journalism that endured during Sukarno's regime seems to have vanished from Indonesia's newsrooms. It is only their slightly greater appreciation of interventionist reporting—that is, to influence public opinion and advocate for social change—which sets Indonesian journalists somewhat apart from news workers in Western countries. And although most journalists in the country were socialized into the ideology of the media as being “free but responsible” (Assegaft, 1983, p. 12), there seems to be no particularly strong developmental orientation shared by Indonesia's news people.

According to the aforementioned 2015 study, Indonesian journalists show a strong commitment to professional standards of journalism ethics. Journalists generally agreed that journalists should always adhere to the code of professional ethics (98.9%). Most journalists disagree with the idea that moral standards should be set aside if extraordinary circumstances require it (78.1%) and that what is ethical depends on the specific situation (60.6%) and is a matter of personal judgment (77.4%).

Like many of their colleagues in other countries, most Indonesian journalists justify controversial reporting practices based on harmless

deceptions, but only a few of them would consider methods of investigation that involve serious offense and harm. Most journalists believe that using hidden microphones or cameras (74.1%) as well as paying people for confidential information (60.1%) and getting employed in an organization in order to get inside information (56.4%) is justifiable, at least on occasion. A large number of journalists also believe that using government or business documents without authorization (49.8%), claiming to be somebody else (30.0%), and exerting pressure from unwilling information in order to get information (24.7%) is justified, at least under certain circumstances.

Journalists in Indonesia also reported that they had limited professional autonomy. Only 38.2% said that they had a great deal of freedom in selecting news stories. About 44% of the journalists reported that they had complete freedom in deciding what aspects to emphasize in news stories. Journalists in state-owned media organizations feel substantially less autonomous than their colleagues in private media where commercialization has become an important driving force. Altogether, Indonesian journalists feel that their work is influenced by professional, procedural, and organizational factors more than by political and economic forces. One specialty of Indonesian journalism is the relatively strong influence of religious leaders, a tendency that reflects the country's multiethnic and multireligious society.

*Thomas Hanitzsch, Nurhaya Muchtar, and
Masduki Masduki*

See also Asia, East and Southeast; Press and Government Relations; Press Freedom

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INFOTAINMENT

Infotainment is a neologism that refers to the blurring between information and entertainment in news and current affairs programming, whether it be in the selection of news stories (e.g., more emphasis on celebrity gossip, crime stories, and human interest pieces) or in their presentation (flashy graphics, sound effects, and sensationalism).

The media environment in the United States and around the world has undergone dramatic changes since the late 1970s and early 1980s. Not only have technological innovations changed the way citizens consume various media, but the structure of the industry has changed as well. Growing conglomerations of media companies have led to a dramatic increase in information available and in competition for audiences. Newspaper readership is down as is viewership of the major network news programs. As audiences turn to Internet-based news sources, media companies are searching for ways to maintain if not expand their audience shares while increasing advertising revenues. News divisions of media companies,

once treated by management as insulated from market pressures, are now considered additional sources of revenue. These economic challenges have helped blur the news-entertainment distinction as news producers rely on entertainment value to “sell” news stories.

Infotainment is a buzzword, first popularized in the 1980s, and commonly used by communications scholars and critics to describe the erosion of the line that once divided news (information) and entertainment. Historically, news organizations maintained a distinction between “hard” news and entertainment, or “soft” news, programming. Infotainment may be used as a synonym for “soft” news, defined broadly as, “a residual category for all news that is not ‘hard,’ as a particular vocabulary in presenting the news ... and as a set of story characteristics, including the absence of a public policy component, sensationalized presentation, human-interest themes, and emphasis on dramatic subject matter, such as crime and disaster” (Baum 2003, 92).

This kind of content is often the result of standard journalistic practice combined with market influence. Researcher Doug Underwood describes five ways in which news and marketing goals interact. He argues that the “marketing and bottom-line influence” upon today’s media can be seen in the following:

[T]he tabloid techniques adopted by ratings-fixated local television stations and the network television newsmagazines . . . the embrace of splashy visual techniques and news-you-can-use items by newspapers desperate to stem a four decade long readership slide . . . the explosion of salacious copy and scandal coverage in traditional media outlets and on the Internet . . . the mixing of entertainment, crime, and gossip with the news by television organizations trying to hold onto their audience; and the ‘synergy’ of relentlessly expanding media conglomerates eager to treat the news as a ‘product’ to be recast for the publicity, promotional, and marketing purposes of their integrated media holdings. (Underwood 2001, 100)

Defined as such, infotainment includes daytime television shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, entertainment news programs like

Entertainment Tonight, talking-head forums such as *Hannity and Colmes*, and late-night talk shows including political punchlines from late-night host David Letterman or the satirical stylings of *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. These types of programs convey political and public affairs information through humor, discussion panels, and feature stories, and try to do so in an entertaining, eye-catching manner. So do such news magazines as NBC's *Dateline*, which increasingly stress crime and human-interest stories as opposed to hard news.

News programming and entertainment are not necessarily opposites, however. Entertainment television often has informative elements and news can often be entertaining in its presentation. It is now common for 24-hour American cable news channels and television network broadcasts to underpin stories using graphics, sound effects, and slogans. The presentation of news items in such a stylized, eye-catching manner is not new, nor is it limited to electronic media. *USA Today* has since 1981 packaged the news using graphics, charts, and flashy color photographs, putting as much or more emphasis on style than substance.

Media critics argue that by providing content in this manner, media are failing the public as a source of reliable information necessary to the democratic process. Others suggest that soft news and infotainment might actually be good for consumers. Researcher Matthew Baum claims that not only do large numbers of Americans consume soft news, but soft news programs also attract viewers normally not interested in political programming. By "piggy-backing" information about foreign policy and politics onto entertainment-oriented programs, these normally inattentive soft news consumers may actually gain information.

Media mergers promote the atmosphere in which infotainment thrives. To take just one example, after America Online and Time Warner joined forces in 2000, the top executives at Turner Broadcasting, the parent company of CNN, were replaced by entertainment industry insiders with very little news experience. Large media conglomerates with diverse holdings including film production houses, magazines, book publishing companies, newspapers, and broadcast stations often use these outlets to promote their products. This cross-promotion of media holdings has made

its way into news broadcasts. News anchors often interview celebrities in order to promote new films that are owned by the same parent companies.

Infotainment, while entertaining and good for the bottom line, takes up time and space that might otherwise be filled with more important ("serious" or "hard") news items. Put another way, what is *not* making it on the air or into the press? One reason infotainment is so appealing to news editors is that it is unlikely to offend viewers. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu concluded, "part of the symbolic function of television, in the case of the news, for example, is to call attention to those elements that will engage everybody—which offer something for everyone. These are things that will not shock anyone, where nothing is at stake, that do not divide, are generally agreed on, and interest everybody without touching on anything important." When viewers, and the advertising dollars they bring, matter, the temptation to air infotainment-oriented programming is heightened.

The rise of infotainment is mainly a result of market forces and pressure to constantly grab the viewer's attention and keep them tuned in. One reason for the increase in "news you can use" items, feature stories, and localized topics is the perception of news consultants and editors that this is what the public wants. CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour once told a group of news executives,

Think of how much more of a contribution we could make to this great society if we weren't so dependent on what I call those hocus-pocus-focus awful groups who tell us what people are not interested in. . . . time has proven that all the gimmicks and all the cheap journalism can only carry us so far. (quoted in Anderson 2004, 29)

Whether consultants, market researchers, and news "gatekeepers" are correct is debatable, but one result of the glut of infotainment is less coverage of government and the bureaucracy. Although their decisions may be vital to local citizens, city council or school board meetings rarely sell newspapers; scandals involving Hollywood celebrities do. If the role of the press in a free society is to give the public the information they *need* to be self-governing, in addition to the programming

they may *want*, the implications of infotainment-saturated news content may be having large and lasting effects.

Gerard Paul Matthews

See also Entertainment Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Lifestyle Journalism; Media Criticism; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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INNOVATION JOURNALISM

Innovation journalism (InJo) is journalism covering innovations. It refers to journalism that focuses on reporting how innovations happen in societies, and emphasizes the importance of providing precise language and illustrative narratives that enable public discussions about new technological trends and their social implications. In addition, InJo has a future orientation and an objective of using new

digital tools for journalistic storytelling. InJo as a reform movement was in its heyday from 2004 to 2011.

Horizontal Approach

To understand innovation processes, a journalist needs to draw knowledge from several different special fields such as technology, economics, politics, science, culture, and law. In this respect, InJo challenges traditional news beat systems. It aims at producing thought-provoking and critical journalism about complex topics such as nanoscience, laser technology, the Internet of Things, and medicine. Ultimately, InJo is a reformation movement for technology and business journalism.

InJo is interested in different levels of processes. At the micro level, an article could focus on a solo innovator or team of innovators, one innovation process, or one innovative company or organization. At the macro level, more general approaches as well as broader themes are reported such as industry-wide perspectives, innovation ecosystems' analyzes, or national innovation strategies. An article on a development process, for instance, might focus on the development of a new drug and its introduction to the market, while an article analyzing a local business ecosystem could describe the clean technology (cleantech) sector in California's Silicon Valley.

The term *innovation journalism* was coined by Swedish physicist David Nordfors in 2003, when he was working at the Swedish Agency for Innovation Systems (Vinnova). Nordfors was among the first to notice that even if technological and social innovations were argued to be key drivers of economic growth globally, journalists in general did not cover topics that were related to innovation processes. According to Nordfors, innovations fell between many traditional news beats.

InJo Fellowship Program as the Main Tester

To test the InJo concept in practice, whether innovation could be its own news beat or not, Nordfors's employer Vinnova started to fund a special InJo program. It consisted of academic research and a fellowship program initially aimed at educating mid-career Swedish technology and

economic reporters as innovation journalists. Later mid-career journalists from Finland, Slovenia, Mexico, and Pakistan joined the International Innovation Journalism fellowship program.

From 2004 to 2011, the InJo Fellowship Program was affiliated with the Stanford Center for Innovations in Learning (SCIL) and hosted by Stig Hagström (1932–2011), a professor emeritus of materials science and engineering. Later SCIL was first merged to industry partners program, Media X-program, and finally to the H-STAR (Human Sciences and Technologies Advanced Research) Institute at Stanford. Situated in the heart of Silicon Valley, the InJo Fellowship Program had a vantage point on the world's leading innovation ecosystem. It lasted 5 to 6 months annually, from spring to early fall, and was divided into three phases.

The program started with an introductory period at Stanford University, then was held off-campus at the Stanford Research Institute (SRI). After academic lectures, discussions, and company excursions, the fellows joined different hosting U.S. newsrooms, mainly in the West and East coasts. For example, Bloomberg, *Fortune* magazine, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *PC World*, CNET, Red Herring, and VentureBeat hosted several InJo fellows. Finally, the fellows co-organized with founding Executive Director David Nordfors the Innovation Journalism Conference at Stanford.

The conference consisted of keynote talks, paper presentations, panel and round-table discussions, and workshops. All the fellows' papers and academic research papers were published in an open access publication *Innovation Journalism* (Innovationjournalism.org). Many of Silicon Valley's innovation veterans and luminaries contributed to the conference, for example SRI's Douglas Engelbart and Google's Vint Cerf. Also, prominent Silicon Valley-based tech reporters such as *The New York Times*' John Markoff, the *San Jose Mercury News*' Dan Gillmor, and ABC News' Michael S. Malone gave keynote talks or participated in the panel discussions.

The annual Innovation Journalism Conference acted as the center of a social network interested in developing InJo activities around the world. It attracted not only journalists but professionals from higher education to public policymakers and

public relations. For example, Slovenian entrepreneur and politician Violeta Bulc contributed to several InJo conferences. She acted later, for example, as the European Commissioner for Transport (2014–2019).

Innovation Journalism, an open access publication, served as the main communication platform for journalism fellows and other developers. As often happens with new initiatives and ventures, several "schools" were created during the active years of the InJo program, all having slightly different emphases. For example, in Germany the focus was mainly on innovation communication, whereas in Finland the importance of social innovations and future orientation were highlighted.

The InJo Fellowship Program was followed closely by academic scholars. Several rounds of interviews and content analysis were conducted during the active years of the program. Based on the results of these studies, almost all the fellows were critical toward the idea that InJo could be a new beat in the newsrooms. According to the fellows, innovations were considered too complicated, long-lasting processes to become its own journalistic beat. In similar fashion, a content analysis of 410 InJo stories made in 2004–2008 by 38 fellows showed that their work was still quite close to that of traditional business and economy reporters. News was clearly the main genre of the fellows' stories, big technology companies dominated as sources, and the future-orientation was rather weak. However, the fellows actively tested new digital tools and applications such as blogs in their reporting.

During its tenure, the fellowship program educated about 50 mid-career journalists, mainly from Sweden and Finland, but also some journalists from Slovenia, Mexico, and Pakistan. After their fellowships, many journalists advanced in their journalism careers while others changed their professions to work in public relations or as academic researchers and educators. Based on several rounds of research interviews, one common pattern for example among the Finnish InJo fellows was to change their jobs after the return to their home country.

Learnings and Legacies

In the end, InJo did not get enough support in the newsrooms as its own news beat. Especially after

the financial crisis of 2007–2008, specialist reporting from foreign reporting to science journalism seemed to be too expensive and luxurious, suitable only for the most resourceful news organizations.

However, the interplay of innovation and journalism did resonate for example with other reform movements such as constructive journalism and data journalism. In addition, educationally speaking, Stanford University's John S. Knight Fellowship program transformed its curriculum successfully toward innovations in journalism at the turn of the 2010s.

InJo was introduced as a new academic research area for journalism studies via annual Stanford conferences, which had its own academic tracks from 2006 to 2011. In addition, InJo as a new concept in journalism studies was introduced at the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) conferences in 2008 in Stockholm, Sweden, and in 2010 in Braga, Portugal. After these conferences, IAMCR started to pay more attention to the importance of innovations in journalism studies. The need for constant adaptation and innovativeness are an essential part of the survival strategies of many news organizations. In this way, InJo, at least a small part, paved the way for the contemporary journalism studies via emphasizing the importance of the interplay of innovations and journalism.

After the InJo program ended in 2011, many national InJo initiatives, which were funded by different national foundations, started to fade away. For example, in Finland, the Association for Innovation Journalism was founded as the first and only of its kind in the world in the year 2007. During its active years, the Finnish InJo Association organized several meetings and excursions for its members. Until the year 2012, the association awarded annually InJo crystals for the best innovation stories published in Finland. The awarded stories were long reads or series published by national or regional newspapers. Their topics varied from environmental reporting to local clusters of new tech companies. The association was discontinued in 2017.

Clearly, InJo as a practice demands more time than average news reporting to fulfill all its ambitious aims. To understand often long-lasting innovation processes, long reads, feature formats,

and series would better suit InJo than short news bites.

Perhaps, the best examples of contemporary InJo one can find regularly are from the British magazine *The Economist* (it calls itself a “newspaper”). *The Economist*, uncommonly, has its own research staff at the Economist Intelligence Unit that provides thoughtful pieces often mixing economics, politics, and culture in order to understand certain industries or societal processes. In addition, *The Economist* publishes annually a special future-oriented issue; the 35th edition was “The World in 2021.”

Turo Ilari Uskali

See also Business Journalism; Constructive Journalism; Data Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Google; Journalism Education; Longform Journalism; Science and Technology Journalism

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INSTAGRAM

Originally developed as a means for people to connect, make plans, and play games, Instagram has evolved into one of the most widely used social network sites in the world with more than 1.2 billion users as of late 2020. Instagram offers an array of communication options including photo posts, videos, memes, GIFs, live video sharing, longer form content sharing (i.e., IGTV), archiving, commenting, and direct messaging. These features, along with Instagram's easily accessible and widely used geo-tagging and hashtagging options, have collectively helped the social network site become an important news and information sharing platform while promoting new forms of engagement among news organizations, journalists, and news audiences.

As news organizations continue their decades-long efforts to effectively thread social network sites into journalism, Instagram has evolved into a space where users can engage with news and information in transformative ways that extend beyond its primary use as an entertainment tool. Where the internet offered news audiences the chance to consume and comment on the news in near-real time at the turn of the 21st century, Instagram and related platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok now give users the power to consume, comment on, and create news content as it happens. Many of these users have become news influencers, gaining larger followings without working for or with news organizations and often without much, if any, journalistic training or background. This comes as part of journalism's shift toward richer audience engagement and the acceptance of content created by nonjournalists, a turn which began in the late 1990s but only gained traction with newsrooms more widely nearly two decades later.

Instagram now ranks as one of the most popular and widely used social network sites in the world and has an especially American user-base given its beginnings in the United States. According to the Pew Research Center, one in seven adults get their news from Instagram as of 2020 with a higher frequency among women and users under the age of 50. This falls in line with Instagram's younger demographic, which is part of a

user-base that is expected to generate close to US\$20 billion in ad revenue for the social network site in 2021 and continues to reshape how journalism is created for and shared across Instagram. This entry examines Instagram's history and evolution, summarizes critiques of the platform, and explores its impact on news production and circulation.

History and Features of Instagram

Instagram began in 2010 as the creation of computer programmer Kevin Systrom and software engineer Mike Krieger, who combined their interests in social network sites to create a space where individuals could "instantly" share images and text in a quasi-"telegram" style (hence the name, Instagram). Users initially could create a public or private account with the mobile app and take or upload photos in a grid format that appeared below a brief user bio. Other users could like or comment on those uploads. More than 10 million people downloaded the app in its first year as Instagram expanded its sharing capabilities to make the social network site more compatible with existing photocentric platforms such as Flickr.

In 2012, Instagram was purchased by Facebook for more than US\$1 billion in cash and stock and added several features in the 8 years that followed. Those included more filters and borders for photos, increased privacy settings and controls, improved means for linking content with external apps and internet sites, hashtags and geotags that allowed users to find similar content and users to engage with, archiving capabilities, video sharing, and longer form content sharing.

Such changes have allowed news organizations and journalists to create and share news content in relatively new ways. Beyond breaking news as it happens and providing deeper context through longer form posts, news organizations and journalists are able to brand themselves and their style of journalism through their bios and content while also engaging more directly and responsively with other users. Such responses may come in the form of comments below posts, user engagement with hashtags created for specific content, user-created content to go along with those hashtags and other news stories, and engagement in polls, surveys, questions, and nearly live streams

posted by news organizations and journalists. News organizations have also begun experimenting with more ephemeral content that can be consumed and liked or engaged with in a matter of seconds. This was especially apparent during the U.S. presidential election in 2020 when many news organizations hosted virtual town halls, quick takes, and political polls on Instagram and during the global pandemic that struck in 2020 where news organizations and journalists brought updates 24/7 to their followers. Much of this content was posted as events happened and was only available for 24 hours as part of the platform's "stories" function before disappearing from Instagram or being archived.

Journalists not only utilize Instagram to interact with other users, including readers and possible sources, but also use the social network site to share photos and personal details of their lives. Photos, videos, and other content posted on Instagram offer a look into journalists' professional and personal lives, and while they are not casual in the sense of unedited or unplanned posts, they show moments worthy of documentation that are not necessarily professional in nature. Journalists' interactions on Instagram continue to blur the line between personal and professional practice, aided by the platform's format and functionalities, along with the journalist's preferences.

Similarly, users also utilize Instagram to share personal and professional content, with users increasingly professionalizing their social media presence. Users began cataloging their everyday lives with the use of hashtags and geotags, and while not originally marketed as a business tool, many individuals began to use Instagram to build their own brands around their lifestyles. Aided by Instagram's 2016 update allowing users to choose whether they wanted to maintain their personal account or switch to a business account which offered analytics, users began to establish themselves as professionals on the platform. In doing so, they've found ways to comment on, share, and create the news. Users saw the value in sharing their lives on Instagram and began building large followings, creating a persona popularly known as the social media influencer. Not only do influencers collaborate with brands and promote products and services for them, they spread beliefs and ideologies and even create

their own goods to sell to their followers within their own specific niche.

More specifically, news influencers act as journalists with very little journalistic training or background. The increased number of news influencers on Instagram has challenged traditional boundaries of what a journalist is and what constitutes journalism. As these nontraditional journalistic actors emerge on the platform, they reach broader audiences and learn more about them through the tools offered by Instagram. Instagram's "Insights" provides detailed information about one's followers and content engagement and offers the opportunity to turn Instagram posts into ads directly in the app itself. Influencers can tag certain products and services using a sticker and once followers tap the sticker, they're taken directly to the website where the product is located, allowing them to shop directly on Instagram. These features are also supplemented through Instagram's algorithm as it learns the accounts users are most interested in, suggesting other Instagram accounts to follow as well as products and services to purchase.

These updates and the increased number of professional users on Instagram have added to boundary collapse between journalists and influencers. Research suggests that while influencers on Instagram may not immediately identify as a type of journalist, when asked directly to consider this connection, a larger majority view their work resembling or adding to journalism. Notably, the similarities between journalists and influencers may lead to confusion among news consumers and increase the likelihood of the spread of misinformation. Furthermore, the increased focus on ephemeral content has led to a battle for user attention and presents a challenge for news organizations to maintain a constant authoritative presence on Instagram.

Updates to Instagram

Since 2015, Instagram has released new updates beyond the traditional uses of the app, including Instagram stories, released in 2016. Ahead of the stories launch, Instagram released a "Videos You Might Like" option on the explore page, followed by an "Events" option that shared videos and photos of users at nearby live events. Stories were

released shortly thereafter. On Stories, users post ephemeral content available for others to see for 24 hours. On top of the videos and photos, users can now type text in a variety of fonts or draw with various tools. They can add hashtags, locations, and other stickers. News organizations have taken advantage of this feature to share breaking news, to offer commentary on salient events such as sports, politics, and the pandemic that impacted the world in 2020.

In 2017, Instagram released the poll and sticker options on stories, inviting users to take part in brief polls or to ask or answer questions which could be shared publicly or in a private context. The stories function was further expanded with the addition of Instagram Live. Users can go “live” on their accounts through the stories page, and their audience can ask questions or comment underneath the video, which can be responded to in real time. For journalistic purposes, the live function added to breaking news capabilities while giving audiences further engagement opportunities.

When live video first became available, Instagram users could not save or archive those videos. This changed with the advent of Instagram TV (i.e., IGTV) in 2018. The feature allows users to film longer videos than were originally allowed and to, in most cases, archive that content. IGTV was created as a stand-alone app connected to Instagram, but the basic features are available to users on Instagram itself as well.

In mid-2020, Instagram announced it will begin to offer ways of monetizing IGTV videos, as the lack of revenue potential has been seen as a deterrent from leaving other platforms to create videos on Instagram. This followed Instagram’s launch of Reels. Reels was designed to compete with another popular video-sharing app, TikTok, which gained popularity in 2020. Reels differs from IGTV in that Reels is designed to create short-term videos focused on creative clip transitions and set to voice-overs or popular songs. Reels can be public or private, but Instagram encourages users to publish public Reels to grow their presence on the app.

Critiques of Instagram

Instagram has been criticized for its impact on younger users. A 2017 survey of almost 1,500 teens

and young adults conducted by the Royal Society for Public Health in the United Kingdom found that Instagram ranked as the worst app for mental health and well-being. In addition, Instagram is perceived as a pressurized environment that can take a toll on users’ self-esteem, often connected to the number of “likes” users receive and negative comments left by their followers. This resulted in Instagram removing the public display of “likes” in 2019 to create a more welcoming experience and allowing users to restrict the comment feature underneath specific images and videos.

Instagram recently cracked down on its censorship policy, announcing they would remove any content from the explore page deemed inappropriate, regardless of whether or not it violates community guidelines. In addition to banning content depicting sexual intercourse and most types of nudity, Instagram began removing anything sexually suggestive from its explore page. Instagram received criticism for this decision, specifically due to the lack of objectivity in the explanation of inappropriate content. Critics specifically from the arts vocalized their concern, as images deemed violent, shocking, and sexually suggestive, including artistic works and other images that might cause discomfort to the viewer, were removed. Users also saw an increase in the censorship of those posting empowering images of trauma, chronic illness, and mental and physical disabilities.

Instagram continues to work on identifying and banning misinformation. In 2019, Instagram rolled out an algorithm to help combat the spread of fake news by labeling posts debunked by fact checkers as “false information,” but it was not without issue. In 2020, artists called out the app for marking photoshopped digital artwork (i.e., original artwork and content made by artists using digital tools) as false. Instagram took its fake news algorithm a step further in March 2020, announcing it would not allow accounts spreading misinformation to be recommended to other users, remove specific content from the explore page, and downrank content in user feeds and stories deemed false by third-party fact checkers. While already using fact checkers at this time, Instagram was not previously demoting or removing content from user feeds. This move to combat fake news was exacerbated by an influx of misinformation tied to the 2020 coronavirus pandemic.

Instagram executives have stated that they will increase their focus on the recognition and management of misinformation and more updates are expected. However, Instagram's policy changes lag behind other popular social media sites and its ever-changing updates, including features that encourage more ephemeral content on the platform, continue to make monitoring and reporting misinformation difficult.

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See also Advertising; Fake News; Lifestyle Journalism; Mobile Journalism; New Media

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INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE JOURNALISM LAW

Freedom of the press (or lack thereof) informs journalism law. This is more or less the case in a rule-of-law democracy. Whether or not it is constitutionally guaranteed in a country, press freedom is recognized as part of freedom of expression under the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as a hope and under the United Nations' International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as an enforceable human right closer to reality. Therefore, international and comparative journalism law is an important lens through which to examine and understand freedom of the press.

At one time, journalism law was conceptually and theoretically best illustrated via the American media as the Fourth Branch outside the three-branch government, highlighting freedom of expression in general and press freedom in particular as an external value to the self-governing process and as an independent-institution checking value of the government.

But this may no longer be the best way to understand journalism law, given the recent increase in “fake news.” As Lee C. Bollinger, a First Amendment scholar and 19th president of Columbia University, observed, discovery of truth might be more urgent and relevant as a fundamental value of freedom of the press.

By looking to democracies throughout the world, international and comparative journalism law can help one to understand free speech and free press. International law (such as the ICCPR) is global and multinational law (as distinguished from foreign law, which revolves around individual nation-states). Comparative law does not comprise a system or body of journalism laws but rather a method of legal research. The two together act as one unit—international and comparative law—and inform about global law on freedom of the press.

This entry examines international and comparative law, as taught in journalism and communication programs in the United States, within the context of journalism and media law. First, it presents a brief overview of why journalism law has become globalized since the late 20th century. Next, it takes a critical look at the expansion of international and comparative law topics and the reasons for this phenomenon. Finally, it examines what lies ahead in international and comparative journalism law.

Globalization of Journalism Law

In the new world of pervasive global communication systems, according to Bollinger, censorship of news media in one country is no longer limited geographically—and thus has global repercussions. Since the 1980s, international and comparative law in freedom of expression, including freedom of the press, has attracted sustained attention from legal scholars and free-speech law practitioners. U.S. media law's globalization helps American lawyers, and journalists, and journalism academics, to develop, through "reverse perspective," a better understanding of American freedom of speech and the press.

Likewise, students need to learn international and comparative law to understand the meaning and impact of freedom of the press and other individual rights under the U.S. Constitution. David E. McCraw, deputy general counsel for *The New York Times*, has termed "international law" one of the "three i's" that American (media) law students in the 21st century should study, the other two being Internet law and intellectual property.

Expansion of International and Comparative Law

International and comparative law continues to expand as a focus of journalism law. The current era of journalism encompasses citizen journalists, including news bloggers and podcasters, as well as legacy mainstream media journalists ("we're all journalists now"). However, traditional legal issues for journalists, such as defamation, informational access, and source protection, remain challenges to press freedom around the world.

Expansion

These days, an increasing number of American scholars and lawyers teach and publish about international and comparative law on freedom of speech and the press. At Columbia Law School and the University of Oregon, for example, comparative media law is offered as a regular course.

When compared with European scholars and practitioners, Americans' international and comparative law publications are not extensive; however, the collection is rapidly expanding. For example, there are special law review and journal treatments of international and comparative law topics. The access right of the public to the news media was a controversial issue for years in the United States until the 1980s, when the fairness doctrine was abolished by the Federal Communications Act. In 2008, *George Washington Law Review* included an in-depth article on international and comparative law on the right of reply to news stories. In 2020, *Communication Law and Policy*, a refereed scholarly journal of the Association for Education in Journalism and Communication's Law and Policy Division, devoted an entire issue to international and comparative law; the lead article for the journal's special issue was "Freedom of Journalism in International Human Rights Law."

Notably, there is a trend among U.S. journalism scholars and nonacademics to include international and foreign law chapters in books focusing on U.S. law. In fact, nearly all of the major university media law texts, as well as monographs and edited volumes, discuss various aspects of international and comparative law on press freedom. A case in point: For the centennial of the U.S.

Supreme Court's First Amendment cases in 1919 and the 50th anniversary of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 1966, three chapters in each of *The Free Speech Century* and *Troubling Transparency* address "The International Implications of the First Amendment" and "Comparative Perspectives," respectively.

There are also whole works featuring discussions of international and comparative law. *Privacy Revisited: A Global Perspective on the Right to Be Left Alone* (2016) and *The First Amendment in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (2006), both written by Ronald J. Krotoszynski, are examples of additions to the growing comparative law literature. The free-press-versus-fair-trial debate over the supreme court-press relationship in a dozen countries is informatively covered in *Justices and Journalists: The Global Perspective* (2018). *International Libel and Privacy Handbook* (2020–2021), aimed at journalists and publishers, among others, is a compendium of libel and privacy laws in 33 jurisdictions. As editor Charles J. Glasser, former global media counsel for Bloomberg News, wrote in his preface, *International Libel and Privacy Handbook* was designed to help journalists identify libel and privacy problems before a suit has been initiated.

One of the most significant developments in the *institutional* approach to free speech and press as a global issue in recent years was the creation of Columbia Global Freedom of Expression in 2014 as a visionary brainchild of Bollinger. The initiative seeks to develop an "integrated and progressive" global understanding of freedom of expression and information through case law.

Reasons for Expansion

The Internet is a particular driver of the expansion of international and comparative law. A new set of Internet-driven issues is challenging journalists to reimagine their pre-Internet thinking on how to balance freedom with conflicting societal and individual interests—and nearly all free press law issues arising from the Internet are global because there's no such thing as local online communication.

Consider the "right to be forgotten" (RTBF), which was first read into the European Union General Data Protection Directive of 1995 by the European Court of Justice in *Google Spain v.*

AEPD & Mario Costeja González in 2014. RTBF is now codified by the European Union General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of 2016, which has replaced the General Data Protection Directive. The central RTBF issue for journalism is how much individuals can control news collected and processed and archived by the media in the name of "informational privacy."

RTBF is accepted statutorily or judicially in a growing number of countries. It is technically a nonissue in the United States, although the California Consumer Privacy Act of 2018 was inspired by the GDPR. Furthermore, the lack of a specific RTBF law in the United States does not necessarily reflect the reality of RTBF among American news media. Several U.S. newspapers, including the *Boston Globe*, accept RTBF, albeit not exactly the way it was articulated by the European Court of Justice. RTBF in action in the United States showcases the impact of European law on American journalism.

In fact, the impact of RTBF on journalism as a free press is not often critically analyzed in the United States. However, books like George Brock's *The Right to Be Forgotten: Privacy and the Media in the Digital Age* (2016) advise journalists to guard against the misuse of RTBF.

Another driver of the expansion of international and comparative law has been foreign litigation against American journalists. Americans generally did not pay close attention to the international and comparative elements of journalism law until the early 1990s, when the U.S. media started being sued abroad. The strategic "libel tourism" against American journalism in the 1990s–2000s led Congress to pass the Securing the Protection of Our Enduring and Established Constitutional Heritage (SPEECH) Act in 2010 to preempt the enforcement of foreign court judgments that violate the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This U.S. law highlighted how the American right to free speech and press sometimes collide with that of other countries.

Looking Ahead

Since the 1980s, global discourse regarding freedom of the press has become more a dialogue than a monologue dictated by the United States. This

has been accelerated by a decline of the global impact of the U.S. Constitution and by the emergence of the European Convention on Human Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights as new frames of reference for free press as a human right.

This trend will likely continue, as evinced by the increasingly assertive posture of the European Court of Justice in adjudicating free speech and press issues. It will also necessitate a more systematic and sustained attention to an international and comparative understanding of journalism law.

Several issues can likely be addressed through an international and comparative understanding of journalism law. One such issue is freedom of information for journalists and nonjournalists and journalists' privilege, neither of which is a constitutional right in the United States. Another issue is cameras in the courtroom. Televised court proceedings are accepted as part of open justice in England and Canada and other democracies, yet in the United States, especially at the U.S. Supreme Court level, court's public proceedings are not always opened to cameras and other broadcast tools.

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See also Access to Media; Fairness Doctrine; First Amendment; Fourth Estate; Free Press and Fair Trial; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; Human Rights and Journalism; Libel; Press Freedom; Prior Restraint; Privacy; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; WikiLeaks

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

The *International Herald Tribune* (IHT) was the name—for nearly half century—of a Paris-based, English language newspaper. The paper had appeared under slightly different names since 1887, when it was founded in Paris as the European edition of the *New York Herald*. Its name changed in 2013 to reflect its ownership by *The New York Times*, and it has been known most recently as *The New York Times International Edition*. As its circulation mushroomed in the latter part of the 20th century, the IHT often styled itself as “the world’s first global newspaper.” This entry discusses the newspaper’s global context, its readership and distribution, competition and economic challenges, and its founding and evolution.

Global Context

Although its recent focus has been on digital distribution, the print edition, at a peak in the early 20th century, was reproduced in 33 cities around the world, with a paid circulation of some 250,000 copies in more than 180 countries. For several decades, the print edition of the IHT was a global presence in large cities and small towns alike, even before the term “globalization” came into general, popular use. No more than 15 percent of its readership was located in any one market, although roughly two thirds of the copy sales were in Europe and the Middle East with much of the remaining distribution throughout Asia.

What also made the newspaper “global,” however, was the fact that it was edited from an international perspective. Its typical reader was thought to be a “citizen of the world,” a business or professional leader with broad international interests who often read the newspaper as a supplement to his or her own local or national press. While both news and advertising content varied to some degree between its Asian and European editions,

the IHT’s principal purpose was to present an international overview that would place the news of any region in a broader, global context. What this often meant, of course, is that a reader needed to turn elsewhere for deeper local coverage.

Readership and Distribution

Many of the readers of the IHT were international travelers or expatriate residents with a strong command of English, the language of globalization. Wherever they were from, many came to regard the paper as their own familiar “letter from home,” as the paper could follow them almost anywhere they lived or traveled. The IHT’s audience was affluent and well educated. Their annual household income toward the end of the 20th century averaged well above US\$150,000, and over 90% of the readers had a university degree.

IHT journalists faced the stimulating challenge of writing and editing for one of the world’s most sophisticated, cosmopolitan audiences. Such an audience also allowed the newspaper to realize a larger-than-normal portion of its revenues from circulation. Most of its copies were sold on newsstands, at a price that was two or three times the level of its local competition. Another key circulation component was bulk sales to airline companies and hotels. The IHT’s demographics also allowed the paper to charge an unusually high price to advertisers, who prized its influential readership.

At the same time, the broadly scattered nature of this audience means that distribution costs were abnormally high. This fact, combined with the often-unpredictable nature of international advertising markets, made it more difficult for the newspaper to achieve dependable profits in its latest years—although it had been a steadily profitable enterprise at other stages in its history. This was particularly true after it expanded its outreach through remote printing sites beginning in the 1970s. Remote site printing improved arrival times for the paper—while also reducing shipping costs.

Competition and Economic Challenges

A growing economic challenge, especially toward the end of the 20th century, was the appearance of alternative sources of quality international news.

Daily competition for print readers came principally from the European and Asian editions of the London-based *Financial Times* and New York-based *Wall Street Journal*. At the same time, local and national newspapers became increasingly able and inclined to present at least some quality news coverage of the global scene. In addition, competition for large multinational advertising campaigns came from weekly and monthly publications that circulated across international borders. *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines were prime American-based examples, and the British-based weekly newspaper *The Economist* became an emerging force in this same period. (Studies showed that the IHT's readership overlapped with that of *The Economist* more than that of any other single publication).

As the years passed, the most important new reality for the IHT (as it was for all print media) was the growing importance of online, digital information sources—which held special appeal for the IHT's sophisticated, and widely dispersed, core readers. In response, the newspaper company focused on developing its own news website as an important method for serving many of its constituents.

Founding and Evolution

The IHT had enjoyed a long history as a pioneer in applying new technologies to gathering and distributing news. The newspaper's founder, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., had been an investor in the 1870s in the first undersea telegraph cable project connecting the United States to Europe. Bennett was then the owner of the fabled *New York Herald*—founded by his father in 1835 and one of the country's first widely circulated newspapers. With such a strong news institution on the one end of the new cable system, Bennett thought it sensible to establish a counterpart newspaper on the other end of the trans-Atlantic connection—both as a way of distributing newly available material to Europe from the Western Hemisphere and as a collecting point for transmitting European news to the United States. The decision was made easier by the fact that Bennett found Europe to be a more tolerant setting for his flamboyant lifestyle and because of his special affection for France, where he had spent a part of his childhood and where he principally resided from the 1870s until his death in 1918.

On October 4, 1887, Bennett launched the *New York Herald's* European edition from a small print shop in the Les Halles district of Paris, and it quickly became known as the *Paris Herald*. At the time, it was one of many small English-language newspapers circulating in the principal cities of continental Europe. But as other such efforts came and went, Bennett's persisted and grew. His enthusiasm for new technologies was one of the reasons. He brought to Europe innovative developments such as the linotype machine, color comic strips, and half-tone photo engravings. His newspaper was among the first to bring information into its newsroom by radio and to distribute print copies by automobile and, later, by airplane.

When World War I forced some Paris newspapers to suspend publication, Bennett, then in his seventies, took personal command of his editorial staff and continued to publish. He died just as the war ended. His company passed, through an intermediate owner, into the hands of New York's Reid family, owners of another publishing giant, the *New York Tribune*. In 1924, the combined newspapers were joined under the title: the *New York Herald Tribune*. But it was only a decade later, when the Reids bought out the *Chicago Tribune's* own storied Paris edition, that the word "Tribune" also made its way onto the nameplate of the now-well-established *Paris Herald*.

The years that immediately followed marked a low point in the newspaper's history. Its New York owners gave it a long leash, and the management in Paris took a quieter attitude toward the rise of European fascism in the 1930s than did their stateside counterparts. This tendency was particularly clear when tourism sections about Germany were being planned—holding on to the advertising revenue they produced was something of a priority at the paper's Paris offices for a time. Nonetheless, a good deal of superb reporting continued to appear in the *Herald Tribune's* pages—and the experience was central in the determination of the Reid family following the war to bring the Paris edition under much tighter control.

The *Paris Herald Tribune* was the last free newspaper in any language to publish in Paris before the Nazi occupation of June 1940. Its final edition famously took up just one side of one page, reporting on the "great flight of the people of Paris," with

the back of that page blank except for a few small advertisements. The newspaper then closed for four dark years. But it reopened late in 1944 with new energy and discipline and the 1950s brought a great surge of success.

Its New York parent, however, fell into difficult straits with the advent of television and the growing success of its chief competitor, *The New York Times*. John Hay Whitney, then U.S. ambassador in London, bought the Herald Tribune Company in 1959 in an expensive effort to save the New York paper, but he finally gave up the project amid the 100-day New York newspaper strike of the mid-1960s.

Having closed down the New York parent, Whitney was determined to save the Paris child. To this end, he formed partnerships first with *The Washington Post* (in 1966) and then *The New York Times* to publish the newspaper jointly. On May 22, 1967, the Paris paper appeared for the first time under a new name, the *IHT*. Whitney Communications later sold the *IHT* to the two other newspapers.

The new nameplate signaled a new era. Under its tripartite ownership, the publication flourished in the 1970s and 1980s, steadily improving its profit, more than doubling its circulation, expanding its advertising sales, and consistently employing to great advantage the extraordinary journalistic resources—domestic and international—of the two leading American newspapers of the era. Their far-flung networks of correspondents and contributors became the *IHT*'s networks as well, while the art of editing—sifting and winnowing, digesting and condensing, and polishing and presenting incoming news—was honed into a distinctive art form by the editorial team in Paris. The paper also slowly assembled a small group of its own reporters, selecting and shaping stories from the perspective of non-U.S. audiences and writing for the *IHT*'s Europe-based deadlines. (This development was sometimes questioned by those who felt that the *Times* and/or the *Post*'s own journalistic resources should not need supplementing.) A number of *IHT* journalists established strong international followings, including Art Buchwald, whose satirical humor column originated at the *IHT* in 1949 and continued for decades, even from its later base at *The Washington Post*, to be the *IHT*'s single most widely read feature. Buchwald was

one of many figures associated with the *IHT* who became a global celebrity. Another was a fictional figure in Jean-Luc Godard's 1960 classic film *Breathless*, a young woman played by Jean Seberg who hawked the paper in the streets of Paris, dressed in a distinctive yellow *Herald Tribune* sweater.

As the decades passed following the 1967 merger, the three-way ownership among competing U.S. companies worked remarkably well, partly because the senior leaders of the owning companies enjoyed compatible personal relationships, and partly because the company had a debt-free balance sheet—and, for a long time, did not represent any drain on the owning companies' financial resources.

Technological innovation was again an *IHT* watchword in the last third of the 20th century. It became an early model of high-tech innovation in Europe when it computerized its editing and typesetting system in 1978. A bit earlier, in 1974, it had pioneered the electronic transmission of facsimile pages across international borders as it opened a remote printing site in London. A similar operation in Zurich followed in 1977. By the time of its worldwide centennial celebrations in 1987, the *IHT* was opening a new print site once every year on average—reaching both old and new markets earlier and at a lower cost.

The most dramatic of these steps came in 1980 as the paper launched a successful new Asian edition, printed in Hong Kong using page images faxed via satellite from Paris. It was the first time that a daily English language newspaper had published simultaneously on two continents—available to readers over breakfast on opposite sides of the world.

The *IHT*'s three-way ownership became a two-way partnership in 1991, as the Whitney interest was sold to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In the late 1990s, however, as global newspaper economics began to change, so did the owners' patience with divided control. Among other things, it would soon become apparent that two competitive U.S. papers, while they might cooperate in producing a common print newspaper for overseas audiences, might not want to join in producing a common digital, online newspaper that would be readily available both at home and abroad. In 2002, the *Times* purchased the *Post*'s

50% ownership and became the sole proprietor of the IHT. (Some at the *Post* felt that it had been forced out of the partnership by a *Times* threat to start a competing enterprise if the *Post* insisted on remaining a co-owner.)

After a period of intensive study (and anxious uncertainty) in the Paris offices, the *Times* moved to strengthen the paper on several fronts. Among other steps, a more distinctive Asian edition was created, in part through a more autonomous Hong Kong newsroom. The IHT's own corps of independent reporters was expanded, and an expanded business and financial report was launched.

At the heart of the newspaper's continuing popularity, however, were the qualities that had characterized it from birth: an emphasis on credible and relevant information, skillfully reported and edited, attractively and efficiently presented. In an age of information overload, the paper's relative compactness also remained an important asset.

Significantly, when the New York Times Company took over sole ownership of the IHT in 2002, it initially did not change the newspaper's name, cautioned by its market research that the familiar IHT brand name was still a valuable asset among its far-flung audiences. The *Times* did, however, add a new subtitle under the traditional frontpage nameplate, which said: "Global Edition of *The New York Times*." Operations at the Paris headquarters of the newspaper continued on as before. It took another decade before the IHT name was dropped, with the paper becoming the *International New York Times* in October 2013.

By this time, the focus of newspaper publishers across the world was changing to the digital frontier. *The New York Times* plunged into this world more successfully than many other companies, both with its national and its international editions. The international print edition also changed its journalistic focus, with a new emphasis on feature stories. Traditional "breaking-news" stories primarily became the province of electronic distribution techniques, with digital editions appearing on websites and more news accessed via social media platforms.

The evolutionary processes culminated after another 5-year period with the closing of the French editorial operation in 2016. Some staff

members moved to London, and the New York and Hong Kong newsrooms took over the bulk of journalistic management for the now more fully merged U.S. and international editions of *The New York Times*.

It is in that form that the long tradition of globally relevant, trustworthy journalism, which the old IHT had long helped to pioneer, continued to thrive. In a time when the values of independent, objective journalism were increasingly challenged all around the world, these continuing efforts were seen by many to be more important than ever.

Lee W. Huebner

See also Bloomberg; Digital Distribution; Distribution; Editing, Print Media; Europe; Foreign Correspondents; Havas; *New York Times*, *The*

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INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISM

International journalism refers to the production of news media around the world and reporting about foreign countries. Frequently it denotes

coverage by Western correspondents of countries other than their own. This is of special concern because news travels unevenly across borders. This flow of news is dominated by large corporations and news agencies based in the United States and Europe, even as the Internet offers new opportunities for sharing and disseminating information and global power dynamics have shifted. This entry discusses the evolution of international journalism that has occurred alongside the professionalization of journalism beginning in the 19th century and the changes to the news industry brought on by the introduction of the World Wide Web in the late 20th century. It also looks at challenges to international journalism in the 21st century.

Origins of International Journalism

Journalism around the world developed in conjunction with the formation and spread of national identity, colonialism, modernization, and globalization. The first newspapers appeared in Europe in the 17th century and carried domestic and foreign news. Europeans then took their newspapers to their colonies where later new papers were founded, frequently carrying news about shipping and the home country. The first newspapers in Africa were in French in Mauritius (1773) and English in South Africa (1800), for instance. Vernacular-language newspapers often followed imperial languages. Although the first newspaper in Asia (1822) was in Gujarati, it paid special attention to Europeans and their trade. In all cases, the development of the press contributed to the rise of national identity, the transference of ideas as well as news, and coincided with a process of modernization while linking previously isolated communities.

Professional journalism dates only to the 19th century and the posting of reporters abroad was first associated with war reporting. William Howard Russell of *The Times in London* is often credited as the first war correspondent. His first such assignment was the Crimean War (1853–1856), but he went on to cover conflicts elsewhere. The 20th century saw the spread of foreign posts for journalists in war and peace, but many news organizations cut back on these positions in the 21st century.

Taxonomy

News media operate under varied conceptual frameworks that help explain the character of journalism in different countries. One of the earliest scholarly assessments is found in the influential work of Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in their 1956 book, *Four Theories of the Press*, which divided the world's news media into four categories: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. In the half century since, their model has been criticized, expanded, and updated by others. The need for revision was clear in the face of the collapse of Soviet communism and the rapid advance of globalization. However, their research questions—"Why is the press as it is?" and "Why does it apparently serve different purposes and appear in widely different forms in different countries?"—remain fundamental. The authors' contention that "the press takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" remains at the heart of international journalism.

In their pioneering formulation, the authors based their approach in the political, social, and historical development of Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Writing at a time dominated by the cold war's bipolar balance of power, they applied their formula globally. Their four theories remain a starting point for discussion of international journalism. Under an authoritarian system, which they conceived of as the oldest and most common, media are controlled from the top and serve the state and ruling elite. The subsequent development of science, capitalism, and enlightenment philosophy ushered in their second theory, the libertarian. This made journalism part of a democratic process in which information was put to the test in a "marketplace of ideas." Readers and journalists were seen as rational citizens who relied on news to participate in political and social decision-making. The authors saw this system functioning most clearly in the United States where it was characterized by a laissez faire approach to media ownership and regulation.

The social responsibility theory arose in the West in response to criticisms that journalism served big business, was controlled by a single

class, was not inclusive, and was often superficial. The development of broadcasting stations made regulation in the public interest necessary due to spectrum limitations. As opposed to a strictly libertarian approach in which only those with economic resources control media, in the social responsibility model, media should strive to include the greatest spectrum of views and sources. Finally, with the Soviet theory of the press, the authors saw a new variant of the authoritarian model, where the tightest control of media was applied to support an ideologically based totalitarian system.

The two root systems—authoritarian and libertarian—remain the basis for much of the discussion of international journalism, which often centers on which media are “free” or “not free.” Press freedom has been an enduring focus of such international media watchdog groups as Freedom House, the Committee to Protect Journalists, the World Press Freedom Committee, and the World Free Press Institute. International press freedom also plays into U.S. foreign policy, which sees free news media as essential to democracy.

Other scholars later developed designs using different categories to describe international news media systems. For example, William Hachten suggests the categories authoritarianism, Western, communist, revolutionary, and development. The first three owe much to the original formulation. The revolutionary concept describes a temporary cause-oriented news media. The development concept sees media as tied to national goals of economic, social, and political development. Hachten notes that friction between developmental and Western policy is crucial to debates about international journalism. Western foreign policy sees the unhindered flow of information as paramount, while developing states often feel that tighter media regulation can help nation-building and economic development.

Even when analysis remains restricted to the West, the conceptualization developed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm has been adjusted. For instance, Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini divide Europe and the United States into pluralist, democratic corporatist, and liberal models. Still, they see stable connections between political and media systems.

Cold War Patterns

Frequently the relationship between media and politics has been addressed at the level of the nation-state. However, following the reach of imperialism, the contests of the cold war, and the rapid development of globalization, attention has also focused on a global news media system.

International news is a staple of developing globalism. Indeed, the earliest American newspapers were filled with items pertaining to shipping and reprints from the London press. A capillary system of news media linked European colonies. These links were strengthened by development of undersea telegraph cables and later radio that extended the speed and reach of older communications. News agencies grew as Britain's Reuters, France's Havas, and Germany's Wolff initially dominated global news flow. Thomson Reuters retains a leading position, and the Associated Press and Agence France-Presse also play central parts. National news agencies became a mark of state legitimacy, a symbol of modernization, and a means to offset the frames presented by global news agencies.

The Soviet Union's TASS became an important distributor of news in its zone of influence and to a lesser degree globally (primarily by restricting the access of outside journalists). Soviet efforts to block news from the West by electronic jamming, among other actions, resulted in state-backed cultural and media thrusts from the West during the cold war. These efforts sought to establish the “free flow” of information and assure that Western interpretations of events and issues would be available to the East. Thus, propaganda and politics helped international broadcasting become an important part of world journalism.

During the cold war, the role of journalism was also an important and contentious subject among the nonaligned states of the so-called Third World. Many governments in developing countries sought greater control over how they received and transmitted news. Western news values that privilege conflict and reporting patterns in which journalists descend on many locales only at times of crisis often led to a diet of news that presented much of the world as threatening and chaotic, a formula typical to this day. Critics charged that this hindered nation-building and development efforts of

many newly independent states. This debate found its greatest platform at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) call for a New World Information and Communication Order and in efforts to promote development journalism as the kind of reporting that responded to the unique realities and needs of developing countries.

Schramm noted in his 1964 book *Mass Media and National Development* that little attention was paid to developing countries in international media. When they were covered, the news could be unflattering or misleading. In 1977, Sean MacBride, former assistant secretary general of the United Nations, was named to direct UNESCO's new International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The 16-member commission made its final report in 1980. Their report asserted that the world was divided into media-rich and media-poor countries and that the latter were dependent (to their detriment) on the former. This undermined sovereignty and nation-building efforts. The MacBride report recognized an imbalance of news flow, inherent biases in Western-based international journalism, inequality in the means of media production, technological disparities, and professional difficulties in reporting. Both the United States and Britain took exception to these conclusions as threatening unhindered international news gathering and distribution and both withdrew from UNESCO membership, rejoining the international body only years later. (The United States then quit the organization again in 2019 after charging it with anti-Israeli bias.)

Bringing News Home

Of all the events, trends, ideas, and occurrences in the world, only a fraction get covered in news media. In an early, influential study, Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge presented a set of criteria by which foreign news finds its place and shape in home (in their case Norwegian) media. Much of their rubric for newsworthiness corresponds to what journalism textbooks describe in general (e.g., timeliness, prominence, deviance, impact), but several items were specific to the international events under investigation. For instance, powerful or elite countries get more coverage. Importantly,

if an event abroad is unambiguous and easy to interpret, it is more likely to make its way home. In all, they established a checklist of 12 factors leading to coverage of foreign news and argued that the more boxes a story ticked, the more likely it could appear in the press. Further, the criteria used would then be emphasized and thus the story distorted by its framing.

The Galtung and Ruge model has been critiqued and modified numerous times, with or without strict reference to international newsgathering, but it continues to be an important explanatory device for the discernment of news values. In a broad sense, Pamela Shoemaker and Akiba Cohen have shown that deviance and social significance are the driving forces for what makes news around the globe. As regards the development of international reporting, Galtung and Ruge's observation about ambiguity being problematic for coverage of foreign news may be especially relevant. The end of the Cold War saw not only the dissolution of the bipolar international order but the evaporation of a ready formula by which to interpret events around the globe.

Post-Cold War Changes and Globalization

In the debates of the 1970s and 1980s about news flow and "media imperialism," the Soviet Union sought to diminish Western dominance in international journalism. With the demise of the USSR in 1991, however, rancor about the issue subsided. At the same time, an era of development in media technology and a largely unfettered drive toward global free trade accelerated. Borders and states, it seemed to many, were giving way to globalization. Global integration looked inevitable. Researchers and commentators looked at globalization in terms of economics, politics, and culture and media were part of each. Optimists saw prosperity, peace, and fairness on the horizon. Pessimists saw "McWorld" and Western corporate dominance looming.

By the turn of the 21st century, worries centered on the "digital divide" between rich and poor countries. This concern rested on the observation that while some countries were racing ahead to an era of technologically driven cornucopia of media, including news, others were falling behind. Further, news of the developed North

continued to outweigh that of the developing South and poorer countries still got more news from the developed West than they gave back. Western news media continue to define the developing world as chaotic, if not as cold war dominoes.

Some research suggests that integration with Western media is proceeding, but that media imperialism is diminishing in an era of increased media commercialization. Kai Hafez went so far as to call media globalization a “myth” and showed that news media consumption habits are still local or national in orientation and nation-states are still key determinants in the media ecosystem.

Twenty-First Century Challenges

In 1999, Bhutan became the last country in the world to adopt television. Today, all countries have the Internet although access varies. As the 21st century moves toward its quarter mark, there is continuity and change in international journalism. Most regions of the world are not reported on consistently in media. International journalism largely follows the same news values of what gets covered and how. Conflict and deviance are pre-eminent among these values, thus the news cliché, “If it bleeds, it leads.” Often foreign locations become news sites when there is unrest or discord. Journalists drop into places when conflict flares and depart as the fire dies down, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as parachute journalism. Such visits do not allow reporters to become well educated about the context of a situation. They leave audiences poorly informed and with the impression that chaos and trouble is almost a singular reality around the globe.

Journalists also bring their own preconceptions to their task. Foreign correspondents have traditionally been foreigners in the lands about which they are reporting. While this may give them a certain objective detachment from the issues they cover, it also limits their framework for understanding what they learn. Western foreign correspondents frequently huddle around expatriate communities as well as form their own. They often do not know local languages, especially when in more remote locations. Often, they cultivate relationships with Westernized elites with whom they

feel comfortable and whom they can more easily understand. This insularity may compound cultural biases and narrow the lens through which places and issues may be viewed. The lens is often brought from home and the foreign locale or story is measured against home-based foreign policy positions. Different social and political realities are difficult to comprehend and explain, all the more so under the conditions in which foreign correspondents frequently operate. Consequently, journalists often fall back on stereotypes, simplistic labels (e.g., “tribal areas,” “ethnic cleansing,” “Islamic extremism,” “economic transition”) or simply fail to grasp or convey the complexities of places and events.

Africa is one huge zone of incomprehensibility in which a picture emerges in the Western press of impenetrable confusion and often brutality. Storylines without clear good and bad guys are difficult to deliver. Without the old cold war frame that wrapped much of international news, journalists have frequently experienced difficulties delivering clear explanatory narratives. A foreign correspondent coming into unfamiliar territory must also guard against reliance on local public relations and official sources. Separating truth from spin may be more difficult than at home. It may be easier to manipulate a journalist who is just passing through and has little knowledge of the area.

Audiences are particularly dependent on news media for their understanding of places for which they have few sources of knowledge. Yet journalists and editors are often little more knowledgeable of issues, places, and context than are their audiences. Problems of language acquisition, source development and access, bias, stereotypes, deadline pressure, and financial expense compound the difficulties of foreign correspondence. Television, long the most popular news source for Americans, is problematic for international news coverage because of its dependence on captivating visuals and limited time devoted to each story. The medium is good at creating powerful and emotional imagery but poor at conveying complexities and thoroughly exploring issues and contexts. The Internet, however, is changing the nature of international newsgathering.

Once a top post for any journalist, romanticized and prestigious, foreign correspondence was once considered a plum job. The number of foreign

correspondents has fallen significantly concurrent with the rise of the Internet, however. An irony of the World Wide Web is that while it has enabled news organizations to reach more readers than ever, it has made it harder for many news organizations to make money. Advertising revenue has shifted to Facebook and Google, who do not create news content themselves. Over 20 U.S. news organizations have eliminated all of their overseas bureaus since the late 1990s.

As financial pressures mount, foreign correspondence is changing. Parachute journalism is more frequent and increasingly defended as worthwhile among editors and professionals. Foreign reporters, who already live in-country, are also used. Previously considered biased natives, these journalists bring local knowledge at a cheaper price. More reporting of affairs abroad is also happening from U.S.-based journalists' homes with the aid of computers and the Internet. Citizen journalists and digital-only publications are also contributing to a new era of foreign correspondence.

War reporting, the coverage that made stars out of Ernie Pyle, Martha Gelhorn, Edward R. Murrow, David Halberstam, Christiane Amanpour, and others, is changing too. Today, the detached "noncombatant" position of the foreign correspondent is anything but sacrosanct. Dangers for war correspondents have increased with changes in warfare itself, which is not always between states. War reporting is dangerous, difficult, and vitally important, but it also generates criticism. Critics charge that such singular devotion to conflict in foreign correspondence leaves us only partly informed and with a picture of the rest of the world in a state of barbarism. The Internet, where wide-ranging sources on many topics can be found, has not elevated understanding of the world for most people.

The Internet has upended the news business and facilitated the easy global flow of news and information, but optimism about the harmony, understanding, and equality such technology might bring has been dashed or modified. Nation-states can build digital walls as easily as the internet once leaped borders, and they do in countries that include China, where censorship and information control are sophisticated and strict. The West, which long dominated the infrastructure of international communication from the production of ink

and paper through telegraphy, satellite communication, and fiber optic cable, now faces a challenger in China for the construction of fifth generation mobile technology, or 5G.

Hachten has written of the "triumph of Western journalism" claiming that its conventions have gone global. In form, this is certainly true. The conventions developed in the West, from the over-the-shoulder graphics of television news to website design to news values, are common around the globe. Many journalists share a similar sense of mission as well. However, significant differences still exist in journalism content, the lived experiences of journalists, and in the laws that constrain them. Laws and their enforcement affect press freedom and journalism content. Circumstance can also affect professional practices and ethics. These differences can impact whether a journalist will pay for information, whether he or she will be willing to go "undercover," whether anonymous sources can be used, and whether or how one can be a "watchdog" on government or business. Today, China stands as the biggest economic and political rival to the United States. Its media system serves as a stark reminder of the differences in international journalism that still exist in the era of globalization.

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See also Associated Press; China; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Foreign Correspondents; Free Flow of Information; Havas; Journalism and Globalization; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); News Values; Reuters; TASS and Russian News Agencies; U.S. International Communications; United Press International; War Correspondents

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INTERNET: IMPACT ON THE MEDIA

The Internet has had a tremendous impact on the traditional news media and led to convergence—a blurring of boundaries between different mediums so that content can be accessed across them. All types of news media now have a web presence that allows them to extend their reach to a broader

audience and to convey the news in different modalities, including text, audio, and video. Some of the key characteristics of online news media are personalization and interactivity, the reduced importance of geography, and the rise of the 24-hour news cycle. As mobile devices have become commonplace, many news outlets have also developed apps that make it easier for users to access and customize content on smartphones and tablets. This entry discusses the impact the Internet has had on how the news is delivered and on different types of news media, including newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. It also explores the rise of online-only news organizations.

Of the news media, newspapers have seen the biggest change. Starting with establishing a minimal presence on the web—often by uploading a pdf file of the print newspaper—newspapers have embraced the potential of the digital medium and developed interactive websites with multimedia news stories that can be more dynamic and more engaging. By removing major barriers to entry into the news business, the Internet has facilitated the entrance of many new players in the news environment. These digital native news sites have expanded the way news is told and brought attention to issues, topics, and geographical areas not previously covered.

The Internet has had a huge impact on the distribution of news. News aggregators like Google News, Flipboard, and Apple News create a one-stop location for news from multiple sources, while the development of apps has made it possible for news to be accessed on mobile devices. For audiences, the digitization of news has meant more variety of news outlets, more variety in the way news is presented, and more agency in selecting news.

Personalization allows users to select content that meets their interests and shifts the balance of power away from editors and reporters. Web users also can customize delivery of content of interest to them in the form of news feeds and email newsletters and alerts on their mobile phones. Interactive features such as discussion boards allow audiences an opportunity to be part of the conversation and sometimes even shape the content of news sites. In a sense, the Internet has made news media more democratic. But there is also concern that it isolates users by limiting their exposure to

topics and points of view divergent from their own. In addition, some news consumers are no longer exposed to a wide variety of news stories but are limited to seeing those that tie in with their interests. This can lead to less awareness and involvement in local, national, and global issues.

A major influence of the Internet has been to remove geographical limits on the reach of media outlets. No longer are news media restricted to one city or region; the Internet allows them to reach audiences nationwide and internationally—the online version of a local newspaper may find audiences all over the world. This extended reach can also influence changes to news media content; editorial decisions may strive to make the content more appealing to secondary audiences, such as members of diasporic communities. The 24-hour news cycle means that every news outlet is under pressure to update news constantly. This can sometimes lead to inaccurate information being conveyed.

The Internet has led to new platforms for the distribution of news. The development of news apps has made it easier for the news media to reach their audiences and to cultivate audience loyalty and engagement through notifications pushed to their devices. Email newsletters, which can be organized by subject area, are another way of reaching audiences regularly. Social media have become another important platform for distributing news content, while certain social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have made it possible for journalists to develop a public profile and comment on events as they occur.

The merger of computer coding with journalism has changed the field dramatically and led to a level of interactivity that had not been seen before. This interactivity takes the form of multimedia narratives, immersive stories where the reader can enter into the world or space being described, and data visualization where information is presented through graphics that readers can engage with and explore based on their interests.

In recent years, traffic to news organizations home pages began to decline with the growing popularity of social media, where about half of Americans receive at least some of their news. Algorithms written by platforms like Google and Facebook determine what news readers might see

in their feed, typically prioritizing certain stories over others and making suggestions based on the audiences' previous choices of news stories.

In response, publishers developed algorithms to curate the news on their apps and websites in an attempt to take back some control over news curation. By developing their own priorities over the way news appears in feeds, they reexert their editorial influence over content and can customize the news experience on their site for different users. *The New York Times'* algorithm, for example, can display the news on its site in over 150 layout combinations that change to display different types of articles and images.

Newspapers

Newspapers began to establish a presence online after Netscape launched its Navigator browser in 1994. By 1997, about half of the daily newspapers in the United States had a web page. Initial newspaper websites were rather rudimentary and served mainly to introduce the newspaper. In many instances, these early sites were not updated more than once in 24 hours. As newspaper readership among those under 30 was declining, operating a website became one way to attract younger users. By the early 21st century, online newspapers had evolved into constantly updated publications that were rich in multimedia content.

Online newspapers vary from one another in their depth of content and degree of interactivity. They also vary in presentation: Some retain the look of the print edition while others have crafted a unique web identity. In most cases, the general concepts of newspaper organization have not changed in the online versions, with special sections devoted to topics such as arts and sports, as well as editorial pages. Even the traditional organization of the printed front page, with the most important stories being presented “above the fold,” is maintained in most website designs; however, some sites take advantage of web technology to present a series of top stories in rotation.

By 2020, having a multimedia web presence was the norm, not only for national newspapers like *The New York Times* but for regional ones as well. Online newspapers use photo galleries, audio, and video clips to present news in more

interesting and creative ways. Data visualization has made it possible to convey complex information with attractive and often interactive graphics. The blending of audio, video, and text allows for multiple levels of reporting as well as for the ability to link to original documents, which can make for greater transparency in reporting. The use of multimedia has helped engage younger readers more comfortable with an audiovisual culture than a purely text-based one.

Having an online presence has enabled newspapers to produce breaking news stories and thus compete effectively with 24-hour cable networks like CNN, Fox, and MSNBC. They are no longer limited by their print cycle and update breaking news stories throughout the day. Many newspapers have shifted to a digital-first strategy rather than giving priority to their print product. Newspapers have increased significantly in their interactivity, allowing readers to provide feedback and express opinions about stories. This interactivity allows readers to participate in a conversation about news and is another factor that increases their appeal to younger audiences.

Newspaper websites can provide greater depth of information than print, with links to original documents, related stories, and background materials. Because there is no online space constraint, newspapers can post stories and features that did not make it into the print version. The ability to search through the newspaper's archives gives online readers an opportunity to trace the development of an ongoing story. Email newsletters are another way of reaching subscribers; many newspapers also have apps that make it easier for their readers to access content on mobile devices.

These changes to the way news is delivered are also evident in the area of lifestyle journalism that includes topics such as travel, food and cooking, home design, and fashion. Photo galleries and videos are now routinely featured on these websites. Some magazines like *Bon Appetit* have been especially successful at extending their brand and their audience through their YouTube channels, while *The New York Times* has been able to successfully charge for its cooking app and generate a separate revenue stream.

In the early years of the Internet, most newspapers generated little if any revenue from their website. They made their content available for free

as a way to attract readers at a time when there was little content online that was restricted. Exceptions to this were *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Financial Times*, both of which were able to maintain a paywall from the outset because of the kind of content they provided. In March 2011, *The New York Times* instituted a paywall at a time when few industry observers believed that this was a good move. But the *Times* proved its naysayers wrong. By summer 2011, the paper had 224,000 digital subscribers and this increase continued with the number of digital subscribers reaching 3.3 million out of a total of 4.3 million print and digital subscribers (this number includes digital subscribers to apps like NYT Cooking and NYT Crossword but not the paper) by December 2018. *The Washington Post* instituted its paywall in 2013 and regional newspapers soon followed.

With an online presence established, newspapers began to explore the potential of social media as a distribution platform. Soon after Facebook launched in 2004, legacy newspapers recognized the potential to reach readers by posting stories on this platform. Twitter, which followed in 2006, became another important way for legacy news outlets to distribute their news stories. Social media platforms continued to grow in importance as a vehicle for distributing news. By 2019, the Pew Research Center found that about half of American adults got their news from Facebook, with YouTube and Twitter following as popular platforms to access news.

At the same time that newspapers were finding new ways to cover news, local newspapers were struggling. The decline in readership that began in the late 1990s led to a decline in advertising revenues as readers' migration online continued into the 21st century. Facebook and Google, which both act as news aggregators and distributors of content, receive the dominant share of local advertising—over 75% according to a Brookings Institution study on the crisis in local journalism.

Since 2004, one in five newspapers has closed and jobs in newsrooms have dropped by 50% according to an ongoing research initiative at the University of North Carolina. These included long standing newspapers like the *Rocky Mountain News*, and *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, the latter of which has continued to operate online. Many that did not close reduced their publication

schedule to three to four days a week. Others like the *Christian Science Monitor* stopped publishing their print newspapers and went online. The closing of newspapers has left many communities without a local news outlet and created news deserts where local officials are not held accountable and communities do not receive vital information about local issues.

The financial troubles and closing of many local newspapers led to changes in ownership in the industry with long-standing newspaper ownership groups like Knight Ridder being bought by others. As these ownership shifts were taking place, technology billionaires and investment firms have become owners of newspapers. In 2013, Jeff Bezos bought *The Washington Post* from the Graham family, while John Henry, owner of the Red Sox, bought *The Boston Globe* from *The New York Times*. In 2019, GateHouse Media announced that it had agreed to buy Gannett, retaining the name Gannett and making it the largest newspaper publisher in the United States. The second largest newspaper chain in the United States, McClatchy, declared bankruptcy in early 2020.

Digital Native News Outlets

The Internet has made possible the emergence of a number of new news outlets that are digital natives—that is, they did not exist at all prior to the arrival of the Internet. One of the first entrants in this space was HuffPost, which launched in 2005 as The Huffington Post. It carried blogs and commentary as well as news on a wide variety of topics that included (but were not limited to) politics, technology, sports, the environment, business, and entertainment. BuzzFeed, which was founded in 2006, was known for its listicles (short numbered lists on a variety of subjects) and videos in its early years. In 2011, the company made a significant investment in its news business, hiring journalists from established news organizations as it sought to be taken seriously as a news outlet. BuzzFeed acquired HuffPost in 2020 as part of a deal with Verizon Media, which had owned HuffPost since 2015.

Some digital native outlets created a specific niche for themselves. Politico, which was founded in 2007, focuses on policy and politics, while Vox,

which launched in 2014, focuses on explanatory journalism. ProPublica focuses on long form investigative reporting and distributes its work on its own website as well as through partners like *The New York Times* and NPR. Axios distributes news in the form of newsletters on a variety of subjects and presents its readers with a concise summary, giving them the option of exploring topics of interest to them at greater length. While not digital natives, the Associated Press and Reuters, which, as wire services historically did not reach audiences directly, can now do so through their websites and mobile apps.

Digital native news outlets have also adopted new business models that reduce the reliance on advertising revenue. Almost all of these new outlets are funded by venture capital. In 2020, Vox began soliciting readers for contributions to supplement the capital raised. ProPublica is an exception in that it is a nonprofit organization funded primarily by foundations and which accepts donations from readers.

There are also digital news outlets at the local level that aim to fill the gaps in news coverage for their region. One such news outlet, the San Francisco Public Press, combines a quarterly print newspaper with its digital operations. By choosing to be advertising free, it operates as a nonprofit and is better positioned to cover news stories that major outlets do not cover for fear of losing revenues from important advertisers.

A number of digital news sites have gone beyond local news to hyperlocal news (also called microlocal) which focuses on small geographic areas and topics not covered by the mainstream media. Many use citizen journalists to generate content. These sites are attractive to advertisers and are also able to generate revenues from event postings and classified advertising. One network of hyperlocal sites is Patch, which as of 2019 had over 100 journalists covering more than 1,200 communities across the United States. In most cases, a single Patch journalist covers multiple towns and writes several stories a day.

Digital news outlets have provided opportunities to address the gender imbalance in news with the establishment of nonprofit digital news outlets that focus on topics traditional news outlets have ignored. Both the Fuller Project and The 19th

focus on women, while Prism's focus is on people of color and issues relevant to them.

Magazines

The impact of the Internet on magazines has been similar to its impact on newspapers. On the one hand, magazines have found new ways of storytelling and new ways of reaching their readers through their websites and through apps designed to replicate the magazine reading experience. On the other hand, the Internet has meant more competition for audiences and advertising dollars leading to the closing of many magazines.

A number of weekly news magazines have faced the additional challenge of becoming less relevant when news is now available instantaneously and from a multitude of sources both on computers and on mobile devices. *Time* magazine, the newsweekly founded in 1923, became a household name in the United States and established an international presence. By 2005, the Internet had begun to have an impact on its advertising revenues which led to layoffs. This pattern continued through the 2010s, till its parent company Time Warner sought a buyer for it in the face of declining circulation. Meredith Publishing bought *Time* in 2017, but a year later sold it to technology magnate Marc Benioff. After an 80-year publishing run, *Newsweek* ended its print publication in 2012 and became a digital-only magazine. *U.S. News and World Report*, which was established in 1948, ended its print publication in 2010 and went digital until 2015 when it closed down. One exception to the weekly news-magazine downturn is *The Economist*, which continued to grow through the second decade of the 21st century—a result of content that was more global in focus and a strategy that succeeded in engaging readers across different social media platforms.

While weekly newsmagazines struggled to stay relevant, monthly magazines like *The New Yorker* and *The Atlantic* that covered both politics and culture, fared better. Both magazines use their websites to feature content from their current issues but also produce online-only content, which has helped them stay relevant in an era of instant news. In 2017, *The New Yorker* saw a 12% increase in circulation over the previous year, with

a greater reliance on revenues from readers (65%) than advertising. This was accomplished by a successful digital strategy that placed articles likely to be of interest to potential readers on Facebook and Instagram and in its email newsletters. *The Atlantic Monthly* saw a steady increase in readers and, after the introduction of a paywall in 2019, added 160,000 subscribers. In 2017, Emerson Media (owned by Laurene Powell Jobs, Steve Jobs's widow) bought a majority share in the magazine, which expanded its content to videos.

An important way the Internet has impacted magazines was with the introduction of magazines published exclusively online. Two early entrants were *Salon* and *Slate*, which began in 1995 and 1996, respectively. *Salon* was launched with seed money from Apple, while *Slate* was funded by Microsoft. Each has established a unique identity, offering both political and cultural criticism, commentary, and exposés that have been both lauded and criticized. Both were initially free but introduced paywalls and different layers of content for their readers.

Radio

The Internet has opened up new distribution avenues for radio's content. Internet radio station websites, podcasting, and smart speakers are all ways that radio stations are extending their reach. Most websites offer streaming, which enables audiences to listen to the station's content online in real time. Stations that carry news can update news stories on their websites as they break. Like newspapers and magazines, terrestrial radio stations have seen their audiences and advertising revenues decline. However, advertising revenues for digital radio have been increasing since 2018.

The greatest impact of the Internet has been to remove the limits of geography that radio stations previously faced. Through webcasting, stations can reach listeners across the world. Not only have existing stations adopted webcasting, there are many web-only radio stations, whose content is almost always music. Web radio has made a much wider variety of content available to listeners, particularly for those living in rural areas.

Another important development in radio's relationship to the Internet is podcasting, in which shows can be created, posted to the Internet, and

downloaded for listening later. With podcasting, limits of both geography and time can be overcome. National Public Radio is the leader among radio stations in the United States in providing podcasts of a variety of its programs.

The Internet has made it possible for radio companies to establish a presence and reach audiences directly, rather than through radio stations owned by them. It has also given them the opportunity to extend radio listening beyond the car where most radio listening in the United States takes place. iHeartRadio, the largest owner of radio stations in the United States is also a major podcast producer, just behind NPR in podcast listenership, and has taken advantage of the migration of listeners from radio to smartphones and smart speakers. Its website offers content from all its different stations around the country organized by genre, as well as podcasts produced by a variety of producers from NPR to The New York Times to Fox News. Visitors to the site can create playlists and customized radio stations.

For SiriusXM, the Internet has provided it with an opportunity to reach audiences who do not have a satellite radio receiver or who would like to listen to this content outside their cars. Radio stations have created YouTube channels and apps like Radio.com that let listeners listen anytime, anywhere. Smart speakers such as Alexa and Google Home have become another way to distribute content and reach a younger audience.

Television and Cable News

At the same time that audiences are increasingly relying on online media for news, the importance of television news—both network and local—has been declining. Like radio, television news has found a new distribution platform because of the Internet. The websites of television news networks carry news stories that go beyond those featured in their newscasts, where time is the key constraint, and have a mix of video and print stories. It also allows them to reach a younger demographic, at a time when television news audiences are aging.

Websites have made it possible for the major U.S. television networks to expand their news coverage beyond their daily 30-minute newscasts in

prime time to cover topics in greater depth and to cover a broader range of topics. The 24-hour cable news channels have also established a similar presence on the web. Websites carry a mix of recorded video and written stories as well as live video. ABC News has 24/7 streaming video on its website, and this makes it possible for it to compete with 24-hour cable news channels, such as CNN, Fox, and MSNBC. All these news channels also have apps that make their content easy to access on mobile devices and allow notifications that keep audiences coming back to their content.

Local news stations' websites take a similar approach, using their websites to overcome the constraints of time and to expand their news coverage. Videos of news reports are featured daily, in addition to content that did not make it to the newscast. Websites are organized into the same segments that are used on the newscast—news, sports, and weather. Many local stations also have apps, with additional apps just for weather and sports that make it possible for local news stations to expand their audience.

Seema Gupte Shrikhande

See also ABC News; CNN; Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; News Deserts; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Newsweekly Magazines; Paywalls; Podcasting; Television News, History of

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INTERNSHIPS AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Journalism internships and training programs continue to be emphasized by educators as a means to acquire further skills, experience, and newsroom acculturation and are regarded as a necessary path to eventual employment in the news industry. In traditional media internships, students perform paid or unpaid work in the newsroom, and

participate in newsgathering in the field, for a pre-determined period of time under the supervision of professional editors. However, as the number of paid journalism internships continues to decline, universities are developing training practicums or media collaboration programs in order to provide opportunities for students. These training programs, frequently structured as coursework, are designed to provide news experience and aim to produce professional-level, published work under the supervision of university faculty. The journalism produced in these programs may be published on hyperlocal digital sites, focusing on audiences underserved by mass media, or be published by legacy news organizations.

This entry discusses the perceived benefits of journalism internships and training programs and the emphasis placed on this professional training by journalism educators. It also explores the significant reduction in paid journalism internships, as media organizations have struggled financially; how unpaid internships can be barriers to professional entry for students with financial need; and how universities are answering this criticism by providing either college credit or, in some cases, financial support. In recent years, universities have increasingly turned to creating their own faculty-supervised training practicums or media collaboration programs to provide this critical training and newsroom experience for students. Critics argue that traditional internships, or university-created newsrooms, sometimes focus too heavily on traditional media structures and disregard the growth of entrepreneurial journalism.

Inception of Journalism Internships

The newsroom historically has been the site of news work, and before the advent of journalism studies in higher education in the 20th century, apprenticeships served to train journalists in the expectations and practices of the profession. As universities began to offer classes and degrees in journalism, aspects of training moved into the classroom. However, educators and newsroom editors still found value in learning by doing. In 1958, the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund was established to provide students with newsroom training, in order to strengthen journalism education and improve the quality of graduates entering the

field. Still in operation, the Fund provides 10-week paid internships to students from dozens of universities. In turn, other news organizations established their own internship or correspondent programs, often awarded on a competitive basis, to students and recent graduates.

Newsroom internships provide acculturation to journalism practices. Interns observe and learn and are ideally provided with mentorship and guidance from experienced journalists and editors. Interns gain experience by performing basic or routine newsgathering functions and having their work published or broadcast. Student interns are able to put into real-world practice the journalism concepts taught in classrooms and work to build their professional portfolios, which they later use in pursuit of jobs. Research has indicated that completing journalism internships has been associated with speedy postgraduation employment and higher starting salaries. In higher education, journalism programs routinely encourage students to intern in the field. Demographic data collected by the Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Graduates, conducted by the University of Georgia, routinely indicate that more than three quarters of journalism students graduate with a completed media internship. In addition, some university journalism programs require students to complete internships.

Paid Versus Unpaid Internships

As newsrooms and news organization budgets have shrunk significantly since the early 2000s, so has the number of paying journalism internships. With journalism students still seeking internships—for experience or as a mandatory part of the curriculum—and with these workers still providing useful basic functions in newsroom operations, many news organizations began offering unpaid internships. In 2010, the U.S. Department of Labor made clear that to avoid conflict with minimum wage laws, unpaid internships must be extensions of students' educational experiences—with university oversight and credit. After some high-profile class action suits (including those targeting media companies Hearst Corp. and Fox Searchlight Pictures) and court decisions largely favoring businesses, in 2018, the Department of

Labor loosened rules governing unpaid internships.

Instead of pay, many journalism organizations today require students to earn academic credit. In higher education, internships for credit require faculty supervisory resources, connections, and grading. Data from the 2015 Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Enrollments indicated that among the college and university programs that offer internship credit opportunities, a majority required internship credit, at least for some programs of study.

At institutions with fixed-rate tuition in the fall and spring semesters, students performing internships for credit perform the work in addition to their academic work. However, students who pay per-credit tuition rates, or seek a summer internship, essentially pay tuition for the privilege of gaining unpaid journalism experience. In addition, the proliferation of unpaid journalism internships has raised significant concerns regarding the inequalities perpetuated by freezing out students who cannot afford to take unpaid internships.

Critics hold that unpaid internships are a barrier to entering the profession that dramatically affects aspiring journalists with middle- and lower-class backgrounds, many of whom are required to hold paying jobs as part of financial aid packages. It also lowers the likelihood that people of color, already underrepresented in newsrooms, can access entry-level positions. Unpaid internships become populated by only those who can afford it, and this exacerbates inequalities based in class, race, and gender.

Because internship experience is often ultimately tied to successful postgraduation employment, economically advantaged students are better positioned to enter the profession. To meet this challenge, some schools have begun to assist students with financial need: Graduate students at the Craig Newmark School of Journalism at the City University of New York are guaranteed a summer stipend to support unpaid internships, if students are unable to secure paid work. At the University of Notre Dame, the Gallivan Journalism Program financially supports summer internships at news organizations. At Stanford University, the Rebele Journalism Internship Program provides competitively awarded funding for

internships at approved news organizations. However, university programs such as these, which provide financial support for unpaid internships, remain uncommon.

The Exponential Growth of University-Run Training Programs

University journalism education has long engaged in hands-on training programs to prepare future journalists. The University of Missouri School of Journalism launched one of the earliest examples in 1908, *The Columbia Missourian*, a daily newspaper (and now also a multimedia website), where news content is produced by students and managed by faculty editors. Throughout the 20th century, schools of journalism also began collaborating with traditional media partners and providing news content. At Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, since the 1960s, faculty have supervised graduate student journalists. Columbia Journalism School launched a similar graduate student news service in the 1970s. In 1990, the University of Maryland launched its wire-like Capital News Service, with faculty-led, student-staffed news bureaus providing news content to local, legacy media.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, at the same time as paying internship opportunities shrank and a number of media organizations shuttered, university-run practicums and training programs proliferated. Additional universities launched student-produced journalism initiatives, including the University of Alabama, the Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University, Northeastern University, Florida International University, and Temple University. Many of these university programs focus on community news or areas and topics underserved by existing media organizations. In 2009, a report issued by the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy called on higher education to increase capacity to serve "as hubs of journalistic activity and other information-sharing for local communities" (p. xvi). Educators began to embrace ideas of not only serving journalism students but also to inform communities and become sites of experimentation and innovation in a rapidly changing, disrupted media environment.

While most university training programs are run autonomously by schools for their students, in 2005, the nonprofit Carnegie-Knight News21 multimedia reporting initiative was established to bring together about two dozen students from a variety of universities to work on annual, in-depth summer investigations. The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation provides core financing, but participating schools pay for their admitted students' summer stipends and travel expenses. Past projects have been published by major media organizations and won notable journalism awards.

In 2012, a collection of six foundations that provide significant financial support for journalism education issued a letter explicitly stating that future journalism education funding would be tied to the promotion of experientially based learning, using the term "teaching hospital model." This term is drawn from schools of medicine that use students and residents, alongside licensed doctors, to treat patients and complete physicians' training. In the field of journalism education, while the term is inconsistently defined and applied, the "teaching hospital model" generally incorporates aspects of faculty leading students through experiential newsgathering, alongside print or digital publishing and broadcasting of student content. Proponents of this model of university-led immersive student journalism cite benefit to both students and audiences, particularly in light of media organization cuts and closures.

Advocates of immersive journalism training programs or smaller scale clinics believe it synthesizes skills taught in the classroom. Educators who engage in aspects of experientially based journalism programs value the ability to coach their students as they perform news work, including covering beats, finding stories, and interviewing subjects outside of the university community, practicing ethical newsgathering, producing widely distributed work, and encountering feedback and critiques from public audiences. Programs and professors report graduates of immersive experiences are well-prepared for the profession and have an advantage in a competitive employment environment.

In practice, the programs range in hours involved and depth of immersion. At some schools, participating in a faculty-led immersive journalism experience is a requirement—at others, it is a journalism

elective. Often, it is part of an undergraduate capstone or taught combining graduate and undergraduate students. While a few schools operate independent publications, broadcast programs, or digital platforms to publish student work, many journalism programs operate in partnership with media clients, who either pay nominal subscription fees for student work or receive it for free.

Critiques of university-run journalism training programs focus on the model's hyperprofessional focus, structure around traditional newsroom operations and existing news networks, and links to legacy media, which might benefit financially from free or reduced-cost content or forgo covering beats or hiring additional reporters because of access to student-produced news content. Educators, meanwhile, have expressed concerns about the financial sustainability of these models, as well as the difficulties involved in teaching and producing content, while at the same time attempting to innovate.

Another criticism of the emphasis on university-run journalism training programs is that the model lacks emphasis on the growing importance of entrepreneurial journalism, which operates outside traditional newsroom structures. Today, as the number of full-time newsroom jobs dwindles, organizations are increasingly delegating work to freelancers and stringers. Some educators and scholars of journalism education believe universities should incorporate aspects of entrepreneurialism, including self-marketing and audience analysis, in order to best prepare students for the expansion of gig-work in the field of journalism.

Replicating traditional newsroom structures in university training programs may not best prepare students for the range of opportunities available after graduation. In response, journalism programs are now extending the curriculum into this realm. For example, the Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism at the City University of New York's Craig Newmark Graduate School of Journalism, launched in 2010 with multimillion-dollar funding from the Knight Foundation and Tow Foundation, helps journalism entrepreneurs launch new journalism tools, startups, and media ventures, with fundamental business courses and venture-building skills embedded in the curriculum. It also offers "Entrepreneurial Journalism Bootcamp" training as part of its graduate program.

The University of Missouri offers an undergraduate journalism degree, with an optional interest area of entrepreneurialism, including study of brand building, marketing content, and mobile app development. The New Media Innovation and Entrepreneurship Lab, at Arizona State University, offers both graduate and undergraduate training, including development of storytelling platforms and news games with media collaborators. This program, like the one at the Newmark Graduate School of Journalism, also allows students to develop their own ideas and ventures, with prototype presentations to local entrepreneurs and investors.

In addition to the specialized training efforts at large educational institutions, research indicates that journalism schools are increasingly offering specific courses in entrepreneurship and audience analysis, and journalism professors are embracing the need to cultivate entrepreneurial mindsets and emphasize building personal branding as part of the training they offer. Increasingly, journalism programs in the academy value training experiences or mentorships with tech start-ups, in addition to or in conjunction with traditional media organization internships that have historically dominated the field as a necessary step toward employment.

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See also Diversity in Journalism; Entrepreneurial Journalism; Journalism Education; Newsroom Culture

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INTERPRETIVE JOURNALISM

Interpretive journalism refers to a form of journalism that presupposes and includes some degree of interpretation by the journalist in the news coverage, opposed to the straightforward descriptions of facts that characterize descriptive journalism. Interpretive journalism implies that the dominant voice in the news report is the journalist, not the information source. It is a style of reporting centered on the journalist to the detriment of sources, which empowers journalists, by giving them more control over content, through the selection of themes and the possibility of adding new meaning to facts.

Interpretive journalism thus goes beyond source-driven, fact-focused, and descriptive journalism. At the story-level, rather than simply providing descriptions of what happened, interpretive journalism entails the inclusion of journalistic interpretation and analysis in the news through explanations, evaluations, contextualizations, commentaries, or speculations by the journalist. Interpretive journalism implies both a new way of looking at something and the production of new information (based on interpretation) about it.

Instead of simply describing “what” happened in the news report, in interpretive journalism, the journalist takes the role of an analyst and explains the “how” and the “why” behind facts and events, as well as its consequences, that is, the journalist interprets, contextualizes, and provides explanations, assessments, speculations, and/or commentaries in the news coverage. Interpretive journalism is not based on straightforward descriptions and observation-focused reports of bare facts, it focuses instead on the reasons and motivations behind facts and events and its already known or potential consequences. This entry examines the interpretative nature of journalism, how the Internet has complicated interpretative journalism, and related types of journalism.

The Interpretative Nature of Journalism

Journalistic practice in general has occasionally been presented as an interpretive activity, as it involves decisions that always rely on some interpretation of reality by journalists. Such decisions include, for example, those about what is news and how it should be treated, as well as those about what to include and leave out in each news story. Even the gathering of information about facts could be in itself an interpretative task. The seminal work by Curtis D. MacDougall titled precisely *Interpretative Reporting* (1938) presented interpretation as an intrinsic feature of journalism, as journalists are human beings with values and opinions like anyone else. In this sense, all types of human activity are interpretive to some degree. However, interpretive journalism refers to a specific form of journalistic production that does incorporate explicit interpretations by the journalist in the news story.

These can be intended and properly signaled as comment or news analysis signed by a journalist identified as such or the presence of journalistic interpretations intermixed with descriptions in straight news stories without any forewarning. Even though the journalist is the most prominent voice in the news in both cases, the second case could raise ethical issues because it means that the journalist can put forward certain views about the facts, or even an agenda, and thus contribute to influence the public in a certain direction, without any explicit warning that those are in reality the journalist's own interpretations and not just descriptions of the facts. This could be even more controversial in those places where journalistic work is more equated to the simple purveying of straightforward, objective reports of what happened.

The upfront distinction between interpretive journalism and descriptive journalism thus involves consequences both at different levels. When put in practice, this type of journalism potentially impacts on the topics selected to cover and on the tone of the journalistic pieces. The salience attributed to topics will depend not only on the information that is available but also on the journalists' own knowledge about the topic and on their preferences (e.g., political, personal taste, and experience). As to the tone of the news coverage, the presence of journalistic interpretation in the news has been associated with a higher prevalence of negativity and criticism in the news stories. Theoretically, interpretive journalism signals a shift from the objective reporting paradigm.

Although mostly focusing on the journalism produced in the news media outlets based in the United States, several studies have concluded that, since the 1970s, journalism has become increasingly interpretive and less descriptive. These analyses refer, for example, to the interpretive journalism approach as an attempt to explain change and relate events to each other, or to one in which the journalist selects the theme, which is primary in the news coverage, whereas facts are used just as illustrations of these themes. Despite these claims, it is not possible to ascertain the exact measure in which journalism has actually become more interpretive and whether this is a universal trend (both

in different countries and in different types of media), nor indeed the actual claim, as there are not many longitudinal studies supporting the premise, and the meaning and operationalization of interpretive journalism has also varied from study to study.

Nevertheless, while interpretive journalism is rooted in the inception of journalism itself, the idea of objectivity in journalism is not as old and is only part of journalism's history. In fact, at least until the first half of the 20th century, being "objective" was not a goal for most journalists. Objectivity also does not have the same weight in all journalistic cultures: it is believed to be more important in the United States than in Europe, but even in Europe there are acknowledged differences in countries, for example, between French and British journalisms, the first containing traditionally much more journalistic interpretation in the news coverage. Objectivity as a norm in journalism is linked to its professionalization and to a broader movement in science concerned with the elimination of all kinds of subjectivity and with the reproducibility of results in research. It refers to a set of routine journalistic procedures established to ensure that news stories follow specific formal attributes that conceal any personal bias and views by the journalist (e.g., quote sources instead of presenting the journalist's own interpretation).

Interpretive journalism results from the disbelief in value-free facts and interest-free sources. Facts and events, or any social phenomena, do not simply happen: they have causes and effects that, following the interpretive journalism's perspective, should be brought to the public's attention, contextualized and explained. In addition, social and political actors can instrumentalize facts for different reasons, and therefore, it becomes more useful for audiences the inclusion of explanations about the context in which facts have occurred and of interpretations of the relevance and impact of both facts and sources, when compared to the straightforward reports of the facts as they were described by the sources. Similarly, conflicting versions of the same story or different perceptions of the same fact also require contextualization and the observance of established procedures that are meant to ensure balance in the news.

Internet and Complexity

The debate about the merits or demerits of interpretive journalism, namely whether journalists should interpret and explain the complex world and not just report it, is also linked to discussions about the challenges and the future of journalism. In a time when anyone with the technological means can report instantly the occurrence of facts, and reproduce statements or publish photos and videos of events as they are happening, journalism may need to rethink its main purpose in order to remain relevant in today's societies. This is a time in which audiences need more than just a mere reportage of facts and events from journalism.

This position has become more and more widespread as societies are further experiencing the complex array of effects of the Internet, of social media use, and of the increasing prevalence of user-generated content. The downgrading in importance, or the total absence of the traditional gatekeepers selecting the information that is disseminated, means that propaganda and false information can circulate without any barriers, which potentially results in information environments that are particularly intricate and challenging for the general public. Now, more than ever before, it is simple and inexpensive to disseminate all kinds of disinformation, including fake news, hoaxes, conspiracy theories, and so on. These developments in the information that circulates indirectly highlight the pertinence of interpretive journalism.

With the Internet, an increasing number of mainstream journalists have developed their own spaces of interpretive, point-of-view journalism. In addition, there were notable changes in journalistic genres, such as talk shows and new hybrid media formats, that have expanded the boundaries of what is considered news reporting and have further enhanced the weight of the perspective of the journalist.

As research on journalism has been increasingly concerned with understanding how journalistic work and formats have been evolving with the Internet and social media, such developments pave the way to eminent changes in the conceptualization of journalism itself. In fact, in today's ever-changing media environments, when any person can publish or post information, and it has

become more and more difficult to discern between sound and fake information, interpretive journalism may actually stand out as an important comparative advantage for professional journalists. The complexities of such media environments and of the world itself have thus been contributing to enhance the relevance of journalistic interpretation, that is, the need for interpretation in the news report of facts.

Interpretive journalism's main challenges arise from the adequate identification of the presence of journalistic interpretations in the news coverage and from the adoption of procedures designed to ensure full transparency in the journalist's decisions, for example, in the selection of topics or sources to cover. This is not unimportant considering that critics have already expressed concern over the concealed presence of interpretation and opinions in what is often presented as straightforward news. Furthermore, due to their strong reliance or total dependence on sources, some journalists have also been considered to be very close to the elites (or even part of the elites), which means that they are not fulfilling the expected watchdog role that the most established schools of thought see as one of the most important functions of journalism in society.

It is thus not surprising that interpretive journalism has been often the subject of normative evaluations, with some critics considering that it introduces subjectivity and biases in the news that end up discrediting not only journalists and the news outlets for which they work but also journalism in general. Systematic empirical research about the (positive and negative) effects of interpretive journalism on audiences could contribute to elucidate on the different nuances of interpretive journalism and their implications for the health of democracy.

Related Types of Journalism

There is some consensus about the main features of interpretive journalism throughout time and space: it is mainly associated with the function of providing a specific type of background information in the news reports, namely additional meaning through interpretation, evaluations, and the selection of contextual information. For being driven by a disbelief in value-free facts and

consequently by the prominent voice of the journalist that explains the context and interprets the relevance and impact of facts and events, interpretive journalism is often linked to interventionist styles of journalism. Journalistic interventionism emphasizes the active role of the journalist that while gathering information and telling stories is also expressing a viewpoint, advocating causes, and therefore intervening in reality. Whatever are the motivations (e.g., market-focused, partisan, adversarial, public interest) behind this type of approach to journalistic practice, it presupposes and underpins the prominence of the journalist in the news coverage.

In research, the lack of conceptual clarity has resulted in a richness of the approaches that label and study forms of journalism that display rather close similarities with interpretive journalism. There are a number of studies that propose other concepts but examine very similar approaches to journalism (i.e., journalism that is focused on providing analysis and context; that entails the prevalence of judgments and opinions by the journalist in the news report; and that results in specific, direct forms of journalistic intervention in reality). Some of these concepts have triggered more scholarly interest and have been more consequential than others, but they are similar to the concept of interpretive journalism in what relates to the features of journalism that they have chosen to emphasize, namely the central role of the journalist in the construction of meaning and of journalistic interpretation in the production of narratives about current events.

Such related concepts include long journalism, explanatory journalism, contextual journalism, or new journalism. In addition to these, narrative journalism, ethnographic journalism, or solutions journalism also bear some noteworthy similarities with interpretive journalism. The “long journalism” theory proposes that the emphasis in reporting has moved from event-centered coverage to interpretive news analysis and that the tone of news reports has become more negative because of that. “New journalism” recognizes the fundamental interpretive responsibilities of journalists that are also the primary source of the story. Similar to “contextual journalism,” in which the main purpose is to advance analysis and context to facts, “explanatory journalism,” although it is

clearly based on event-centered reporting, also intends to provide additional meaning to facts and events by placing them in context (e.g., historical, cultural, sociological, economic, political, psychological, or other relevant background). The most recent forms of “narrative journalism” emerged as a response to the news supplied by sources other than professional journalists (including automated news aggregators), and to reengage audiences, it proposes a shift to thorough journalistic investigation coupled with detailed accounts of events and facts that resort to fiction writing techniques. The case of “ethnographic journalism” is slightly different, as it is admittedly an interpretive approach to facts; rather than factual accuracy, what drives the journalist here is the search for the enclosed meaning. Finally, in its explicit focus on the solutions to problems, “solutions journalism” implies the inclusion of interpretation and explanation in its accounts of whether, how, and why different answers to problems work or not.

Given that all of these different concepts deal with the inclusion of meaningful context in the news coverage, with the key purpose of uncovering the underlying meaning of facts and events, as well as with the predominant role of the journalist, whose perspective stands out in the news report, instead of simply providing straightforward accounts of what happened, interpretive journalism can be treated as an umbrella concept. It encompasses a wide range of forms of journalistic expression, in which explicit interpretation by the journalist is always seen as a central feature.

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See also Agenda Setting; Framing; New Journalism; Objectivity; Solutions Journalism

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INTERVIEWING

Solid interviewing skills are a staple of every good journalist's toolbox. The same skills that distinguish elite journalists from just-OK information deliverers also spawned an industry of entertainment during the 20th century, as news talk show hosts, late night talk show hosts, and morning and afternoon entertainment shows became eponymous because they delivered some of the most iconic interviews of the 20th and 21st centuries. In addition to informing and entertaining audiences, interviewers with an eye toward recording history have applied the interviewing skills to oral histories, capturing the voices and images of people who might otherwise have been lost in the historical milieu. As discussed in this entry, interviewing requires training, an understanding of how to approach different topics and interviewees, knowledge of the legal precedents for interviews (particularly when recording interviews), and fact checking. This entry concludes with a discussion of some of the most watched interviews of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Training for Interviewing

There are multiple types of journalism-style interviews, including the following:

- Personality profiles
- Casual interviews

- Hard news interviews
- On-the-spot interviews
- Investigative interviews
- Telephone, email, or other remote types of interviews
- Oral histories

Each of these interview styles requires different preparation and may necessitate different approaches. For example, an oral history interview may require the interviewer to carry on a conversation with the interviewee with no particular information gathering goal in mind other than to gain a life story, while a hard news interview may take 10–20 minutes with the interviewer asking the interviewee for specific information and facts. For all of these interviews, however, there is a basic skill set that journalistic interviewers need to master. Those skills include the following:

- Research and preparation, including learning the background of the source and topic
- Listening actively and responding and encouraging the interviewee appropriately
- Asking appropriate open-ended questions and following up on topics with further questions
- The ability to establish a relationship with the interviewee
- Knowing the pitfalls of allowing a source to go “off the record” and how to respond if a source requests to be anonymous or off the record
- Fact-checking information after the interview to double-check that sources provided correct and verifiable information.

Many of the foundations of good interviewing have not changed as technology has changed. For example, ethical journalists are expected to state their affiliation with a news organization and the purposes of the interview for the interviewee when requesting an interview. The purposes of the interview are often restated at the beginning of the interview just to make sure that the interviewer and the interviewee have a basis for anticipating what questions and topics may be covered during the interview. However, most journalism interviewers do not provide interviewees with a set of questions prior to the interview for many reasons, including that interviews evolve based on how interviewees respond to questions and topics.

Interviewers generally have a basic set of topics they want to cover or a few questions they want to start with, and when covering hard topics, they may also have a list of soft topics to intermix with the tougher topics and questions to keep the interviewee engaged and challenged.

Even if an interviewer has a basic set of questions, though, they need to anticipate that the interviewee may bring up off-script topics. Traditional journalism advice encourages beginning reporters to get into the habit of asking their sources “do you have anything you’d like to add?” because journalists may find their sources bring up ideas they hadn’t previously considered. By doing basic research prior to the interview, a reporter can anticipate off-script topics and then decide whether or not they are pertinent to the main issues. Research also provides the interviewer with means to double-check information and follow up on questions in an informed way during the interview.

The best interviewers are able to create a relationship with their interviewees, whether a brief on-the-spot question-and-answer interview or a multiday oral history interview. This means interviewers treat all of their interviewees with respect, regardless of age or perceived ability. Building a relationship based on mutual respect means that journalists need to assume that interviewees can understand and respond to questions. For example, interviewing people with disabilities can be difficult if a journalist is not sure how to approach people with physical or neurological differences. However, when interviewing a person with a disability, speaking directly to the person rather than to their caregiver shows respect that can lead the person with a disability to trust the journalist more than they would someone who does not speak to them directly.

Some of the skills necessary for good interviews are changing as technology develops to help reporters do their job better. For example, advanced recording technology, like all technological advances, comes with positives and negatives. New recording technology can help reporters to double-check quotes and, potentially, to concentrate more on the interviewee and what they’re saying. In some cases, recorders can even produce a transcript of an interview so that a reporter has both a recording and a print-out of the conversation.

However, recording devices fail occasionally, leaving a reporter without an interview or quotes. Many reporting programs and active journalists recommend bringing along a notepad and a pen to take notes even if an interview is being recorded for various reasons, including being able to recover the most important quotes and to navigate the recording and its transcript later so as to find the pertinent part of the recording on deadline. In addition, with recorded interviews, journalists can confirm quotes and to keep interviewees from changing information once it is on the record. Some reporters may play a quote back to a source and ask if they have anything to add, but the recording keeps both the journalist and the source honest to the original statement.

Remote interviews—such as those conducted via video conferencing, email, phone, or even text messaging—can be easy to conduct because they do not require the interviewer and interviewee to be in the same room. However, truly asynchronous interviews—email and text messaging—do not allow as much time or space for the interviewer to follow up on a statement made by the interviewee. While the written format allows interviewers to ensure they are quoting a source correctly, it generally is recommended only as a last-resort interview style because it does not allow for the relationship that creates a spontaneous, interesting interview-based story.

Finally, journalism training counsels that interviewers start by gathering the interviewee’s basic information, including name (and spelling), official title, and perceived relationship to the story subject, all of which may be more difficult than it seems, particularly on deadline. Even video stories, though, have text introducing interviewees by their name and title. Getting that basic information wrong is not only embarrassing or aggravating for the interviewee; it could result in the wrong person being credited with the interview. Essentially, good interviewing comes down to preparation, respect, and a willingness to challenge ideas that seem controversial or inaccurate.

Ethical Considerations

As the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics notes, the journalists’ first priority should be to “seek truth and report it.” One of the biggest

challenges to both seeking truth and reporting it is when a source asks for anonymity or to go off the record. A MasterClass discussion on interviewing sensitive sources with investigative reporter Bob Woodward, part of the duo who broke the Watergate story for *The Washington Post*, notes that interviewers need to identify their sources “whenever possible” and candidly tell sources how information will be used (MasterClass, 2019, para. 5-6).

Reporters should always consider source motivation when a person asks to go off the record. Ethically, “off the record” means an interviewer is not allowed to use any of the information given unless the source specifically says that information is back on the record. Once a source says that information is off the record, the interviewer cannot use the information unless they can find another source to tell them the same information on the record. If a source asks to go off the record, the interviewer asks the interviewee for reasons why the information needs to be given off the record and tells them the legal ramifications of telling information off the record. The Online News Association’s ethics discussion of interviewing includes four categories that journalists should clarify with sources who wish to go off the record:

On the record, which is information that cites the source by name with no caveats;

Off the record, which, as noted earlier, cannot be used in any form in a story;

Background, whereby a source is willing to have information used only under conditions that they have negotiated, which may include only a summary or outline of their general ideas without their name actually being used; and

Deep background, whereby “the information can be used but without attribution” (Kent, 2020, para. 6).

The issues of accountability and reporting truth with as much clarity and verifiability as possible arise when a source requests to be anonymous. Some stories require that sources remain anonymous, whether for the privacy of the interviewee, as in the case of a sexual assault survivor, or because the interviewee is in a position whereby using their identity could compromise their physical safety and job security. The second was shown clearly in the Watergate stories when Woodward

and his reporting partner Carl Bernstein used the pseudonym “Deep Throat” for their insider source on President Richard Nixon’s administration’s involvement in efforts to spy on the Democratic National Committee. The identity of Deep Throat was revealed 32 years later when *Vanity Fair* published the identity as former FBI Associate Director Mark Felt.

Technology and the Interview

Although technological developments have diversified the ways that reporters can conduct interviews, they have also added complexity to the process of gathering information. Smartphones can be both audio and video recorders. Video recording via both videoconference platforms, which also can transcribe video text for use on a website or as postinterview notes, and digital video recording equipment allows interviewers to capture facial expressions, body language, and physical context that a reporter might miss if they were trying to write notes while conducting the interview.

The practice of recording interviews is controversial among journalism professionals. Hand note-taking purists argue that recording interviews creates lazy interviewers who are not paying 100% attention to the interviewee because they figure the recording will capture everything they need. Recording devotees argue that the audio capture allows them to ensure that they can double-check their notes later and that their reporting is as accurate as possible. Some people also argue that a reporter’s use of a recorder keeps the interviewee’s attention away from the notepad where the journalist is writing notes, on what may or may not be important, which may influence what the interviewee chooses to share. If an interviewee perceives that an interviewer is particularly interested in something that makes the interviewee uncomfortable, that person may choose to stop talking or change topics, derailing a line of questioning that would be productive for the interview.

Recording interviews requires reporters to have some legal and ethical knowledge. While U.S. federal law (18 U.S.C. 2511 (2)(d)) requires only one person to consent to being recorded, individual state statutes may supersede federal law and require

interviewers to gain the consent of all parties before recording an interview. As of 2020, 38 states and the District of Columbia have adopted laws that mirrored the federal recording rules. Other states have two-party or all-party consent laws. The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press provides a guide to state laws, breaking down in which states interviewers can face civil and criminal penalties for breaking recording consent laws. According to this guide, all states have laws against hidden cameras, although the federal government does not, and most states and the federal government have additional penalties in place for people who disclose or publish information that was recorded in violation of the state and federal statutes (“Reporter’s Recording Guide,” 2012, p. 3).

Fact-Checking Interviews

Fact-checking the content of an interview has increasingly becoming an important part of the reporting process. Interviews need to be fact-checked for a variety of reasons, including interviewees having faulty memories or recalling only a part or a single perspective on an event, interviewees working off assumptions that they have developed from reading other stories or talking to other people, interviewees being unable to cite a reputable primary source for their information, and interviewees making common errors in their own reporting of their information, such as misnaming a person or a place or giving an incorrect number.

Interviewers should know how to question the source of information that interviewees are claiming as facts, as well as understand their source’s biases. To fact-check, interviewers need to know how to find and use primary sources; newsrooms often have research databases available to their reporters. Other research options available to journalists include Google Scholar, open-source research journals, reference sites and books, and other stakeholders (i.e., those with a vested interest in the information in a story). If the interviewer cannot find a primary source, they can reach out to experts on the subject, although even then, source bias could come into the research. Using secondary sources to confirm interviewee claims is also an option; however, one which is usually a last option as secondary sources can be erroneous themselves.

Memorable Interviews

Memorable interviews have defined many of the touchstones of the past century, showing that interviewing remains important for gathering information and capturing audiences. Many of the most successful journalists reached the top of the field by mastering the art of interviewing. When speaking of top interviewers and the most memorable interviews of the 20th and 21st centuries, however, it would be a mistake to overlook entertainers who have delivered some thought-provoking, memorable, and watched interviews. A chart of the most-watched television interviews in U.S. history lists entertainment mogul and icon Oprah Winfrey interviewing Michael Jackson in 1993 at the top with 90 million viewers (Epstein, N.D.). It was the reclusive Jackson’s first interview in more than 14 years.

Oprah Winfrey is not the only talk show host whose interviews have illuminated the news or brought the famous and infamous into people’s homes. Talk show host Dick Cavett brought the Vietnam War home to the United States by interviewing veterans of the war. His coverage of the war and discussions with veterans were so renowned that when PBS produced four Vietnam War documentaries in 2015, one of them, “Dick Cavett’s Vietnam,” was dedicated to his talk show coverage.

Edward R. Murrow pioneered the celebrity interview that dominates much of today’s late night television on his talk show *Person to Person*, which he chaired from 1953 to 1959. On *Person to Person*, Murrow interviewed celebrities ranging from Marilyn Monroe to John Steinbeck to Bing Crosby to politicians John F. Kennedy (a Senator at the time), Fidel Castro, and Harry Truman from his studio chair while they were in their own homes. The laid-back, impromptu style of interviewing featured on Murrow’s *Person to Person* has come to define both news and entertainment interview-based shows. Even the leading satirists and pop culture commentators of the 20th and 21st centuries—including *The Tonight Show*’s Johnny Carson and *The Daily Show*’s Jon Stewart—have employed this conversational style when interviewing people on their shows.

While Oprah and Michael Jackson top the list of the most-watched interviews of the last 100

years, the next three interviews on the top-10 list speak to America's interest in the private lives and scandals of public people. Those three are broadcast journalist Barbara Walters interviewing Monica Lewinsky, the intern with whom then-President Bill Clinton had an affair (74 million viewers), British journalist David Frost interviewing Richard Nixon over the course of four radio and television programs in 1977, 3 years after Nixon resigned the presidency rather than face impeachment (45 million viewers), and longtime-60 Minutes correspondent Steve Kroft's 1992 interview with Bill and Hillary Clinton (40 million viewers) (Epstein, N.D.).

While today social media posts frequently dominate public attention, a thought-provoking, insightful, shocking, or entertaining interview still has the power to draw audiences and command headlines. A skillful interviewer can make interviewees and audiences feel emotions ranging from amusement to outrage with the use of careful research, listening, and prompting interviewees to continue developing ideas that can drive political and pop culture talking points.

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See also Ethics; Fact-Checking Movement; Recording; Watergate

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INVERTED PYRAMID

The *inverted pyramid* is a model used by journalists and journalism educators to represent the structure of a news story that begins with a statement of the most essential, newsworthy facts and continues with related information in diminishing order of newsworthiness. Though a pyramid by definition is a three-dimensional figure, the inverted pyramid structure in journalism is illustrated as a triangle balanced on one point. The shape signifies the unfolding content of a story, from its wide top to the narrow bottom. This entry explores the function, structure, and history of the inverted pyramid structure from its emergence in the 19th century through its use by journalists and strategic communicators in the digital age.

Function and Structure

The inverted pyramid model is not only descriptive in terms of story structure but also functional in terms of the writing and consumption of news.

For writers, the model can systematically guide the writing process by providing a logical, efficient, and highly consistent framework and is thus a popular choice for journalism and strategic writing educators, particularly in early coursework. Students are taught to approach a newswriting task by first identifying and perhaps ranking newsworthy facts, then seeking supporting information, and finally using the inverted pyramid model as a structural template or starting point. Instruction in the inverted pyramid style generally precedes instruction in other journalistic writing methods.

The structure also presents functional implications for consumers of journalistic content, whether delivered by print, broadcast, or web. When encountering a story in the inverted pyramid style, readers, viewers, and listeners can immediately understand the most basic facts and their importance, as well as the scope of the story, so that they can make an informed decision to read, view, or listen further.

The inverted pyramid is aligned with the idea of journalistic writing that is both orderly and objective by constraining even the most unusual news stories within a predictable structure. The model is composed of three principal components. Presented first, and represented by the widest part of the triangle model, the *lead* (sometimes spelled as *lede*) presents the most central and important facts of the story. The *body*, represented visually by the narrowing sides of the triangle, provides more specific information that clarifies or expands the central facts. Concluding sentences, represented in the model by the triangle's lowest point, may be known as the *tail* of the story, providing background or contextual information.

Lead

Coming at the beginning of the story in one or sometimes two sentences, the lead contains the most important or essential newsworthy elements. The lead typically appears in its own paragraph. Most stories written in the inverted pyramid style begin with a *summary lead*, which comprehensively but concisely answers the basic newswriting questions of who, what, where, and when, and perhaps why and how, in a single declarative sentence. Clear, focused, and formal, a summary lead

can be used for any type of news, but is the most common choice for hard-news stories in the inverted pyramid form. A story about an automotive recall, for example, could begin with a lead that identifies the company (who), the defective part (what), the reason for the recall (why), and the date of the recall (when).

The elements presented in the lead depend on the writer's assessment of which components of the story are most newsworthy—that is, which facts are most timely, proximal, unusual, significant, or new, or which represent conflict or human interest. This determination may also consider the story's intended readers, viewers, or listeners, since newsworthiness is relative and may shift depending on the readers' geographic location, characteristics, or attitudes, values, and beliefs. In a story about an automotive recall, for example, the lead might include additional newsworthy elements such as the number of impacted consumers (significance) or the potential risks (unusualness).

A story in the inverted pyramid style can also be introduced with an *informal* or *soft lead*, particularly in the case of a story providing good news or announcing a coming event. The informal lead presents a more creative introduction to the story but still delivers, in one or two sentences, the who, what, where, when, why, and how of the news. Other lead variations include a blind lead, in which an individual is introduced by identification only in the first paragraph, and attributed direct or indirect quoted material. In these scenarios, information omitted from the lead, such as an individual's name or the occasion of a quote, would be included in a subsequent paragraph, constituting a two-paragraph lead, and the body of the story continues in paragraph three.

Body

The body of a story written in the inverted pyramid style contains additional relevant information that develops the basic facts presented in the lead. Like the lead, body content is generally presented in short paragraphs of one or two sentences, but can be few or many paragraphs, depending on the number of available facts to be told. More a report than a narrative, the body is structured so that information is presented in

diminishing order of newsworthiness, rather than in chronological order. Content can include objective description, explanation, definitions, attributed direct or indirect quotation, examples, background information and context, potential implications, and so on. In a story about an automotive recall, for example, the body of the story could provide information such as a description of the defective part or quotes from company executives.

Tail

Unlike academic or feature writing, a story written in the inverted pyramid style does not include a conclusion, *per se*, but instead draws to a close with presentation of the final piece of information. When written by public relations practitioners, web content developers, or other writers, stories in the inverted pyramid style may present additional information, such as an organization's boilerplate or instructions to the reader, in the tail of the story. For example, news about an automotive recall may provide a telephone number or website for consumer claims in the tail of the story.

History

The inverted pyramid emerged as a methodology as a result of changes in technology and journalistic standards. Well into the 19th century, much news took the form of correspondence or narrative, whether written by a reporter or not. However, with the birth of the often-unreliable telegraph in 1844, news could be delivered as wire dispatches, leading to an emphasis on brevity—a clear departure from the literary style that characterized journalistic reporting of the day. Presenting the central facts of a story early carried corollary benefits in the event the transmission was interrupted or the newspaper had limited space.

Historians have demonstrated, however, that the form did not come into widespread use until the last decades of the 19th century. In a 2003 article, Horst Pottker argues that the structure was adopted during the Gilded Age as newspaper editors made a variety of adjustments in editorial

policies related to the communicative efficacy of their newspapers, including headlines, illustrations, and story structure.

In the 20th century, the inverted pyramid structure came to be recognized as a standard for hard news reporting, though other forms, such as feature writing and “new” or literary journalism, were widely practiced. Though most closely associated with print journalism, the style was adopted by journalists writing for radio, television, and emerging digital journalism platforms. The approach is also preferred by many public relations writers, who recognize that press releases conforming to journalistic standards are more likely to be adopted by media gatekeepers. The structure is modified by some public relations practitioners by adding a boilerplate paragraph at the very end to provide general messaging about the source organization.

Because it presents an efficient and predictable information architecture, the form can be a strong choice in an age of web browsing, diminishing attention spans, and scads of multimedia content, when delivering the most important facts as quickly as possible is a chief concern. Thus, the inverted pyramid continues to guide journalists, journalism educators, and strategic communicators in the 21st century.

Katrina J. Quinn

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Journalism Education; News Values; Objectivity; Telegraph

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INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

Investigative journalism is a genre of news involving comprehensive, in-depth reporting on public affairs that exposes wrongdoing or systemic failure in society. Although some journalists have asserted that all reporting, by definition, should be investigative in nature, investigative journalism is distinguished from other kinds of news such as routine daily reporting, feature reporting, or explanatory journalism. Characteristic elements include the extensive use of documentary evidence; the exposure of hidden problems such as fraud, government waste, or misconduct; and the identification—through original journalistic effort—of persons or institutions responsible for those problems. Self-described investigative reporters also have distinctly different attitudes and perceptions than other journalists. Research has revealed that they are more likely to express support for an adversarial role for journalism in society, for instance.

Investigative reports are sometimes based on leaks from unnamed sources or on tactics such as undercover reporting, the use of which has led to occasional controversies or breaches of accepted journalistic ethics. However, investigative reporting is also regarded by many as the highest form of journalism because of its role in holding powerful institutions accountable. Large news organizations commit significant financial resources to pay for staff and other expenses associated with investigative journalism, such as legal costs and charges for obtaining public records and data. Because of the time and resources involved in producing major journalistic investigations, they usually receive prominent placement and extensive promotion.

Although major journalistic investigations represent a small proportion of journalistic output overall, they tend to be disproportionately influential, often leading to important societal impacts such as legal or policy reforms, administrative or civil actions, or criminal prosecutions in a process

sometimes called policy *agenda setting*. One compelling case was the *Indianapolis Star's* investigation beginning in 2016 of sexual abuse of gymnasts by a U.S. Gymnastics doctor, Larry Nassar, and the failure of the organization to follow up on the complaints. Nassar was sentenced to up to 175 years in prison while a number of officials resigned.

Concern for the sustainability of investigative journalism has been a recurring theme of discourse in the journalism profession since at least the 1970s and intensified at the outset of the 21st century as new digital technologies brought about severe damage to traditional news media funding models. But Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), a leading organization that promotes investigative journalism, has reported record membership gains in recent years. And the 2010s saw a dramatic expansion in the nonprofit journalism sector, with hundreds of new organizations devoted exclusively to investigative reporting both in the United States and in other countries around the world. The developments led one prominent observer to declare the arrival of “a golden age of global muckraking” (Coronel, 2016).

The term “investigative reporting” didn’t come into common use until the mid-20th century, but exposés have appeared throughout the history of journalism under many other names—crusades, muckraking, accountability reporting, and watchdog journalism—or no name at all. Common to all of the efforts is a motivation to hold officials and institutions in society accountable on behalf of the public.

Evolution of Investigative Journalism in the United States

Contemporary American conceptions of investigative journalism are closely linked to the Watergate affair, which resulted in the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in 1974. *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein led the way in news media coverage of the scandal and helped win the newspaper the Pulitzer public service prize. Woodward and Bernstein went on to publish two books about Watergate, including the best-selling *All the President's Men*, which was made into a popular movie. The resulting fame for the two reporters was credited with causing a surge in enrollment at journalism schools in the

1970s. While media scholars have contested that notion, and many historians have disputed the centrality of the news media's role in Watergate, the lore surrounding it reflects a persistent and compelling origin story for investigative journalism. As a special genre of professional practice, investigative reporting did flourish in the years surrounding Watergate, particularly after the founding of a dedicated professional association, IRE, in 1975. Nevertheless, the focus on the latter decades of the 20th century minimizes significant investigative efforts by journalists in earlier eras.

The Pulitzer Prizes had a category for "local investigative specialized reporting" for almost a decade before Watergate; the first winners in the category, in 1964, were reporters at *The Philadelphia Bulletin* whose exposé of police corruption prompted arrests and reforms in the city's police department. But the exposure of wrongdoing was a familiar practice in American journalism long before those efforts. Exposés have existed since the colonial period, although they have appeared more intermittently in some time frames than others. The idea of the exposé, moreover, did not originate in colonial America, but had mid-17th century precursors in England such as the periodical *Spie*, whose stated goal was "to shew you fair play (viz. nothing but truth) by discovering the usual cheats in the great game of the Kingdome" (Somerville, 1996, p. 65).

Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestic, is often cited as the first publication in colonial America to feature a journalistic exposé. Prosecuted in London for seditious publications, Benjamin Harris had decamped to Boston where he founded *Publick Occurrences* in 1690. His first—and last—edition included revealing articles about a sex scandal causing turmoil in the French royal family and about allegations of tortured prisoners in the intercolonial conflicts between France and England. As historian James Aucoin has written, the exposés contained many of the characteristics of contemporary investigative journalism: "revelation of public wrong-doing, documentation of evidence, a challenge to established public policy, and an appeal to public opinion for reform" (Aucoin, 2005, p. 20). Unfortunately for Harris, those characteristics also drew the ire of the colonial governor, who shut the newspaper down after that single publication.

The governor's action underscored the realities of press licensure in the colonial era. But as colonial defiance of royal governance simmered in the early decades of the 18th century, some publishers became more willing to challenge authorities despite the certainty of severe consequences. Imprisonment awaited those, like *New-England Courant* publisher James Franklin (Benjamin Franklin's older brother) and *New York Weekly Journal* publisher John Peter Zenger, who printed exposés revealing abuses of power by royal officials. By the eve of the American Revolution, however, colonists had developed what historian Thomas Leonard calls "a passion for exposure (that) was at the center of Boston political life" (Leonard, 1980, p. 32).

Newspapers with opposing allegiances such as *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal* and *The Boston Chronicle* waged a war of words over charges of hidden corruption, both public and private. One issue ripe for exposure involved a 1768 agreement to boycott the importation of products from Britain. The shipping manifests newspapers published were sometimes distorted or manipulated, but they demonstrated a growing emphasis on documentary evidence as a foundation for news.

Although the news environment of the early 19th century was characterized primarily by highly partisan newspapers, the adoption of the evidentiary approach in episodic journalistic exposés continued. It manifest itself particularly in advocacy publications such as abolitionist newspapers and books in the decades leading up to the Civil War. The first edition of *Human Rights* in 1835, for instance, used advertisements for slave sales from Southern newspapers to bring the realities of slavery to light. Such evidence was later compiled into a book by the American Anti-Slavery Society called *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*.

The growth of evidence-based reporting also included innovations such as observation and personal interviews, techniques pioneered by the mass-distributed penny papers that proliferated in the 1830s and beyond. Among the sensational offerings of these newspapers were exposés of prison conditions, poverty, and other social ills. Crusades, as they came to be called, were more prevalent after the Civil War, as improved printing

technology and increased circulations, among other factors, gave rise to a distinct occupational role for reporters in industrial newsrooms. Newspapers responded to Americans' growing concerns about graft, corruption, and social problems associated with urbanization and industrialization.

The wave of crusades in the late 19th century exposed scandal in New York's Tammany Hall political machine, for instance, and fraud and bribery surrounding the Crédit Mobilier railroad company. Among the prominent publishers who promoted the exposé was Joseph Pulitzer, who took his crusading style from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to the *New York World*. The *World* was where Elizabeth Cochrane, writing under the name Nellie Bly, pursued a number of undercover investigations, including her famous account of poor conditions inside the Blackwell's Island asylum, published in 1887.

The final decades of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th constituted what historian Richard Hofstadter called an age of reform, when exposure became "a recurrent theme in American political life" (Hofstadter, 1955, p. 187). In addition to newspaper crusades, magazines and books dealt with corruption and reform. Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote a series of articles detailing corrupt practices and the concentration of wealth by railroad and oil monopolies. First published in *Atlantic Monthly*, they were later turned into his 1894 book, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.

Lloyd's work and other crusading journalism of the 1880s and 1890s laid a foundation for the muckraking movement of the early 20th century, which centered on writers for national magazines such as *McClure's Magazine*. President Theodore Roosevelt came up with the name "muckrakers," likening the journalists to the man with the muck rake, a character in John Bunyan's 1678 work *Pilgrim's Progress* who is fixated on cleaning the dirty floor. Although the name was intended as a critique, some journalists continue to use it as a term of honor.

Unique in the history of investigative reporting, the muckrakers were closely aligned with a political movement, Progressivism, and they were outspoken in their advocacy of reform in government and business. Muckraking exposés shone a light on exploitation of child labor, public corruption, and a variety of public health threats. Their work

is credited with prompting major government reforms such as the Pure Food and Drug Act, passed by Congress in 1906. One of the first and most famous examples of muckraking was Ida Tarbell's 1902-1904 series in *McClure's* documenting anticompetitive practices by John Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, which ultimately led to the court-ordered breakup of the company.

Although some historians have characterized the years between the muckrakers and the 1960s as a time of quietude for the press, newspapers and later broadcasters produced exposés with regularity throughout the period, especially but not exclusively at the level of local news. One study of the Pulitzer Prizes between 1917 and 1960 found that the proportion of investigative reports entered each year held steady at between 10% and 20% of submissions over that time span. Further, those entries came from all areas of the country and from a wide variety of newspapers. One of the earliest prizes for reporting was given to Harold Littledale of the *New York Evening Post* in 1918 for an exposé of abuses in New Jersey's state prisons. Other famous examples include the exposure of the swindler Charles Ponzi by the *Boston Post* in 1920 and, the following year, the investigation of the national Ku Klux Klan by the *New York World*.

By mid-century, journalism trade publications were beginning to take notice of the ongoing prevalence of exposés, and the phrase "investigative reporting" started to take hold. Its first mention in *The Quill's* annual award edition, published by the journalism fraternity Sigma Delta Chi (now known as the Society of Professional Journalists), came in 1948.

Media scholars have observed that investigative reporting flourishes particularly during times of public turbulence, and the 1960s offer much evidence for that argument, with journalists exposing civil rights abuses and other social troubles. "Harvest of Shame," a documentary by the CBS television network revealing the exploitation of migrant workers in America, was a leading example of the efforts by broadcasters to embrace the practice of investigative reporting. Among the notable investigations related to the war in Vietnam was Seymour Hersh's shocking revelation in 1969 of the slaughter of civilians by U.S. soldiers in the village of My Lai. Hersh was a freelance reporter whose

work was among the first projects underwritten by a new organization called the *Fund for Investigative Journalism*, one of the first journalism nonprofits oriented exclusively around investigations. Another milestone for investigative reporting came with the formation of the first permanent, full-time investigative team in 1967. *Newsday's* team would soon be emulated in print and broadcast newsrooms throughout the United States.

The 1970s brought the Watergate scandal and the founding of the world's first professional association dedicated to investigative journalism, IRE, formed in 1975. The new organization was galvanized by the 1976 assassination of investigative reporter Don Bolles of the *Arizona Republic*. Bolles was killed in the middle of a corruption investigation and shortly before he was scheduled to speak at IRE's first national conference. Dozens of his colleagues from around the country later converged on Phoenix to complete his work in an effort called the *Arizona Project*.

IRE has grown from a few hundred practitioners to a membership of around 5,000 journalists, students, and educators. Meanwhile, investigative journalism has been prominent in some of the most consequential developments of the 1970s onward, from the Iran-Contra scandal during the administration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s to the Russian interference in the U.S. presidential election in 2016 and the slow response to the COVID-19 pandemic by the administration of U.S. President Donald Trump in 2020.

Contemporary Practice and Controversies

Despite economic challenges to the traditional business model for news in recent years, investigative journalism has maintained a steady presence. Many large news organizations, particularly at the national level, support full-time teams devoted to investigative work, and many smaller newsrooms continue to produce occasional investigative reports. Investigative journalism has also found new pathways for growth outside of traditional newsrooms. In 2007, for instance, journalist Laird Townsend founded a nonprofit organization called *Project Word* to serve freelance journalists from diverse backgrounds; in 2018 it was renamed Freelance Investigative Reporters and Editors. In 2015, four African American journalists founded

the Ida B. Wells Society for Investigative Reporting with a goal of increasing the ranks of journalists of color conducting investigations. The society is named for a fearless Black journalist who investigated lynchings in the 1890s (and who, in 2020, was recognized with a special citation from the Pulitzer Prizes for "outstanding and courageous reporting").

As the commercial news business contracted during the 2010s, nonprofit newsrooms proliferated. The Center for Investigative Reporting, founded in 1977, lays claim to being the first nonprofit investigative newsroom in the United States. In 2009, the center was among 27 investigative news nonprofits that met at the Pocantico conference center in New York and established an umbrella organization called the *Investigative News Network*. The organization encourages collaborative reporting efforts and assists in the establishment of new investigative centers. Now called the *Institute for Nonprofit News*, the network comprises more than 200 nonprofits in North America, though not all of them focus solely on investigations. It is not unusual for these organizations to collaborate with commercial newsrooms on significant investigations.

Further aiding the expansion of investigative reporting in recent years has been the adoption of computer-assisted reporting methods, referred to more broadly today as data journalism. This variety of reporting involves the analysis of databases, often available from public agencies or other institutions but sometimes compiled by journalists themselves, to shed light on government performance or social issues. Since the early 1990s, IRE has been the foremost advocate of advances in data journalism, training journalists in the United States and around the world through its National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting. In 2005, IRE created an award to recognize sophisticated use of computer and social science methods named after Philip Meyer, who used survey data at the Knight Ridder newspaper chain in the 1960s and later wrote an influential early text on social science research called *Precision Journalism*.

Whether the methods used are traditional "shoe-leather reporting" or advanced data analysis, the goal of investigative reporting has remained constant: to expose societal problems and spark reform. Studies of media agenda building have

demonstrated how official sources carry enormous influence in shaping issue coverage in the news media, but scholars have also documented a reverse agenda-setting effect in which journalism can prompt policy reforms. Economist James T. Hamilton has calculated the economic impact of investigative reporting, estimating that for every dollar invested by a news organization, there can be hundreds of dollars of societal benefits from the resulting reforms. One case Hamilton highlighted was that of Pat Stith of the *Raleigh News & Observer*, who did hundreds of investigations that led to 31 new laws and numerous firings, indictments, convictions, audits, and policy changes over more than 40 years.

A key mechanism in the process of reform is what David Protess and his colleagues called “pre-publication transactions” between investigative journalists and government officials. These exchanges underscore how deeply investigative journalists are entwined in the policymaking process. In fact, in the early decades of the 20th century, it was not uncommon for reporters to become personally involved in official investigations that grew out of their own stories. Although today’s journalists are generally disinclined to exhibit that level of advocacy, they often push for reaction by public officials, producing numerous follow-ups to their investigations reporting the resulting action—or inaction.

This close engagement in the policy process has sometimes blurred the lines between journalistic and official endeavors, often compounded by the fact that some news organizations label as “investigative reports” news stories that merely disclose details of official investigations. Research has shown that public perceptions of what constitutes investigative reporting sometimes differs from journalists’ views. Survey research has also revealed divergence of opinion on the acceptability of certain practices that are common to investigative reporting, such as deception and the use of unnamed sources.

Occasional controversies and fiascos have resulted from those practices. One famous example took place in 1978, when the *Chicago Sun-Times* opened a bar called the *Mirage* and used hidden cameras to document local officials soliciting bribes from employees, who actually worked for the newspaper. The revelation of such brazen

official corruption would have been an easy pick for a Pulitzer Prize, but jurors were uncomfortable with the ethics of the monumental deception. Two decades after the *Mirage* investigation, ABC’s *Primetime Live* program documented sickening food safety violations at the Food Lion grocery store chain. The method: Hidden cameras worn by producers who obtained employment at Food Lion by falsifying their job applications. Food Lion didn’t challenge the accuracy of the stories but sued ABC for trespass and fraud, and a jury awarded the company millions in damages. The penalty was essentially wiped away on appeal, but the case made clear the public’s distaste for dishonest investigatory tactics. Another major case involved the *Cincinnati Enquirer*’s 1998 exposé of abuses and exploitation by Chiquita Brands at its Latin American plantations. Again, the accuracy of the story was not in question, but the paper ran a front-page apology and fired a reporter who had obtained much of the information for the stories through unauthorized access to Chiquita’s voice mail system.

Other black eyes for investigative reporting have involved overreliance on unnamed sources. In 2017, CNN fired three investigative journalists after retracting and apologizing for a story involving purported Russian ties to Anthony Scaramucci, a close confidante of President Trump. And in 2019, the online news site BuzzFeed was heavily criticized for a story by two top investigative reporters that claimed the president had directed his personal attorney to lie to Congress. The story, based on anonymous federal investigators, was refuted by the head of the investigation, Special Counsel Robert Mueller.

A further serious criticism of investigative journalism is that it sometimes fails to expose major problems, whether by omission or commission. The financial crash of 2008, brought on by reckless practices of major lenders and investment banks, is an instructive case. In his book, *The Watchdog That Didn’t Bark: The Financial Crisis and the Disappearance of Investigative Reporting*, former *Wall Street Journal* reporter Dean Starkman argued that the crash might have been avoided had the business press done its job of holding financial institutions accountable rather than becoming dependent on access to elite inside sources for routine news stories. Other analysts

and media critics have argued that the news media's own entanglement with corporate capitalism ensures that such investigations won't be put before the public. One recent study examined 28 examples of backlash against journalists who produced investigations that challenged government or corporate interests, finding "support for the claim that institutional interests significantly affect media independence in mainstream U.S. news outlets" (Kennis, 2017, p. 1273).

While findings and examples like the foregoing are troubling and provide ammunition for media criticism, there is much counterevidence to suggest a strong news media accountability function against powerful public and private interests. Most news organizations take swift action to remedy faulty investigative reports, but the vast majority of the hundreds of investigations do not require such action. Moreover, the many award-winning investigations into topics including corporate misdeeds, the influence of money in politics, and organized corruption offer compelling testimony to the willingness and ability of investigative journalists to challenge entrenched interests.

Global Expansion and Transnational Collaboration

While investigative reporting has not been limited to the United States, it has been on the rise as a global practice in the 21st century, even making inroads in some countries with authoritarian press systems. Transnational organizations that support accountability reporting include the Global Investigative Journalism Network, founded in 2003, and the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), founded in 1997. The Global Investigative Journalism Network has staff on five continents and 182 member organizations in 77 countries. ICIJ is a U.S.-based nonprofit that functions as both a global network (comprising journalists in more than 90 countries) and an investigative newsroom. In the latter role, it has organized extensive cross-border investigative collaborations such as the Panama Papers exposé that began in 2016. ICIJ and more than a hundred media partners obtained millions of leaked files from a Panama law firm and used them to document offshore holdings and tax evasion by hundreds of officials around the world.

The investigation has continued, with reported results including criminal investigations in 82 countries.

Noted Investigative Journalists in the United States

This section provides brief sketches of some prominent U.S. investigative journalists not named earlier, with a focus limited to those active in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Jack N. Anderson (1922–2005)

Anderson got his start in journalism by editing the Boy Scout page of the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, and his career eventually landed him as a partner of famed "Washington Merry-Go-Round" columnist Drew Pearson. After Pearson died in 1969, Anderson took over the column, which at one point was syndicated to more than 1,000 newspapers. He used the platform to expose major scandals, breaking news of the Iran-Contra affair, for instance, and the CIA's efforts to have Cuban dictator Fidel Castro assassinated by the FBI.

Anderson's uncompromising investigative work made him a target of angry politicians, including President Richard M. Nixon. Nixon's henchman, G. Gordon Liddy, plotted to assassinate the journalist, only to have the scheme foiled by the Watergate burglary arrests. Anderson's journalistic method of choice involved leaked documents—sometimes classified ones—but he was not above snooping in someone's trash or using other less respectable tactics.

Paul Y. Anderson (1893–1938)

As Washington correspondent for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Anderson won the Pulitzer Prize for Reporting in 1929 in connection with his running investigation of the Teapot Dome scandal. The scandal involved officials in the administration of President Warren Harding selling discounted oil reserves in Wyoming and led to a congressional investigation and corruption convictions of Interior Secretary Albert Fall and oil baron Harry Sinclair. Called one of the finest journalists in the country by H.L. Mencken, Anderson first gained prominence investigating race riots in East St. Louis. His work also

led to the impeachment of a federal judge in Missouri. In spite of his successes, Anderson struggled with alcoholism that often resulted in missed days of work, and in 1938, he took his own life with an overdose of sleeping pills.

Donald L. Barlett (1936–) and James B. Steele (1943–)

This legendary duo met and began working together at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, then moved to *Time* magazine in 1997, and finally became contributing editors at *Vanity Fair* in 2006. They were early adopters of computer-assisted reporting techniques, examining political and racial bias in Philadelphia's criminal justice system in the 1970s. They specialized in stories about inequality and taxation, winning their first Pulitzer Prize in 1975 for stories showing the IRS's disproportionate pursuit of lower income taxpayers.

The second Pulitzer awarded to Barlett and Steele, in 1989, recognized "The Great Tax Give-away," which exposed how the tax code favored the wealthy and politically connected. Barlett and Steele are widely admired by journalists for their painstaking and thorough methods. In 2007, the Barlett & Steele Awards for Investigative Business Journalism was established in their honor by the Donald W. Reynolds National Center for Business Journalism.

David Barstow (1963–)

An investigative reporter at *The New York Times* for 30 years, Barstow is the first journalist ever to win four Pulitzer Prizes. In 2019, he was part of the team that earned a Pulitzer for an exposé of Trump's finances and avoidance of taxes. Other investigations probed workplace safety issues and revealed how Walmart paved its expansion in Mexico with bribes. Barstow's final year at the *Times* was marred by controversy over reports in *The Daily Beast* that he attempted to ghostwrite a book about the Trump finance exposé. In 2019, he was named to the Reva and David Logan Distinguished Chair in Investigative Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism.

Robert W. Greene (1929–2008)

Greene started the country's first permanent investigative reporting unit, at Long Island *Newsday*, where he worked for nearly four decades. He

was also a force in the founding of IRE and a key player in the Arizona Project, which brought together investigative reporters from around the country to finish the work of their assassinated colleague, Don Bolles. Greene's *Newsday* team won two Pulitzer Prizes, one for a property zoning scandal that involved a top editor at his own newspaper. But Greene was unflinching, having honed his investigative instinct working for New York's Anti-Crime Committee. He also spent a year as an investigator for the U.S. Senate's Rackets Committee.

Greene was a colorful figure known to punish the newspaper's expense accounts in the course of his projects. One of them was a 6-month investigation of the heroin scourge in Long Island that tracked the drug to its origins in Turkey. The project reportedly cost more than \$100,000 (more than half a million in 2019 dollars)—but it won Greene's team its second Pulitzer Prize.

Nikole Hannah-Jones (1976–)

Hannah-Jones is known for her in-depth investigations of civil rights issues and racial injustice. Working at the investigative nonprofit ProPublica, she wrote about de facto segregation in housing and education. In 2019, she moved to *The New York Times*, where she anchored the paper's extensive 1619 Project exploring the continuing legacy of slavery on racial inequality in the United States. With three other African American journalists—Corey Johnson, Ron Nixon, and Topher Sanders—Hannah-Jones founded the Ida B. Wells Society for Investigative Reporting, a nonprofit organization that works to encourage journalists from underrepresented backgrounds to do investigative reporting.

Hannah-Jones was a 2017 recipient of the MacArthur Foundation's genius grant. Other awards include the George Foster Peabody Award, the George Polk Award, the Sigma Delta Chi Award for Public Service, and, in 2020, a Pulitzer Prize for commentary. She now has a tenured role at Howard University as the inaugural Knight Chair in Race and Journalism.

Charles Lewis (1953–)

Lewis was an investigative producer at ABC News and *60 Minutes* before striking out on his own and founding the nonprofit Center for Public

Integrity in 1989. Under his leadership, the center produced more than 300 investigative projects, many of them focused on the influence of money in politics. One prominent scoop exposed the practice during the administration of President Bill Clinton of hosting major campaign donors in the White House's Lincoln bedroom.

Lewis also created the ICIJ, originally a project of the center but now an independent nonprofit that encourages and organizes international investigative collaborations. As of 2020, he was the executive editor of the Investigative Reporting Workshop at American University, which produces investigative stories in collaboration with numerous top news organizations.

Jane Mayer (1955–)

Mayer has been a staff writer for *The New Yorker* since 1995 and is known for her investigations of money in politics, particularly the influence of billionaires such as George Soros and the Koch brothers. Her investigation of the latter led to a best-selling 2016 book, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. In 2011, she documented heavy-handed prosecution of whistleblowers by the administration of President Barack Obama, leading to the dismissal of felony charges in the case of a National Security Agency official. A notable investigation, written in 2018 with Ronan Farrow, revealed reports of abusive treatment of women by New York's attorney general, Eric Schneiderman, who resigned after the article was published. Previously, Mayer worked at *The Wall Street Journal*, where she became the paper's first woman White House correspondent.

Jessica Mitford (1917–1996)

A naturalized U.S. citizen who was born in England, Mitford may be best known for her 1963 book about corrupt practices in the funeral home industry, *The American Way of Death*. *Time* magazine dubbed her “the Queen of the Muckrakers” after her 1969 investigation of a prominent—and fraudulent—correspondence school course for writers, published in *The Atlantic*. Mitford later wrote a book about investigative reporting, *Poison Penmanship: The Gentle Art of Muckraking*, published in 1979.

Clark Mollenhoff (1921–1991)

Mollenhoff spent most of his career as a national investigative reporter for the Cowles newspaper chain. He got his start exposing police corruption at the *Des Moines Register* and later won a 1958 Pulitzer Prize for stories on corruption in the Teamsters union that helped lead to the conviction and imprisonment of Jimmy Hoffa. Mollenhoff was known to actively push for reaction or reform based on his stories, and he was not shy about cooperating with government investigative committees. His 1981 textbook, *Investigative Reporting: From Courthouse to White House*, was one of the first in the field. In a bit of historical irony, Mollenhoff did a short and rocky stint as special counsel in the Nixon administration. At his death, he was a professor of journalism at Washington and Lee University.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965)

Murrow pioneered the documentary form for television, paving the way for generations of broadcast investigative journalists. His career began in radio, and he became renowned for his dramatic live reports aired during German bombing raids over London in World War II. After the war, he had a radio program called *Hear It Now*, which became *See It Now* when he switched to the new television medium. His groundbreaking documentaries in the 1950s and 1960s included an exposé of trumped-up charges against Air Force Lt. Milo Radulovich during the McCarthy era. After the broadcast, Radulovich was reinstated, and Murrow went on to produce another damning episode of *See It Now* shedding light on Sen. Joseph McCarthy's extreme tactics. Murrow's name is affixed to one of the broadcast news industry's highest awards.

Sacha Pfeiffer (1971–)

Pfeiffer was part of *The Boston Globe* spotlight team that produced the Pulitzer Prize-winning exposé of sexual abuse by priests—and the Catholic Church's cover-up of the abuse—in 2003. The stunning story became the subject of the 2015 feature film *Spotlight*, with Rachel McAdams portraying Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer also coauthored a book about the church scandal with other *Spotlight*

team members. Although best known for the priest exposé, she has also produced investigations into shoddy home construction, financial abuses by private foundations, and other subjects. Pfeiffer has worked in both radio and newspapers and joined NPR as an investigative reporter in 2018.

Myrta Pulliam (1974–)

Born into a family with a long history of newspaper publishing, Pulliam was part of the *Indianapolis Star* team that investigated bribery and extortion within the Indianapolis Police Department, producing a series that won the Pulitzer Prize for Local Investigative Specialized Reporting in 1975. With one of her colleagues on that project, Harley Bierce, Pulliam came up with the idea of a national network of investigative journalists, and the two of them were among the founders of IRE that year. The new organization held its first national conference in Indianapolis. Pulliam was also a central player on the Arizona Project.

George Seldes (1890–1995)

Seldes began his career as a reporter at the *Pittsburgh Leader* and received a quick first taste of disillusionment in the press. When he turned in a story about a rape complaint involving a department store owner's son, the paper used it to squeeze more advertising from the store rather than publishing it. Seldes would go on to work as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, but his drive to do investigative reporting led him to write books—on subjects such as American corporations' connections to Nazi Germany—and then to publish a weekly newsletter called *In Fact* beginning in 1940. He covered stories other news organizations wouldn't, such as the connection between tobacco and cancer. At one time, the newsletter had more than 176,000 subscribers. But Seldes went too far when he exposed Senator Joseph McCarthy as a plagiarist and tax cheat. He was falsely accused of being a communist, resulting in losses in subscribers and the end of his newsletter by 1953.

I. F. Stone (1907–1989)

Stone spent the early decades of his career writing for progressive publications such as *The*

Nation and *PM*. But like Seldes, Stone preferred being a gadfly investigator who did it his own way. In 1953, he began publishing his own newsletter, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, after he was blacklisted from mainstream news outlets because of suspected communist sympathies. Stone was known for dogged reading of government documents that helped him spot stories that others didn't, such as the changing accounts from the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson of the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964. The alleged attack on two U.S. naval destroyers moved the United States closer to war in Vietnam. Stone's newsletter was published until 1971 and at one time had more than 70,000 subscribers.

Paul N. Williams (1922–1976)

As managing editor of the *Sun Newspapers* in Omaha, Nebraska, Williams spearheaded an investigation into the nearby Boys Town institution for homeless and troubled youth in 1972. The team analyzed charitable tax filings and found an organization that was flush with millions of dollars in excess revenue. The stories led to the resignation of the director, an audit and other reforms, and also to a Pulitzer Prize in 1973—the first ever to a weekly newspaper. Williams soon took a job as a professor of journalism at Ohio State University, and he was part of the initial organizing group that led to the founding of IRE.

Williams was working on a textbook at the time of his unexpected death, and it was published posthumously in 1978. *Investigative Reporting and Editing* was the first text devoted to the practice, and it described a systematic methodology for pursuing an investigative story. The landmark method, sometimes called the *Paul Williams Way*, continues to be included in journalism textbooks.

Pam Zekman (1944–)

Zekman is a celebrated investigative reporter who worked at WBBM in Chicago for close to four decades. Before switching to broadcast—one of the first prominent print reporters to do so—she worked at both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*. At the latter paper, Zekman was one of the main journalists involved in the famous Mirage bar investigation, the undercover sting that documented

pervasive corruption among city inspectors. The project was denied a Pulitzer Prize because of the controversial reporting tactics but lauded by many of Zekman's colleagues in investigative reporting circles. Her television investigations exposed corruption and fraud in government and businesses and have won every major broadcast award. In 2020, Zekman lost her job at WBBM amid companywide layoffs at station owner CBS.

Gerry Lanosga

See also Advocacy Journalism; Agenda Setting; Bly, Nellie; Collaborative Journalism; Data Journalism; Ethics; Muckrakers; Nonprofit Media; Objectivity; Pulitzer, Joseph; Watergate; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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J

JAPAN

Japan in the 21st century enjoys a respectable degree of free speech. Its constitution guarantees freedom of the press, acknowledging that journalistic practices contribute to the advancement of democracy. Yet certain restrictions of press freedom are in effect. The majority of journalism in Japan is a for-profit business, and the market is large and competitive. The development of communication technology accompanies the innovative means to distribute and receive information that supports journalistic practices, and for risk management and disaster prevention. Journalism in Japan may be characterized by the prevailing influence of national newspapers and Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK, Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

Since 2008, the population of Japan has been steadily decreasing and in November 2019 was estimated around 126.1 million people. In the census of 2017, 60% of the population was aged between 15 and 64 years of age, while 65-year-olds and above were around 27.7%. The natural Japanese life span is approximately 84 years, and combined with a birth rate as low as 7.6% in 2018, Japan is one of the most rapidly aging societies in the world. The average annual income per household in 2017 was ¥5.51 million. Compulsory education is from first to ninth grade for children between 6 and 15 years of age, and 97% of children enter high school for an additional 3-year

high school education. Roughly 82% of recent high school graduates advance to some type of advanced education, including universities and vocational colleges. The literacy rate in Japan is not surveyed, but it is reported to consistently reach 99%, or the average literacy proficiency among adults is ranked as the highest among surveyed nations according to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Skills Outlook 2013. The availability of the Internet in Japan was approximately 79.8% in 2018. The usage is 90% between 13- and 59-year-olds, though less than 50% above 70-year-olds. Half of households whose incomes are less than ¥4 million per year have Internet access, whereas 80% of households with more income have Internet access at home. More than 40% of all age groups use the Internet to obtain news information, and among which more than 80% of those who are between 30 and 59 years of age use the Internet for that purpose.

This entry examines the history of print and broadcast journalism in Japan, Japanese news agencies, the ownership and financing of Japanese news companies, and the impact of digital technologies on the nation's journalism. This entry also examines the training of journalists in Japan and the nation's approach to journalism law and ethics.

Newspapers

The prototype of the contemporary newspaper existed as community newsletters in the early 19th century although severe restrictions were imposed

by the Shogunate government of the time. The modernization of Japan in the mid-19th century allowed Western knowledge and technology to influence society. Early newspapers, such as *Yokohama Nikkan Shinbun* and *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, were published in the Tokyo area in the 1870s.

Categorically, Japanese newspapers are *nikkan-shi* (broadsheet), *supootsu-shi* (equivalent to tabloid), or *gyokai-shi* (business, industry, and trade). There are five national broadsheet newspapers: *Yomiuri*, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Nihon Keizai*, and *Sankei*. Daily circulation is led by *Yomiuri* at 8.1 million copies, the largest in the world, followed by *Asahi* at 5.6 million. These newspapers have extensive networks to maintain their ability for newsgathering. For instance, *Asahi* has approximately 300 local offices and 36 international offices, and an alliance with *The New York Times* and *HuffPost* of the United States, and *Dong A Ilbo* of South Korea. *Asahi* also owns 27 printing offices and over 3,000 sales offices nationwide, employing over 78,000 people for daily home delivery. Politically speaking, *Asahi* and *Mainichi* are viewed as Liberal Left, *Yomiuri* and *Sankei* as Conservative Right, and *Nihon Keizai* in the middle. *Asahi's* liberal voice is believed to have been targeted by an unidentified militant group in 1987 when two reporters were ambushed and shot at its Kansai branch office, resulting in one of them losing his life. Regionally published broadsheet newspapers are called *chiho-shi*, of which there are 50, catering to local interests that are specific to the region.

Eleven titles of *supootsu-shi* are also published daily, and companies that own national newspapers publish some of the titles, including *Nikkan Supootsu*, *Supootsu Nippon*, and *Supootsu Hoshi*. Their foci are on sports and entertainment news, gossip, and leisure information, featuring big and colorful banners and photos of sports and entertainment celebrities on their front pages. *Gyokai-shi* is a trade newspaper, covering the information needed by a specific commerce or industry, such as metal, transportation, real estate, and maritime shipping. For instance, *Nihon Kaiji Shinbun* is a broadsheet and online daily newspaper published during the week, reporting on the maritime industry, trade, and logistics with commentaries and analyses since 1942. Twenty-nine percent of

its audience are those who deal with logistics, 23% in the maritime business, and 15% in public and government offices. Other types of widely available daily newspapers include newspapers in English and horseracing newspapers.

The combined circulation of both broadsheets and tabloids in print was 71.9 million copies in 2000, but by 2019, it had decreased to 46.2 million copies. Japanese newspapers have been slow to shift to digital formats, and the increasing amount of online information has greatly contributed to the steady decline of newspaper circulation.

Yahoo! News, Line News, and Livedoor News are major content curators, or aggregators, of online news. Yahoo! News dominates the market, achieving 54% of weekly reach in 2019. It foregoes using algorithms and instead uses humans to select its top stories so that they can balance different perspectives and genres. However, a slight decline of reliance on online news was witnessed in Japan between 2013 and 2019, showing that the audience consumed more news from television.

Magazines

Journalistic magazines in Japan are called *ippan-shi* (general interest magazine). Eight hundred seventy-seven titles are currently released: 41 weekly, 40 bi-weekly, 464 monthly, and 332 other periodicals. Weekly general interest magazines called *ippan shukan-shi* are a popular format containing a variety of articles from political, social, economic, and entertainment news, commentaries, and other information with some photographs. Among them all, *Shukan Bunshun* has the highest weekly circulation of approximately 640,000, followed by *Shukan Gendai* at 462,000, and *Shukan Shincho* at 434,000 in the first quarter of 2019. With the steep decline in print circulation in recent years, they are also offering online subscriptions. They may be criticized for sensationalism and overtly sexual content, but they often provide in-depth reporting that may not be otherwise covered by the bigger daily newspapers. *Shukan-Bunshun* is known for *Bunshun-hou* (Bunshun cannon); its shocking exposé of matters from political corruption to celebrities' drug use. In addition to the weekly titles, *Bungei Shunju* is a

popular monthly general interest magazine, publishing close to 400,000 copies per edition.

General interest magazines that provide more of an emphasis on business, the economy and financial information are called *keizai-shi*. *Shukan Daiyamondo* and *Shukan Toyokeizai* are weekly magazines, circulating between 80,000 and 100,000 copies per week, and *PRESIDENT* is a bi-weekly magazine that circulates above 250,000 copies every 2 weeks. *Shashin-shukan-shi* is another popular genre of weekly magazine, focusing on photojournalism. Photojournalism has a long history in Japan, with three Japanese photographers having received the Pulitzer Prize since the 1960s. In 1981, *FOCUS* launched, and with its success, *FRIDAY*, *FLASH*, and others followed. Their photographs were often sensational, including crime scene photos and female nudity, replacing traditional articles. Although the trend was short-lived, *FRIDAY* and *FLASH* are still available in the market, selling 250,000 and 187,000 copies per week each in early 2019.

Broadcast

NHK is the public broadcasting network in Japan, which shows no advertising, and there are five additional commercial television networks, which are supported by the advertising revenues. These six networks have local affiliates throughout the country, and there are 129 television and 101 radio broadcast stations (48 AM and 53 FM). The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications oversees licenses for broadcasters, which are renewable every 5 years according to *Hoso ho* (Broadcasting Law).

NHK operates two broadcast channels, NHK General and NHK Educational with a subchannel for an alternative program. News programs occupy three large segments on NHK General, totaling 7 hours in its daily schedule. Additionally, a 5- to 10-min news program is broadcast at the beginning of every hour. The top rating news programs across all networks are mostly on NHK, and the highest rated news program is usually News 7, which is a 30-min digest of the day's most important information. NHK also provides news for special audiences, such as a Shuwa News 845 for users of sign language: a 15-min news program on NHK Educational

during the week and a 5-min program during the weekend.

NHK also distributes news programs through its satellite channels, radio, and online. It airs a 10-min news program every hour on BS-1, and the World News, which is a program of selected segments of news from other nations' networks, including BBC, KBS, CCTV, and Al Jazeera. NHK World, and World Premium via a satellite system, and NHK World Radio via short wave in 22 languages are other news sources for their overseas audience, in addition to its extensive website.

Commercial broadcast networks in Japan are TBS, Fuji TV, Nippon TV, TV Asahi, and TV Tokyo. However, TV Asahi and Tokyo do not have local stations in some prefectures, limiting their ability to reach out to a nationwide audience. These commercial networks offer a variety of news programs that overlap with NHK's news programs in the schedule. Among those, *news every* and *Shinso Hodo Bankisha* on Nippon TV, *Hodo Station* on TV Asahi, and *Joho 7 Days Newscaster* on TBS are ranked high in the ratings. Commercial networks also own satellite channels dedicated to news programs: Nippon TV operates *Nittere News 24*, and *TBS News* is a channel by TBS. Nikkei CNBC is a channel owned by CNBC Asia, TV Tokyo, and Nihon Keizai, distributing mainly business and financial news.

Since 2000, the above-60-year-old audience continues to watch television, but the number of hours significantly fell for those under 60, especially for those under 20. Nevertheless, the trust levels of online information were relatively low compared to television even among a young audience. The trend of Internet flaming and fake news is possibly making the audience in all generations more suspicious to what is distributed online. An example of disheartening fake news in Japan would be the story in 2018 about the release of confined passengers in the airport shuttle train to Kansai Airport during a typhoon, which falsely claimed the involvement of the Chinese Embassy. This false report contributed to a Taiwanese consulate member committing suicide.

News Agencies

There are five major Japanese news agencies, and among them, Kyodo Tsushinsha (Kyodo), and

Jiji Tsushin (Jiji), Radio Puresu (Radiopress), and JX Tsushinsha (JX) are journalistic organizations. Before and during World War II, Domei Tsushinsha (1936-1945) was organized as the first news agency in Japan to act as a gatekeeper of information. Once the war was over, its operations were inherited by Kyodo to distribute general news information, and Jiji took over the operation of the financial information.

Kyodo is a nonprofit cooperative organization that owns 45 local offices and 41 international offices and employs over 1,600 people. It has opened offices in Pyongyang, North Korea, and in Havana, Cuba, since 2006. It distributes information to NHK, 55 newspapers and 110 commercial broadcast stations, 40 Japanese overseas media, and over 500 ocean-going vessels. Organized in 1945 as a nonprofit general incorporated association by major newspaper companies and NHK, it is funded by membership fees and subscription revenues. Jiji is a for-profit agency with 78 local and 28 international offices. It developed ties with international agencies, such as Thomson-Reuters, AFP, and Dow Jones. Both Kyodo and Jiji distribute news information to their audience through their own websites, external online portals, and curators. Its stockholders include Kyodo and TV Asahi, and it distributes information to NHK and major newspapers.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs originally founded Radiopress in 1941 as an agency to collect information from overseas. In 1946, it became an incorporated foundation that monitors media activities of communist nations to distribute information to government agencies and domestic media companies. Its most recent activity has been to monitor information from North Korea, but it does not inform the public of its own internal business. JX was established in 2008, with its main business being to distribute news information, collect data through surveys, and offer research and technology for news information search engines.

Ownership and Finance of Journalism Institutions

Five national newspapers are part of media conglomerates that own businesses beyond journalism. For example, the parent company of Yomiuri,

Kabushikigaisha Yomiuri Shinbun Honsha owns a baseball team, a television network, an amusement park, and a travel agency chain, to name just a few. Nihon Keizai focuses its business on publishing financial information through various outlets, from its newspaper to the Nikkei 225 or Nikkei Index, which is a stock market index for the Tokyo Stock Exchange. Most newspapers make their content available online even though it possibly cannibalizes print revenues. Their online subscription may be free of charge to those who register their personal information for limited access to the online content, or with a monthly fee for unlimited online access. Yomiuri takes a different approach by granting unlimited online access only to subscribers of the print edition.

As a publicly owned system, NHK collects subscription fees from the public. The fee to subscribe to its satellite system in 2020 was approximately ¥2,200 per month, or ¥25,000 per a year. Terrestrial broadcast subscription is approximately ¥1,300 per month or ¥13,000 per a year. In 2019, NHK's revenue was approximately ¥7.247 billion (\$6.788 billion), which is equivalent to the BBC's revenue of £4.889 billion (\$6.787 billion). NHK's budget has to be approved by the Japanese Diet, which acts as the representative of the public. Because the Diet has been mostly dominated by the Liberal Democratic Party since 1955, common criticism toward NHK has been that it avoids investigating the Liberal Democratic Party's political leadership, failing to focus on neutral reportage in order to maintain a good relationship with the government. Compared to NHK, each commercial network earns less revenue. Nippon TV earned ¥4.25 billion, TV Asahi ¥3.01 billion, Fuji TV ¥2.6 billion, and TBS ¥2.17 billion.

Technology

NHK's *Hoso Gijutsu Kenkyusho* (NHK Science & Technology Research Laboratories) has played a large part in the development of communication technology, which has enhanced the role and effect of journalism in contemporary Japan, for example the one-seg broadcasting system inaugurated in April 2006, allowing mobile phones to receive video and audio stream. In recent years, methods of video streaming on mobile phones have become more diverse. In March 2019, the

Supreme Court of Japan decided that owning a mobile phone that was equipped with the one-seg system would oblige the phone's owner to be responsible for paying a subscription fee to NHK. Before 2019, a variety of mobile phones incorporated the operating system to correspond to one-seg technology, nonetheless, more recent models of the iPhone that has a large share in the sale of mobile phones in Japan, no longer equip the system. Also, recently launched is NHK Plus, is an app that allows the NHK's programs to be viewable up to 1 week after being aired. These new developments have perhaps contributed to the decline of one-seg technology.

NHK is required by Saigai Taisaku ho (Act of Disaster Management), Kishou Gyomu ho (Meteorological Service Law), and Broadcast Law to assist in disaster management and to disseminate climate and terrestrial alerts issued by the Japanese Meteorological Agency. Even before the Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami of 2011, the national emergency warning system called *J-Alert* was available through all communication devices. As an automated system, it relays signals sent by satellites and/or terrestrial wireless communication towers and sends out alerts to each municipality. The alerts are also relayed to television networks, including NHK to warn their audience. Broadcast networks also collect short videos from the public regarding disasters. NHK's Sukupu Bokkusu (Scoop Box) allows people to upload their videos to present a wider variety of urgent information in various geographical areas where reporters may not be present. NHK is also keen on promoting 4K and 8K technology, which is already available on satellite channels.

As an up and coming news agency, JX Tsuushinsha employs no reporters but utilizes AI technology to search information online to generate their version of the news. FASTALERT is a system that AI patrols online to search for news and distributes it to the press, public offices, and industry. For individual customers, its counterpart, NewsDigest sends out information through AI.

Education and Training for Journalists

The first department of journalism in Japan launched in 1932 at Sophia University in Tokyo.

Between 1945 and 1952, journalism courses and programs were established at universities in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto with the support of the Allied Powers' General Headquarters. Currently, various universities offer journalism or media communication programs at the undergraduate level, including Sophia, Waseda, Keio, and the University of Tokyo. Keio houses an Institute for Media and Communications Research, and the University of Tokyo owns the Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies, in which research on journalism has been conducted from the political, economic, technological, and cultural perspectives.

According to Oda Mitsuyasu, journalism education in Japan was mostly taught and researched in the field of social science; however, there never was a consensus of what journalism education should entail, or an in-depth discussion about the curricula for journalism education or the definition of journalism. In recent years, an increased number of universities have developed departments and/or schools in the field of mass media, information, and digital media. For instance, a survey conducted by the Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication showed that 20 universities offered at least 17 courses related to journalism or mass communication. While in another survey conducted in 2016 by the National Institution for Academic Degrees and Quality Enhancement of Higher Education, there were no journalism degrees at undergraduate level and three degrees at graduate level at Japanese universities. Available curricula include courses related to journalism, but theoretical media and communication courses are taught more frequently, excluding education on journalism ethics, technical writing, and the business of journalism. This approach may contribute to the preparation for a job search in a competitive market or educate a comprehensive critical individual. After all, new employees will be educated and trained to be journalists once they enter the workforce. Nevertheless, the criticism is that this type of education contributes more to guide students to be a part of a company within a particular company culture.

Law

Historically, the Japanese press has experienced a considerable degree of governmental censorship.

The first modern constitution between 1889 and 1945 did not guarantee freedom of the press, and the press often encountered prepublication censorship and postpublication punishment. Regulations from 1875 and 1909 restricted anti-government speech and activities, in addition to voluntary self-censorship by editors and publishers due to personal threats and persuasions. Under the post-World War II occupation, the office of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers restricted discussions of allied troop movements, and the broadcast of news and commentaries were limited to Radio Tokyo.

Article 21 of the current constitution explicitly protects freedom of the press, but neither Article 12 and 13, or the Supreme Court of Japan, has held that any right or freedom, including the freedom of the press, should be put in a preferred position in relation to the public welfare. Thus, distressing the public welfare at the expense of pursuing freedom of the press is thought to be an abuse of its rights.

According to the 2020 World Press Freedom Index, Japan's press freedom is ranked 66th among 180 nations. Tokutei himitsu no hogo ni kansuru horitsu (Specially Designated Secrets Act) and the role of kisha kurabu (Press Club) are considered as imminent threats to press freedom. Press Club is an association for journalists through which various kinds of press conferences are held, and there are more than a thousand smaller assemblies throughout Japan, providing information regarding political organizations, governmental agencies, economic institutions, and the Imperial Palace. The most representative is Nihon Kisha Kurabu (Japan National Press Club). The benefit of belonging to a press club is that journalists can obtain information without conducting independent investigations. However, reporters and news sources may maintain a mutual dependency leading to biased reporting. In addition, foreign and freelance reporters have difficulty accessing the press club. Disallowing freelance reporters to attend press conferences organized by a press club possibly impairs the development of civic journalism in Japan.

In 2016, David Kaye, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, expressed that the Specially Designated Secrets Act allows the government to

conceal certain information from the public if it is important or sensitive to national security. Furthermore, Broadcasting Law and the government pressure on journalistic neutrality and fairness creates a high level of self-censorship in Japan, suppressing public debate on topics including the discussion on the Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster in 2011, the U.S. military base in Okinawa, and comfort women during World War II. In their response to this report, the Japanese government argued that Kaye's findings were based on inaccurate and insufficient statements and hearsay, claiming it to be a biased recommendation without concerning the actual sensitivity of Japanese culture.

Ethics

Various institutions have strict guidelines to maintain ethical journalistic practice. Nihon Shinbun Kyokai (Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association) endorses The Canon of Journalism, emphasizing freedom and responsibility, accuracy and fairness, independence and tolerance, respect for human rights, and decency and moderation. Housou Rinri Bangumi Koujou Kikou (Broadcasting Ethics & Program Improvement Organization) upholds the broadcast ethics standard guidelines, which utters a very similar vision to maintain the principle as mass communicator.

However, the press implements certain self-restrictions to maintain its freedom and responsibility. Houdou kisei, or press self-restraint, is an example for avoiding conflict with Shonen ho (Juvenile Law). Under Article 61 of this regulation, the publication of personal information about an individual under 20-years-old should not be published when they are found guilty in a family court or if they are prosecuted on suspicion of a crime that was committed by the age of 20. Yet, the publication of the information is still allowed if they were only arrested or wanted, and the regulation does not impose a penalty. Since the late 1980s, some of the press began publishing such information, asserting that the publication of such information is for public safety and interests. In some cases, they also claim that the anonymity of the delinquent juvenile is held for the purpose of supporting their rehabilitation after the sentencing, but if they are on death row, their personal information should no longer be restricted.

Current and Future Challenges

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications's 2019 White Paper, we live in an era in which the saturation of information and communication technology enhances our lives in a better direction through digital transformation. The expectation is that the digital transformation will help Japan as an aging society to continue its economic growth, strengthen community, and advance the diversity in society.

However, merely observing the advancement and convenience of the communication technology in relation to journalism in Japan will miss the underlying problems that often exist in the realm of history and culture. The audience seems to trust national organizations that have not only power to connect and produce news information but also their history, reputation, and prestige as an authentic information source. The authority of the constitutional protection of public welfare over individual rights and freedom, and the enduring power of the press club in information gathering are unique aspects reflecting values and beliefs within Japanese culture, yet at the same time, these matters have an innate influence over journalism practices in Japan.

Yuri Obata

See also Asia, East and Southeast; Ethics; Journalism Education

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JOURNALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is the continuing and evolving process of increasing communication interconnectivity between geographically distant and diverse populations, cultures, and economies. This is usually, though not always, brought about by technological advances in transportation and communications and through virtual interactions. Just as journalism has been affected by global interconnections, globalization also has been part of many news stories in recent years.

Two phenomena of globalization in regard to journalism are particular noteworthy. The first is the public's expectation of instant international news as part of the now-standard 24-hour news cycle and the influence of this expectation on the practice of newsgathering. The second is the expectation of ongoing cultural exchange between previously separate and diverse groups of people. Of this increased cultural exchange, some scholars see increased diversity and hybridization of cultures (pluralism), while others see an extension of an Anglo-American corporate hegemony (cultural imperialism). Evidence for both outcomes has been found in academic investigations and media research. This entry discusses the history and development of globalization, how it has changed mass media and journalism, and coverage of globalization and the backlash against it.

History and Development

The continuing improvement of technologies of transport, distribution, and communications has been integral to globalization. Globalization in the modern sense began with the industrial revolution in the mid-19th century with increased speed of information along with trade and continues to

evolve in the 21st century through the global communications system and Internet. Many antecedents of contemporary globalization can be found, including the network of trade routes known as the Silk Road that connected China and the Far East to the Middle East and Europe beginning in 130 BCE, and the religions that spread along with empires, notably Catholicism and Islam. Global religions create and continue the process of globalization through complex ecclesiastical hierarchies, traveling missionaries, and pilgrimages.

By the late Middle Ages, trade and craft guilds had established systems for traveling journeymen and masters, which increased the exchange of knowledge and ideas. Through these proto-globalizing trends, information was collected by travelers and brought together in central locations for use by ruling elites, merchants, and religious officials. As such, journalism and newsgathering evolved together with travel and nascent globalism.

The rise of nationalism worked against globalization for centuries as newly formed nations established national or ethnic identities by defining what they excluded. The establishment of an educated merchant class, usually in coastal city-states, required information to facilitate trade. City-states evolved into larger nation-states. Due to the cultural nature of globalization and its foundation in multilingual communication, it has been inextricably linked to forms of cultural information exchange, including journalism.

Premodern postal systems contributed to the flow of information. In the 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire established a transnational system of mail delivery, the Thurn-und-Taxis Post, which was licensed to carry mail and journals between population centers. The free flow and delivery of these communications led to the use of the word *journalism* to describe regularly delivered reports from correspondents from different countries within the mail delivery system. Reports of internationally newsworthy events became essential to both governance and trade. This premodern postal system continued into the 19th century when it was replaced by mail delivery treaties between nation-states.

The character of globalization changed drastically with the beginning of the industrial revolution. Some technologies, such as steamships,

allowed for faster travel and facilitated global interconnections. However, it was the development of telegraphy in the 1840s that most radically encouraged globalization. Telegraphs were first used by Great Britain and the United States. The development of undersea telegraph cables in the 1860s, and wireless telegraphy at the turn of the 20th century, dramatically speeded up cross-border communication.

Although early telegraphy allowed for faster newsgathering and the development of international newswire services, it was the application of wireless technology for radio broadcasting by the 1920s that allowed for large groups of geographically and culturally diverse populations to be seen as one single audience. Point-to-point and broadcast radio expanded alongside each other and were used to form the first broadcast networks. These involved (by the late 1930s) a central news collection organization linked to dozens of affiliate stations. While the network itself used point-to-point wired communications to link affiliates, the stations used broadcast technology to reach their audiences.

Expansion of Global Communications

Truly rapid global communications began with undersea telegraph cables in the 1860s and expanded with the adoption of shortwave and broadcasting in the 1920s and 1930s and microwave point-to-point communications in the 1940s and 1950s.

Unlike medium-wave radio broadcasting, shortwave signals are bounced along the ionosphere and reflected back to the earth's surface thousands of miles from their broadcast source. This technology allowed a few, usually government-controlled, broadcasters to reach audiences around the world. The most notable drawback to shortwave radio is limited bandwidth. Thus, shortwave broadcasts are heavily regulated by international treaties and often exclude smaller broadcasters. This perceived notion of exclusion initially led to many so-called pirate broadcast stations that operated in international waters (Radio Caroline, broadcast from ships anchored off Britain), across international borders (Radio Luxembourg, which broadcast to Western Europe and especially Britain), or in areas with little government oversight (Radio Swan near

Cuba). The rise of satellite distribution in the 1980s and Internet audio streaming radio early in the 21st century has greatly diminished the role of pirate radio.

The growing number of broadcast, cable, and satellite-based electronic media systems led to a "network of networks": the Internet and the World Wide Web. While the Internet was created in the late 1960s by an agency of the U.S. government, it was used for academic, military, and government communications nearly exclusively until the wide-scale proliferation of personal computers and a standardized Internet protocol for the graphic display of information. The resulting system, the World Wide Web, developed in Switzerland and introduced to the public in 1991, continues to use the infrastructure of the Internet for commercial, journalistic, and entertainment purposes.

Looking at the explosive growth of communications technology in the mid-20th century, media researcher Marshall McLuhan made the now famous observation that humanity would soon be living in a "global village." McLuhan's global village model has been criticized for being based on assumptions that were flawed and vague, but his ideas gained acceptance and are still widely used when discussing global media and globalization. Proponents of McLuhan's vision point to the growth of the World Wide Web and mobile communications devices as examples of the continuing relevance of McLuhan's model. Detractors believe that the model does not take into consideration large-scale media conglomerates and the effect of governments on mass media.

Globalization and Mass Media

In 1956, communications researchers Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm posited four types of media organizations around the world: authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet communist, and social responsibility. Criticized even at their introduction as too simplistic, these four cold war categories still have some relevance in the 21st century. Despite the technological movement toward digital global corporate culture, individual nation-states and regions maintain unique journalistic media. Yet digital technologies can readily permeate national borders and allow

for journalism to cross borders, with less ability for governments to exert control aside from blocking websites.

The rise of transnational media corporations has greatly aided the movement of journalism across borders. One of the best-known examples, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, holds newspapers (e.g., *The Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*) and broadcast, cable, and satellite networks (Fox Broadcasting Company, Fox News). Other examples of transnational media corporations include Bertelsmann, Sony, Vivendi, The Walt Disney Company, and WarnerMedia.

International organizations and trade agreements have been created around the complex issues surrounding globalization and mass media. During the 1970s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization attempted to establish news guidelines called the *New World Information and Communication Order*. These guidelines were intended to equalize treatment and coverage of developing and industrialized nations but were heavily criticized by the United States and United Kingdom. In 1995, the World Trade Organization was formed to institutionalize international agreements on trade. Within the World Trade Organization, the General Agreement on Trade in Services is an evolving framework of treaties that includes global entertainment and worldwide news distribution.

Growing international trade and corporate ownership of technologies for communication have moved most nation-states toward the social responsibility and libertarian models originally proposed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. Proponents of globalization in media production and in newsgathering and distribution favor the model of an open marketplace of ideas. Opponents of this form of globalization counter that it places profitability ahead of media access.

McLuhan, Jacques Ellul, Neil Postman, Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays, and Daniel Boorstin all contributed to thinking about global media culture in the 20th century. Contemporary media critics and scholars who have written about the issue include Robert McChesney, Ben Bagdikian, Noam Chomsky, Naomi Klein, Henry Jenkins, and Lawrence Lessig. Lessig was trained as a copyright and intellectual property lawyer and argued several cases before the U.S. Supreme

Court. He was one of the leading members of the open-source movement, which has evolved around free, editable software, such as Linux, but has grown to encompass scientific research, music, photography, and online collaborations, such as Wikipedia. As a practicing attorney, Lessig has also worked to design legal methods where copyright protection could be extended across global borders.

Backlash Against Globalization

Within both journalism in particular, and in government and business in general, there has been a backlash against the practices, policies, and outcomes of neoliberalism, globalism, and globalization. Among these responses has been a return of nationalism, ethno-nationalism, anti-globalism and World Trade Organization protests, and cross-border regional and tribal movements. Each of these phenomena have used digital media production and web-based and occasionally cable news journalism to seek to legitimize their continued existence and anti-globalism in the broader context of global media. International journalists have followed stories that are created by these movements and their specific media outlets.

Examples of nationalist media criticizing globalism include cable news organizations aligned with far-right political groups in developed nations and those controlled by government forces in developing nations. While specific ethno-nationalist media outlets tend to be smaller and exclusively web-based, they can assert influence on other media outlets. Existing nation-states and larger international organizations, such as the European Union and United Nations, have worked to counter misinformation by extremist groups and unattributed news leaks.

Relationship Between Journalism and Globalization

Many of the changing social trends in newsgathering and reporting can be linked to emerging globalization of mass media. The spread of both Western consumerism and laissez-faire democracy throughout the world during the 20th century changed how audiences interact with their news sources. Both increased democratic participation

and intrusive corporate marketing make new demands on and new models for journalism in a globalized world.

Older models for journalism took a mass production approach to mass media and continue to privilege journalistic objectivity, the use of public intellectuals and experts as sources, tight scripting formats, and attempting to give neutral facts to an audience. In the late 20th century, newer niche market approaches to mass media began to embrace (or at least admit) a political or cultural point of view, more frequently assess and interpret facts for an audience, rely more on public opinion and vox populi interviews, and openly criticize or advocate political parties or regimes. While becoming increasingly commercialized, newer models of journalism in a digital, globalized world focus on putting individual stories in a context for their audience. This is thought to be a reaction to the 24-hour news cycle and information overload that can be created by the news industry itself.

In the early 21st century, emerging trends in journalism and globalization are the adoption of a global form of English for news coverage along with the rise of multiple-language reporting by large newsgathering organizations. Simultaneously, hyperlocal community-based journalism and other forms of user-generated content are increasingly used as story leads for professional journalists. For example, both CNN and the BBC include viewer-submitted stories on their websites. Thus, stories that previously would not have been reported on due to distance, lack of field reporters, or political pressures can move easily from very small news organizations to a large global conglomerate in a short time.

From the early days of the Internet, proto-social platforms such as the USENET and other messaging bulletin board systems allowed for research and newsgathering. During the early 1990s, the rise of HTML standards, graphics standards, and moderated group messaging made the spread of global online discussions possible. Technology firms such as AOL, Yahoo, and others hybridized news distribution with group hosting and chat functions. By the mid-2000s, mobile applications and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter began to serve as engines of connection and globalization, used for collecting information, broadcasting, and promotion.

Despite cutbacks in international reporting at many U.S. news organizations in recent years, national news outlets and wire services continue to cover global news stories including military engagements, trade negotiations, immigration and migration, disease outbreaks and pandemics, pop culture and entertainment, and Internet-based video gaming. There is an essential paradox of globalization in the production and distribution of global journalism. Along with the greater bandwidth and the number of media outlets within new media overall, there is a simultaneous conglomeration of both ownership and content. In the same fashion that journalism grew and changed with improvements in transport, communication technology, and growing industrialization, it will continue to be a leading part of globalization.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Cables, Undersea; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Press Freedom; Streaming Media; Telegraph; U.S. International Communications

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JOURNALISM AWARDS

Journalism has a rich, though sometimes criticized, culture of prizes and awards. This entry first discusses the best known and most prestigious journalism award in the United States, the Pulitzer Prize. It then looks at awards given outside of the United States and other awards within the United States, including those given by foundations, professional groups, and universities. It concludes by discussing the popularity of journalism awards and their downsides.

Pulitzer Prize

A year after the first Nobel prizes were awarded, in 1901, Hungarian-American Joseph Pulitzer, the publisher of the *New York World* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, wrote that he had a “germ of an idea” about a similar award in U.S. journalism and letters. When Pulitzer died in 1911, he left \$2

million to fund the Pulitzer Prizes and establish a journalism school at Columbia University in New York.

Pulitzer’s 1904 will originally called for journalism prizes recognizing public service rendered by a newspaper, editorials, reporting, the best history of services rendered to the public by the American press in the preceding year (awarded only once), and the best paper on the development of Columbia’s School of Journalism (never awarded because of a lack of submissions), along with prizes in letters and drama. The will, however, gave the board assigned to oversee the awards the authority to alter the prize categories. Since the awards were first given in 1917, there have been a number of changes to the journalism awards, including the acceptance of work done online by newspapers (1997) and work done by online-only news organizations (2009), as well as the creation of an audio reporting category (2020). As of 2020, there were 21 Pulitzers awarded annually at ceremonies in April, including journalism prizes for public service journalism, breaking news reporting, investigative reporting, explanatory reporting, local reporting, national reporting, international reporting, feature writing, commentary, criticism, editorial writing, editorial cartooning, breaking news photography, feature photography, and audio reporting.

The Pulitzer Prizes have been criticized because the board that decides them deliberates in secret, occasionally deciding not to honor any of the three finalists named by the jurors reviewing entries for a category; because the honorees have been overwhelmingly white and male (84% before 2016); and because the prizes have been dominated by a few elite news organizations: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the Associated Press. In addition, scandal has sometimes marred the Pulitzer record. In 1981, *The Washington Post* gave back the Pulitzer for feature writing awarded to Janet Cooke for the story of an interview with a supposed 8-year-old heroin addict after Cooke admitted that the boy she wrote about was a fabricated composite of young users she had heard about from social workers but never met.

In 2003, *The New York Times* publicly conceded, not for the first time, that reporting on the

Soviet Union by Walter Duranty, which won the 1932 Pulitzer Prize for Correspondence, consistently underestimated Joseph Stalin's brutality, taking propaganda at face value and dismissing reports of famine that killed millions of people in the Ukraine. Nonetheless, the Pulitzer Prizes have been extraordinarily influential on U.S. journalism, serving as a professionalizing impulse and socializing the field for more than 100 years about what journalism is worthy of merit.

Awards Outside the United States

Many countries have national journalism awards. In France, the Prix Albert Londres, named for a French investigative reporter killed in an ocean-liner fire in the prime of his career, has been awarded since 1933 to Francophone print, audiovisual, and book journalists 40 or younger. In Canada, the National Newspaper Awards have honored daily newspaper achievements since 1949. The prizes—established and run for 40 years by the Toronto Press Club—are administered by a nonprofit board that makes awards in 26 categories, including editorials, breaking news, beat reporting, and presentation/design. In Brazil, the prizes now known as the ExxonMobil Journalism Awards were founded in 1955 at the suggestion of Ney Peixoto do Vale, a former journalist who started the press office at the oil company Esso and was inspired by the Pulitzers.

In Australia, the Walkley Awards, established in 1956 by oil executive Sir William Gaston Walkley, give honors in 30 categories, including investigative journalism, news event coverage, business journalism, sports journalism, coverage of Indigenous affairs, and even headline, caption, or “hook” writing, both across all media and specifically in video and film contexts. In Great Britain, the Press Awards (formerly the British Press Awards) have been honoring primarily print journalism since 1962. Formerly run by the *Press Gazette*, a trade magazine, and now by the Society of Editors, the awards name a newspaper of the year, a front page of the year, and a news website of the year, in addition to giving more traditional reporting awards. In India, the Ramnath Goenka Excellence in Journalism Awards were established in 2005 by the Express Group of media outlets to honor its

founder, who died in 1991. They honor print/digital and broadcast journalism at a ceremony where the Indian president, Ram Nath Kovind, has given a speech in recent years.

Foundation Awards

Some awards are given by foundations closely linked with journalism. In the United States, for example, the Scripps Howard Awards are sponsored by the Scripps Howard Foundation, the philanthropic arm of the E.W. Scripps, a former newspaper company now focused on broadcast and digital media. Those awards give prizes annually for journalism in 16 print/digital and broadcast categories, including visual journalism, environmental reporting, breaking news, and human interest storytelling. The Hearst Awards, given since 1960 to student journalists at U.S. colleges and universities with journalism programs accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, are a program of the Hearst Foundation, created in 1948 by newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst. The awards, sometimes called *the Pulitzers of college journalism*, provide prizes for writing, photojournalism, radio, television, and multimedia journalism, with top student journalists and journalism programs in each category receiving \$10,000 awards in 2020.

Professional Group Awards

Many journalism awards are given by professional groups. In the United States, the Society for Professional Journalists offers multi-platform national Sigma Delta Chi Awards for professional journalists, dating back to 1932, and regional and national Mark of Excellence Awards for college student journalism. Since 1966, the American Society of Magazine Editors has given the National Magazine Awards—sometimes called the *Ellies* because winners receive a statuette based on artist Alexander Calder's “Elephant Walking”—in association with the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. Since 1971, the organization now known as the Radio Television and Digital News Association has given the Edward R. Murrow Awards for local and national broadcast and digital journalism.

Niche-based and newer U.S.-based professional organizations have been quick to adopt the practice of giving awards. For example, annual awards are given in the United States by the Education Writers Association (founded in 1947), the National Association of Black Journalists (1975), the Society for News Design (1979), the Asian American Journalists Association (1981), the Native American Journalists Association (1983), the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (1984), the Society of Environmental Journalists (1990), ACES: The Society for Editing (1997), the Online News Association (1999), and many other professional groups.

University Awards

A number of journalism awards are associated with universities. The George Foster Peabody Awards for radio, television, web, and podcast journalism—created by the National Association of Broadcasters and first given in 1941—are housed at the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia, a beneficiary of their namesake, a businessman and philanthropist from Columbus, Georgia. The Alfred I. Dupont-Columbia University Award for broadcast journalism was based from 1942 to 1967 at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, before moving to New York City.

The George Polk Awards have been given since 1949 by Long Island University in New York in memory of a CBS correspondent murdered in 1948 while covering the Greek Civil War. The Gerald Loeb Awards for business reporting, established in 1957 by a founding partner of the stock brokerage firm E. F. Hutton, are overseen by the Anderson School of Management at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Popularity and Downsides of Journalism Awards

Journalism awards are popular, most scholarship on the topic has argued, because journalists (like other workers) find that receiving awards from, or in front of, their peers confers prestige—an attribute sorely missing from jobs that offer only modest salaries and frequently draw public

distrust. Winning an award also can be a key to mobility, a chance to attract the eye of hiring managers at larger or more elite news organizations, which offer better pay, wider audiences, or both. Awards to individual journalists also reflect glory on their broader news organizations, which often tout the prizes in their promotional materials or put them on public view in their offices. More important, awards can focus needed attention on urgent societal ills, as the Pulitzer Prize Board did when it awarded the 1922 prize for public service to the *New York World* for its investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Over the next 6 years, five other newspapers earned Pulitzers for their exposés of the white supremacist group's activity in their states.

Journalism prizes also have a downside, however. The sheer number of awards in the United States means that at some news organizations, entering contests—all of which have different requirements—takes an extraordinary amount of time that might have otherwise been spent on serving the information needs of the news organization's audience. Costs can be significant as well. For example, Online News Association members paid \$100 per entry in 2020 to submit the Online Journalism Awards, and American Society of Magazine Editors members paid up to \$395 per entry for the Ellies.

Susan Keith

See also Arts Journalism; Business Journalism; Investigative Journalism; *New York Times*, *The*; Pulitzer Prize; *Washington Post*, *The*

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JOURNALISM EDUCATION

The development of journalism education in the United States initially focused on preparing students for careers in newspapers before it was disrupted first by local and network radio and television news, then cable broadcasting, and finally the Internet. Journalism and media communication (JMC) education for decades has included large numbers of students focused in the areas of public relations and advertising, but social media marketing and digital entrepreneurship have further transformed journalism education in recent years. This entry first discusses the origins of formal journalism education in the United States. It then looks at the first higher education programs, professional associations, and academic journals in the field of journalism. The entry concludes by discussing recent shifts in JMC education, including those caused by the advent of digital technologies.

Journalism has long been defined by its collection of stories—news, information, and entertainment—produced within an editorial process that leads to publication through various distribution methods. In the United States, by the 19th century, mass distribution of newspapers began to standardize through professional norms. The invention of the penny press, as well as development of a prestige press, followed the push toward formal education and training of reporters and editors.

Professionalization and Education

The emergence and rapid growth of mass newspapers in the United States during the 19th century coincided with increasing literacy levels and waves of immigration. The shift from traditional rural culture to urban and industrialized cities required new ways to share news and information. Larger newspapers hired reporters, writers, and editors to produce daily newspapers, and this required development of practical skills.

The Institute of Journalists (1833), the American Newspaper Guild (1933), and professional/trade organizations in France and elsewhere formed during the 19th and early 20th centuries. U.S. Civil War reporting introduced the inverted pyramid writing style with the most important news at the top. The Associated Press newspaper cooperative emerged as a prestigious news agency. The number of newspapers in Europe and the United States doubled by 1900. The penny press style in New York iterated into yellow journalism, with an emphasis on crime news, political scandal, and sports. Department store advertising gradually led to women’s and home lifestyle content. Meanwhile, Protestant missionaries in China and reformers in Japan published stories and papers, and national newspapers emerged after the imperial overthrow in 1911. These developments motivated the earliest U.S. journalism schools.

Journalism Schools

While there were some courses in journalism at U.S. colleges and universities in the late 19th century, significant early influences on journalism education came from universities in the Midwest in the early 20th century. In 1908, the University of Missouri established the world’s first school of

journalism. The University of Wisconsin, which offered its first journalism course during the 1904–1905 academic year, formed its journalism department in 1912. The universities of Wisconsin and Missouri offered slightly different perspectives on journalism education, with a focus on liberal arts curriculum at Wisconsin and professional training for the newspaper industry at Missouri. The University of Missouri School of Journalism, founded by Walter Williams, used a hands-on approach called *the Missouri Method*. The school later added a master's degree (1921) and doctorate (1934). Another early journalism school was the one founded at Columbia University in New York in 1912, funded by a grant from newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer.

The founder of the journalism program at the University of Wisconsin, Willard G. Bleyer, started offering instruction in journalism there soon after earning his PhD. in English in 1904. The former newspaper reporter was promoted to assistant professor in 1911 and professor in 1916. During this period, on November 30, 1912, he was among 18 educators voting to create the American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ), which later became the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ). The Wisconsin Department of Journalism became the School of Journalism in 1927.

Fred S. Siebert (a news reporter turned legal scholar) left study with Bleyer in 1923 and earned a law degree in 1929, then rose to professor and director of the University of Illinois School of Journalism before joining the Michigan State University School of Journalism and Division of Mass Communication. He served as dean of the MSU College of Communication Arts from 1960 to 1967. Siebert's *Four Theories of the Press*, first published in 1956, comparatively examined systems around the world.

Ralph Droz Casey used his University of Wisconsin doctoral thesis about propaganda in the 1928 presidential election to establish the University of Minnesota as a journalism education center. Others who studied under Bleyer included Ralph Nafziger, who served as director of the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism from 1949 to 1966 and created a research division that focused on his interest in agricultural journalism, and Chilton Bush, who became head of the

Department of Communication at Stanford University in California in 1934. Bush helped to create a journalism curriculum that emphasized courses related to social intelligence and the newspaper as a social institution along with instruction in practical skills.

Professional Associations and Academic Journals

In 1924, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism created *Journalism Bulletin*, later renamed to *Journalism Quarterly* (JQ) and then *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, to publish mass communications research. By 1954, the journal also published a regular forum on teaching, report on current journalism research, book reviews, and a directory of journalism teachers that listed fewer than 1,000 names. An article published in the journal listed popular research topics: advertising and marketing; censorship; chains and consolidation; college journalism; community newspapers; content analysis; ethics and criticism of the press; foreign and international journalism; high school journalism; history and biography; law; magazines; newsgathering and writing; personnel; pictorial journalism; production and management; publics and public opinion; public relations, propaganda, and publicity; radio and television; readership and readability; and religious journalism.

AEJ, which replaced the American Association of Teachers of Journalism in 1950, was supported in its research publication efforts by the Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism and the Kappa Tau Alpha Society. As news media grew, there was increasing demand for journalism graduates. Until the start of the Great Depression, demand for graduates exceeded availability.

There is no way to overstate the importance of World War II on journalism education. Wilbur Schramm had been a University of Iowa Department of English faculty member before the war but returned to universities after the war with a broadened understanding of the intersection of mass communication and speech departments that offered courses such as interpersonal, nonverbal, international, and intercultural communication. Schramm, Nafziger, and dozens of other scholars

joined the Office of War Information during the war and came away with practical research methods about persuasion.

According to Schramm, the social, political, and psychological research of Kurt Lewin, Paul Lazarsfeld, Carl Hovland, and Harold Lasswell were critical in the development of the study of communication in the United States. The emphasis on, for example, presidential election studies helped build the communication field around important constructs, such as news gatekeeping, agenda setting and building, diffusion of innovation and adoption, personal influence and opinion leadership, as well as other research. It became common by the 1960s for new professors to have a doctorate in communication or a related field. These journalism educators tended to apply concepts and theories to journalism education.

The Journalism Educator (JE) began after World War II as a newsletter for the American Society of Journalism School Administrators (ASJSA), and in 1970 announced “an expanded cooperative effort” with AEJ’s journal, *JQ*. The American Society of Journalism School Administrators President Donald R. Grubb (1970) reported that *JE* would provide information on developments involving AEJ members, departments, and schools; a forum for the exchange of ideas; and “an outlet for interpretive and controversial ideas about teaching, laboratory, and research techniques” (p. 2). Journalism educators also used the journal to promote the annual AEJ convention, report divisional news, list new books, and review selected books in the field.

The idea was to distribute at least one publication per month from three AEJ outlets—*JQ*, *JE*, and *Journalism Monographs*. *JE* focused on “the journalism classroom teacher, sharing with readers common problems, innovations, and aspirations” (Grubb, 1970, p. 3). A business professor’s study published in *JQ* found that between 1947 and 1970 newspaper employment grew more than 50.2% to 373,000 jobs, and journalism educators were not keeping up with expected growing demand during the 1970s. Watergate reporting by *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, the Vietnam War and civil unrest, and the growth of local and national television news magnified these trends.

The Great Depression and World War II were “turning points” for society, journalism practitioners, and journalism education. As journalism education became available at 60% of U.S. universities during the post-war baby boom, there were “major criticisms of the appropriateness of their existence” amid a struggle in the 1970s over whether or not journalists should be called *professional* (Crook, 1994, p. 4). There was a split between those requiring professors to hold graduate degrees and programs following accreditation standards based upon the news industry.

Newspapers and radio news had emerged from World War II as vital democratic institutions. University of Chicago President Robert Hutchins headed the Commission on Freedom of the Press at the request of *Time* magazine publisher Henry Luce. There were questions about role of media and its ownership. The Hutchins Commission took 4 years to write its report on social responsibility of the press, which was published in 1947.

In 1945, 15 campuses chartered the American Association of Journalism School Administrators to promote the practice of journalism education and teaching standards: University of Arkansas, Creighton University, Drake University, University of Florida, Michigan State College, University of Nevada, University of North Dakota, Oklahoma A&M College, University of Pennsylvania, South Dakota State College, Southern Methodist University, Texas Christian University, Texas Technological College, Tulane University, and West Virginia University. By 1948, the American Council for Education in Journalism accredited 35 major universities, including those with a research focus. General education in the liberal arts made up about 75% of course work, and skills courses were limited to about 25%. Change was coming to journalism education because of the development of radio, and later television, news.

Beginning in the late 1920s radio, and later television, became regulated industries in the United States. The Radio Act of 1927 created the Federal Radio Commission, which was replaced by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) with the passage of the Communications Act of 1934. A 1943 U.S. Supreme Court ruling affirmed the government’s power to regulate broadcasting under the First Amendment. In 1949,

the FCC began to implement the fairness doctrine requiring broadcasters to discuss matters of public concern from multiple points of view, a rule upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1969 decision in *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*. The FCC also dealt with concerns about station formats, news distortion, and hiring diversity. FCC powers faded beginning in the 1980s as a result of broadcast deregulation, the emergence of cable, and digital audio and video. The FCC revoked the fairness doctrine in 1987 and eliminated it completely in 2011.

Digital Disruption

The Internet emerged during the 1990s, and the 1997 Supreme Court decision in *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union* gave those publishing on the Internet strong First Amendment rights. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 modernized regulation, and journalism educators faced new challenges. Broadcasting courses shifted to teach electronic newsgathering, and campus radio and television stations went from operating through analog signals to digital signals. The introduction of the World Wide Web during the 1990s meant that all media would eventually have an important Internet presence, develop mobile phone apps, and use Facebook and other social media platforms. New courses were developed in the areas of mobile news, computer-mediated communication, media entrepreneurship, social media, and others.

In 1982, AEJ became the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication and grew into an international association with thousands attending the annual meeting and a growing number of divisions and journals that expanded after 1964. The original teaching, research, and service purposes remain. The National Communication Association, the International Communication Association, the World Journalism Education Congress, the Association of Internet Researchers, the Broadcast Education Association, the Journalism Education Association, and others reflect an increasingly global view of free expression, data privacy, human rights, and other international concerns.

As of 2020, the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications accredited 117 schools (112 full and five

provisional), or about one-third of all journalism education programs. Many unaccredited programs, departments, and schools also embrace a liberal arts perspective on journalism education. Schools of communication frequently include JMC programs within a broader umbrella of communication studies that grew from speech and broadcast programs. While journalism education serves as training for working journalists, they also may have studied English, political science, history, and other fields.

Degree programs frequently match students with a relevant internship to gain practical experience before graduation. On-campus newspapers, radio, and TV stations also offer opportunities to cultivate professional skills. Increasingly, faculty benchmark abilities and measure growth through a capstone course. JMC academic programs also serve those students seeking employment in public relations, advertising, integrated marketing communication, social media, and emerging communications areas.

Since the 1990s, college and university journalism programs have increasingly emphasized digital storytelling across professions and platforms. Convergence of multimedia tools drove departments and schools to merge curricula and teach mobile media storytelling skills. Agile journalism programs found a path to survival by embracing the liberal arts and strategic skills, such as media writing and storytelling. Many journalism programs attracted new students by merging or collaborating with other areas, such as communication studies, computer science, and marketing. The critical thinking, researching, and writing skills taught in JMC programs have value that can be applied to many professional fields.

Jeremy Harris Lipschultz

See also Agenda Setting; Commission on Freedom of the Press; Convergence; Framing; Gatekeeping; Internships and Training Programs; Penny Press

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JOURNALISTIC TRANSLATION

Translation, or interlinguistic transfer, is closely associated with the birth of journalism and remains central in contemporary news production. This entry reviews the history of journalistic translation, from the early modern period to the present age, and discusses the role translation has played in contemporary journalistic practices.

Early Modern Period

During the early modern period, considered the beginning of journalism, both handwritten newsletters and print news pamphlets had to undergo several translation processes before they reached the target readership. The early *Gazettes*, *Relaciones*, *Avvisi*, and *Corantos*, to mention a few, published news gathered in the European continent by informants, spies, and eyewitnesses. Not only did the accounts have to be translated into the specific language of a specific publication (say a Dutch *Coranto*), but later they were translated into other languages as well (e.g., English, Russian).

Amsterdam and other Dutch cities were important centers of news production despite the minority status of the Dutch language in Europe. The widespread use of the printing press, the growth of the cities, and the fact that the Low Countries were at the crossroads of several languages and cultures turned this area into the news capital of Europe. It is believed that Amsterdam may have

published as many as 140 periodicals at one time in the 17th century. However, not all these pamphlets were published in Dutch. In fact, Dutch newspapers were translated into French, Italian, English, and Yiddish and then sold in other parts of the continent. For instance, *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* was published in Dutch on Saturdays, while its French version, titled *Nouvelles de divers Quartiers*, appeared on Mondays. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* circulated in German, Swedish, Russian, and English.

The English versions are of particular interest as they were widely read in London's coffee houses. The role of translation was underscored by the editors themselves: a literal translation meant that the news pamphlets provided reliable accounts of foreign news and also saved editorial costs. Thus, translators, some of whom have fled from religious persecution in the continent, were hired. But, in England, as in other European countries, news pamphlets soon became an important concern for the government as it tried to curb political dissent. In the late 17th century, newspapers had to be authorized by the governments in countries such as England, France, and Sweden. In fact, in England, cabinet officials Robert Yard and James Vernon copied, translated, and compiled material for the *London Gazette* newsletters that had been gathered by envoys and agents.

Interestingly, the *Gazette* was also published in French as the *Gazette de Londres* and then distributed in the continent. The French version of the *Gazette* allowed the government to control the flow of information outside the British Isles. This translated pamphlet is a forerunner to contemporary news corporations such as *China Daily* and CTGN, both of which the Chinese government uses to disseminate news in several major languages such as English and French from a Chinese perspective, and the *Vietnam News*, an English-language newspaper funded by the Vietnamese government, which publishes translated material from local newspapers.

Journalistic Translation From the 19th Century to the Present Age

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the professionalization of the journalism profession affected the role and status of translation in news production.

However, interlinguistic transfer remained at the heart of the industry, particularly following the emergence of Europe's main news agencies: Havas, Reuters, and Wolff. Interestingly, these three companies had strong connections with the translation activities. Bureau Havas (later to become the Agence France Press), founded in 1832, operated as a translation bureau before becoming a full-fledged news agency in 1835. Havas translated British, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian newspapers and sent them to other European cities. In a similar vein, Paul Julius Reuter, who had started working as a translator and did not have experience as a journalist, provided German bankers with commercial information before moving to London to start his own news agency. Finally, German doctor Bernard Wolff started working with Julius Reuter. He had been a translator of English and French medical books into German before founding Wolff in Berlin in 1848. Wolff disappeared after World War II following the demise of the Nazi regime, which had used it for propaganda purposes.

The technological advances in the late 20th century led to the revitalization of translation in news production and dissemination. Some corporations like the BBC had traditionally provided multilingual services in which translation was so crucial that the process has been referred to as factory translation. During the Cold War, the BBC and other Anglophone media such as the Voice of America had radio services in a variety of languages aimed at listeners living under dictatorial regimes. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the popularization of the Internet beginning in the 1990s, many of these services were revamped and other companies and news projects emerged.

In fact, in response to the BBC, the Voice of America, and other companies with services in English (as well as in other languages) such as CNN, news ventures appeared in other parts of the world. For example, in 1996, the Qatari government created the television channel Al Jazeera, after the BBC closed its service in Arabic. The Russian government funds the broadcast of television network Russian Today in languages such as English and Arabic. For its part, the European Community (now European Union) promoted the creation of Euronews, a European news channel whose objective was to offer a news service from

a European perspective. One of the many features of the project was that its programming could be watched in a variety of languages. The same applied to its website, which is currently available in 13 languages.

Role of Translation in Contemporary Journalism

In addition, national media such as *The New York Times* and Spain's *El País* select a sizeable number of the articles published in their original languages and translate them into other languages for international readers: Spanish and Chinese in the case of *The New York Times* and English and Portuguese in the case of *El País*. However, these translations are not literal: the journalists or translators adapt the material by selecting what should be translated, what needs to be added, and what needs to be deleted. In this sense, translation may function as a gatekeeping mechanism capable of creating different narratives for international audiences. In addition, translated articles are typically complemented with original material for the target readership. Apart from the services provided by national media for international speakers of other languages, some national media also offer services in other languages for domestic audiences. For instance, the *Miami Herald* has a Spanish version for the large Spanish-speaking community in the area.

Translation has remained crucial in the case of foreign correspondents, who have always needed reliable interpreters to obtain their material. In situations of conflict, journalists depend on the so-called fixers to provide accurate translations, while in other cases translation occurs when, for example, a Spanish journalist working for *El País* interviews a Kosovan leader in English. Then, the interview needs to be translated for the Spanish target readership, and language transfer occurs once again if the interview is selected for the English version of the Spanish newspaper. In addition, national media have formed international alliances to share material, which is usually indicated by attribution—for example, Spain's *El Mundo* typically indicates if a specific article was originally published in Britain's *The Guardian*. An international media alliance was at the basis of the controversial publication of the confidential

documents by WikiLeaks, which subsequently became available in English (*The Guardian* and *The New York Times*), Spanish (*El País*), French (*Le Monde*), and German (*Der Spiegel*).

Finally, and in connection with these strategic media alliances, op-ed columns by prestigious authors circulate in different languages via translation. For example, Spain's *El País* publishes a selection of the op-ed columns by Paul Krugman, which originally appeared in *The New York Times*. Unlike other news texts, op-ed columns tend to have the name of the authors as well as those of the translators.

Roberto A. Valdeón

See also Agence France-Presse; Foreign Correspondents; Havas; International Journalism; Journalism and Globalization; Reuters

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JUVENILE OFFENDERS, COVERAGE OF

Crime news makes up a large segment of journalistic reportage. Juvenile crime is of special interest because it can affect government policy and public perceptions of the nation's youth. Bundled into

this issue are people's worries about their own children, the fear that older people often have of younger people, fear and mistrust based on race, and a tendency toward sensationalism on the part of the news media.

Coverage of juvenile offenders includes broadcast, print, and online news stories of crimes committed by a minor (often defined as those age 16 and under, although the age of majority in the United States is 18). This coverage is affected by the routines of news gathering, which involve deadlines, reliance on official sources, limited time and space, and the rapid news cycle. This entry first discusses indications that news coverage of juvenile offenders is disproportionate to the level of juvenile crime in the United States. It then looks at legal issues for U.S. journalists and news organizations in the coverage of juvenile offenders.

Research has indicated that a disproportionate amount of child-related news coverage deals with crime and violence, with one analysis during the 1990s finding that 40% of newspaper and television coverage of children dealt with these topics. Yet beginning in the 1990s, there was a sharp decline in the juvenile arrest rate for violent crimes. According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, part of the U.S. Department of Justice, between 1994 and 2003, the estimated number of murders involving a juvenile offender fell 65%, to its lowest level since at least 1980. In 2016, the number of arrests involving juveniles was at its lowest since at least 1980.

News media organizations tend to overreport crime cases involving female juveniles and tend to cover juvenile crime episodically. They focus on individual crimes as isolated events instead of reporting the important context of overall trends. Major events—such as shootings or other violence in schools—tend to receive heavy coverage.

News coverage of juvenile offenders also connects race and crime, particularly violent crime and especially on television. Pictures of African Americans or Latino youth dominate portrayals of youth violence, especially broadcast or photographic visual images. These portrayals have been shown to lead many who consume such news to worry more about their own safety. Television coverage of African American and Hispanic youth offenders raises levels of fear

among viewers, increases their support for more stringent crime policies, and promotes racial stereotyping.

Between 1985 and 2010, the arrest rates for African American youth were substantially higher than the rates for other youth across all offense categories. Additionally, National Relative Rate Index data show that there is more disparity for African American youth at arrest, detention, and waiver to criminal court than at other stages of the juvenile justice system. Furthermore, minority youth accounted for 75% of juveniles held in custody for a violent offense in 2010. Researchers have pointed to multiple reasons for racial disparity in juvenile arrests and treatment in the courts, including differences in childhood risk factors as well as implicit or explicit bias in the juvenile justice system.

In the 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court decided a series of landmark cases that changed the character and procedures of the juvenile justice system. In 1966, in *Kent v. United States*, the Court listed several factors for judges to consider when deciding whether to transfer a juvenile case to adult court. This included the alleged seriousness of the offense. It was at this time that juvenile courts became more concerned for the interests of the juvenile. To this point, youth offenders were rarely afforded the legal protections usually granted to adults (such as the right to counsel). Most states limited news access to juvenile courts, largely to protect offenders from a life-long stigma for what was often a single mistake. Journalists followed suit and became less likely to run stories culled from the juvenile court system. News organizations and journalism groups counseled caution in identifying juvenile suspects of crime.

States vary on their access to juvenile record information. The following states fully protect juvenile record information from public accessibility: California, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Delaware, Georgia, Nevada, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Wyoming provide media access to juvenile record information only in certain circumstances. In states that limit access to juvenile proceedings, news media cannot be penalized for revealing a juvenile's identity if they lawfully obtained the information.

Some examples of how the media has been affected by juvenile offender laws, as reported by the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, include the following:

- In 2012, a Kentucky judge granted a local newspaper's request to unseal records in a juvenile sexual abuse case that sparked widespread support for the victim after she publicly identified her alleged attackers.
- In 2010, a public records mediation office in Tennessee ruled that statements made by juveniles who are neither victims nor being charged with an offense are part of the public record and must be released upon request.
- In 2007, Ohio's highest court ruled that a judge violated state court rules when he prohibited the media from photographing a juvenile murder suspect's face without an evidentiary hearing.
- In 2007, replying to a lawsuit filed by a coalition of U.S. media companies, the judge overseeing the trial of Mychal Bell, one of the teenage defendants in the racially charged Jena 6 case in Louisiana, opened the juvenile's trial to the public.
- In 2005, a Missouri appellate court ruled that "adjudicatory" hearings in juvenile court must be open to the media in some circumstances, although the court offered no definition of what those circumstances are. The ruling stated that Missouri law provides for public access if the child is accused of conduct which, if committed by an adult, would be considered among the top two classes of felonies.
- In 2006, a Kentucky Press Association case challenging the constitutionality of four laws that would have limited public access to juvenile court proceedings was dismissed because the state courts had not interpreted the law.

Coverage of juvenile offenders can have an effect on public policy as well as individual perceptions of criminal reality. Journalists covering court cases involving juvenile offenders need to stay up to date with the relevant laws governing such coverage in their own state or community. Further, the amount of news coverage allowed is often up to individual court or judge discretion.

Cristina L. Azocar

See also Censorship; Criminal Justice and Journalism; Diversity in Journalism; First Amendment; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Sunshine Laws; Trauma, Coverage of

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Reader's Guide

The Reader's Guide is provided to assist readers in locating articles on related topics. It classifies articles into 30 general topical categories: Broadcast Organizations; Broadcast Technology; Broadcast, Past and Present; Broadcast, Practiced and Defined; Broadcast, Radio; Broadcast, Television; Cultural Issues in Journalism; Economics of Journalism; Freedom of the Press in American History; Issues and Controversies, Coverage of; Journalism Online, Practiced and Defined; Journalism, Practiced and Defined; Journalism Techniques; Journalism Types; Journalism, International; Journalism, International Organizations; Journalism, U.S.; Journalism, Visual Orientation; Law and Policy; Media Regulation and Oversight; Media Theories; Photojournalism, Issues and History; Press and Politics, The; Print Production; Print, Historical Issues and People; Print, Practiced and Defined; Public Relations, Issues and History; Social and Ethical Aspects of Journalism; Social Media Organizations; Technological Aspects of Journalism

Broadcast Organizations

ABC News
CBS News
CNN
Fox News
MSNBC
National Public Radio
NBC News
Public Broadcasting Service
Sinclair Broadcast Group
Sky News
ViacomCBS

Broadcast Technology

Audio and Video News Services
Audio Journalism

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
Digital Sound
Livestreaming
Satellite Newsgathering
Shortwave Radio
Simulcasting
Streaming Media
Video Journalism
Video News Releases

Broadcast, Past and Present

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
Commentators, Radio
Murdoch, Rupert
Mutual Broadcasting System
National Public Radio
NBC News
Newscasters, Radio
Pacifica Radio
Paley, William S.
Public Radio Journalism
Public Service Broadcasting
Radio Corporation of America
Shortwave Radio
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Broadcast, Practiced and Defined

Anchors, Television
Community Radio
Newscasters, Radio
Public Service Broadcasting
Sports Broadcasting
Talk and News Radio
Television Newsmagazines
Video Journalism

Broadcast, Radio

ABC News
Audio Journalism

Broadcast, or Broadcasting
 CBS News
 Commentators, Radio
 National Public Radio
 NBC News
 Newscasters, Radio
 Pacifica Radio
 Public Radio Journalism
 Radio Corporation of America
 Shortwave Radio
 Talk and News Radio

Broadcast, Television

ABC News
 Anchors, Television
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 Democracy and the Media
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 LGBTQ Issues, Coverage of
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Blogs and Bloggers
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Editing, Online and Digital
Liveblogging
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Journalism, Practiced and Defined

Amplification
Byline
Citizen Journalism
Consultants, News
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Editors, Roles and Responsibilities
Embedded Reporters
Feature Syndicates
Freelance Writers and Stringers
Hard Versus Soft News
Human Interest Journalism
Internships and Training Programs
Interpretive Journalism
Inverted Pyramid
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Literary Journalism
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Longform Journalism
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News as Narrative
News Conferences

News Organizations
News Syndication
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Participatory Journalism
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Producers
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Recording
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Sources
Sources, Anonymous
Sportswriters
Time in Journalism
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Journalism Techniques

Audio Journalism
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Self-Publishing
Spectacle

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Agriculture Journalism
Alternative News Media
Business Journalism
Citizen Journalism
Civic Journalism
Constructive Journalism
Entertainment Journalism
Entrepreneurial Journalism
Environmental Journalism
Food Journalism
Health and Medicine Journalism
Human Interest Journalism
Hyperlocal Journalism
Innovation Journalism
Interpretive Journalism

Labor Journalism
Lifestyle Journalism
Literary Journalism
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Social Media Organizations

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Streaming Media
Virtual Reality
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LABOR JOURNALISM

Over the past 200 years, the role of labor journalism has evolved with ebbs and flows of the labor movement, both in the United States and throughout the developed world. Coverage of labor issues in the media, which peaked in the early and mid-20th century, has been in decline in the past several decades. Although increased attention has been paid to union-related stories since the mid-2010s, labor coverage faces an uncertain future, according to media scholars.

The decline of private-sector unions and staffing cuts at news organizations since the 1980s have resulted in the near extinction of the labor beat in American journalism. In recent years, according to communications scholar Jon Bekken (2020), most mainstream media coverage of labor issues has focused on local teacher strikes for greater pay and benefits. And this coverage tends to focus on the health of local public education, with less focus on workers themselves. Greater media coverage is given to the financial health of employers in the public and private sector.

Labor journalism first came into its own early in the 19th century. Its emergence was due to the rise of factory employment in the United States, which resulted in class distinctions not apparent at the founding of the country. Also, substandard working conditions led to discontent, which needed a media outlet. Although expression of some of this discontent was reflected in the coverage of the working class in the mid-19th-century

penny press, a ready market also existed for serious investigative journalism geared specifically for workers and their political allies. After briefly reviewing the various types of labor publications, this entry discusses the emergence and development of labor journalism.

Types

Throughout their history in the United States, three types of labor publications have dominated. The first is trade union periodicals. These periodicals are published by individual unions, with union money, and circulated mainly to union members. They serve as mouthpieces for labor unions and their officials. They also dispense information to other media, which can lead to wider coverage. Publications within this category are *Solidarity*, the national magazine of the United Auto Workers; *UMW Journal*, a bimonthly publication of the United Mine Workers of America; and *American Educator*, published by the American Federation of Teachers.

The second is party papers, published by political parties and intended to promote a social agenda connected with progressive politics. These publications were strongest in the early 20th century, when political parties advocated for worker reforms often influenced by world events.

The third type of publication is independent labor newspapers unaffiliated with any political party and dependent on subscriptions for their survival. However, the close connection between worker rights and political activism has often

blurred distinctions between the second and third types of labor publications. Today, independent labor newspapers, which rely on ideological fervor but depend on subscriptions and advertising for a profit, still survive, but not at the local level. Although local independent labor newspapers thrived for a time in the 19th and early 20th centuries, they eventually disappeared due to lack of advertising support and the co-optation of many of their issues by the mainstream press.

Development

Labor journalism in the United States began with the rise of publications concerned with reform in working conditions that depended on subscriptions and donations for their survival. Perhaps because of this content-advertising dichotomy, many of these publications proved short-lived. During the 1820s and 1830s, approximately 50 labor weeklies appeared, most of them in the rapidly industrializing northeastern United States. These publications not only advocated for better working conditions but also expanded to social commentary on topics such as the need for universal education. The *Mechanic's Free Press*, founded in 1828, in Philadelphia, was the first labor newspaper. It folded after 3 years, though it did reach a circulation of 2,000. Other early papers included the *Free Enquirer*, published in New York from 1828 to 1835, and *The Working Man's Advocate*, published in New York from 1829 to 1849. The *Advocate* supported a 10-hour working day, universal suffrage, and improved public education. The paper also was critical of mainstream media, which it said had grown "fat" by oppressing the working class.

These papers served not only as a form of early labor solidarity but also as a way of encouraging political activism. In 1828, the *Mechanic's Free Press* became the official organ of the Working Men's Party, which that year elected 21 candidates to public office in Philadelphia and surrounding communities. The party expanded its efforts into other areas of Pennsylvania. In New York, the *Free Enquirer* and *The Working Man's Advocate* advocated political action as well. In 1830, the entire labor ticket won in Syracuse, and all but one labor candidate was victorious in Troy and Albany. The labor political movement, supported

by labor media, also gained a foothold in this period in local and state offices in Delaware, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. In the 1830s, responding to the threat by this potential national third party, the two major political parties, the Whigs and Democrats, adopted many of the suggested reforms into their party platforms.

Independent labor newspapers continued their expansion throughout the middle and latter part of the 19th century. In Canada, the labor press movement also thrived between 1870 and 1900 due to a perceived need to rein in unbridled capitalism. During this period, Canadian trade unionists founded more than 100 journals, mainly in Ontario and Quebec. Canadian labor journalism was hostile to both the Protestant and Catholic Churches, which tended to side with capitalistic interests rather than workers. The first major Canadian labor journal, *The Ontario Workman*, published from 1872 to 1874, arose out of a dispute following a strike at the *Toronto Globe*. The *Workman* was published with financial assistance from the federal Conservative Party, which believed it to be in its own interest to harness support from the growing ranks of industrialized labor.

In the United States, relations between labor and government did not proceed quite so smoothly. The Haymarket Affair (also known as the Haymarket Riot) in Chicago in 1886, proved to be a temporary setback for the labor press. As the police were dispersing a labor protest, an unknown person threw a bomb, which resulted in the death of seven police officers and a number of civilians. The Haymarket Affair came to symbolize an anarchistic labor movement threatening American capitalism.

A New Era

Following the Haymarket Affair, a new era of labor journalism emerged, with a stronger tie to political parties and worldwide working concerns. This era was dominated by papers published by political parties and intended to promote a social agenda connected with progressive politics. An example of this type of journalism was the "Wobbly" papers, published by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), beginning in 1905. They shared disgust with the American Federation

of Labor's conservative domination of trade unionism, and many saw their publications as a vanguard of a Socialist revolution. Among the Wobbly papers were the *Industrial Union Bulletin*, published in Chicago from 1907 to 1909; *The Syndicalist*, published in Lakebay, Washington, and Chicago in 1913; *One Big Union Monthly*, published in Chicago from 1919 to 1921; *The Industrial Pioneer*, published in Chicago from 1921 to 1926; and *Industrial Unionist*, published in Portland, Oregon, from 1925 to 1926.

Mainstream media also spoke with a more progressive labor voice during this same period. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer championed the cause of working men and women in his papers, *New York World* and *St. Louis Dispatch*. Pulitzer's New York newspaper war with rival publisher William Randolph Hearst added to this focus on the working-class reader's interests.

The turn of the 20th century saw the emergence in mainstream journalism of Eva Valesh, a prominent voice of progressive labor journalism. Recruited in 1887 to write for the *St. Paul Globe*, Valesh (writing under the pseudonym Eva Gay) got herself hired as a working girl in various shops in order to illustrate the life of the working poor. Valesh went on to become an advocate for labor rights and other causes.

The early 20th century proved a high watermark for socialist labor journalism, coinciding with muckraking journalism by reformers such as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair. Between 1905 and 1919, the IWW published more than 70 newspapers and periodicals. The Socialist weekly *Appeal to Reason* had more than 760,000 readers in 1913. Daily labor newspapers before World War I included the *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Citizen*, *The New York Call*, and *The Milwaukee* (Wisconsin) *Leader*.

Labor in the Age of Bolshevism

After 1920 came a decline in the socialist labor press, as it became identified by the American public with the rise of Bolshevism. Indeed, the Communist, Socialist, and Communist Labor parties all competed through the labor press for predominance. The intensity of this struggle was reflected in postwar journalism when Bolsheviks

seeking violent overthrow of capitalist regimes withdrew from the Socialist Party. *The Class Struggle*, a left-wing socialist publication published in New York from 1917 to 1919, was a pre-Bolshevik publication that argued that socialism could not be achieved through reform or at the polls. *The Class Struggle* called for the victory of the proletariat over the capitalist bourgeoisie and regularly published articles by leaders of the Russian Communist Revolution, such as Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky. Other worker-oriented political publications of the Bolshevik Revolution era included the *New York Communist*, published in 1919; *The Revolutionary Age*, published in Boston and New York in 1918 and 1919; *The Socialist*, published in New York in 1919; and *The New Justice*, published in Los Angeles in 1919 and 1920. Growing American anti-Red fears drove many of these papers either underground or out of business.

After the expulsion of Communists from its ranks in 1919, socialism went into a gradual decline after World War I, though the socialist movement did recover for a time during the Depression of the 1930s as new worker-oriented papers spread that served as voices for reform. Socialist publications of this period included *New Day*, published in Chicago and Milwaukee between 1920 and 1922; *Socialist World*, published in Chicago between 1920 and 1926; and *American Appeal*, published in Chicago from 1926 to 1927. Three New York-based publications of the period included *American Socialist Quarterly* (1932–1935), *American Socialist Monthly* (1935–1937), and *Socialist Review* (1937–1940). By the 1940s, the Socialist labor press was in a weakened state, though *Challenge!*, the periodical of the Young People's Socialist League, managed to publish between 1943 and 1946 in New York. This publication had an influential role in shaping post-World War II sentiment through shaping the postwar generation's attitudes toward international and social issues. The Young People's Socialist League members who read *Challenge!*, with its virulent anti-Hitlerism, its promotion of peace "strikes" on college campuses, and its support for labor demands would go on to become some of the nation's leading liberals, intellectuals, and trade union leaders. For

this reason, the League was probably more influential in this period than the Socialist Party itself.

In the New Deal and World War II years, the Communist workers press also served to promote labor rights. In an era when support for the Soviet Union fit American foreign policy aims, publications such as *Communist International*, published in New York from 1919 to 1940, and *The Daily Worker*, published in Chicago and New York from 1924 to 1958, had influence in labor and left-wing political circles.

Labor Broadcasting

Organized labor's attempts to get involved directly in broadcasting during the 1920s and 1930s met with mixed results. Organized labor attempted to establish and operate radio stations but gained little headway. One exception was WLCF in Chicago, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, which began in the 1920s and continued to operate as a voice of labor until 1979. In the 1940s and 1950s, the American Federation of Labor, later the AFL-CIO, sponsored evening newscasts and aired public service announcements made possible by Federal Communications Commission guidelines. In the 1950s, the AFL-CIO attempted to get into television broadcasting, but high production costs thwarted these efforts.

Modern Labor Press

The independent labor newspapers that launched labor journalism early in the 19th century survived into the early 21st century, but in a much diminished state. Although they thrived from the 19th and, in some cases, into the middle of the 20th century, local labor publications eventually disappeared due to lack of advertising support and the cooptation of many of their issues by the mainstream press. In contrast, their progeny at a national level, including the *Union Democracy Review*, published since 1972, a bimonthly publication of the Association for Union Democracy; and *Labor Notes*, published since 1979, a monthly magazine published by the nonprofit organization with the same name, still promote workplace and grassroots democracy. Both publications have

websites and continue to rely on contributions and subscriptions for their survival.

With the decline in the independent labor press, covering organized labor has fallen to mainstream media. While some communities with a strong union tradition (such as Detroit and Chicago) have media that incorporate labor coverage into their news agenda, this is the exception. Network television in its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s exposed few viewers to people who worked in factories, and this situation has not improved much since.

In the early 21st century, because of cutbacks in reporting staffs and ownership consolidation, few newspapers or television stations assigned reporters to a labor beat. What coverage did exist tended to focus on strikes or potential strikes. Covering labor became a matter of refocusing and filtering labor news and trends into a broader news context. As a result, each medium tended to focus on labor union stereotypes, such as the movies' frequent focus on connections between organized crime and labor. Television, in turn, tended to portray the union bargaining goals as petty or foolish, with good local labor leaders led astray by their national unions.

However, events throughout the previous decade have contributed to increased attention to union-related stories in the news. According to Harvard researcher Hannah Finnie, since June 2015, when news site Gawker initiated a wave of unionization, at least 80 media organizations in the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada followed with unionization. Moreover, the 2018 teachers' strikes in the United States raised the profile of the topic in general. Journalists at the same time have developed an increased interest in the subject of unions, as journalists who may have worked in unionized organizations have relocated and brought unionized influences to nonunionized jobs. As a result, previous unionization movements have at least increased the effectiveness of reporters to describe labor issues.

Throughout its evolution and development, labor journalism has played an important role in promoting progressive change. Labor publications have championed reforms such as child labor laws, workplace safety, improved public education, and universal suffrage.

Raymond Christopher Burnett

See also Advocacy Journalism; Bias; Muckrakers; Social Movements and Journalism

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LABOR UNIONS IN MEDIA

Media workers encompass employees, freelance and contract contributors, interns, and apprentices in journalism, including newsroom workers—reporters, editors, photographers, and videographers—and workers in the production, printing, advertising, and circulation departments. A labor union is a collective organization that workers form to protect their interests and rights in the workplace. A craft union is a model of unionism in which workers organize around a particular trade, such as reporters or print workers, while an industrial union represents workers across an industry regardless of trade or skill. Media workers in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom have long organized labor unions to improve their pay rates, benefits, working conditions, and training programs; defend their rights in the workplace; and respond to technological change. They have also promoted social justice around diversity, equity, and professionalism in media industries. While media workers initially launched trade unions in the 18th century, they have increasingly established big industrial unions since the mid-20th century. This entry examines the history of labor unions in the media, some notable labor unions in the print and broadcast media fields, labor union

organizing in an era of digital media, and the increasing unionization of freelance journalists.

The Early History of Labor Unions in Print Media

Before print media workers created ongoing trade unions, they established temporary printers' associations, dealing with workplace grievances as they arose. Journeymen printers started one such association in New York City in 1776. The printers united, demanding higher wages, and when their employers begrudgingly granted them a wage increase, the printers' association disbanded. Ten years later, 26 printers in Philadelphia launched the first strike of workers across a single trade in the United States. When the printers won a six-dollar-a-week wage increase, they, too, dissolved their association shortly after. Around this time, a society of compositors also negotiated a piece-work scale of wages in London, England, in 1785.

Throughout the next century, printers launched longer-lasting unions. Initially, these unions included the New York-based Typographical Society (1795–1798), the Franklin Typographical Society of Journeyman Printers of New York (1799–1804), the New York Typographical Society (1809–1826), and the Philadelphia Typographical Society (1802–1831). Sixty-six printers in Quebec City organized the first such ongoing union of printers in Canada in 1827. In 1836, the pioneering National Typographical Society (becoming the National Typographical Association in 1837) was formed in Washington, D.C. bringing together many union locals known as *chapels*. However, the association dissolved within 3 years due to struggles during the 1834–1837 Depression. Yet the printers regrouped, starting the National Typographical Union in May 1852. The union adopted a new constitution in 1869, accepting Canadian members and becoming the International Typographical Union (ITU). As print media companies introduced new technology into the workplace at that time, other craft workers, such as stereotypers, bookbinders, and pressmen organized, initially joining ITU. By 1882, though, some craft workers asserted their own identity: the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the Lithographers and Photoengravers of

America were formed, while the International Printing Pressmen's Union was founded in 1887.

In the 19th century, ITU took a progressive stance compared to other unions regarding gender and racial diversity and equity issues. While ITU vigorously opposed the Women's Typographical Union No. 1 of New York City for 15 years, it finally chartered the union in 1869. Although ITU revoked part of its constitution in 1873 that permitted female members, its 1885 General Laws noted that the union should not refuse women members based on sex. Three years later, ITU instructed its locals to organize female workers and pay equal wages for the same work regardless of sex. ITU had also declared in 1869 that union locals had discretion to admit Black workers.

The Evolution of Editorial Workers' Unions

Labor unions have advocated for higher wages and better working conditions for editorial workers since 1891. A wage disparity between the unorganized editorial workers and the organized newspaper workers in production departments became an issue around which the former mobilized in the United States, initially in Pittsburgh, Denver, Sacramento, and New York. The movement to organize news writers spread to Canada between 1902 and 1904, when three ITU locals were established. ITU chartered the first Canadian news writers' local in Ottawa, but like its counterparts in the United States, it was short lived, suspended in 1903 as a result of nonpayment of membership dues. Around this time in the United Kingdom, the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was founded in 1907, and by 2020, it had more than 30,000 members. Yet ITU news writers' locals continued to struggle until 1923, when ITU relinquished jurisdiction of news writers to the American Federation of Labor.

By 1933, American editorial workers realized that they needed their own parent union to represent them. Led by Heywood Broun, they established the American Newspaper Guild (ANG), mobilizing mainly around higher pay. Broun also led the organizing efforts of his local union, the Newspaper Guild of New York in 1934 (now the NewsGuild of New York). In 1937, workers in

the commercial departments of print publications started joining ANG. Continuing to expand its membership, ANG chartered the Wire Service Guild (now the News Media Guild) as an autonomous union local in March 1958, initially including members from the three wire services at the time—International News Service, United Press, and Associated Press.

From the outset, ANG organized editorial workers in Canada, initially in Toronto and Montreal in September 1936. A small group of editorial workers at Toronto newspapers, many of whom were women, aimed to unionize the city's four daily newspapers, and the Toronto Newspaper Guild (TTNG), Local 87 of ANG, was born (now Unifor 87-M). Some newspaper workers in British Columbia organized and obtained collective agreements with autonomous unions: Workers at the *Vancouver Sun* started the Vancouver Newspaper Guild in 1941 and won a contract in 1942, with wage increases, severance pay, and overtime provisions, while the Victoria Island Newspaper Guild (VING) was founded in 1945, securing a contract in 1946. By the end of the decade, ANG won its first collective agreement in Canada at the *Toronto Star* in 1949, resulting in a monumental pay increase for reporters and photographers with at least 5 years of experience. That year, the Canadian Wire Service Guild was also formed (now the Canadian Media Guild/CMG).

As ANG's membership continued to grow outside of the United States as well as include more people of color and women members, the union's members sought special recognition. In 1951, Canada was established as a "region" in the union. During the 1960s, VING played an instrumental role in mobilizing ANG members to remove "American" from the union's name to reflect that it had Canadian members. In 1971, ANG became The Newspaper Guild (TNG). Soon after, the union committed to opening a Canadian office and appointing a Canadian director. In the midst of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, TNG also combated racial discrimination in the news industry in hiring and promotion. In the 1970s, TNG addressed sex discrimination in the news workplace. By 2015, the union changed its name to The NewsGuild (TNG), recognizing that it represented more than newspaper workers.

Entertainment Media Workers Unionize

As editorial workers organized in the 1930s, entertainment media workers followed suit. The Screen Actors Guild (SAG) was formed in Los Angeles as a self-governing organization of film actors and, later, background actors and extras in 1933. Four years later, SAG obtained its first contract with producers, the same year that the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA) was founded. AFRA negotiated its first national-level collective agreement with NBC and CBS in 1938. In these formative years, union members discussed plans to merge these performers' guild into one big union, but by 1940, they had failed to make progress on this front. In the 1940s, background actors and extras strived for more autonomy, leaving SAG to start the Screen Players Union in 1945. At the time, diversity was a central concern of SAG: The union adopted a resolution in 1946 to oppose discrimination against Black people in the film industry. As television was introduced, the Television Authority of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America was formed in 1949 to represent television actors until joining AFRA in 1952, becoming the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). Yet that was not the only union merger. In 1954, the Screen Writers Guild united with the TV Writers Guild and the Radio Writers Guild to launch the Writers Guild of America (WGA). Later that year, AFTRA adopted a no discrimination clause for its 1952–1954 television Network Code, stating that producers shall not discriminate against any person due to race, sex, creed, color, or national origin.

Journalism Workers' Unions Converge Across Media Industries

Newspaper unions adopted a strategy of labor convergence that can be traced back to the 1950s. At the time, media chains had grown and become more powerful, adopting a strategy of corporate convergence, so newspaper unions considered merging with other media and communication workers' unions, consolidating their contract negotiations to strengthen their collective bargaining power. Unions such as TNG, ITU, and the

Communications Workers of America (CWA) discussed plans to merge and organize workers across the print, telecommunications, and broadcasting industries, among others. Their newspaper members came from both editorial and production departments in the United States and Canada.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the unions became more concerned with technological change. ITU was a craft union that had been losing members due to the introduction of computerized typesetting. Automation was streamlining the production process and deskilling newspaper workers' labor. After years of internal debate, ITU members finally voted to merge with CWA in 1986, joining the union's more than 600,000 members, most of whom were telephone and telecommunications workers. Recognizing the distinct nature of these members' work, CWA established a Publishing and Media Workers Sector in 1987.

Left on its own, TNG spent the next decade exploring merger options. In 1995, TNG, representing about 40,000 members, voted to endorse a merger with CWA. The merger agreement recognized that TNG could retain its autonomy and benefit from the expertise and enhanced power of a bigger union, which had become vital due to technological and corporate convergence. TNG also granted its Canadian members special recognition, founding TNG Canada, which could still access the international TNG benefits, among them the union's defense fund. TNG officially became part of CWA's media sector in 1997, while TNG Canada became TNG Canada/CWA. TNG Canada/CWA was officially recognized as autonomous within CWA in 2007, changing its name to CWA Canada.

In addition, the Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers Union (CEP) was formed in Canada in 1992 when three unions merged: the Communications and Electrical Workers of Canada, the Energy and Chemical Workers Union, and the Canadian Paperworkers Union. After the merger, CEP had 15,000 members in its media section. A major outcome of such labor convergence was that TTNG left the international TNG in 1994 and affiliated with CEP (now Unifor). The newspaper unions had shifted from craft-based to cross-industrial-type collective organizations.

Media Workers Unite in the Digital Era

Online employees at newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, started joining TNG locals like the NewsGuild of New York as far back as 1995, soon after the Web became commercialized. Likewise, TNG secured a collective agreement in 2001 between the *San Francisco Chronicle* and its online editorial and advertising employees. In the early 21st century, workers at new media companies also began organizing unions. For instance, NUJ won union recognition at AOL UK in 2005. In the United States, workers at *Truthout*, a non-profit outlet, became the first online-only news organization to join a labor union—the St. Louis Newspaper Guild (now United Media Guild) in 2009. In Canada, about 15 staff members at *Canoe.ca* joined Unifor 87-M in 2015, becoming the first group of workers at a stand-alone online news outlet to unionize in the country.

In June 2015, employees at *Gawker.com*, an online-only media news site, joined WGA, East, leading workers at more than 60 digital-only and legacy news media organizations to unionize with WGA, East or TNG. By November 2019, over 2,600 workers formed 23 unions with WGA, East, covering 64 media outlets, including VICE, HuffPost, Vox Media, and Hearst Media. Workers at *BuzzFeed* and legacy media outlets, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *The New Yorker*, had joined TNG. While these workers have typically organized around long-standing issues, such as decent pay, benefits, and more editorial control, they have also emphasized efforts to improve racial, ethnic, and gender diversity in the media workforce and in media content.

This movement to unionize workers at digital media outlets spread to Canada when VICE Canada employees formed a bargaining unit within CWA Canada local CMG in late 2015. *BuzzFeed Canada* and *The National Observer* workers joined CWA Canada in 2019 and 2020, respectively. VICE UK workers also organized, but management thwarted their unionization efforts in 2016, opting instead to launch an internal staff council. Yet the VICE UK NUJ chapel achieved official union recognition with the company in 2019. The VICE Canada and VICE UK workers said that the organizing efforts in the United States inspired them to organize.

Freelance Contributors and Student Interns Join Media Unions

Freelance writers have also united with media employees. In the United Kingdom, freelance journalists have been able to join NUJ since it was founded in 1907. The union created a special freelance branch in 1951, and by 1973, the union had secured agreements with some publishers that standardized rates for freelance contributors. In the 2000s, NUJ secured agreements, including for casual workers on employers' premises and an agreement with the Guardian Media Group in 2000 that lays out standard rates for freelance contributors. In Canada, CMG started a freelance branch in 1998. The CMG Freelance Branch united with the Professional Writers Association of Canada in 2020, forming the Canadian Freelance Guild within parent union CWA Canada. In addition, the Canadian Freelance Union was established in 2009 as a CEP local (now Unifor) to represent independent media workers. In the United States, the National Writers Union (NWU) was created in 1981 to represent writers in all genres, including journalism, advocating for better pay and treatment of workers. NWU has negotiated voluntary freelance contributors' agreements with media outlets including *The Nation*, *Jacobin*, and *In These Times* that set standards for rates, payment, and grievance procedures. In 2009, TNG local Pacific Media Workers Guild launched a special unit called *Guild Freelancers*, while the Chicago News Guild, another TNG local, started the bargaining unit Working Journalists for freelance media professionals in 2013.

In addition, labor unions have established programs to protect journalism student interns. NUJ has a special category of student associate membership that is open to journalism students or those who work in student media over the age of 16. Membership costs £30 for the duration of a student's studies. In 2011, CWA Canada launched a free associate members program to advocate for as well as provide student journalists and recent graduates with access to paid internship programs (such as the Canadian Press newswire service), mentoring opportunities, and professional development events. Unions have also advocated for language in collective agreements and in labor legislation that supports paid internships with an

educational value. *VICE Canada* is an example of a media outlet that incorporated such intern language in its first collective agreement in 2016. By representing freelance contributors and interns, media workers' collective organizations have further become big industrial unions.

Errol Salamon

See also Employment; Internships and Training Programs; See Appendix, Journalism Organizations; Labor Journalism; Newsroom Culture; Social Movements and Journalism

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LATINO NEWS MEDIA

Latino news is a product of bilingual journalism practices that require bicultural competencies to gather, assess, present, and disseminate news and information about, or relevant to, Latino communities. Offered in Spanish, English, or bilingually, it engages with the understanding of current affairs, but also the history, economics, politics, and culture of diverse groups, whether U.S.-born or immigrants, as well as their global liaisons with countries where they trace their origins.

Throughout more than 200 years, Latino news media have evolved from the transformations of the communities they serve. The landscape has been broad and heterogeneous in its patterns of production, distribution, and consumption. Its nature is related to the history, politics, and economics of U.S.-Latin American relations, the U.S. and Latin American news media industries, and how they have intertwined over the past two centuries.

While Latinos' needs of information and self-representation have remained constant, the ways they consume their news have been changing. Throughout the years, and more specifically in the last two decades, technological and economic forces have transformed general news media, and the fragmentation of ethnic media—which historically played a significant role in the development of immigrant communities—presents challenges and opportunities for bilingual news.

Latino news outlets' editorial profile has ranged from politically conservative to liberal and reflected the status of their audiences as exiles, refugees, immigrants, or U.S.-born Latinos. Ownership has varied from private to noncommercial, from subsidized enterprises to community-based projects, from U.S. Latino initiatives to Latin American foreign investment ventures. Latino news coverage has ranged from local to regional, national, international, transnational, and even translocal. An advocate for immigrants marginalized by discriminatory political, linguistic, and cultural policies in their beginnings, Latino news media today serve growing communities of Latino people born in the United States and abroad, educated in English, and speaking Spanish at home.

This entry addresses first the lack of representation of Latinos in general American news media compared to the U.S. population as a whole, then looks at the evolution of Latino print and broadcast news media. The entry ends with a review of Latino news media in the digital era.

The Latino News Media Gap

According to the U.S. Census and Pew Hispanic Center reports, in 2018, Latinos accounted for 18% of the U.S. population and will make up 24% in 2065. Two-thirds were Mexicans. Puerto Ricans comprised the second group (10%), followed by Salvadorans (4%), Cubans (4%), and Dominicans (3.4%), with the remainder from Central America, South America, and Spain. Three-quarters live in the West (41%) or the South (36%), followed by the Northeast (14%) and the Midwest (9%). One-third are immigrants, nearly 80% are U.S. citizens, and 1 million enter adulthood each year. In 2017, 70% of Latinos spoke English proficiently, and a majority of English-speaking Hispanics were bilingual. In 2018, their potential spending power was estimated as \$1.5 trillion, and, for the first time in history, more Latinos than Black Americans were eligible to vote in the 2020 presidential election.

Despite their rising proportion of the U.S. population, in the early 21st century, Latinos continued to have low participation in general English-language news media, and, when becoming visible, they tended to be portrayed through stereotypes as criminals, law enforcers, cheap labor, or hypersexualized beings. In a 2014 report, the National Association of Latino Independent Producers (NALIP) addressed this media gap: As Latino consumer power grew, relative Latino media presence shrunk. Stories about Latinos constituted less than 1% of mainstream news media coverage, and the majority of these stories featured them as lawbreakers. The NALIP survey of 19 primetime shows in 2013 revealed that there were no Latino anchors or executive producers in any of the nation's top news programs, and only 1.8% of news producers were Latinos.

Diversity surveys conducted by the American Society of News Editors in 2019 and 2020 revealed that Hispanics comprised less than 7% of

the workforce in newsrooms. These studies confirmed the trend noted by previous reports produced by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ). In 2005, the organization found that out of an estimated 12,600 stories aired by ABC, CBS, and NBC, only 105, or 0.83%, were exclusively about Latinos or Latino-related issues, a slight increase from 2004 when Latino stories comprised 0.72% of coverage.

The lack of representation of Latinos in mainstream media and the specific information needs of bilingual audiences stimulated the creation of Latino news. The interplay among diverse variables including demographic changes, news media industry dynamics, and technological innovation led to the heterogeneous participation of Latinos and Latino media in the general American news media landscape. The first attempts were print publications, later on broadcast media, and more recently in digital platforms.

Latino Press

In its early years, print news media were led by entrepreneurs or intellectuals seeking to inform about Latino affairs. While the first Spanish-language newspaper, *El Mississipi*, was founded in 1808 in New Orleans, it was with *El Habanero*, founded in 1824, the first newspaper in the Northeast, when Latino journalism started to flourish. The Mexican territories annexed to the United States in 1848 brought dozens of Spanish-language newspapers. They reported Latino affairs, local or international, and denounced human rights violations. One prominent figure of these times was Francisco P. Ramírez, who in 1855 founded the newspaper *El Clamor Público* (The Public Outcry) as a champion of the Mexican people and an organ of resistance.

Of almost 400 Spanish-language newspapers published between the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries, more than a hundred were founded before 1900. *El Tecolote* (1875) or *La Voz de México* (1862) stand out in the Southwest. In New York, Cuban Cirilo Villaverde founded *La Verdad* (1848), and José Martí, a revolutionary journalist, poet, and independence advocate, launched *La Patria* (1892). In Tampa, Florida, newspapers such as *La Traducción-Prensa* (1901)

or *La Gaceta* (1922) were launched to serve the settlement of Cuban groups in the area.

Around 200 newspapers were launched by the time a million Mexicans crossed the border. Most of them were established in the Southwest, such as *El Heraldo de México* (1916) or *Regeneración*, started by Ricardo Flores Magón, a Mexican journalist and social reform activist. Ignacio E. Lozano founded *La Prensa* in San Antonio (1913), a weekly newspaper directed at the educated-middle class Mexicans who were living in exile. Lozano developed an editorial company and, following Mexican immigrants who settled in Los Angeles, founded *La Opinión* in 1926. As of 2020, *La Opinión* was the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the United States.

By the end of the 19th century, more than 10,000 Cubans settled in Key West, Tampa, and New Orleans. They were also attracted to New York City and joined the groups of Puerto Ricans who arrived in the United States after the annexation of the island in 1898. Hispanic, Caribbean, and Central American immigrant and exiled groups promoted cultural projects in the East Coast and launched several newspapers such as *Gráfico* (1902), founded by the Spanish José Campubrí; *El Diario de Nueva York* (1948), by Dominican Porfirio Domenici; and *Diario de las Américas* (1953), launched in Miami by Nicaraguan Horacio Aguirre.

During the Great Depression, over half a million Mexicans were deported, and journalism production fell considerably along with reduced job opportunities. Later, the establishment of the Bracero Program in 1943 stimulated a new flux of Mexican immigrants. One notable journalist of these years was Ignacio L. López, who founded *El Espectador* (1933) in California to document the life of Mexican Americans and defend their rights through his editorials, essays, and investigative reporting.

Throughout the decades, producing bilingual journalism spurred networking synergies among Hispanic journalists, college students, activists, and organizations. Several free Latino community newspapers were launched during the 1970s, including *El Tecolote*, a weekly bilingual newspaper founded in San Francisco and one of the few publications from those years still being published

in 2020. *Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana*, formed in 1891, defended the use of Spanish language and cultural customs by Latino communities. Almost a century later, California News Media Association, founded in 1972, and the NAHJ, formed in 1984, were established to promote more participation of Latinos in newsrooms and empower the next generation of bilingual journalists. The Arizona Latino Media Association was founded in 1977 to promote diversity initiatives that deepen the scope, coverage, and understanding of Latino communities. After years of advocating for more Latinos in newsrooms, on June 6, 2020, NAHJ created Palabra, a multimedia platform by freelance members with the objective of create new opportunities for long-form journalism for and by Latinos.

While the growth of Spanish-language audiences during the second half of the 20th century increased local and regional Hispanic newspaper production, their English-language counterparts also launched publications in Spanish, though some of these publications have been short-lived. In 2019, *The New York Times* shut down its Spanish-language site (launched in 2016), BuzzFeed and Huffington Post closed their offices in Mexico, and *Hoy*, the Spanish-language publication of the *Chicago Tribune*, closed after 16 years in operation. Meanwhile, also in 2019, *The Washington Post's* new Spanish-language opinion section was inaugurated, and *USA Today* launched “Hecho en USA” or “Made in America,” a new series to tell the stories of Latino communities in both languages.

With the change of the century, some projects disappeared, while others were acquired by newly formed conglomerates. By 2012, Latino print news media ownership was concentrated in few groups: Impremedia (*El Diario-La Prensa*, *El Mensajero*, *La Opinión*, *La Prensa*, *La Raza*, and *La Vibra*); Tribune Inc. (*El Sentinel*-Orlando, *El Sentinel*-Fort Lauderdale, *Hoy Chicago*, and *Hoy Los Angeles*); McClatchy Company (*El Nuevo Herald*); The Washington Post (*El Tiempo Latino*); and El New York Daily (*La Hora Hispana*).

Although media outlets serving Spanish-speaking populations proliferated, they did not necessarily increase new local reporting capacity. In many communities, the loss of accountability

from dwindling local reporting was becoming evident. The long-term effects of the 2008 economic recession impacted bilingual print newsrooms, particularly evident in the late 2010s with the decline of advertising, the advent of digital and social media, and the sociodemographic transformation of their readership. The digital era became challenging for most bilingual news media ventures.

Latino Radio News

Spanish-language broadcasting in the United States has been closely related to the entertainment and music industries. Latinos listen to more radio than any other ethnic group. In 2017, Nielsen found that 95% of Hispanic consumers tuned into the radio in an average week. Yet it is worth noting that news/talk was the preferred format of only 7% of English-speaking Hispanics and in 2013, Arbitron found that 3.3% of Spanish-language audiences choose news/talk/information + talk/personality formats.

Many Latino music stations offered some news content, sometimes through local reporting, using the news departments of their owners, or through news service companies. News feeds have been offered by a variety of sources including Spanish Information Service, United Press International, and Radio Centro Group. In addition to accessing entertainment and getting informed, Latinos have used radio to maintain their culture since the early years. In the 1920s, San Antonio's KONO and Los Angeles's KFWB started the brokerage system that later expanded to audiences in the Southwest, South, and Northeast. By the 1940s, these broadcasts provided 264 hours of music, including some news, talk, and dramas. Between music, anchor-audience interactions, and news capsules, Latino airwaves have been building hybrid spaces for information and self-representation for a century now. One of the early examples of this trend is the work of Pedro J. Gonzalez and his program *Los Madrugadores* (The Early Risers). During the years he went on air, Gonzalez not only programmed music and entertainment but also alerted listeners to impending raids by federal authorities during a massive deportation wave in the mid-1930s. Almost a century later, Spanish-language personalities such as Los Angeles-based Eddie

Sotelo, known as *El Piolín (Tweety Bird)*, were seen as community leaders and conveyers of communal sentiments. In his radio show with an entertainment format, Sotelo included useful information about immigration, politics, and culture and promoted participation in the series of immigrant rallies throughout the United States during the spring of 2006.

Paradoxically, despite the negative political sentiment and the increase of anti-immigrant or anti-Latino public discourses during these years, some entrepreneurs found commercial opportunities during the early 20th century. It is worth noting the fluidity of the airwaves in the U.S.-Mexico border. In the 1920s, Raoul Cortez founded KCOR in San Antonio and broadcast content made its way to the United States from Mexican stations. In the 1950s, while most foreign language radio declined, Spanish-language weekly hours doubled. Around two-thirds of all foreign broadcasts were Hispanic, and by 1966, more than 300 radio stations were broadcasting in Spanish. During the 1970s and 1980s, the broker system changed into improved marketing and programming strategies.

Public and community Latino radio played an important role not only informing their audiences but also in activism against discrimination, racism, and exploitation. They were led by Spanish-language and bilingual community radio projects founded in urban but also in rural areas with majority presence of Latino workers, such as KBBF-FM, the first bilingual community radio station founded in 1973 and operated by Chicanos, KDNA-FM in Yakima, Washington, in 1979, and KSJV-FM in Fresno, California, in 1980. Several Spanish-language or bilingual projects remain serving information needs, such as *Noticiero Latino* by Radio Bilingüe, or *Enfoque Latino* in KPFK.

Spanish-language programming is still a relevant component of the American airwaves. In 2018, the Pew Research Center identified 31 stations with primarily Spanish news format in the United States. Around a third of them were located in Florida, with six in Miami-Dade County alone. As Latino radio and TV flourished in the latter half of the 20th century, they became profitable enterprises when advertisers reacted to the “Hispanic booms” documented by the U.S.

Census. The pan-ethnic labeling used by the U.S. administration became a culture-specific market niche blurring differences by homogenizing these heterogeneous groups into the “Latino media audience.” Although, in some cases, marketing campaigns would address subethnic niches such as Mexicans in Los Angeles, Cubans in Miami, or Puerto Ricans in New York.

Latino TV News

Hispanic television has undergone a profound transformation from its origins as ethnic media to its competitive niche in the general U.S. TV market today. While programming mainly entertainment, it has offered news content in various formats throughout more than 60 years. In 1955, Raúl Cortez founded KCOR-TV in San Antonio, selling it later to Emilio Nicolás and Emilio Azcárraga. They bought KMEX in Los Angeles and WXTV in New Jersey, creating the Spanish International Network (SIN). Licenses were purchased for San Antonio, Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Fresno, California, forming the Spanish International Communications Corporation (SICC), which relied on Televisa for importing Mexican telenovelas, movies, sports, and the flagship newscast *24 Horas*.

Telemundo, a prominent producer of *telenovelas* in Puerto Rico, started growing in the U.S. mainland during the 1980s. The Federal Communications Commission forced SIN/SICC to sell the monopoly, and a partnership between Hallmark Cards and Televisa acquired the consortium, changing the name to Univision. The network began broadcasting nationwide, including *Noticiero Univisión*, and Telemundo began a national newscast produced by CNN in Atlanta: *Noticiero Telemundo CNN*. During those years, CNN, BBC, and Reuters launched 24-hour Spanish-language news services.

With the development of two national and several local, regional, and transnational Latino-oriented networks, producing Latino TV news expanded the horizons. For-profit operations relied on entertainment to attract and conserve their audiences while seeking to maintain professionalism and credibility. As Hispanic TV became a strong player within the American news media landscape, so did their anchors and reporters. In

the beginning, broadcast journalists were mainly trained in or had professional experience in Latin America.

The news media mechanism behind Latino TV became a bridge between Latinos and Latin Americans as news offerings served Spanish-language dominant immigrants interested in local, national, and domestic affairs, but also news from their countries of origin. Between the 1980s and the 1990s, news production services expanded as media conglomerates consolidated. CNN launched its Spanish-language 24-hour news channel in 1997 and, in 2011, incorporated a new slogan: *CNN, vive la noticia* (live the news). In 1995, Telemundo opened its first studio on the West Coast, later acquired by Liberty Media and Sony Pictures Entertainment. The network founded the first news division in 1999.

Between the 2000s and the 2010s, restructuring continued with the participation of domestic and Latin American investors. Azteca America launched KAZA in Los Angeles; Fox International and RCN network (Colombia) founded MundoFox; Liberman launched Estrella TV in California; Comcast acquired NBC Universal Telemundo; Univision was acquired by Broadcasting Media Partners and later on announced the launch of Fusion in a joint venture with ABC News.

In recent decades, Latino TV news media production, dissemination, and consumption became increasingly complex in terms of geographical concentration and dispersion, language usage, generational, and technical gaps. There were several attempts to create new models catering to Latinos' information needs with a wide range of results. Since 2010, English-language news organizations have tried to increase their Spanish-language offerings in a number of ways. CNN and Fox News both launched Spanish-language projects covering Latino issues on their websites. CNN Latino ended in 2014 after barely 1 year, Fox News Latino, launched in 2010, shut down in 2016. NBC Latino was launched in 2012 and lasted only a year. Fusion's premier news offering, America with Jorge Ramos, was hosted by Noticiero Univision's anchor, but this daily show was scaled back to weekly in 2014.

The concept of news diversity is often equated with providing an alternative to the mainstream narrative. But many of these TV outlets function

as other profit-oriented U.S. mainstream media, with similar corporate structures and expansion patterns, and do not always meet the expectation of alternative programming. Despite these challenges, many bilingual reporters, anchors, and editors continue to strive to offer information to the communities they serve. Over the years, new generations of bilingual journalists, some of them born in the United States, have been joining the Latino news media production arena and helping news organizations respond to ever-changing bilingual and bicultural audiences.

The Digital Era

According to Pew Research, readership of Latino print publications has been decreasing since 2011. The daily circulation for most newspapers was no larger than 35,000. Average per-paper circulation for the top 20 Hispanic weekly and semiweekly newspapers in 2018 remained above 90,000. A map produced by the Craig Newmark Graduate School of Journalism at the City University of New York (CUNY) in 2019 found 244 newspapers and 32 magazines. All print publications were independently owned with small newsrooms or no newsrooms at all. Many do not produce original content. The largest groups were Impremedia (with publications in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Longwood, Florida), Mundo Hispánico (an Atlanta-based regional network of one local newspaper and several digital publications), and 22 Spanish-language newspapers owned by English-language newspaper companies. The map produced by CUNY in 2019 found hundreds of Spanish-language radio stations, but the majority with no news content at all. Only 37 radio stations offered some kind of news. Most of them were small and owned by Latino community members. Among them are HITN (New York), KBBF (California), Latino Public Radio (Rhode Island), Lexington Community Radio (Kentucky), and Radio Bilingüe (California). There are also Latino-led radio and audio productions that have been distributed nationally. *Latino USA* started in 1992 as an English-language radio show; as of October 2020, it was produced by the nonprofit Futuro Media and distributed by PRX as a public radio show and podcast. *Radio Ambulante* is a narrative podcast that covers Latin American

stories in Spanish and since 2016 has been distributed by NPR.

Latino news media keep offering news to immigrants and Spanish speakers, and to bilingual and English-dominant Latino groups. Television remains the most viewed platform among older generations, and news production is still dominated by Univision and Telemundo, followed by other outlets, such as Estrella TV and Azteca America. The growing presence of digital native Latino-oriented outlets reflects the evolving use of news media among U.S. Latinos and, more specifically, among younger generations. Recent years have seen the growth of diverse digital native bilingual projects for Hispanic millennials including Latino Rebels, Remezcla, We are Mi Tú, Flama, Pero Like, El Tímpano, El Migrante, Boyle Heights Beat, News Taco, Proyecto Pulso, Latinext, and Latino LA, to name a few of a growing number of ventures.

According to Pew Research, in 2006, the Internet was the fourth most-used source of news, behind television, radio, and newspapers; 10 years later, it became the most-used news source for Latino audiences. Behind this trend lie significant divides across generations, language use, and immigrant status among Latinos. In the post-broadcast era and with the advent of social media, Latino news production, dissemination, and consumption are transnational and bilingual. It goes beyond reporting in two languages but understanding linguistic and cultural diversity as well as innovative ways of storytelling in the digital age.

Jessica Retis

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Émigré News Media; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; South America

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LEE, IVY LEDBETTER

Ivy Ledbetter Lee (1877–1934) was one of the fathers of professional public relations as understood in the 21st century. Promotion has been practiced since antiquity, but public relations was born in America in the late 19th or early 20th century. (Historians do not agree on the precise date of the profession's birth.) Lee is largely credited with influencing the development of the profession by setting the ethical standards and philosophical underpinnings of how practitioners ought to work. An 1898 graduate of Princeton University, he reported for three New York newspapers before he left journalism in 1903 for the

promise of public relations. At first, he worked piecemeal or freelance jobs until George Parker, formerly press agent for President Grover Cleveland, secured Lee a position with the 1904 Democratic presidential campaign. After the campaign, they established a public relations firm, Parker and Lee, in 1904. The firm adopted the slogan "Accuracy, Authenticity, and Interest."

Lee developed his philosophy further and issued a Declaration of Principles. He was concerned with the common practice of many press agents, who lied or exaggerated to promote clients, causes, and events. Those press agents were often associated with P. T. Barnum-like circus antics. Lee saw the new field as something different. His public relations philosophy and principles molded and shaped 20th-century public relations and beyond.

Lee's Declaration of Principles

Because many press agents were disreputable, Lee wanted to ensure that the public, including reporters, knew he would aspire to higher ethical standards. He sometimes failed to meet his own expectations, leading to criticism, but he pivoted from the common practice of press agency. In doing so, he took public relations with him. Most press agents of the day communicated with the public to persuade them or pique their attention, but they were not interested in hearing from the public. The communication cut in only one direction. In his Declaration of Principles, Lee established communication that traveled both ways, declaring that he would be transparent, accurate, and accessible to the press. His declaration was truly the antithesis of press agency tactics in the early 1900s. Instead of a press agent, he saw his role as that of *publicity counselor*, and Lee is considered the first of those, even though he was not the first one to use the phrase. Lee was creating philosophies that did not yet have a nomenclature.

Lee began practicing public relations in the Progressive Era (early 1900s) when muckrakers were investigating and exposing corrupt business practices of the businessmen who became known as the *robber barons*. As a former Wall Street reporter, he advised his corporate clients to open their businesses to scrutiny and invite the public to understand their operations. If their practices

were unethical, he recommended that they adopt new operating methods and then tout the changes to the world. In short, Lee would practice a type of public relations that involved transparency and facts; the profession followed his lead.

Lee and the Railroad Industry

After establishing his firm, Lee landed the Pennsylvania Railroad as a client in 1906, and he began to apply his revolutionary principles. Lee was the first to issue a press release, and Lee was one of the first practitioners to have a seat at the management table. Lee thought it was important for public relations counselors to work as managers, and the Pennsylvania Railroad afforded him that opportunity. In 1908, Lee left his public relations agency for a job with the railroads, leading to a management position in 1912.

In 1913–1914, Lee helped the Pennsylvania Railroad win a battle to increase freight rates by 5%. Lee's advocacy for the railroad demonstrated that public relations has a role in influencing public opinion and American democracy. Lee helped the railroad with a campaign directed at both the public and government officials, specifically the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), advocating that the railroad needed the rate increase. The ICC relented and allowed higher rates. Lee's influence in persuading government officials to side with his client was an important victory. His reputation grew, and multiple railroads hired Lee to handle their publicity.

Lee and the Rockefellers

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was Lee's most notable client. The investigative reporter ("muckraker") Ida Tarbell exposed poor business practices of Standard Oil—owned by the Rockefellers—and the family was vilified as insensitive and corrupt. Additionally, the government ruled that Standard Oil was a monopoly and dismantled the company. As a result, the public disdained the Rockefellers. In this context, the Rockefellers hired Lee to repair its image following the Ludlow Massacre in Colorado. The Rockefellers were stockholders in Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I), which became embroiled in a dispute with workers. On April 20, 1914, coal miners were striking when

men were sent to make the strikers work again. Gunfire was exchanged, and several people were killed, including women and children. Lee managed the crisis through an outpouring of information from the coal mining company's perspective. His publicity campaign is noted for its successful tactics and for Lee's departure from his own principles.

Lee counseled coal company officials to talk to the press and distribute their side of the story through bulletins, titled "The Struggle in Colorado for Industrial Freedom." Lee's publicity machine churned out nearly 20 bulletins, distributing facts from the coal company's perspective. Critics called the veracity of the bulletins into question, and they were quick to note that Lee was peddling falsehoods. The bulletins were flawed, and Lee was operating against his stated principles. In 1915, Lee testified before a government commission that he did not verify the facts in the bulletins, but rather, he distributed what his client gave him. He was merely the conduit of the facts, not the authenticator of them. His critics suggested that distributing a client's account of the facts without first checking them fell short of the accuracy he had spoken of in the Declaration of Principles. Although he was able to help the Rockefellers and CF&I, Lee's own reputation took a hit. His tactics and strategies used in the campaign were effective, but his apparent disregard for the veracity of what he was disseminating cost him credibility.

Lee had a long-standing relationship with the Rockefellers, working with them for two decades. Lee worked on press relations, influencing the Rockefellers' coverage. Lee did this through several tactics and strategies. For instance, he encouraged and facilitated Rockefeller's accessibility to the press, persuading John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to speak with reporters and to treat them equally. Lee was able to rehabilitate the Rockefeller name through rigorous press relations.

Lee, the Red Cross, and World War I

World War I provided the burgeoning public relations profession an international platform to showcase its persuasive powers. President Woodrow Wilson (Lee's former professor at Princeton) knew he needed to sell America's participation in World

War I. To that end, he created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) and appointed George Creel, a journalist and politician from Missouri, to head it. It became known as the *Creel Committee*, and it is largely considered one of the most successful government public relations campaigns in U.S. history. Lee often engaged in public relations on behalf of corporations and captains of industry, but during World War I, he directed publicity efforts for the Red Cross. Lee overhauled the publicity program for the Red Cross, making the organization itself a part of the Allied cause. As publicity director of the Red Cross, Lee cooperated with the war communication effort of CPI to promote the humanitarian organization. When the war ended, Lee remained a volunteer with the Red Cross and provided help when the organization needed it.

Criticisms of Lee

Lee's hypocrisy regarding facts and truth during the Ludlow Massacre opened him to criticism; some of his critics even called him *Poison Ivy*. But it was not the only time controversy engulfed him. In 1927, he went to the Soviet Union and communicated what he saw. This made many people uncomfortable because American-Soviet relations were dicey during this period. He wanted the two countries to communicate with each other in order to find grounds for some semblance of peace. Additionally, Lee took on a client, the German Dye Trust, I. G. Farben. In 1934, its leaders were concerned that the National Socialist (Nazi) Party leader Adolf Hitler's recent rise to the head of government as Chancellor would negatively impact business with Americans. Lee said he never advanced Nazi propaganda, but rather, he just gave the German company some advice. Nonetheless, Lee's providing advice to the German company caused people to question his patriotism. Later, during the post-World War II trials in Nuremberg for war crimes, Lee's name was mentioned in connection with this client. Lee said he had advised I. G. Farben as he would any client; in other words, he recommended policy changes in the German government and advised that the government should then tell the people what they had done to make the country better. Even so, many people criticized him for having

had anything to do with Germany at this time in history. Lee's international public relations activities hurt him, and he had to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1934. Lee was cleared by the government, but his reputation was damaged. He died of a brain tumor later that year.

A Question of Paternity

Many consider Ivy Ledbetter Lee to be the father of modern public relations, but another public relations pioneer, Edward Bernays (1891–1995), offered a rival claim to that distinction. Bernays had promoted the profession, and he had a strong influence over its acceptance. Indeed, the profession is so rich and broad that undoubtedly more than one person helped to found it. In any case, Lee was surely among the pioneers; his bona fides have been described above in terms of his groundbreaking philosophy and techniques. In addition to Parker and Lee, he also founded the public relations firms, Ivy L. & Associates, and Lee, Harris, and Lee. His list of clients included a veritable who's who among American corporations, and he innovated many public relations strategies and tactics. On a macro level, he persuaded industrialists previously viewed as robber barons to change the way they conducted business—he got them to open their doors and explain their operations to the public. Lee sometimes fell short of his own standards, but he transformed a profession, and in the process, he influenced the history of the United States and many of its institutions.

Pam Parry

See also Access to Media; Agenda Setting; Bernays, Edward L.; Business Journalism; Framing; Muckrakers; Propaganda; Polls and Public Opinion; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Public Relations, History of; Spin; Transparency

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

For centuries, the dominant form of audience feedback has been the "letter to the editor," or LTE, and examples of LTEs can be found as early as the newsbooks of the mid-17th century. The standard form is that of a personal opinion or observation that is intended for publication—thus, an LTE is an "open letter" to the reading public rather than a private note to a publication's editor. The LTE format was so common in print newspapers and magazines by the 20th century that the form was adapted to electronic media, such as call-in radio shows, "talkback" features on TV news shows, and online comment forums (including social media feeds) tied to digital

media. This entry discusses LTEs dating back to the 1600s, the formalization of newspapers' LTE practices, journalists' attitudes toward LTEs, and academic research on LTEs.

Early LTEs

The earliest examples of LTEs can be found in European newsbooks published in the mid-1600s, and for some of those newsbooks, LTEs were a primary form of content (a notable example was a London-based newsbook from the 1640s titled *Packets of Letters*). As that was an era of widespread censorship and enforcement of criminal libel, most LTEs of the era were "signed" with pseudonyms or the writers' initials. Although a primary goal of such quasi-anonymity was to evade retribution for espousing antigovernment opinions, it also served an Enlightenment-era custom for opinions to be judged on their own merits, irrespective of attitudes toward the author. By the mid-1700s, the publication of "anonymous" LTEs was widespread among newspapers in Europe and European colonies, with signatures such as "A Citizen" or "A Farmer" quite common.

Some of the most influential anticensorship and pro-democracy essays of the 18th century were published in the form of pseudonymous LTEs: "Cato's letters" in the *London Journal*, "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" in newspapers of colonial America, and the "Federalist Papers," a series of essays written to promote the ratification of the U.S. Constitution written by "Publius." The identities of those writers were not revealed until years later, sometimes posthumously (e.g., "Cato" was only revealed as a collaboration by Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard after Trenchard's death, and the collaborators behind the Federalist Papers' "Publius"—James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay—were not revealed until after Hamilton's death).

The publication of LTEs is inextricably tied to the concept of "freedom of the press" and not just because arguments against censorship were published as LTEs. The famous 1735 libel trial against New York printer John Peter Zenger originated with the publication of essays formatted as LTEs in *The New York Weekly Journal* that were critical of colonial governor William Cosby. Cosby used antilibel laws to attempt to force Zenger to reveal

the identity of the anonymous writers; the case resulted in a number of legal precedents in favor of a free press, including the rights of editors to publish opinions (including anonymous LTEs) that are critical of government officials. A similar case in England later that century—the trial of the editor of *The Public Advertiser* for publication of the "Letters of Junius"—resulted in a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing only," which was essentially an acquittal.

Although many LTEs published in the 1700s were written by common people focused on more mundane local topics, it was not until the mid-19th century that LTE forums became more akin to the idealized "voice of the people." A notable example was in the *New York Herald*, in which editor James Gordon Bennett created a special space for LTEs titled "Our Complaint Book," which required signed letters that were often printed with rejoinders from Bennett (some historians also suggest that Bennett would sometimes publish letters of praise that he, himself, had written under various pseudonyms). By the early 20th century, many newspapers also created stand-alone sections for LTEs (in 1908, *The Chicago Tribune* launched its section, "The Voice of the People," and in 1931, *The New York Times* launched its section titled, simply, "Letters to the Editor"). Since then, it has become common practice for news media to group LTEs into a single section within a newspaper (usually in the opinion section) or a print magazine (usually in the front section). Digital publications generally provide specific sections for LTEs and other forms of audience feedback.

Formalization of LTE Practices

The formal packaging of LTEs in the early 20th century coincided with the professionalization of journalism, and the latter led to a gradual erosion of the more egalitarian aspects of earlier LTEs. In the United States, the 1947 report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, also known as *the Hutchins Commission*, called for news media to renew their commitment to providing space for people to share opinions and ideas. Many news professionals editorialized against the ideas in the Hutchins Commission report, but the social responsibility model of professional ethics

eventually influenced many news outlets to expand their accountability practices, including more attention to LTEs. Editorial practices involving LTEs became much more formalized by the mid-20th century. LTEs by then were considered a part of a publication's "accountability" portfolio, which also included publication of longer op-ed essays, editor's columns, ombudsman/"public editor" positions, and direct communications between editors and audience members.

By the late 20th century, the practice of soliciting, selecting, and editing LTEs was considered a primary task of editorial-page editors at larger publications (some even hired dedicated "letters-to-the-editor editors"); at small publications with small staffs, the task was usually handled by the top editor or editor/publishers. Specific protocols varied from publication to publication, but common were "must sign" requirements, length limits (commonly 250 words or fewer), limited frequency for "regulars" (typically only one LTE per month), prohibitions on personal attacks or potentially libelous claims, and taboo topics or forms ("no poetry," "no commercial pitches," "no religious proselytizing"). Some publications were more libertarian and would publish letters on any topic; others were more restrictive and would only publish letters responding to articles or opinion essays published in earlier editions. Many editors were also on guard against organized LTE campaigns in which people would sign their names to prewritten letters developed by advocacy groups and political campaigns, a practice derided as "astroturf" (or "fake grassroots").

Many newspapers and magazines received more LTEs than they could fit into the confines of devoted sections, and selection criteria were instituted that privileged letters based on the quality of writing and the sophistication of the opinions expressed. Large-circulation newspapers often would publish only a dozen or so LTEs from the scores or hundreds of daily submissions, while the more numerous community newspapers would publish almost every acceptable letter received. In the magazine sector, the practice was to only publish letters responding to content in the previous issue, making magazine LTE sections essentially fan mail forums.

Attitudes Toward LTEs

Scholarly studies of the demographics of published letter writers have found an editorial bias toward LTEs from the educated middle class. Meanwhile, editors began to more routinely reject (and eventually discard automatically) LTEs that did not bear the names of the writers, which created a chilling effect for participation from would-be writers from vulnerable populations. Many journalists also developed a cultural disdain toward those who submitted anonymous/pseudonymous LTEs, and many journalists considered LTE writers in general to be eccentrics, fanatics, or crackpots (what media scholar Karin Wahl-Jorgensen dubbed "the idiom of insanity").

The onset and eventual dominance of electronic media through the 20th century resulted in a number of adaptations and innovations concerning LTEs. Radio and, later, television news programs would sometimes read from letters sent to their stations, such as the "World Have Your Say" segments on BBC *NewsHour*, "Listener's Letters" on Australia's *By Design* radio show, and "letters from viewers" segment on the CBS news magazine *60 Minutes*. Telephone voicemail technology also allowed some newspapers to develop anonymous call-in versions of LTEs, often packaged separately from LTEs. In general, the items in the anonymous call-in lines were more egalitarian and less sophisticated than signed LTEs. A number of industry leaders and academics denounced such forums as unethical and coarse, but proponents noted that the forums were popular and provided a channel for expression to citizens who were essentially locked out of LTE forums by the rigorous gate-keeping procedures adopted earlier in the century. Scholarly studies of the features found that the topics discussed in the anonymous call-in forums were substantively different and more locally focused than those discussed in LTE forums, and thus expanded the "forum function" of local newspapers in meaningful ways.

In the early 21st century, the shift to digital publishing resulted in another adaptation of LTEs—the online discussion forum. As with the anonymous call-in forums of the later 20th century, online discussion forums were a source of professional disagreement, as proponents heralded the expansion of public discourse via those

forums and critics denounced the coarseness of online rhetoric (often conflating that coarseness with anonymity). Some news organizations shut down their online forums out of frustration with coarse rhetoric and a lack of personal accountability; many simply shifted the discussions onto social media channels as a way to distance the news outlet from the rhetorical free-for-all of online discourse. A few news outlets shifted to moderated online forums, using automated technology, user-flagging tools, and staff moderators to screen and block inappropriate posts. As online discussion forums expanded in popularity, participation in more traditional LTEs declined at many newspapers and magazines, although the forums continued to draw some submissions.

Research on LTEs

As a topic of scholarly research, LTEs have received some attention. Major histories of the press rarely mention LTEs, if at all, although there are several peer-reviewed journal articles that use LTEs to analyze historical moments or social movements of the past. There have been a few edited volumes of compiled LTEs, such as a series of collections of letters to *The Times* of London and a compilation of LTEs published in Soviet Union newspapers during the perestroika period. An interesting use of LTEs as source material was a stage play by the Bloomsburg Theatre Ensemble in central Pennsylvania, which used scores of LTEs from across two centuries to construct a historical overview of Bloomsburg and neighboring towns. Mostly, LTE studies have been in the form of research articles, conference papers, and practical essays.

A handful of studies from the late 20th century tried to determine the demographics of LTE writers, but were limited by only contacting the authors of published letters (and thus could not discern the demographics of LTE writers whose letters were not published). Some ethnographic studies have provided insights into the professional practices and attitudes of journalists toward LTEs and their writers. Professional organizations would occasionally conduct workshops or publish practical essays about LTE issues (*The Masthead*, which was published by the National Conference of Editorial Writers, had a few special issues in the

1950s and 1960s devoted to LTE management). Some studies compared the content of published LTEs against public opinion surveys and found little correlation—perhaps due to the subjective selection practices of editors. A significant number of theses and dissertations have analyzed LTEs to better understand social movements and minority subcultures, from environmental activists to feminists to the Amish. Even as scholars focus much more attention on digital forums, especially social media networks, the role of LTEs in society remains a rich source of historical and contemporary data about “the voice of the people.”

Bill Reader

See also Comment Sections; Commission on Freedom of the Press; Editorials; Op-Ed Page

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LGBTQ ISSUES, COVERAGE OF

Coverage of issues related to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender-identified, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals has a very mixed history, both in terms

of the amount of coverage and tone. This entry provides a brief examination of journalistic coverage of LGBTQ people and issues in the United States and points out the roles played by both mainstream and alternative journalistic sources in this reporting.

The basic trajectory of the coverage of LGBTQ people and issues can be best understood by examining key moments in LGBTQ history as lenses through which to view journalism's interest in the subject. Eight defining eras in LGBTQ news coverage can be broadly described in the following ways: indifference/sensationalism, stigmatization, the movement toward rights, pride, AIDS backlash, the inclusion of bisexuals and transgender individuals, the gaining of rights, and the monetization and commodification of LGBTQ culture. Each of these terms is explained in the following sections of this entry. Major changes can be seen in both the content of stories and the importance that news organizations placed on covering the community through these different eras, and each helps us understand public opinion of LGBTQ people, as well as the media's role in helping or hindering the community's social and political progress.

The abbreviation LGBTQ came about through its use by several major activist groups in the late 1990s. The concern of these organizations was that the then-common use of *gay* as an umbrella term had lost its usefulness for describing a very diverse community, and that a new term was needed that represented a more fluid understanding of sexuality. While the first four letters in the abbreviation are self-explanatory, the "Q" is a more recent addition, one that has two possible meanings. The most associated meaning is "queer," representing the reclaiming of a once offensive and pejorative term used to deride anyone who deviated from heteronormative sexuality. It is a broad term, in that anyone identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender can also claim it. Many in the community see the reappropriation of the term as an expression of power. The second meaning associated with the "Q"—though not used as broadly—is *questioning*, a term some activists say shows the inclusivity of the community as a safe space for those whose sexual identity is still forming.

Indifference/Sensationalism

For much of history, homosexuality was not considered a defining feature of one's life—not even of one's sexuality. Some societies endorsed it, some tolerated it, and many considered it as simply a variation of human sexuality. The word *homosexuality* was not even used before the 19th century when psychologists adopted a medicalization of deviance approach to studying what was considered aberrant behavior. This authority provided by psychologists and social scientists provided legitimacy to the tenor of most news coverage.

While late 19th- and early 20th-century newspaper and magazine coverage of any issue related to homosexuality was practically nonexistent, editors did make the exception for sensational reporting of events. The obscenity trials of Oscar Wilde, and the controversial research on sexual "inverts" from scholars such as Havelock Ellis and Magnus Hirschfeld, whose writings were among the first to describe homosexuality as a normal variation of human sexuality, did attract press attention. Aside from the sensational and the provocative, stories about homosexuals simply did not exist. Long considered unspeakable in polite society, newspapers and magazines remained loath to consider the community and its concerns newsworthy.

This era also represented a change in approach to covering stories by newspapers, many viewing their roles as defenders of the public interest, especially on issues concerning morality. Exposés and investigative reporting began to appear in the nation's metropolitan newspapers and magazines. They most often described homosexuals as deviants, morally corrupt and needing to be controlled. They embraced stereotypes and used terms such as *unnatural*, *sinful*, and *diseased* in their descriptions of homosexuals and their place in society. It was very clear from mainstream coverage that the journalistic establishment saw its role as one of protecting wholesome society from the homosexual.

Any positive portrayals of gay life were found in the often poorly funded and narrowly distributed newsletters written by gays for a gay audience. Some exceptions, reaching relatively large readerships, did exist. *One Magazine*, targeted primarily to gay men, and the defendant in a

government lawsuit aimed at stopping its publication on grounds of obscenity, and *The Ladder*, its counterpart marketed to lesbians, appeared in the early 1950s and were the first publications to reach a national audience, albeit covered in an unmarked wrapper. Their content, while groundbreaking for the time, more often than not resembled the publication's packaging—a keen awareness of the homosexual's place in broader society. Their call was for toleration and assimilation, not liberation.

Stigmatization

The paternalistic attitude of the mainstream press continued throughout the mid-20th century in the United States. Coverage by news organizations often took the form of lurid stories that gave readers a purported insider's view of gay bars and other hangouts. Reporters often cooperated with law enforcement in undercover sting operations and mass arrests. Advice columns, usually citing medical professionals to provide authority, appeared in general interest magazines with instructions on how to spot the homosexual in public, and in cautionary tales warning parents of the early signs of homosexuality, and what they should do to stop it in their children. News organizations gave credibility to doctors promoting "cures" for sexual deviance. News coverage, on the whole, was not to promote an understanding or even tolerance of homosexuality, but to warn the public of its presence and its dangers.

The Movement Toward Rights

Even news organizations known for their progressive editorial stances and strong reporting on the civil rights movement were not ready or willing to extend the same considerations to the nascent beginnings of a gay and lesbian rights movement that coincided with the 1969 Stonewall Inn uprising in New York City. Even in covering the event—the first time that the patrons of a gay bar fought back against a police raid—newspapers clung to their stereotypical descriptions of the protesters' clothing and mannerisms, even mocking their resistance with language that questioned their ability to fight back as "real" men would. Homophobic attitudes were widespread in the

male-dominated media world of the time, with some publishers even giving direct orders to limit any positive coverage of the community.

Pride

The 1970s represented a time of steady and significant political and social growth for the gay community. While slow to develop, mainstream news coverage of gay life and issues began to increase as well. On June 28, 1970, the world's first Gay Pride event—then called the *Christopher Street Liberation Day March*—was held in New York to commemorate the 1-year anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion. And while relegated to the bottom right corner, it was still front-page news in the following day's *The New York Times*. Gone was the name-calling and reliance upon stereotypes to describe the marchers. And while condescending descriptions of the community and its causes has never fully disappeared from news coverage, the nation's newspaper of record managed that day to humanize the marchers, providing serious coverage of their demands for justice.

In 1973, members of the American Psychiatric Association voted to remove homosexuality from its diagnostic manual as a mental illness. As would be expected, news organizations gave considerable coverage to the decision, but in an apparent nod to objectivity, gave significant space and airtime to those who opposed the decision. One article quoted a dissenting psychiatrist who compared homosexuality with diseases like polio.

Press attention to the gay and lesbian community continued to increase throughout the decade, with much of it dealing with the increased political strength that the community had obtained in some of the nation's major metropolitan areas. Mainstream press attention to issues important to the community was, in large measure, the result of lesbians and gay men—some out, some not—working in the nation's newsrooms and pushing their organizations to provide more stories on the community. Often, these journalists had made contacts with gay and lesbian political leaders, both professionally and personally, who not only fed them story ideas, but who advocated for their coverage. While some publishers and news directors did not grasp the importance of covering gay and lesbian issues, others simply did not see them

as a major part of their audience, or not of large concern to it. The leaders of some news organizations even appeared hostile to stylistic changes, such as replacing the term *homosexual* (long eschewed by community leaders as being too clinical and stigmatized) with the more popular *gay*. *The New York Times* resisted using the word *gay* until 1987, and it took the Associated Press until 2006 to change its stylebook to restrict the use of the word *homosexual*.

If the mainstream media were still hesitant to acknowledge the massive political and cultural changes occurring in gay and lesbian life during the 1970s, alternative publications, mostly gay owned, were eager to fill the void for their audiences. Magazines and newspapers that began in the late 1960s were coming into their own and oftentimes scooping the major press with stories on the community. Publications such as *The Advocate*, a national publication, and metropolitan newspapers such as Chicago's *Gay Life*, and the *Washington Blade*, serving the National Capital Region, grew both their readership and influence. Their content was political, and unlike earlier publications, they called for gay rights, not mainstream tolerance.

AIDS Backlash

From the moment that *The New York Times* ran its 1981 story of a new and fatal disease affecting mostly gay men, the association between AIDS and homosexual behavior was indelibly imprinted on the public consciousness. Before the medical community settled on the HIV/AIDS label for the virus and its related diseases, early newspaper accounts referred to it as *G.R.I.D.*, standing for gay-related immune deficiency. Some mainstream news organizations even used the words *gay cancer* and *gay plague* in describing a disease that also was contracted by heterosexuals, including but not limited to IV-drug users and blood transfusion recipients.

In the decade following Stonewall, social and political progress of lesbians and gay men was slow but steady, helped along with the decision of the American Psychiatric Association to change its diagnostic manual, the passing of state laws and city ordinances that for the first time provided a semblance of protection for their gay citizens, and even the first openly gay elected officials.

Large-scale polls began to indicate less overall hostility toward the gay and lesbian community, as well as more support for their basic civil rights.

Some conservatives and members of the "religious right" who had long opposed any legal recognition for gays and lesbians used the media-perpetuated association of the community with AIDS to create a backlash against hard-fought for rights. Some—including well-known figures—publicly called AIDS the *perfect* disease because of the kinds of people it was targeting. AIDS hysteria became a prominent theme of news and television coverage, and the voices of former allies of the community fell silent. Ronald Reagan, who became U.S. president in 1981, first mentioned the word AIDS publicly in 1985, 4 years after its first mention in the press. By then, known deaths in the United States from AIDS neared 6,000. News coverage began to follow public opinion polls showing a reversal in public opinion on gay rights, and the public's growing perception of AIDS as a gay problem. More stories on crimes against gays, the so-called "gay bashings" appeared. More than one network news organization ran stories explicitly about the decline in gay cultural clout.

"B" and "T" Join the Alliance

The term *LGBT* was being used as early as the 1990s in the United States, promoted by activists who wanted to avoid the limitations embodied by the binary terms *gay* and *lesbian*, limitations that they saw as being as problematic as the male/female definitions of gender in a heteronormative understanding of human sexuality. It was not until the mid-1990s that gay pride parade organizers in San Francisco decided to include bisexual and transgender as part of the official event title. That same year, *The New York Times* published an article that explained to its readers the rationale, as well as the fraught history of the addition of the additional monikers.

While bisexuals were known to have been at Stonewall and other major events for the LGBT community, their presence was not particularly noted by either the mainstream press—or by gays and lesbians. Generations of bisexual women and men never found full acceptance within the gay and lesbian movement. When AIDS struck, mainstream news organizations painted bisexuals as

the most dangerous of individuals, easily capable of spreading the “gay” disease into the heterosexual population. A *Time* magazine cover story at the time referred to bisexuals as the *true pariahs* of the AIDS crisis. Even today, stories about LGBT victories or tragedies rarely make any special note of bisexuals, or of their role in the community.

Transgender is a term used to identify people whose gender identities are different from what they were assigned at birth. The Associated Press Stylebook, *The New York Times*, and Reuters have all in the past few years added guidelines on how to properly identify transgender individuals. The concern that these news organizations now show is far removed from the time when the press would lump anyone whose dress or behavior was out of line with the normative expectations of their gender, as transvestites. This term was used in both pejorative and obviously inaccurate ways.

When drug “cocktails” were developed in the mid-1990s, and as HIV/AIDS became considered more of a chronic illness, rather than a death sentence, news coverage slowed. Even while the illness continued to kill hundreds of thousands around the world—particularly in poorer countries and on the African continent—the attention of U.S. media to the LGBT community changed direction.

A Seismic Shift

The past decade has presented itself as nothing short of a transformation in terms of public opinion about, and media coverage of, the LGBT community’s presence within the life of this, and many other nations. Activists—many involved in civil rights activities on behalf of other marginalized groups—have referred to the pace of LGBT progress over this time as stunning in its speed and far-reaching impact. From the 2015 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which confirmed same-sex marriage as a Constitutional right, journalists have documented legal victories and cultural triumphs for the LGBT community. While there have been moments of backlash both in the United States and abroad, mostly fueled by political rhetoric, and of which journalists have covered, the 21st-century news story of LGBT people and communities has been one of unimaginable progress.

Monetized Marginalization

While the news stories of LGBT progress have been welcomed by most all members of the community, some have pointed out the losses that have accompanied the cultural mainstreaming of LGBT people. The loss of “gay culture,” including traditional meeting places and specialized publications, has been lamented by some members of the community. The rise of “gay chic” and its open discussion in mainstream news stories, as well as in hyper-targeted advertisements to a once-ignored market, have all been issues covered by the mainstream press. Some members of the community believe that mainstream media, especially advertising, have taken new and enthusiastic interest in them because they see them as consumers. Some argue that “straight” media have appropriated authentic LGBT culture for its monetary value. Stories have appeared in both the mainstream and alternative presses about the potential loss of LGBT history and have even discussed whether being mainstreamed—such as in the legalization of same-sex marriage—serves to assimilate LGBT people at the cost of a unique and important culture.

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See also Advocacy Journalism; Alternative News Media; Diversity in Journalism; LGBTQ Journalism

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LGBTQ JOURNALISM

For many individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer, the mainstream news media have historically been viewed with distrust and a belief that interest in their lives fell well beyond the concern of most reporters and editors. This perception was not without grounding. Until the late 20th century, news coverage was often restricted to sensationalized stories focused on salacious details about marginalized lives and illegal sexual behavior. News workers, for many years, were actively discouraged from reporting on the LGBTQ community apart from the occasional crime story, and in many cases, they were outright forbidden to provide coverage that would lend any sense of legitimacy to the community.

While still strained, the relationship between news organizations and members of the LGBTQ community has evolved along with changing legal and cultural standards. In many instances, an increase in coverage has followed major events, such as the decriminalization of gay sex and the later recognition of same-sex marriage. In others, journalists and their organizations have been on the front lines, working to advance the interests of LGBTQ-identified people through more nuanced and affirmative coverage. When they did fail by ignoring, misrepresenting, or falling behind the curve of LGBTQ progress, the alternative gay press has stepped in to provide an important service to the community, as well as driving increased attention by the mainstream press.

This entry examines the history of LGBTQ journalism, debates and controversies about LGBTQ journalism, and its evolution from self-funded and community-based endeavors to its integration into mainstream and for-profit publishing venues.

The Beginnings of the Gay Press

It was from a dearth of serious reporting—along with the societal and cultural changes brought

about by World War II—that the early gay press was born. The war, which brought thousands of people together in large cities to either train for military service or work for industries serving the war effort, meant that gay men and lesbians suddenly found that they were not alone in the world. Communities—often secretive—began to form, along with the need for a way to communicate and connect their members.

The first recorded attempt at a gay publication came in 1947 with the production of a handful of copies of *Vice Versa*, whose title was a play on words of the then “crime” of homosexuality, and the publisher’s recognition that the newsletter was intended strictly for people who went against society’s expectations. Its creator both handed out the newsletter and recruited writers for it, at known lesbian hangouts in Los Angeles. Resembling what some scholars of LGBTQ history have described as more of a college term paper than a magazine, it contained far more fiction, personal short stories, letters to the editor, and information about community events than anything resembling hard news. Its publisher insisted that it contain no vulgarity or sexualized content in order to protect it from obscenity charges by the U.S. Postal Service and to protect its contributors from the city’s vice laws that forbade any forum promoting homosexuality. *Vice Versa* only published nine issues, but it served as an important bridge to the sleeker, more daring gay and lesbian journalism that appeared in the 1950s and beyond.

An Argument Over Direction

The 1950s saw the establishment of draconian laws passed at all levels of government aimed at obliterating the public presence of anyone or any establishment seen as contrary to American values. While the decade is probably most famous for its “Red Scare” attack on anyone suspected of communist leanings, homosexuals fared no better. The administration of President Dwight Eisenhower moved to purge all known or suspected homosexuals from all government and military service. Simply serving a drink to a known homosexual was enough in many states for a bar to lose its liquor license, and for the patron to be arrested. Congregating with other homosexuals—even in private homes—often resulted in raids by vice

police. Yet, it was in this most hostile of environments that gay and lesbian journalists—many of whom who had worked in mainstream news—founded some of the most important early publications for the community.

One, a publication targeted to gay men, and *The Ladder*, its equivalent for a lesbian audience, symbolized the new direction that 1950s gay journalism would take: more hard news about the community, bolder editorials pushing for acceptance and assimilation, the use of more sexualized (though not pornographic) images to draw in readers, and the push for nationwide distribution. *One* was started by members of the Mattachine Society, one of the earliest gay and lesbian rights groups in the United States. Some members deemed the publication too political and too reactionary, and 2 years later published their own magazine, the more conservative *Mattachine Review*. Its articles and opinion pieces focused on being tolerated by society and placed much of the responsibility for doing so on its readers, advising them to behave and dress in a manner more fitting with mainstream—read heterosexual—culture.

One and *The Ladder*, however, often pushed the limits of 1950s' propriety, particularly in their calls for equality over mere tolerance. All three publications became regular targets of FBI and local law enforcement attention. While these publications gave lesbian and gay subscribers the opportunity to read about topics related to their lives, topics never discussed in the mainstream press, disagreements among their editorial staffs over just how explicit or "radical" their content should be had two major repercussions. First, they ensured that the three publications would not survive the political and societal upheavals of the coming decade. Second, the winners of the editorial arguments became well positioned to lead a new generation of publications that would be in keeping with the civil rights demands and cultural changes that were to become the hallmark of the 1960s.

News and Advocacy With a Side of Titillation

While *One*, and the *Mattachine Review* continued publishing until 1967, and *The Ladder* until 1970, new, glossier, and more bold publications

made their debut throughout the decade. Gay and lesbian periodicals of the 1960s distinguished themselves from earlier publications by their willingness to be more political (especially concerning equal rights), and more concerned with covering events by the community, such as the protests and picketing that occurred in front of government buildings (including the White House), as hard news worthy of reporting. Publications with names like *Drum*, *Vector*, and the *Homosexual Citizen* emerged during this time, their editors and reporters calling what they were doing "advocacy journalism." While distributed nationally, these were city-centered publications, which made advertising revenue possible from the local bars and clubs. Many, including New York City's GAY, never shied away from including some "beefcake" photos of naked or near-naked men to draw in the reader, hoping that they would stay for the articles.

Though there were many attempts to gain rights, or at least toleration, by early lesbian and gay leaders, it was the 1969 Stonewall Uprising that is seen by many LGBTQ historians as the beginning of the modern gay rights movement. The Stonewall Inn (now a National Monument, the first ever dedicated to LGBTQ rights and history) was at the time a small bar in New York's Greenwich Village known for its lively dance floor and drag shows. It was also known among its clientele for the regular raids that the NYPD vice squad would make, often arresting the same people over and over again. The bar made national news when in the early morning of June 28, the bar's patrons began to fight back. Coverage by the mainstream press, notably *The New York Times* and CBS News, was filled with stereotypical, homophobic, and stigmatizing language. The tenor of the coverage was light-hearted and included demeaning jokes, even though police officers were injured and many bar patrons were hospitalized.

In the aftermath of the uprising, some publications, including New York's *Come Out!* demanded of their readers a revolutionary fervor—as well as direct action—in securing legal rights for gay and lesbian people. The editors and reporters were unapologetically radical, not only discarding the norms of objective journalism but also calling for the total dismantling of heteronormative cultural

and political institutions—even advocating for the overthrow of the U.S. government.

A New Type of Journalism for a New Type of Community

The 1970s saw the proliferation of newspapers and magazines targeting the lesbian and gay reader. With names like *Gay Flames*, *Gay Liberator*, and *Killer Dyke*, some of the new journalism reflected what their editors saw as their natural place in the footsteps of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activities of the preceding decade. They were unapologetic in their embrace of systemic cultural change and for making the type of demands associated with the earlier movements. In what might appear the opposite approach to the often radical stances taken by some of these publications, the decade also saw the growth—and rebranding—of *The Los Angeles Advocate* into *The Advocate*, arguably the most prominent magazine targeted to gay men and lesbians—and by far the largest. By the end of the decade, it had a biweekly circulation of nearly 100,000 and was available in mainstream bookstores and magazine stands. *The Advocate* represented the first true national newsmagazine for the lesbian and gay community, departing from most other lesbian and gay publications, and their often-exclusive concentration on matters of community advocacy, political activism, or sexuality. *The Advocate* offered it all, becoming to its readers the gay *Time* or *Newsweek*. While not alone, *The Advocate* was preeminent among magazines for the lesbian and gay reader to adopt the principles and norms of professional journalism. Serious coverage of wide-ranging topics became the focus of the magazine's coverage. Even an adherence to objectivity—a hard sell to a readership used to being ignored or vilified by most media—resulted in serious reporting, some of it even picked up by the mainstream press.

A “Shared” Tragedy

The professional standards put in place at *The Advocate* and other publications for gay and lesbian readers were perfectly timed for the arrival of the most important story since the push for gay

rights hit the front pages—AIDS. While the first mainstream coverage of what would become the AIDS epidemic appeared in a 1981 article in *The New York Times* titled “Rare Cancer Seen in 41 Homosexuals,” the first article to report on cases appeared several months earlier in the gay publication, *The New York Native*. While news coverage of the AIDS crisis developed along with the numbers of infections, much mainstream media coverage focused on it being a “gay” illness, filling the papers and TV coverage with stories that stigmatized and judged gay sexual behavior, as well as intravenous drug users, sometimes conflating the two. For opponents of the achievements of the gay community over the previous decades, this news coverage provided the perfect ammunition. Some called it the *perfect* disease, one that was killing society's undesirables—homosexuals and drug addicts. And while mainstream media might not have reverted to the overt demonization of gay people seen in previous decades, their coverage impacted both public opinion and public policy in ways often detrimental to the gay community. Fears that AIDS could be transmitted through mosquito bites or toilet seats made their way into news accounts, and calls for quarantining those with AIDS, banning positive children from schools, and even tattooing people with AIDS so that they could be identified made their way into public consciousness and discussion. Though most mainstream reporting was far more responsible as a whole, it was often the gay press that led the way in covering the virus and its impact on gay life and culture. One magazine in particular, *POZ*, which launched in 1994, was targeted specifically to the HIV-positive and AIDS community. With its mixture of hard news, features, and lifestyle stories, it was regarded by many in the community as one of the most important sources of information during the height of the crisis.

From Marginalized to Monetized

The 2000s and beyond have seen a proliferation of media that are hypertargeted to segments of the LGBTQ market—*Curve* and *LMag* for lesbians, *Original Plumbing* for the trans male community, *Bi Community News* for bisexuals—all following the economic strategies of mainstream media by

providing specialized content and on-demand access. Major mainstream news organizations, including *The New York Times*, CNN, MSNBC, and the *Los Angeles Times*, now assign regular beat reporters for LGBTQ issues, many covered by out members of the community. While much of early 21st-century coverage has been positive and far less stigmatized than previous reporting, the reason may be as much because of the discovered monetary value of reaching LGBTQ-identified people as in genuine social progress or changes in journalistic norms. And while major social change, such as the legalization of same-sex marriage and the inclusion of LGBTQ characters and storylines in mainstream entertainment, has certainly driven much recent journalistic coverage, the journalism of the future is perhaps as dependent on the ability to make profits by covering the community as from any sense of journalistic responsibility. Inherent in this concern is that LGBTQ-identified people may once again be viewed as one dimensional, only this time not as sexual deviants or threats to the social order, but as an untapped source of income.

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See also Advocacy Journalism; Bias; Self-Publishing

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LIBEL

Libel is a legal term for a published statement that is false and harms the reputation of its subject. Such statements that are spoken, not published, are called *slander*. In legal parlance, the term *defamation* is used interchangeably with libel and slander. American law generally treats libel and slander the same, though libel has traditionally been considered more harmful than slander, because printed matter can travel farther and last longer than spoken words.

Knowledge of libel law is key to understanding the role of journalism and public commentary in a democratic society. Not only are libel suits among the most common legal threats journalists and commentators encounter, libel law is the central legal mechanism by which societies regulate the bounds of permissible criticism in the public sphere. Libel law is subject to evolving social and cultural norms and is impacted by the use of new communication technology, therefore it reflects the complexities of these dynamics. Landmark American libel cases have been a wellspring of fundamental First Amendment principles and doctrine. This entry discusses the development of libel law in the United States, the elements of libel, defenses against libel claims, damages awarded when a plaintiff wins a libel suit, and issues in libel law that have arisen as a result of digital media.

Development

Libel is an ancient concept, tied to basic elements of society like public communication, reputation, and community standing. Defamation was a punishable crime under Roman law and was considered a sin by the Christian church. Libel law was partly developed as a civilized alternative to violence—like duels—for people seeking to avenge an injury to their honor. English law was especially concerned with seditious libel—publications that threatened government sovereignty or power. Such pernicious printed matter could come in the form of criticism of the government, its laws, or its leaders, so criminal prosecutions and civil lawsuits were used to limit libel and its presumptive “bad

tendency” to sow dissent and discord among common people.

Libel law in the United States developed out of English common law principles of the colonial era, but the Americans also deviated in key ways. Perhaps the most important split was colonists’ insistence that the truth of a statement should be a defense in a libel suit. Traditionally, because a libelous statement was presumed to undermine public order—particularly in the context of criticizing official authority—its truthfulness was considered irrelevant, if not an exacerbating factor. “The greater the truth, the greater the libel,” was a common understanding of the legal standard, under which a judge determined whether a statement was libelous before submitting the case to a jury to decide simply whether the accused was responsible for its publication. But libertarian minded colonists, most notably in the 1735 acquittal of John Peter Zenger for seditious libel, argued that whether a statement was true or not, and therefore libelous or not, was a factual question for a jury to consider, especially in cases of political criticism. Subsequently, in the early republic, courts recognized a narrow privilege for truth plus “good motives and justifiable ends,” which could include commentary about the official conduct of elected leaders, based in the democratic value of a well-informed public. However, lawmakers were reluctant to altogether abandon prosecution for criticizing the government, and laws against sedition were enacted, selectively enforced, and retracted off and on amid national security crises from the late 1700s to the 1940s.

American libel law has mostly developed through civil law, wherein individuals sue publishers claiming damages for false and harmful statements. Throughout most of the 19th century, libel doctrine was rooted in protecting the political and commercial reputations of society’s “best men” from harm, with narrow exceptions for truthful or otherwise justified publications. Near the turn of the 20th century, a more pervasive and intrusive news media and an urbanizing and socially mobile public that was increasingly concerned with personal reputation prompted more libel suits involving a broader range of classes of plaintiffs. In particular, such suits offered an increasingly viable legal toehold for women engaged in the public sphere for the first time, though they remained

more likely to win cases prompted by libelous references to domestic virtue than professional competence. Meanwhile, the politically powerful commercial press achieved some success in lobbying for more lenient standards for libelous errors committed amid a media landscape of industrialized speed and national reach, such as precursors to the wire service defense and single publication rule.

Libel doctrine remained overall plaintiff-friendly into the 20th century, a fact which public officials and community leaders in segregated Southern states exploited in using libel suits to silence and scare off proponents of African American civil rights, from local movement leaders to national press outlets. The case that changed this dynamic, and American libel law itself, was *New York Times v. Sullivan*, in 1964. In that case, involving an advertisement accusing Alabama law enforcement officials of harassing and mistreating activists, the U.S. Supreme Court reasoned that libel suits by public officials could undermine the democratic value of a free press, and therefore ruled that any state’s libel law must account for the “profound national commitment,” enshrined in the First Amendment, “that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open.” The Court established a new constitutional standard under which public officials must show not only that a statement was false and harmful to their reputation, but that it was published with “actual malice”—knowledge that it was false or reckless disregard for whether it was true or false. In subsequent rulings, including *Curtis Publishing v. Butts* (1967), *St. Amant v. Thompson* (1968), and *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.* (1974), the Supreme Court sought to clarify the precise legal meaning of actual malice and extended the standard to cases involving public figures as well as officials.

Courts’ broad interpretation and application of the *Sullivan* standard in the latter decades of the 20th century created a more speech-protective libel landscape. Nevertheless, some scholars declared a “libel crisis” in the 1980s and 1990s, having gathered empirical research that found neither plaintiffs nor defendants were satisfied with how they were served by the process. Calls for reform saw limited success amid battles over trade libel—suits corporations filed over claims

about their products—and emerging uncertainty created by the widespread use of new digital publishing platforms.

Legal Definition

In order to be considered libelous, a statement must be both false and harmful to its subject's reputation. An absence of either element, that is, a true statement that is harmful, or a false statement that is not harmful, means the statement is not libelous. (Massachusetts is the only jurisdiction to have held otherwise—allowing a true statement made about a private person in reference to a private matter to be grounds for a libel suit in *Noonan v. Staples* [2010].)

Libel is mostly a matter of civil law in the United States—a plaintiff files a lawsuit for damages rather than seeking a criminal prosecution by the government. Although 14 states have criminal libel laws, their use is infrequent and successful prosecutions rare. Since the 1964 *Sullivan* ruling, 38 states have struck down or significantly weakened their criminal libel laws.

There is no federal libel law, so libel lawsuits are subject to the varied doctrines of state law. When federal courts hear libel cases because the parties are in different states or because the suit raises a federal constitutional issue, state law standards apply.

States traditionally define libelous statements as falsehoods that lower a person's reputation in the estimation of their community, exposing them to hatred, ridicule, contempt, or shame. Plaintiffs typically demonstrate this as harm to their ability to associate or do business in their community. The types of false statements that are considered libelous are therefore highly context-dependent and subject to evolving social norms, but the most common and long-standing examples include accusations of criminal activity or a lack of professional competence or integrity. The types of statements that used to be considered libelous, but are no longer, include those misidentifying a white person as non-white or falsely stating someone was gay.

Elements

Generally, plaintiffs must prove all of the elements of libel in order to win a civil suit. These can be summarized as showing that the defendant made a harmful and false factual statement about the plaintiff, and that it was published with a sufficient level of fault.

Defamation

The element of defamation is the harm element, under which the plaintiff must show that the statement meets the applicable legal standard for lowering their reputation in the estimation of the community, limiting their ability to associate or do business. Libelous statements can be defamatory per se or per quod. Those that are defamatory per se are obviously harmful, such as a false accusation of criminal activity. Statements that are defamatory per quod are harmful through implication or within additional context, included or omitted. For example, it could be defamation per se to falsely assert that someone was “an adulterer”; it could be defamation per quod to falsely assert that the person was “on a date” with someone, when the person was widely known to be married to someone else.

Falsity

In libel cases involving statements about public figures or public officials, or matters of public concern, the plaintiff bears the burden of showing that an alleged libel is false. In cases involving the private matters of private people, the defendant bears the burden of proving the statement's truth. In most jurisdictions, truth is not defined as absolute technical accuracy, but can also include substantial truth—the “sting” or “gist” of a statement. For example, in spite of several technical inaccuracies in the advertisement at issue in *New York Times v. Sullivan*, the Court found that it was substantially true in its assertions about the events it was documenting: Alabama officials' responses to student protests and the arrest of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for minor charges. Conversely, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Masson v. New Yorker* (1991) that where the use of an interviewee's own words is concerned, accurate

direct quotes can qualify as false if they are edited in a way that grossly distorts the intent of the speaker. Similarly, omitting key facts or context can render an otherwise true statement false, such as the statement “John Smith shot David Jones three times, and Jones died in the hospital six weeks later” when in fact Jones’s death was caused by a stroke, and was unrelated to being shot.

Factual Statement

A libel plaintiff must show that the statement at issue asserts something a reasonable person would consider to be an actual fact. Opinions, jokes, and rhetorical hyperbole are generally protected by the First Amendment and will not be considered factual statements for purposes of a libel suit. However, where a statement of opinion or conclusion is concerned, the implication or assertion of false facts could be considered actionable as libel. For example, the statement “in my opinion, my neighbor stole my lawn mower” rests on an assertion of fact, which could be libelous if false.

Identification

Only the person who is the target or subject of an alleged libel can sue. Others who are offended by a false and defamatory statement cannot sue on their own or the target’s behalf, including where the person defamed is deceased. In addition to being identified by name, courts have recognized a person’s job title, a specific description of them, or a photograph without a name as sufficient to identify a plaintiff to members of a community in whose eyes reputational harm could occur. Plaintiffs have successfully sued for libel over fictional characters when they can show that a reasonable person could conclude the character was based on them, particularly where the defendant did not conspicuously disclaim otherwise, or label the publication as satire.

Individual members of small, identifiable groups can sue for libel even when they are not personally named, when the allegedly libelous statement applies to “all” or “most” of the group, as opposed to “some” or “a few.” For example, a member of a university basketball team could probably claim to be identified by the statement “all the players on the basketball team cheat in their classes,” but

probably not by the statement “some of the university’s athletes cheat in their classes.”

Publication

A libelous statement need only reach a third party outside of its publisher and the subject of the statement to be considered published for purposes of a libel suit. Any publication in mass media will presumably meet this standard. Repeating or republishing the libelous statement of another, even where properly attributed, is also publication, under a standard known as the *republication rule*. It is not a defense to argue that a publisher is merely “passing on” the false and defamatory statement of another. An old libel adage goes, “talebearers are as bad as talemakers.” On the other hand, newsstands, bookstores, libraries, and other distributors of printed material are not considered publishers responsible for the content of the materials they sell or lend, since they exercise no control over that content.

Another exception to the republication rule, established in the early days of the commercial Internet, is Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act of 1996. Under that federal law, service providers—including web publishing platforms and social media—cannot be subject to civil claims for content provided by their users. A key rationale for this legal protection was that requiring service providers to monitor the posts of thousands of users would be unduly burdensome.

Fault

The level of fault a plaintiff must show—which is the legal responsibility the defendant bears for the harm inflicted—is based on the plaintiff’s status as a public official, public figure, or private person. Public officials and figures must show the statement at issue was published with “actual malice,” the standard meaning knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard for the truth established in the *Sullivan* case. Private plaintiffs must show negligence. Plaintiff status often becomes a hotly contested issue in the early stages of libel litigation, because plaintiffs would rather meet the comparatively lax standard of negligence than actual malice, and defendants would like the opposite. The issue is particularly complex when

a plaintiff is arguably a public figure for limited purposes, but a private person otherwise—either they are willingly or involuntarily associated with a narrow issue of public importance, but they are not an elected official or celebrity. Imagine a person who otherwise has no public profile, but engages in an act of heroism or is the perpetrator or victim of a noteworthy crime: They might be a public figure for purposes of publication about the public issue, but not for publication about other aspects of their life. This can vary by state law.

Actual malice is a stringent evidentiary standard. Courts generally adhere to both the spirit of the *Sullivan* ruling and its letter: In deference to ensuring broad First Amendment protection for speech that is critical of powerful people, and acknowledging that errors will be inevitable amid free and open debate about newsworthy people and issues, plaintiffs are required to provide clear and convincing evidence to show that a defendant published a libelous statement knowing that it was false, or recklessly disregarding its truth or falsity. For example, failure to thoroughly investigate a claim is likely not actual malice, though purposely avoiding the truth likely is. Deliberate distortion or fabrication of false facts can constitute knowledge of falsity, and subjective doubts about a claim can be considered reckless disregard for the truth. However, the courts' use of the term *malice* can also be misleading—whether a defendant had malicious intent or ill will toward a plaintiff may not be relevant to a finding of actual malice if the defendant otherwise demonstrated due diligence toward finding the truth in reporting the allegedly libelous falsehood.

Negligence is a more lenient fault standard applied to private plaintiffs, under which they must show a defendant published a libelous statement with an absence of reasonable care. In the context of journalism, this can include failing to take basic reporting steps expected in the profession, like verifying the facts provided by a single source.

Defenses

Defendants in libel suits have multiple paths to a successful defense. Because the plaintiff bears the burden of proving all the elements of libel in most

cases, a defendant can undercut a suit by disproving one or more of those elements. For example, a defendant might present evidence that shows a plaintiff's reputation was not actually harmed, and therefore the statement at issue is not defamatory, or the defendant can argue that the plaintiff was not sufficiently identified by the statement. Truth is traditionally considered a particularly strong defense against a libel claim.

Defenses work in a variety of ways across jurisdictions; not all of those discussed here are recognized everywhere, and their effect can vary too. While some can result in a plaintiff's suit being thrown out, others only limit the damages an otherwise liable defendant owes to the plaintiff.

One threshold issue that can arise is the statute of limitations, a period of time during which a plaintiff must sue, after which the case is no longer valid and will be dismissed. These range from state to state—from 6 months to 3 years—but the most common is 1 year. The clock for the statute of limitations generally begins running when an alleged libel is published, not when a plaintiff becomes aware of it.

Opinion

Under the opinion defense, a defendant argues that the statement at issue was not a factual assertion, and therefore not capable of defamation. This can also include jokes, satire, hyperbole, insults, commentary, speculation, and conclusions. Fundamentally, expressions of opinion—that a person or the products of their labor are bad, or stupid, or worthy of ridicule—cannot be adjudged to be true or false as a factual matter for purposes of a libel analysis. Moreover, the First Amendment traditionally extends strong protection for such statements, especially when they concern public officials or figures. However, statements are not automatically protected because they occur within the context of an opinion, joke, or argument, when they can reasonably be understood as stating actual facts. In other words, tacking “in my opinion,” “I think,” or even “I wonder if” onto a statement does not automatically render it immune from a libel claim. For example, in *Milkovich v. Lorain Journal Co.* (1990), the U.S. Supreme Court found that even though a newspaper columnist's

assertions that public school officials lied in a hearing were published in the context of opinion, they were capable of a factual and defamatory meaning—that the officials perjured themselves. Thus, courts may consider a range of factors in assessing an opinion defense, including the precise language used, its professional or social context, its common usage (i.e., whether it can be understood as a jest or slang), the reasonable expectations and probable readings of the audience, whether it is capable of an objective factual meaning (known as *verifiability*), and whether the defendant is in a position to know whether or not the statement is true. Similarly, conclusions cannot be defamatory when they are based on clearly established facts provided by the author, even when the facts are debated.

Privileges

Courts have extended special exemptions from libel suits in certain circumstances. Most significantly, in view of the need for frank debate and discussion of matters of public importance, public officials enjoy an absolute privilege for comments made in conducting their official duties.

The fair and accurate report and neutral report privileges also protect the publishers of some statements that would otherwise be defamatory. The fair and accurate report privilege can arise when a publisher fairly and accurately reports a false and defamatory statement in an official report, with proper attribution. A classic example would be the reporting of a police statement about an accused criminal, when the accusation turns out to be wrong. The privilege is based on the idea that the public is served by knowing about the accusation, regardless of its accuracy. However, states can vary on what constitutes an official report.

The neutral reportage privilege extends to the republication of a newsworthy allegation, when the allegation is made by a prominent, responsible, and authoritative individual or organization. The principle underlying this defense is that in some circumstances, an allegation is itself worthy of public attention, regardless of whether it is true or false. Imagine a candidate for public office accuses their opponent of cheating on their taxes, for example. The theory of neutral reportage is that publishers should not be chilled from

repeating the newsworthy accusation just because it might be false. The neutral reportage privilege is relatively new to American common law, having been established by a federal appeals court in 1977, so its application varies.

Other Defenses

Defendants may raise a variety of other defenses or defensive procedural measures, depending on the circumstances of a case. One is an anti-SLAPP motion to dismiss. (SLAPP stands for “strategic lawsuits against public participation.”) In the approximately 30 states with anti-SLAPP statutes, courts can throw out SLAPP suits. Such suits are generally defined as meritless, and intended not to win on legal grounds but simply to silence speakers on topics of public interest. SLAPP suits often take the form of libel suits, in which case a defendant can move for a prompt dismissal, and sometimes demand attorneys’ fees from the plaintiff.

Approximately 30 states also have retraction statutes, which can limit the damages assessed against a defendant if they acceded to a plaintiff’s request for a retraction before the plaintiff sued. Conversely, if a plaintiff fails to ask for a retraction before filing suit, they may be limited in the damages they can be awarded.

The wire service defense can be raised by defendant news organizations that republish libelous statements from a “reputable news agency” like Reuters or the Associated Press. The theory is that news organizations that subscribe to such services do so precisely because they lack the resources to verify the claims reported by the news agencies, and therefore should not be held liable for repeating their claims. The defense does not immunize the news services themselves from libel suits.

The single publication rule, recognized in some jurisdictions, limits a plaintiff to a single cause of action over the publication of a libel, even when the statement appears in numerous copies of a book, newspaper, or magazine, for example, and therefore is available to and discoverable by numerous audiences over a long period of time. Once the plaintiff has sued the publisher over the original libelous publication, a new suit cannot be triggered every time the same libelous statement resurfaces at a different time or in a different jurisdiction.

A few jurisdictions have found a plaintiff cannot sue for libel because they are “libel proof,” that is, they have no “good name” to harm. Such was the case when a convicted member of a criminal gang sued over a false accusation of a crime, or a publisher of pornographic magazines sued over accusations of adultery.

Plaintiffs also cannot sue when they have consented to the publication of a libelous statement. This can arise in instances where a plaintiff has signed an agreement to appear on television, or if a plaintiff shares a libelous personal communication with a third party—thus publishing it—in order to sue its author. The publication of the communication could constitute consent and thus invalidate a libel claim.

Damages

When a plaintiff wins a civil suit, the court usually requires a defendant to pay money, called *damages*, to the plaintiff. In libel suits, the most common form is “actual” or “compensatory” damages. These damages, intended to compensate the plaintiff for the actual harm a defendant caused or inflicted, must be based on evidence presented by the plaintiff, like the other elements of a libel case. Because harm to a person’s reputation can be difficult to demonstrate in financial terms, the amount a plaintiff can demand that a jury award for libel can be difficult to quantify. Sometimes, plaintiffs can tie their damages to a precise out-of-pocket loss, like wages lost because they got fired or quit working due to the libelous publication. This is sometimes referred to as *special damages*. Other times the proof is based on a claim that community members refused to do business with the defendant or that the harm to their reputation wrought emotional or psychological harm.

In some jurisdictions, plaintiffs can also be awarded punitive or presumed damages. Punitive damages are not intended to compensate plaintiffs but to punish defendants for their behavior, generally with the policy-based intent of discouraging other publishers from making similar libelous publications. The more egregious the libel and the context surrounding it, the more likely a large punitive damage award. Presumed damages arise in cases of libel per se, and do not require plaintiffs to provide evidence of harm, based on the

notion that harm is presumed when a statement is libelous on its face. Some states have banned or capped punitive and presumed damages. The U.S. Supreme Court, subsequent to *New York Times v. Sullivan*, has required that in libel cases involving matters of public concern, private plaintiffs can only receive punitive or presumed damages if they can show actual malice.

The range of rules around the different types of damages can help explain why damage claims in so many libel suits stretch well into the millions of dollars. Generally, juries can only award damages up to the amount claimed by the plaintiff, and because a jury’s discretion is difficult to predict, plaintiffs may demand an astronomical amount in their suit to maximize the likelihood of recovering damages.

On the other hand, suing for libel without concrete evidence of harm can result in a ruling in a plaintiff’s favor but no damage award, raising the question of whether the likely expensive litigation led to a pyrrhic victory. A similar outcome may result from a lawsuit against a defendant who has little resources from which to draw damages.

Digital Media and Emerging Issues

The broad availability of instantaneous mass publishing through the Internet and social media—and courts’ mostly supportive attitudes toward that development—has raised a host of practical and procedural questions for libel law in the first two decades of the 21st century. One point of near unanimity among courts has been that Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act—in a major deviation from the traditional standard of the republication rule—offers websites almost complete immunity from lawsuits over the libelous statements of their users. While celebrated as a keystone of free speech online, Section 230 has its critics, who see it as a license for libel that allows online publishers to avoid accountability.

Indeed, the rough-and-tumble nature of online discourse has prompted plenty of libel suits against social media users themselves. While social media are not quite the lawless arena some users may imagine it to be, a rhetorical context in which people routinely make outlandish claims or trade nasty barbs can make it difficult to successfully sue for libel because plaintiffs can struggle to establish that a statement made in such an

environment is one of actual fact capable of a defamatory meaning. Lawsuits demonstrating this challenge have been filed—and lost—over caustic Twitter posts by the singer and actress Courtney Love, the actor James Woods, tech mogul Elon Musk, and then-businessman Donald Trump, among others.

Meanwhile, as anonymity remains a hallmark of freewheeling online debate and discussion, how does one find and sue an anonymous defamer? Courts have developed a variety of standards for how a plaintiff can demand a website or Internet service provider unmask an anonymous speaker in order to sue them. Most commonly, the tests require sufficient time for the would-be defendant to mount a defense against the unmasking, evidence from a plaintiff that supports their case for libel, and balancing the interest in unmasking the speaker against protecting their First Amendment rights. Often, though, once a plaintiff unmasks a defendant, it is clear that no matter the reputational harm done, the defendant has no resources from which to draw damages, making a libel lawsuit potentially pointless.

While evidentiary standards continue to vary from state to state, the instantaneously everywhere nature of Internet publishing has encouraged plaintiffs to “forum shop,” or file their lawsuit in the jurisdiction most friendly to their claim, regardless of whether they have meaningful ties to the place in which they sue. The practice has made for busy dockets in places considered to be plaintiff-friendly.

Ultimately, changes in the libel landscape are driven by social forces as much as technological ones, however. Politics—particularly the rhetoric of then-President Donald Trump—helped focus attention on libel as a political issue beginning around 2016, as he proposed a loosening of libel laws. While the president has no real ability to render such a change, commentators have argued that his acrimony toward the press prompted an increase in politically motivated libel suits intended to burn through the dwindling legal resources of legacy media institutions at a time when they are financially vulnerable. Meanwhile, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas sent a ripple through the media law community when, in a 2019 opinion concurring with the Court’s decision not to hear oral argument in a libel case, he

argued that the Court should reconsider its broad application of the actual malice standard established in *New York Times v. Sullivan*. Libel law promises to remain an active and dynamic means by which Americans debate and delineate acceptable practices of journalism and public criticism.

Patrick File

See also Censorship; English Roots of the Free Press; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Section 230, Communications Decency Act; Sensationalism; Supreme Court and Journalism; Zenger, John Peter (Zenger Trial)

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LIFESTYLE JOURNALISM

Lifestyle sections generally were introduced into American daily newspapers in the 1970s and typically evolved from what had been styled as women’s pages. Despite an assumption that we can all

identify what *lifestyle* might mean, most newspaper definitions are still in flux as editors seek to define what it is that readers might want to read (and what advertisers will support). Some papers have lifestyle sections that could be defined as entertainment or celebrity-driven—not much of a change in philosophy from the old women's/society sections, which concentrated on the doings of the local rich and influential. Publishers sometimes include lifestyle sections separately or have them classified as part of feature pages. Sometimes they are not included in current staff listings at all; indeed, it is instructive to see how newspaper structure has changed by studying the listings in *Editor & Publisher Year Book*. In 1976, in the middle of the decade introducing much of the change, out of 1,325 daily newspapers listed, only 48 included features editors, and lifestyle sections were represented in just nine papers (three as lifestyle and five as life/style). In contrast, during the same year, there were 706 society editors listed and 758 women's editors. These figures suggest that change and experimentation with the old structures were just beginning, as the names of new editor categories also illustrate: Scene, View, Today, People, Accent, and of course Style, the section at *The Washington Post* that has been credited with leading the lifestyle revolution in newspapers.

Origins

With the exception of some lifestyle, technology, and expanded entertainment sections, the basic structure of the metropolitan daily newspaper has been in place for more than a century. Typically, urban papers have had separate areas or sections for news, sports, opinion, and business. Feature material has frequently been sprinkled throughout these various sections and has only recently come to dominate its own section by name. Some shifts have come fairly recently; for example, there is increased attention to entertainment and lifestyle material and a corresponding decrease of social and local celebrity news. As is clear from reading the staff listings, each of these newspaper units typically has its own hierarchy of staff writers and editors involved in creating and presenting material for the different audiences who read the paper. Each section is supported by advertising that is

related to the general section topic—and indeed, some historians have argued that it is the advertising that has driven and controlled the creation of these different sections. They suggested women as an audience became of interest to editors when more advertisers wanted to reach those women with money to spend, an argument bolstered by advertisers' general acceptance that women are the buyers of most families.

Society news offered an early addition to the broader newspaper editorial mix and was important to the development of popular mass-appeal dailies, a necessary step on the way to what is today called *lifestyle* coverage. These popular newspapers began publishing daily in the 1830s with a fuller range of stories on sports, criminal trial stories, and society news items. Social coverage had its first *on the scene* reporter when James Gordon Bennett of *The New York Herald* sent William H. Attree to a costume ball given by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Brevoort in 1840. Another early society writer was William Bininger, again for *The New York Herald*. A new interest in women readers helped open the door to women writers who were best able to write about their own lives. More than one chronicler of a newspaper's history has remarked that women were believed to be more socially adept at fitting into higher social circles. There was also a shift toward elaborate descriptions of what society matrons wore to events, and again, women were believed to be more able to provide these verbal illustrations.

Joseph Pulitzer is credited with creating the first women's page, but in 1886, it began as a special column devoted to women's interests. An issue of *The World*, May 25, 1884, page 11, shows this precursor of the woman's page—the “World of Women” column. By the 1890s, women's pages were a definite feature of larger papers, publishing information about clubs, society, and other topics of interest to women. And in 1895, a phenomenon of *women's editions* of newspapers brought something new into the mix. Around the country, community women began taking over their local newspapers for a day. The power of the popular press and the importance of women's work in the community were being paired to showcase women's talents and abilities. It was the first time many women saw their names in print, and it was the beginning of a love affair with the newspaper

world for many. One of the women to get a break in one of these editions was Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer, who was to become America's highest-paid female journalist (as Dorothy Dix) by the time of her death in 1951.

By 1900, women's pages or sections with "women's" topics were part of most large metropolitan dailies, and smaller newspapers throughout the country were quick to join. For more than a half century, the common elements of these pages were related to fashion, food, household hints, society, and advice. But not everyone was happy with the change. Women journalists wanted to write serious articles, and women readers frequently discussed the women's pages as banal. One bit of evidence is that writers for the women's editions in 1895 were penning sardonic, patronizing columns "for our female readers." And as early as 1901, women and intellectuals were complaining that the women's pages were a "hopeless case," filled with useless trivia and social news, notes Historian Marion Marzolf. These pages may have been hopeless, but they were moneymakers and advertisements located on them commanded high prices.

Despite complaints about the *drivel* contained in women's pages, they were an institution throughout the 20th century in most daily newspapers. The insistence of Eleanor Roosevelt to work only with women reporters was a boon to both women editors and women with aspirations for front-page reporting. Articles about serious social topics began to appear in the 1940s, as did items written by professional women. Some of these changes were bolstered by the increased professional activities of women during World War II, though the 1950s were to see a return to stories on beauty, cooking, society, and fashion. A decade later, women's pages became the center of newspaper and social change. Because the women's movement began to make news and because women began demanding rights for equal pay, childcare, and so on, women's pages began to run more controversial stories and interviews. While some women's editors were pleased by the increase in *real* news, some seemed to ignore these cultural happenings. Newspapers had hired increasing numbers of women, but many of them had been placed on the women's pages. They, too, were eager to change the nature of women's news. At the same time, a few courageous women's page

editors began what might be called *campaigns* to change their pages from predictable sections into columns of issues-centered reporting about equal rights, childcare, and spousal abuse. Conflict arose when advocates for women such as Gloria Steinem fought to keep news about the women's movement from being buried in the women's pages.

Unisex Lifestyle Coverage

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the impetus for most of the dramatic changes. As Kay Mills put it, "The evolution of the women's pages marked a belated recognition that all parts of a newspaper should be prepared for all people," adding that the changes were occurring partly because of social pressures and partly because of economics. At *The Washington Post*—one of the early claimants to journalistic lifestyle development—the *Style* section, Ben Bradlee's major structural change, was introduced on January 6, 1969. The change came as longtime women's editor Marie Sauer was retiring. Instead of replacing her and continuing the women's section, Bradlee was seeking to ride the wave of social change.

Bradlee's idea was to create a section that gave cultural news and reviews a place of their own. It was to include food, fashion, fun, and culture—all directed to a unisex audience interested in an upscale lifestyle. His criticisms of women's pages mirrored those of the women in the women's movement who were trying to fight for newspaper changes. He spoke for many when he said that traditional women's news was boring and that most newspaper editors had been listening to highly intelligent women who were vocal in their criticism of women's pages with what seemed like endless information about diets, teas, and society gatherings. But the *Style* section itself was experiencing growing pains, and even when Thomas Kendrick, who became editor 2 years later, was able to bring order to journalistic chaos by setting editorial standards, there were problems. A memo from Bradlee underscored some of the change. Admonishing his reporters to avoid words like *pert*, *dimpled*, *cute*, or *vivacious*, he wrote that stories about the achievements of women should be written "without a trace of condescension." But the problems were still not solved. One of them

resulted from a letter to publisher Katharine Graham signed by 59 women at the paper who were unhappy with what they described as discrimination at the paper. This act was quickly followed by a lawsuit in 1972 filed by the same women. In her 1998 autobiography, Graham wrote, "Since the new 'Style' section had replaced the old women's pages, women had lost four jobs." Besides Graham, Meg Greenfield was the only woman in upper management at the paper.

A few editors had applauded and supported the women's-news momentum, but they were in the minority. Although there was talk and plenty of activity at a handful of papers, rarely are the stories of women's page editors presented as part of the history of newspapers. For example, although Marjorie Paxson won the highest honor at the Penney-Missouri awards for a women's page editor while at the *St. Petersburg Times*, neither her name nor an entry for *women's pages* appears in a recent biography of Nelson Poynter and the *St. Petersburg Times*. Likewise, the story of Maggie Savoy, a leading women's page editor in the 1960s, is absent from a history of the *Arizona Republic*.

Women's Editors Oppose Changes

One of the first to pioneer change in women's news within the existing structure was Dorothy Journey, an editor who had been encouraged to expand the coverage of women's activities at the *Miami Herald*. Like Colleen Dishon of the *Chicago Tribune*, she was an advocate for retaining women's sections and making them relevant to women's lives. Journey, who was hired at the *Detroit Free Press* to change the women's pages and direct a "family section," has addressed what happened during the change in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Applying what happened at the *Post* to newspapers throughout the country, Journey then explained that what really happened throughout the country was that the women's editors lost their jobs to men who knew nothing about women's basic interest in social issues. Women's advocacy and news for the women's pages just disappeared.

Journey was not alone in being unhappy with a looming, much-discussed shift to lifestyle reporting from women's sections. Writing in *Editor & Publisher* in 1973, June Almqvist, women's editor of the *Seattle Times*, wrote that some women's

sections of the country jumped out of the window too quickly: "In their eagerness for change, they lost their identity—becoming, at best, general-feature sections and, in some cases, hodgepodge sections" (p. 28). One trap, she noted, is that women's sections had become dumping grounds for other areas of the newspaper—bridge columns, coin-collection columns, travel stories, and so on. On the opposite side of the coin were women's sections that "went overboard" on social issues such as rape, poverty, and venereal disease. But as Alquist noted, "the biggest fattest ads in the newspaper are the grocery ads, the fashion ads, the home furnishings ads. And we know full well why those advertisers want to be in the women's sections: because the major buyers of consumer goods are women" (p. 28).

Earlier that same year, the Penney-Missouri workshop sessions at the University of Missouri tackled the problems facing women's editors at this time of change by honoring Judith Anderson of the *San Francisco Chronicle's* "People" section with the first Paul L. Myhre Award for Excellence in Reporting. These influential Penney awards were instrumental in changing the face of women's news and inadvertently promoting the lifestyle impetus.

Lifestyle can today be defined as a universally accepted descriptive with the categories of gendered, feature, cultural, and even entertainment writing. Because it is less commonly used as an identifying label for editors throughout the newspaper industry—only 152 lifestyle editors of 1,325 daily newspapers in 2006—it must be understood as a description of feature material that is usually gender-neutral, that is, *family* instead of *women's* articles. Even though one commonly thinks of *lifestyle* sections as having superseded women and society sections, the indications are that at some papers, women and society editors are still firmly entrenched. In fact, a recent return to women's news at the *Chicago Tribune* has been widely imitated and is still being evaluated for possible industry change by newspaper trend writers.

Jean Ann Colbert

See also Entertainment Journalism; Food Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; News Values; Social Movements and Journalism; Women's Magazines

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LITERARY JOURNALISM

Literary journalism can be understood as part of the larger genre of literary nonfiction. Literary nonfiction itself is a wide-ranging category that can include journalism, memoirs and other autobiographical writing, essays, history, biography, and scholarly articles.

Literary journalism, sometimes called *creative nonfiction*, *literary reportage*, *the literature of fact*, and *the nonfiction novel*, is fact-based, in-depth reporting that uses literary techniques of writing. Examples of these storytelling techniques, which are commonly used in both literary fiction and

literary nonfiction, include description, scene-setting, dialogue, dramatization, and characterization (to name a few).

And like other literary works, such as the novel, literary journalism usually expresses a larger or “literary” truth about some universal aspect of human experience. Thus, Stephen Crane’s “The Open Boat” (1897), a work of literary journalism (not a short story) about a shipwreck and his subsequent escape, underscores how human beings are at the mercy of natural forces. When Dorothy Day wrote a piece of literary journalism in 1945 about the United States’ atomic bombing of Japan, she went far beyond the simple factual reporting of an event. Whereas most journalists emphasized the surrender of the Japanese and some celebrated the potential peacetime benefits of the new atomic technology, Day’s interpretation was quite different. She masterfully evoked the horror of this large-scale attack on civilians, the first time that such weaponry had ever been used, and even predicted the disturbing prospect of an arms race. This is a theme to which, as a thoroughly pacifist writer, she often returned. Such an interpretive slant is the province of literary journalism.

Literary journalists often produce book-length works (e.g., Joan Didion’s *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*) but also commonly write shorter pieces (such as Gay Talese’s “Frank Sinatra Has a Cold”). Literary journalism transcends the limitations imposed by the requirements of conventional journalism to offer a nuanced, interpretive view of factual reality, what some have called the *feel* of the facts. Rather than hewing to the strictly objective or at least neutral viewpoint dictated by conventional journalism’s professional norms, literary journalism’s viewpoint is unapologetically subjective. It is based on extensive research that is generally far beyond the scope of conventional journalism. Conventional reporters may interview a few personal sources and peruse several documents in order to produce a standard daily news story. But the immersion or saturation research practiced by literary journalists may require, for example, months and even years of interviewing multiple sources and investigating archival documents. Thus, unlike a conventional journalism story’s daily and even minute-by-minute deadlines,

a work of literary journalism may be weeks, months, or even years in the making.

Voice in literary journalism is distinctive and not at all necessarily that of the third-person, the traditional voice of conventional journalism. Literary journalism often uses the “I” (or the “we”) and occasionally, the “you.” A powerful example of the former is Meridel Le Sueur’s 1935 piece “Sequel to Love,” which presents the direct, first-person voice of a narrator, a young, unwed, mentally disabled girl in an institution who has been forcibly sterilized after having a baby. An effective example of the second-person voice is seen in James Agee’s *Fortune* article, “Cockfighting,” which directly addresses his Depression-era audience of wealthy businessmen as “you.” This helps underscore Agee’s interpretation of illegal cockfighting as a practice that unites both the gentlemanly class (his *Fortune* readers) and the underclass in a kind of ancient, individualistic blood ritual.

The structure of literary journalism is also distinctively different from that of conventional news journalism. While the latter uses the inverted pyramid structure, presenting every fact in order of decreasing importance, literary journalism arranges structure to serve its writer’s artistic purpose. That could mean, for example, flashbacks, parallel crosscutting narratives, and other manipulations of time. The summary lead is not required.

Finally, factual verifiability is a defining characteristic of literary journalism. Literary journalists aim to be recorders of reality, not its inventors. So they eschew composite characters. They do not present dialogue unless their sources have actually uttered it. Writers such as *The New Yorker*’s Lillian Ross and John Hersey were sticklers for factual accuracy, which they argued is simply mandatory for all journalists.

History

Literary journalism’s Anglo-American history is substantial and dates at least to the English writer Daniel Defoe (1660–1731). His *A Journal of the Plague Year*, first published in 1722, is a painstakingly and artfully reported account of the devastation the Black Death wreaked on London in 1665. Although Defoe was only 5 years old in 1665, his account is exceptionally vivid and affecting

because of his extensive research, which included interviewing eyewitnesses. In this late 17th-early 18th-century period, the great early British essayists—who include Richard Steele (1672–1729), Joseph Addison (1672–1719), Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), and James Boswell (1740–1795)—also figure importantly in the history of literary journalism. They spurred the development of the periodical essay, an important literary and journalistic form of the 18th century. Many colonial American newspaper editors, such as James and Benjamin Franklin, were deeply influenced by the essays Addison and Steele published in their periodicals, the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.

In the United States, which has a rich tradition of literary journalism, three time periods stand out in which the production of such writing was unusually vigorous. As the scholar Thomas B. Connery has noted, these are (a) the late 19th century, (b) the Great Depression of the 1930s, and (c) the period of the 1960s and 1970s. (These are approximate time boundaries). Each of these periods was characterized by societal upheaval, which seems to have fostered journalists’ forays into literary journalism, which they may have seen as a more in-depth, interpretive way to report on an increasingly complex world.

Literary journalism in the 19th century was practiced by Margaret Fuller, William Hazlitt, and Charles Dickens, among others. The late 19th-century’s literary journalists include Walt Whitman, Stephen Crane, Abraham Cahan, Lafcadio Hearn, Jacob Riis, Theodore Dreiser, George Ade, Julian Ralph, and Richard Harding Davis. Between the two World Wars, the Great Depression inspired literary journalism by writers such as Dorothy Day, Meridel Le Sueur, and James Agee. Important practitioners of literary journalism who emerged in the early 20th century include John Dos Passos, Martha Gellhorn, Ernest Hemingway, John Hersey, A. J. Liebling, Joseph Mitchell, George Orwell, Lillian Ross, John Steinbeck, and Rebecca West.

In the so-called *New Journalism* period of the 1960s and 1970s (and beyond), literary journalists such as Truman Capote, Joan Didion, Norman Mailer, Gloria Steinem, Gay Talese, and Tom Wolfe became prominent. Some of them referred to their writing as *New Journalism*, arguing that it

was so unconventional as to be quite distinct from conventional news reporting, in which the reporter strives to remain invisible and maintain an objective voice. Wolfe was the chief popularizer of this nomenclature, using it as the title of a 1973 anthology of literary journalism, *The New Journalism*, that he edited. It included works by Capote, Didion, Mailer, Hunter S. Thompson, and Wolfe. But contemporary scholars disavow the adjective “new,” pointing to literary journalism’s long pre-20th-century history.

In the later 20th century and into the 21st, widely read literary journalists include Sara Davidson, Barbara Ehrenreich, Michael Herr, Tracy Kidder, Jane Kramer, Rosemary Mahoney, John McPhee, Richard Rhodes, and Ron Rosenbaum, among many others.

It should be noted that another such period of ascendancy in literary journalism’s development may possibly be found in the U.S. antebellum period (approximately 1815–1860). Then, strong reform and radical movements to abolish slavery and to advocate for world peace, temperance, and women’s suffrage flourished. They generated many social movement periodicals that published passionate reporting about these causes, sometimes in the style of literary journalism.

Primary publication outlets for literary journalism include magazines, especially *The New Yorker*, which since its founding in 1925, more than any other publication has supported and published the work of many literary journalists, including the legendary Joseph Mitchell, Lillian Ross, Truman Capote, and John Hersey. Indeed, Hersey’s book *Hiroshima*, an account of the atomic bomb’s impact on that city, was first published in its entirety in a single issue of *The New Yorker* in 1946. And Capote’s *In Cold Blood* was first serialized in *The New Yorker* in 1965. *Esquire*, *Rolling Stone*, *Harper’s*, *Texas Monthly*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *The Atlantic* are among other magazines that have regularly published the work of literary journalists. In the late 19th century and into the early 20th, newspapers also served as a common outlet for literary journalism.

Frequently, though, literary journalists develop their subjects into full-length books. This enables them to provide the depth and interpretation that is impossible to achieve in the typical brief daily news stories of conventional journalism. In the

early 20th-century newsroom, it was common for writerly news reporters such as Ernest Hemingway to aspire to write the great American novel. By the late 20th century, literary journalism—really, literary nonfiction—had eclipsed traditional literary fiction forms such as the novel in importance and popularity. Thus, in the early 21st century, reporters were much more likely to aim their literary sights on a book-length work of literary journalism.

An International Genre

In the early 21st century, literary journalism is being produced around the globe. A key example is the work of Svetlana Alexievich, a Belarusian journalist who writes in Russian and who was awarded the 2015 Nobel Prize in Literature for her literary journalism about the turmoil of Soviet and post-Soviet life. Significantly, this was the first time that the award was given to a literary journalist. Alexievich’s work is widely available in English translation, including her books *War’s Unwomanly Face* (1985), *Last Witnesses* (1985), *Zinky Boys: Soviet Voices from the Afghanistan War* (1990), *Voices from Chernobyl* (1997), and *Secondhand Time* (2013). She has developed a distinctive method of collecting oral histories and then presenting them as a kind of documentary testament. The vigor of global literary journalism is also shown by the work of Ryszard Kapuściński (1932–2007) of Poland, Gabriel García Márquez (1927–2014) of Colombia, and Helen Garner (born 1942) of Australia, among many, many others.

Methodological Issues

Perhaps not surprisingly, two issues that may challenge practitioners of literary journalism both stem from their hallmark intensive research.

First, spending months and even years researching a story brings a reporter very close to his or her sources. Susan Sheehan, in producing her 1976 book, *A Welfare Mother*, grew so close to her sources, a New York City welfare mother and her family, that she accompanied them on a visit to their native Puerto Rico. Sheehan even brought along her daughter, who had grown to know this family as well. Some might argue that such

familiarity is detrimental to the kind of dispassionate viewpoint that they see as journalism's true goal. But literary journalists assert that such saturation research yields a nuanced, informed perspective that transcends the limitations of quick-study, daily-deadline conventional journalism. Only by spending that amount of time with her sources and remaining close to them over a very long period could Sheehan gain the insights that she reports in her book. Literary journalists typically value a practice of responsibility, which permits them to deeply interpret their subjects provided they have completed exhaustive research as a basis for those interpretations.

Second, interior monologue is a technique that was popularized by various writers of so-called *New Journalism* in the 1960s and 1970s. This is the practice of getting inside a character's head—that is, stating what the character was thinking at this or that time. Although common in fiction forms such as the novel, interior monologue has sparked controversy when used in works of literary journalism. For example, Truman Capote was roundly criticized for his use of it in *In Cold Blood* (1965), his account of the murder of a farm family in Kansas and its consequences. Critics asked how he could accurately state what various sources were thinking at different times, without any qualifiers. He was also criticized for taking the diary of a murdered girl and then using that information to intuit her thoughts, which he presented as factual quotations. Today, however, this controversy has died down, and many regard the use of interior monologue by literary journalists as an acceptable convention, not to be taken literally but perhaps understood more as intended to communicate the emotional overlay of factual reality.

In sum, literary journalism is a vibrant form of writing that continues to engage writers and readers around the globe. One measure of its ascendancy is the continued growth of the scholarly organization the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies. Founded in 2006, through its annual conferences and its academic journal, *Literary Journalism Studies*, it promotes study of the theory, history, and teaching of literary journalism worldwide. It has brought attention particularly to non-Anglo-American literary journalism, publishing numerous articles about

international literary journalism written in languages other than English.

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See also Fuller, Margaret; Hemingway, Ernest; Hersey, John; Longform Journalism; New Journalism

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LIVEBLOGGING

Liveblogs are a news format that is native to the web and are now an established part of the news ecology in many countries. Characterized by reverse chronological posting of information in time-stamped updates, participatory features, and prodigious use of multimedia and hyperlinking, liveblogs hold much in common with the more established formats, the blog, and rolling broadcast news coverage. This entry starts by defining and explaining the key features of liveblogs, before mapping out the theoretical and empirical directions that scholars have taken in their study of this form of news.

Defining Liveblogs

Although liveblogs are native to the web, they also are adapted to consumption through mobile news apps. They are marked by short updates on an unfolding event, typically presented in a time-stamped block format and akin to conventional blogs, in reverse chronological order. However, unlike traditional blogs, liveblog updates are typically very short—often three or four lines—and updated continuously during the course of an event. While each entry of a liveblog constitutes its own structure, it has to be interpreted as a part of a larger whole. Each entry is therefore a kind of micro-report on one element of the story, focusing on a specific but incomplete stage of an event. Resultantly, liveblog updates interact with each other by correcting or modifying previous updates as the story unfolds. In this sense, liveblogs could be considered a textual version of live or rolling news broadcasts, though as explained later, they do retain some unique characteristics.

Liveblogs are well suited for journalists to cover scheduled mediated events where episodic publics emerge to experience the live event collectively. Unsurprisingly, then, sport is the news genre where liveblogs have their deepest roots and

continue to be most commonly found. However, they are also regularly seen in entertainment (covering such events as the Academy Awards or Eurovision Song Contest) and politics (particularly around scheduled set-piece political events like speeches, debates, and parliamentary proceedings). Liveblogs also follow unscheduled breaking live news events such as political crises, extreme weather events, or terror attacks, where audiences look to news organizations for immediate news coverage of rapidly evolving events as they unfold.

Because they are following live and unfolding events with regular updates, liveblogs meet a number of news values. Unsurprisingly then, liveblogs are popular with both newsrooms and audiences and have become a central journalistic format of online news platforms in a relatively short space of time.

Distinguishing Features

Liveblogs are distinguished by a number of features. The first is *temporal*: They are a type of news format specifically designed for live and unfolding events and their modality reflects this liveness. In most cases, these short updates convey the fluid, incomplete, and unpredictable nature of the story, drawing parallels with the dynamics of live television or radio news reporting, which had historically held a monopoly over live event coverage. These features represent a particular discourse of live news that is open structure, contrasting with closed structure news formats typified by fixed timing, tight framing, parsimony, and summative character.

The second distinguishing feature of liveblogs is their *tone of voice*, which is often dialogic in nature. Livebloggers typically position themselves as curating a conversation, acknowledging the presence of readers as participants and how others are reporting on the event, with the tone of the liveblog reflecting this. Depending on the topic, liveblogs can often be playful, light, personal, and informal.

This links to a third key feature: *interactivity*. As they cover unfolding events, livebloggers often reach out to their audiences for eyewitness reports (during crisis events), personal experiences, or reactions to the latest news as in real time.

Finally, liveblogs are notable by their *intertextuality and polyvocality*. While the manifest presence of input materials is not a feature unique to liveblogs, the frequency, volume, and form of the materials they draw upon distinguish them from other news structures. Aside from multimedia, liveblogs are abundantly furnished with other external materials such as direct and indirect versions of official announcements, elite quotes, reports, and eyewitness accounts, often sourced via social media.

Theoretical Directions in Research

The study of liveblogs takes scholars into conversation with some of the key theories of journalism—some of which are foundational, and others more contemporary. These include objectivity and the journalistic voice, networked journalism, participatory journalism, news sourcing, and epistemology.

Objectivity and the Journalistic Voice

Certain conventions of objectivity such as the absence of personal voice are challenged by the co-presence of the audience and the journalist on the news platform, and in the face of a live and unfolding event. Journalists must also deal with balancing perspectives in real time, where sources are scattered among social media (and other networks). This provides a rich context in which to study the objectivity norm in liveblogging.

Networked Journalism

Several scholars have suggested a shift in journalistic roles as authoritative narrators to curators or “gatewatchers,” who gather, sift, verify, and interpret material but play weaker gatekeeper roles. Liveblogs would seem a good example of this decentered model of journalism, whereby journalists are collecting and circulating key parts of the unfolding story from various sources, while themselves (as the author) still subject to the unpredictable nature of the event itself.

Participatory Journalism

Here, facilitated by technological advances and participatory culture, journalists are seen to move

from a hierarchical model of information dissemination to a more horizontal model based on audience participation and conversational modes of communication. Within this discourse, frontiers between creators and consumers of information increasingly blur, thus potentially empowering audiences. Given this backdrop, researchers of liveblogs are questioning the reality of participatory journalism in newsrooms and journalists’ practices.

News Sourcing

Historically, the elite-centric nature of journalistic news sourcing has been the source of much criticism in journalism studies literature, but these debates are being revisited in light of the growth of new journalistic formats. In the case of liveblogs, they have been popularized alongside the contemporary culture of online participation, which broadens the available pool of potential sources and places both elite and nonelite sources on the same social media platforms. A theoretical (and empirical) question is, therefore, whether liveblogs are a disruptive platform for opening up the news to more voices compared with more conventional formats, or whether they perpetuate traditional sourcing patterns.

Epistemology

Building on the recognition that liveblogs disrupt both sourcing practices and narrative dynamics of conventional story-based journalism, some scholars have in recent years argued that liveblogs have a different epistemic characteristic. That is, they engender a different form of knowledge creation to a summative news article. The transparent nature of providing live updates—often with caveats about accuracy or sometimes later corrections—captures simultaneously a claim to immediacy and uncertainty that has a unique epistemic value in its own right.

Empirical Directions in Research

Existent empirical research on liveblogs can be mapped onto four main strands that mirror major approaches to journalism studies generally: *audience* use of and engagement with liveblogs,

liveblogging in the *newsroom*, *content* analyses, and *sourcing* practices.

Audiences

Surveys of audiences, alongside user data accessed from news organizations, have revealed news readers' use of, participation with, and attitudes to liveblogs. Interestingly, these studies suggest that news consumers perceive liveblogs to be more balanced and objective than other news reports, because of the range of opinions they report and the transparency of the sourcing practices.

Newsrooms

Typically based on interviews with journalists, newsroom studies offer some valuable insights on the journalistic practices of livebloggers and their relationship with audiences. These studies confirm the demand for audience interaction with liveblogs, though they also document the various filters that audience material must go through before being published. High on this list is verification. Here, while some have found rather looser cultures of corroboration in liveblogging, most newsroom studies find—at least when it comes to crisis events—that verifying audience material is a major obstacle to including more diverse voices in the news. Given the immediacy and liveness of liveblogs, newsroom studies find that journalists often rely on mainstream sources such as other news organizations.

Content

A smaller number of studies have examined the content of liveblogs. Here, research has revealed, for example, how audience and journalistic frames interact and compete in liveblogs, where in a space of potential co-production, journalists still reframe amateur contributions by appending their own frames onto them. Other studies have focused on the role of the journalist, finding that some sports journalists embrace a norm of subjectivity in their interaction with readers in order to attract partners in dialogue among the audience. Another strand of content studies looks at how competition between news organizations not only determines whether they run a liveblog but also influences editorial strategies toward the event itself.

Sourcing

Similar to other empirical approaches, sourcing analysis studies are also preoccupied with questions of audience voice, among wider questions of power and access to public debate. The question of who gets to speak in liveblogs does not seem to have a uniform answer. Studies find that certain news genres like sports offer greater audience participation than crisis or politics, whose sourcing practices remain quite traditional. Furthermore, while liveblogs rely heavily on social media content, it is more likely from elite sources than everyday citizens or eyewitnesses.

Future Research Challenges

While liveblogs are now a firmly established journalistic practice, research into liveblogs is still in its relative infancy. First, for a news format that is established across the world, existent empirical liveblogging research is remarkably UK-centric and there are significant empirical gaps in large parts of the world outside northern Europe that future research should explore. Questions abound if the characteristics and patterns outlined in this entry are consistent across cultural boundaries, across different types of news organizations, and within different media systems. Second, research into liveblogging is typically drawn toward major news brands, in part because they have the resources to run frequent liveblogs, but there may be different sourcing dynamics in news organizations depending on size, geographic focus, or subject specialisms.

Daniel Jackson and Einar Thorsen

See also Audiences; Blogs and Bloggers; Innovation Journalism; New Media; News Values; Objectivity; Social Media; Sources

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LIVESTREAMING

Livestreaming refers to the broadcasting of real-time, live video to an audience over the Internet. Usually carried out via a mobile phone, it allows citizens to broadcast to different audiences as well as journalists working for mainstream media organizations. Popular platforms that allow journalists and citizens to stream material include Facebook Live, Instagram Live, Periscope, and (formerly) Meerkat. It has raised ethical issues that challenge journalistic norms about what should be broadcast and what should not. This entry examines the origins and development of livestreaming, its impact on journalism, and some notable livestreaming controversies.

Origins

Broadcasting live news was traditionally a complex and costly operation, open only to mainstream media organizations. It required significant investment in equipment and personnel and expertise to operate. After the advent of CNN in 1980 and the development of 24-hour news channels, live reporting of news events became popular in the 1990s.

However, in the mid-2000s, the public's capacity to also record events started to change journalism practice. In 2004, key footage of the South Asian tsunami was taken by onlookers using camcorders. By the time of the 7/7 bombings in London the following July, the BBC was being sent considerable amount of footage and photographs from the public, known as *user-generated content (UGC)*, which led to the development of the BBC's UGC Hub. Increasingly sophisticated smartphones with better quality cameras allowing people to take high-quality photographs and record videos came on to the market. At the same time, social media sites emerged—in particular Facebook in 2004, YouTube in 2005, Twitter in 2006, Instagram in 2010, Snapchat in 2011, and TikTok in 2016.

The idea of livestreaming was first popularized by nonjournalists. Early in 2007, the entrepreneur Justin Kan used a head-mounted webcam to continuously stream his life 24/7 via the live video platform Justin.tv. This experiment (known as *lifecasting*) went on for 8 months, and Justin.tv (later known as *Twitch*) developed to allow anyone to provide a live video stream. Twitch was eventually sold to Amazon in 2014 for nearly \$1 billion.

But the use of livestreaming in journalism is usually dated back to the work of Tim Pool during the Occupy Wall Street protests in 2011 who pioneered experimentation with mobile journalism and online platforms. Pool, who had previously uploaded non-journalistic videos to YouTube but went on to define himself as a journalist, headed down to the protests where he livestreamed the protests on Ustream, working with Henry James Ferry, creator of the *wearetheother99.com* website, and allowed viewers to both live chat and direct where he should shoot. Pool who went on to work for Vice, also covered the Gezi protests in Turkey in 2013 and won the journalist category at the Shorty Awards that honor social and digital journalism the same year.

At the same time, the Syrian conflict from 2011 onward saw a growth in other citizen journalists who also started to use this new tool. Demonstrators attempted to document the protests themselves. Some of these content creators blurred activism with journalism, others adhered more to the journalistic norm of objectivity but with mainstream media having limited access to the country, their material began to be widely used. Sites such as Bambuser were used to livestream the video they were taking.

The real step forward however was the development of easy-to-use livestreaming apps such as Periscope in 2015, followed by Facebook Live in 2016.

Development

Periscope was developed after one of its inventors Kayvon Beykpour was in Istanbul at the time of the Taksim Square protests in 2013. It was acquired by Twitter before its release and within 4 months had 10 million users. A month before Periscope's launch, another livestreaming app, Meerkat, which allowed users to link to their Facebook or Twitter accounts, had been released, but Twitter's decision to cut off Meerkat's access to their social graph meant that Meerkat faded away by 2016.

Mainstream media had started to see the possibilities of livestreaming, with journalists using Periscope for covering protests in the aftermath of the death of Freddie Gray who died in police custody in Baltimore in 2015. But it was the 2015 refugee crisis that proved particularly popular for journalists to use livestreaming. The reporter Paul Ronzheimer working for the German newspaper *Bild* traveled across Europe with refugees using Periscope to livestream. This had several benefits: First, his phone was far more unobtrusive, so he was able to get past the border authorities without being challenged. Second, it allowed his audiences to interact with the refugees via live chats and for misinformation to be corrected.

While the videos could only be played for 24 hours in the app, they could be saved to the reporter's phone and *Bild* subsequently made a documentary from the footage. *Time* magazine also used Periscope to cover the crisis, while the BBC Panorama program used Snapchat for instant updates.

The realization that people were watching so much live video online caught Mark Zuckerberg's attention. The founder of Facebook put a hundred of his company's engineers for 2 months to create a tool. Two billion people were then given access to Facebook Live when it came online in 2016 and livestreaming went mainstream. After only 12 months, one in five Facebook videos was a livestream.

Impact on Journalism

There have been several impacts on journalism as a result of livestreaming and it has called into question the conventions of news reporting. First, it brought increased pressure around the questions of who acts as a witness. Prior to the growth of UGC in the mid-2000s, one of journalism's main roles was to bear witness and tell stories that would otherwise not have been told. With any citizen armed with a smartphone and a good connection able to report from the scene, this challenged journalists' privileged status. And with certain stories—such as the Syrian conflict—it became almost impossible to cover such stories without using citizen journalists.

The perceived “authenticity” of such citizen journalism at a time contrasted with the increasing distrust of mainstream media, compounding the issue. Even more, private social media platforms such as Facebook began to act as a vector for transmitting news, bypassing mainstream organizations altogether.

As a result, legacy media started to co-opt this mode of reporting, also livestreaming and integrating new tools such as drones in order to continue to attract audiences and engage them. For example, a reporter from BBC 5 Live used Periscope to record the devastation in a village in the Sindhupalchok district on his phone during the 2015 Nepal earthquake. This challenged conventions around length, format, and expectations; a livestream does not adhere to a conventional 30-minute news bulletin, for example.

It also gave journalists more flexibility—instead of a whole camera crew, only one person and a smartphone were needed, meaning that news could be produced more cheaply, making it easier for small media outlets in developing countries and also freelance journalists.

Another impact was the fact that livestreamed videos became objects of news coverage themselves. Just as collating and describing tweets at the time of the Haitian earthquake became ways of mainstream media covering a story, so too Facebook Live videos were picked up by news organizations. This can range from the funny (the 20,000 people who watched a livestream of pedestrians trying to negotiate a large puddle in

Newcastle, England, in January 2016) to the serious—for example, Diamond Reynolds’s livestream of the aftermath of the fatal shooting of her boyfriend Philando Castile by a police officer in July 2016 in Minnesota. She started the video with the words “Stay with me” before panning to Castile whose shirt was soaked with blood, and going on to document her interactions with the authorities for as long as 10 minutes after the shooting. The video was shared by Black Lives Matter activists and a succession of protests and vigils were held as a result. It then made its way into the main bulletins, influencing the news agenda, which may also lead to further public awareness and more videos posted, sustaining the news cycle.

Finally, while much of the focus has been on covering outside events, another development has been for journalists to interact with their audiences by deploying their expert commentators on Facebook Live feeds to comment on stories. Newspapers like the *Financial Times*, for example, started to regularly use livestreaming as a way of allowing audiences to interact with their pundits, while *The Independent’s* political team would livestream analysis on the weekly Prime Minister’s Questions held in the House of Commons. And, during the 2017 UK general election, BuzzFeed used Facebook Live for its coverage of the night’s unfolding dramas.

Controversies and Ethical Difficulties

The increased use of livestreaming however has given rise to several ethical questions around its use. Unlike traditional broadcasting news, the immediacy of livestreaming means there is not time to assess content in the same way as in a newsroom, where there may be a producer, editor, video editors, and even an editorial board to consider whether this footage should be broadcast in this way.

In some cases, there have been problems around whether livestreaming could interfere with police or medical personnel during crisis situations. It has become increasingly common—as happened in the middle of the 2015 Brussels lockdown, when the police asked users to stop tweeting or livestreaming about operations taking place as such information could also be read by the terrorists.

News reporting conventions mean that in certain situations, people’s identities or appearances are obscured, for privacy or protection reasons, and that the moment of death is not shown. With the immediacy of livestreaming, there may not be the capacity to observe these norms. And while journalists may adhere to these norms in their own work, linking to other people’s livestreams or rebroadcasting the footage may not do so. For example, when the Bangkok bomb blast happened in 2015, a Periscope user Derek van Pelt filmed the aftermath live, exposing viewers to traumatic images before he realized he was filming body parts.

Van Pelt later said that he had not realized what he was filming; in other cases, sometimes people do know what they are filming. Suicides, murders, and terrorist attacks have all been Facebook Live “events.” In 2017, four people in Chicago were charged with hate crimes, kidnapping, and battery after a Facebook Live video showed them beating a disabled man, while a year earlier in 2016, a double murder of police employees in Paris was broadcast with ISIS claiming responsibility.

When journalists then take such footage and re-broadcast it, this can allow terrorists in particular to use livestreaming to spread messages of violence, fear, and hate. Social media platforms rely on artificial intelligence to spot violating content and remove it as soon as possible, but that has not always proved effective. In 2019, Facebook came under fire for the spread of a livestreamed video that showed the New Zealand mosque shootings that left 51 dead. It subsequently said it would work with London’s Metropolitan police using body cameras to increase the number of first-person images in order to train its machine-learning tools.

But media organizations then have to decide how they cover such stories as well. New Zealand’s official censor banned the shooter’s document justifying his actions as well as video of the attacks. Some mainstream media outlets however did broadcast clips of the killer’s livestream, despite fears that this could lead to copycat crimes and also that wide dissemination of such footage was clearly what the shooter wanted.

The Future of Livestreaming

Livestreaming has had a significant impact on journalism in contesting norms around format, ethical approaches, and boundaries of journalism. The ability of ordinary citizens to not only document news events but broadcast them easily and cheaply to a wide audience has questioned journalists' precedence in bearing witness to noteworthy events.

Filming from a first-person perspective, in an immediate rather than polished way, has contested the objectivity norm and the idea of journalism as a finished product. This has challenged where the boundaries of journalism lie, as mainstream media organizations have both co-opted livestreaming footage into their own coverage and adopted livestreaming themselves in order to attract viewers.

Innovative approaches have resulted in powerful journalism such as the reporting of the 2015 refugee crisis, and use of livestreaming to take viewers behind the scenes of events.

However, ethical problems are still being debated. While the immediacy and perceived authenticity of such footage continues to attract viewers, issues over protection of victims and impeding crisis response are yet to be fully worked out. In addition, the use of livestreaming to share acts of violence and terrorism remains problematic.

Glenda Cooper

See also Citizen Journalism; Digital Journalism Ethics; Facebook; Instagram; Social Media; Terrorism, Coverage of; Twitter; User-Created Content; YouTube

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LOCAL JOURNALISM

Local journalism is broadly defined as a professional practice and a product that is specific to a geographic area and focused on the people and events that are connected to that geographic area. There is debate as to the size of a local geographic area, as well as the different audiences served. Local journalism is a critical component of journalism broadly because of the many impacts that local journalism has on communities and civic society. The work of local journalism is just as important in large metropolitan regions as it is in rural communities; further, local journalism is not tied to a specific media format, but is experienced across media, from television to radio to print to the web.

Local journalism outlets include television stations, radio stations, newspapers, and media websites. Increasingly, local journalism also includes the dissemination of content via social media outlets. Collectively, these outlets work in aggregate to provide a local journalism. Regardless of media outlet, local news serves a critical function in providing information to community members. Illustrating the importance of local journalism, Pew Research Center reported in 2019 that 73% of Americans follow local news at least somewhat closely, and nearly 9 of every 10 Americans (89%) obtain some of their local news digitally (websites, apps, or social media). The second statistic points to the challenge of the growing role of digital in the context of local news.

This entry examines local journalism by first considering the various dimensions that comprise local journalism, and then by examining the impact that local journalism has on the communities covered by a local news outlet. The impact of the demise of local journalism is also examined in order to better understand the state of the industry. Finally, this entry examines the impact that local journalism has on a given community and

the impact on the function of government within that community.

Dimensions of Local Journalism

In defining local journalism, there is a clear challenge in framing what counts—and what does not count—as local. Prior research has defined local news from a variety of dimensions, although most research has focused on two schools of thought: an audience-centric perspective and a geographic approach.

The audience-centric approach to defining local journalism focuses on defining local journalism through the perspective of audience members in a given community. This emphasizes understanding what audience members see as directly relevant to the local context. This approach is advantageous in some instances as it emphasizes consumption and frames the discussion of local journalism through the lens of what community members see as valuable. The term *local* evokes different responses from different audience members, but broadly connects to the sense of geography, place, and community that help to create a sense of belonging. Thus, an audience-centric view emphasizes how audiences come to understand and experience local news and how that experience impacts their perception of a given community.

A geographic approach looks to define local journalism based on geographic areas. For instance, some scholars have defined local media based on the geographic boundaries of a given county. Others define local journalism as the media outlets that are physically located within city limits of a specific town that is the focus of a study. In another line of work, researchers used fixed mileage ranges to represent media outlets covering a given region.

The advantage of a geographic approach is that it sets specific boundaries for what is counted as local journalism and removes subjectivity. A challenge of this approach is that the geographic area covered by a local journalism outlet depends in large part on the type of media. Local broadcast television stations tend to have a wider geographic reach than newspapers and also reach a larger audience. Radio stations tend to have an even wider footprint than local broadcast television, but also tend to reach a smaller audience. Websites

are more complicated in terms of both geographic reach and audience; websites are not bound by geographic region, but it is also easier to target content to specific audiences. For instance, Facebook has explored the use of geographic targeting to create local news pages that serve specific towns and regions. Similarly, newspaper companies such as *The Washington Post* are using keyword targeting to reach specific audiences searching online for news on topics related to certain keywords. Thus, the geographic framing of local journalism can help to create clear boundaries, but the classification of what counts as local journalism is complicated by the variation in focus of the various media outlets covering a given community.

The Demise of Local Journalism

There is significant variance across the United States in terms of the degree of access to quality local journalism within each community. Since 2000, local journalism has faced increasing competitive pressure and a declining business model. Traditional local journalism outlets (print, radio, and television) have faced significant struggle in part because of the success of online-only news media outlets, as well as mobile apps and social media, in attracting large users bases. These online outlets have also been quite successful in attracting advertising dollars, including at the local level, because of the ease with which advertisers are able to target specific users via online advertising. Moreover, online platforms have given users a mechanism to produce and distribute local journalism, often in place of traditional local journalism. Examples include community reporting on Patch.com websites in the 2010s and the acceleration of community reporting and community information sharing on social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter. Many communities today have their own private or public Facebook group, where one will frequently find community activists reporting on events such as local sports or school board politics.

Simultaneously, a significant body of research has focused on the demise of local journalism, particularly in the second decade of the 21st century. According to a report from the University of North Carolina, newspapers have been

particularly hard hit by the decline, with weekday readership of U.S. newspapers declining from 122 million daily readers in 2004 to 68 million daily readers in 2019. In part, the decline in advertising revenues has led local newsrooms to slash the number of reporters covering a given community, or to cut salaries in order to reduce operating expenses. The number of journalists in this period fell from 71,000 in 2004 to 35,000 in 2019. Work from a multi-institution team led by Duke University found that the quality of local news coverage is declining; increasingly, coverage produced by local news outlets has a low probability of being either original or locally relevant to a given community.

Broadcast news remains a small spark of hope in the changing landscape of local journalism. Similarly, while radio has faced some consolidation and challenges in continuing to produce new news, both remain viable local information sources. But both radio and broadcast tend to operate at a regional level as opposed to a local level, and as a result, there is a greater buffer in terms of audience and advertising to help these entities to persevere.

Another challenge facing both newspapers and broadcast stations is the increasing shift toward consolidation in the industry. In 2019, Gannett/Gatehouse Media owned 613 newspapers in the United States, and Digital First/Tribune owned 207 newspapers. Nexstar media group owned 42 local broadcast stations. Similar patterns exist in radio, where in 2021 companies such as Cumulus Media (445 stations) and iHeart Media (855 stations) own significant shares of the local news market. As the industry continues to face increasing competitive pressure, it is likely that trends of market consolidation will continue. Research shows that this ongoing trend of consolidation can help media companies to produce content more efficiently, but it also tends to result in a decline of local and original media content.

Given the ongoing decline of local journalism, it is increasingly important that researchers track the way in which changes to local news coverage impact communities. A number of large-scale studies have started to track the health of local journalism in the United States and globally. There is evidence that some communities are becoming news deserts, finding that their community no

longer has a news outlet covering their specific information needs. From 2004 to 2019, more than 2,000 local newspapers closed and more than 1,800 news deserts emerged lacking any dedicated local journalism outlet. A number of variables impact the emergence of news deserts. For instance, large cities employ an increasing percentage of professional journalists, and as a result, there is a lack of professional journalists working in small- and medium-sized communities. Other factors impact the emergence of news deserts, specifically when considering the nature of a given community.

Local Journalism and Community

With local journalism declining in many communities, there is cause for concern. Local journalism is part of the lifeblood of a given community. In 2012, the Federal Communications Commission established eight categories served by local journalism: emergencies and risks, health, education, transportation systems, environment and planning, economic development, civic information, and political life. Local newspapers have traditionally delivered the most focused and targeting local journalism content. Broadcast and radio stations tend to speak to a broader audience with few directly local stories. Consider, for instance, KARE 11 (NBC affiliate) in Minneapolis; the station's local news coverage focuses on Minneapolis, but there is usually at least one or two stories each night that focus on another region of the state. Thus, the coverage is not directly local, but it may cover local issues from time-to-time depending on where audience members live. Moreover, the composition of a given community impacts the probability that a community will have dedicated local journalism. For example, communities with a large percentage of underrepresented groups are also likely to experience a lack of local journalism, or a less robust local news media.

When there are declines in the production and consumption of local journalism, research demonstrates that there are correlated declines in the level of citizen knowledge, community engagement, and participation in elections. For example, local journalism within a given community provides a key channel for citizens to gain access to information about local elections for mayor, or for

school board. The same media outlets also provide citizens with information about key issues facing the town and school board. The loss of this type of media coverage leaves a significant gap in available community information. Furthermore, community coverage keeps citizenry aware of community events; this type of basic reporting is a key driver of community engagement, and the absence of this coverage leads directly to a decline in levels of community engagement.

Local Journalism and Democracy

Local journalism is inextricably linked with the growth and maintenance of a healthy democracy. Local journalism contributes to an informed citizenry; consumption of local news has been linked in research to increased participation rates in local elections.

Declines in the number of local journalism outlets in a given geographic region, hand-in-hand with declines in the quality of local journalism, has notable negative effects on local government. For instance, in communities where local journalism outlets have closed, research shows that there tends to be an increase in government costs. Local journalism outlets often occupy a watchdog function, holding government leaders accountable and ensuring transparency. There is also a decline in participation in local politics; at a basic level, local journalism keeps community members aware of political events within a community, and that awareness drives involvement. In the absence of that function, a decline in participation is likely to occur.

At the same time, there is evidence that local journalism is becoming increasingly partisan and polarized, following the pattern seen in national media. Hyperpartisan websites featuring local journalism have started to emerge, with the ownership and sponsorship of these sites left intentionally opaque in order to obscure underlying motivations. The rise of hyperpartisan websites can be harmful for a couple of reasons. First, these sites tend to focus on polarizing and often misleading news articles. Second, the influx of highly partisan content fosters a culture of distrust with regard to local journalism. In sum, there is a clear connection between local journalism, democracy, and civic engagement.

The Future of Local Journalism

As local journalism struggles to compete in the face of increased competition for audience time, declining advertising revenue, and for resources needed to produce local news such as talented reporters, the future of the industry remains uncertain. The future of local journalism is complicated by the rise of alternate forms of dissemination and production. Online news outlets, mobile news apps, and social media outlets each offer new forms of production and distribution for local journalism. In addition, algorithms underlying much of this technology promise to automate some aspects of local journalism production and distribution. At the same time, there is concern about the impacts of automating local journalism. For example, some producers of local journalism such as Gannett and Tribune have experimented with automation of the production of some content such as sports box scores and financial reporting. Researchers have raised additional concerns about the accuracy and the reliability of automated reporting. Furthermore, as algorithms are used to augment the production of local journalism, there is a concern that the increased use of such technology will replicate existing societal biases.

While some focus on concerns regarding technology and automation, others have turned attention to policy solutions to help support local journalism. For instance, the state of New Jersey recently established the Civic Information Consortium to award small grants to local news organizations with the aim of helping to support new business models. Similarly, a state commission in Massachusetts was recently established to look at policy actions that could be taken to help bolster local journalism efforts in the state. While the future of local journalism continues to remain in flux, technological developments and policy changes may help support new forms of local journalism. Regardless, it is clear that local journalism serves a critical function within modern society, but that the nature of local journalism will continue to evolve.

Matthew S. Weber

See also Audience Research; Audiences; Civic Journalism; Community Radio; Hyperlocal Journalism

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LONGFORM JOURNALISM

As of 2021, longform is a relatively recent name for a journalistic genre that goes by many names: literary journalism, narrative journalism, reportage, nonfiction, journalistic storytelling, and others. Stories of this format can be found in traditional publications such as newspapers, magazines, and books as well as on specialized online platforms such as longform.org or longreads.com, aggregators that curate stories from a variety of sources. The term *longform* emerged because some entrepreneurs and journalists were looking for a way to capture different kinds of nonfiction writing (e.g., narrative journalism, essays, historical documents, screenplays, book chapters) and make them available on tablets, mobile devices, and on the Web. While the label *longform* is new, however, the history of this genre goes back to the 19th century, and its characteristics both evolved and solidified over time. The following entry uses the term *narrative journalism* because it better describes the

constructed nature of this genre in that it emphasizes the combination of reporting (journalism) and narrative (aesthetic effects). Narrative journalism is a form of storytelling that relies on fact-based reporting and conveys information in the form of a story, foregrounding stylistic elements such as character, plot, descriptive detail, and point of view. The goal of narrative journalism is to create an immersive experience for readers, often eliciting strong emotions such as empathy and joy but potentially also outrage and disapproval. Whatever the actual intellectual and emotional engagement looks like, ultimately narrative journalism provides an opening for moral reflection.

It is important to note that the following discussion focuses on narrative journalism in the United States. While examples of longform storytelling in journalism can be found around the globe and illustrate a broad spectrum of journalistic and literary cultures, the genre of narrative journalism has a distinct American flavor and has become a standard to aspire to. Part of its success story in the United States is that, over time, a dense institutional and cultural network evolved, providing writers with incentives, best practices, and traditions to draw from as well as analog and digital platforms to publish on. That said, narrative journalism also has deep roots in Europe where its popularity ebbed and flowed over time. Moreover, the current media environment also created conditions for more and stronger international exchange among practitioners and scholars, leading to conferences and networks focused on the theory and practice of narrative journalism around the globe.

This entry first offers a brief history of narrative journalism, sketching its evolution from the 19th century to the present. Then the discussion shifts to reporting techniques and the mechanisms of gathering facts, the building blocks of nonfiction stories. The next section examines how narrative journalism uses literary techniques to create an immersive experience for its readers. The concluding section focuses on the role and significance of longform narrative journalism in the 2021 media environment.

Brief History

Narrative journalism as a cultural phenomenon had its beginnings in the late 19th century and

emerged in an era when literature and journalism were not yet entirely separated. In an age of accelerating industrialization, massive immigration and the nationalization of American life, journalism and literature turned their gaze to actual people and how they lived. It became important to describe the cities with their sights and sounds, social life in all its complexity and diversity. For instance, journalists and fiction writers were intrigued by the variety of immigrant lifestyles and often abysmal living conditions in urban neighborhoods. They were trying to make sense of the modern world, brought about by scientific innovation and economic expansion. Hutchins Hapgood and Jacob Riis were prominent examples of writers who ventured out as ethnographers and introduced a wider audience to the plight of the slums in New York City.

While early literary journalists such as Mark Twain and Stephen Crane easily switched between literature and journalism, the two fields were drifting apart by the early 20th century and journalism became its own professional practice with certain norms, values, and routines. As a result, literary techniques played a less prominent role for a while. Beginning in the 1930s, reporters began to see themselves as narrators again and advanced more subjective and interpretive forms of telling stories. Especially the *New Yorker* became a prime example of innovative writing, blending earlier literary trends of naturalism and realism. The magazine published a groundbreaking piece by John Hersey in 1946 when his story about the dropping of the first atomic bomb in Hiroshima filled an entire issue of the magazine. Another influential writer was Lillian Ross, who used literary techniques in her writings that ranged from profiles (e.g., about Ernest Hemingway) to the workings of big movie production.

Despite all these literary precursors, the reference point for most contemporary longform journalists is the so-called *New Journalism* of the 1960s. In the context of fundamental social, political, and cultural change, these journalists were applying literary techniques (cinematic writing, extended dialogue, point-of-view, and interior monologue) to journalistic works. Tom Wolfe, one of its earliest and most prominent proponents, argued that New Journalism offered readers not only a fully reported, objective description of events but also the subjective and emotional life of

characters, characteristics that would typically be more common in novels and short stories but not in journalism. But not only the style of the New Journalists differed from regular news writing. These reporters were interested in subcultures (e.g., Hunter S. Thompson's portrait of the Hell's Angels), cultural trends (e.g., Joan Didion's vignettes about California), the life of celebrities (e.g., Gay Talese's profile of Frank Sinatra, which has been often described as the best piece of literary journalism in the 20th century), as well as close-up depictions of political events (e.g., Norman Mailer's stories about the Democratic Convention in 1960 or the 1967 March on the Pentagon). Critics of the New Journalism alleged that its practitioners were mixing facts and fiction, undermining the truth claims of traditional journalism. However, as scholars pointed out time and again, the fluid character of narrative journalism has nothing to do with making things up but is rather a result of a range of literary elements that narrative journalists employ for the sake of enhancing the aesthetic, emotional, and intellectual experience of nonfiction stories.

While many literary journalists started out as newspaper reporters, they typically published their writing in magazines or books. Influenced by the work of these journalists, however, reporters and editors in U.S. newspapers began experimenting with narrative writing styles. The *Washington Post* was the first major newspaper that deliberately and systematically incorporated narrative techniques into its daily news production when it launched its Style section in 1969. During the 1970s, other newsrooms (e.g., *Los Angeles Times*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*) were also experimenting with storytelling formats, but it was not until the end of that decade that the newspaper industry as such paid attention. In response to declining circulation numbers, the American Society for Newspaper Editors initiated efforts to improve writing and inaugurated writing awards in 1979. In the same year, feature writing was introduced as a category to the Pulitzer Prizes. By the 1980s, news organizations began pouring resources into the production of feature stories. They hired writing coaches, gave reporters more time to work on assignments, and expanded weekend editions by adding narrative stories. The Poynter Institute, then evolving as the country's leading training center for mid-career journalists, became

instrumental in promoting narrative writing at newspapers and, by the 1990s, other renowned training institutions such as the American Press Institute and universities (Harvard University, University of Missouri, Boston University) held workshops and conferences about the benefits of storytelling. By the beginning of the 21st century, a veritable storytelling movement had taken shape, expanding the genre in multidimensional ways across media and platforms.

The Art of Reporting

Before narrative journalists can employ literary techniques, they have to gather their material, which comes from thorough, in-depth, and often deeply personal reporting. To craft compelling stories, they have to develop specific research strategies and reporting techniques as well as cultivate self-reflexivity and emotional intelligence. Getting access to sources and earning their trust are the most important part because this determines whether a journalist will have opportunities to follow along for important events, take a look at personal documents, and ask probing questions. Since the emotional experience of characters is such an essential part of longform journalism, journalists have to negotiate the challenge of conducting intimate interviews with strangers they hardly know. They need to establish a bond quickly, assuring their interviewees that they truly care about their story. At the same time, reporters still have to do rigorous research and double-check information they have received. In addition, observation and being there when action is unfolding are key elements for impactful reporting, because gathering this kind of information allows reporters to craft dynamic scenes and evocative images. Narrative journalists often work like anthropologists or ethnographers, as they carefully record sensory information (what they see, hear, smell) and take detailed notes on what they observe happening around them. An extreme example of this kind of reporting is Adrian Nicole LeBlanc, who spent more than a decade reporting and writing her book *Random Family*, chronicling the life of a Puerto Rican family in the Bronx. Another demanding form of immersive reporting is going undercover. For his book *Newjack*, Ted Conover became a prison guard at Sing Sing in

New York and captured life in prison from his personal perspective.

Narrative journalists use the whole arsenal of journalistic tools to gather information. In his Pulitzer Prize-winning story “Guantanamo’s Darkest Secret,” New Yorker reporter Ben Taub told the story of Mohamedou Salahi, who was falsely detained as a terrorist by the United States in Guantanamo Bay. Taub combines direct observation, interviews, diaries, and ample contextual reporting about the U.S. war on terror with a personal profile that illuminates the complexities and political miscalculations of American foreign interventions. In a similar vein, Hannah Dreier of ProPublica addressed a structural problem, gang violence, by profiling a former gang member who talked to law enforcement about escaping gang life only to be detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement and subsequently threatened by other gang members. She and her editors had to balance her source’s desire to tell his story with the threat to his life. The story “A Betrayal” was published in New York magazine without disclosing the character’s last name or showing his photo. Henry, the former gang member, wanted the story out and let Dreier read through years of messages on his phone. He also helped her make a glossary of Spanish gang slang so that it became possible for her to understand the coded text and voice messages he exchanged with other gang members. As this example shows, ethical challenges and moral decisions are intricate parts of reporting for narrative journalism.

The Craft of Writing

To create an immersive reading experience, narrative journalists use literary techniques and narrative conventions, stylistic effects that elicit aesthetic, emotional, and intellectual responses from readers. Consequently, these effects shape factual reporting material in distinct ways. A traditional news story answers the questions about who, what, where, when, why, and how. Narrative journalism takes each of these elements and fleshes them out into fuller narrative forms. As a result, journalistic storytelling includes characters (who), action (what), setting (where), chronology (when), motive/cause (why), and process (how). Fully developed, these elements are then assembled by the writer into the

basic story template: Someone (one or more persons) encounters an obstacle (e.g., social, psychological, political) and then overcomes (or fails to overcome) that obstacle, leading to either a resolution or an open end. This narrative construction of factual information is so powerful because it not only informs but actually gives form—orientation, time and space, logical connections, meaning, intention, and focus—to lives that inherently lack forms.

“It feels like a movie,” readers often say when they read longform journalism. That is because, as Christopher Wilson has noted, realism is a style that makes people forget it is a style. Stylistic effects create the illusion that readers are directly experiencing reality. Writers use literary techniques to conceal the constructed nature of the text. They show rather than tell. As a result, readers develop mental images associated with the descriptions in the text. These stylistic effects derive from different sources and play out in manifold ways, depending on journalists’ individual creativity, skills, and tastes. However, a key distinction is whether a story is told in first or third person. First-person accounts describe acts of personal witnessing and offer testimonies. In combination with thick observational data, they create a form of ethnographic realism. Often, the writer organizes them around the theme of a journey, a voyage, a personal revelation. Joan Didion is a master of this kind of storytelling. From her early writings about cultural changes in the 1960s to personal accounts of the grief of seeing her partner and daughter die within a short amount of time, Didion created intimate accounts of both societal change and personal suffering. Third-person narratives, on the other hand, tell stories from the fly-on-the-wall perspective, introducing a cast of characters and their relationships. The writer relies on an omniscient point of view, using foreshadowing and flashbacks as well as multiple locations. The third-person perspective can construct a world unto itself, transporting the reader into a different time–space continuum. This kind of realism can be ethnographic as well, but in this case, the writer discards the role of a personal guide and instead retreats into the background. The aforementioned story “Hiroshima” is a paradigmatic example for this kind of cinematic writing. Using an understated tone of writing, Hersey described the experience of the atomic bomb from the perspective of six characters on the ground,

relying on meticulously reported personal and sensory details that gave his depictions a three-dimensional character.

Longform and Digital Media

The current digital media environment created new opportunities for longform journalism and narrative nonfiction beyond the traditional forms of literary journalism. News organizations have increasingly embraced multimodal forms of journalistic storytelling that combine visual and written modalities for telling immersive stories. A groundbreaking example was “Snow Fall,” a multimedia story by *The New York Times* that won the Pulitzer Prize in Feature Writing in 2013. Combining text, video, and animated graphics, the story reconstructs how an avalanche buried a group of skiers in the state of Washington, killing three of them. Multimodal stories such as this are no longer the exception but common practice in leading news organizations. Longform journalism has also gained a strong foothold in the world of podcasts. Following the success of “Serial,” an investigative audio story in 12 episodes that was created by Sarah Koenig and Julie Snyder in 2014, a whole cottage industry of narrative journalism podcasts has sprung up.

As narrative journalism expanded and found bigger audiences, some critics assert that this genre panders to the lowest common denominator of human interest stories and is inherently flawed, because it neglects structural analysis of societal issues and prevents the juxtaposition of opposing viewpoints. Moreover, these critics contend that narrative journalism often produces trivial stories driven by a desire to please commercial interests, causing harmful effects for political life and public debate. In contrast, a number of scholars emphasize how narrative journalism is uniquely positioned to illuminate the domain of everyday life, situating personal experiences in social, cultural, and political contexts. As a result, they are able to show that, because longform stories are constructed differently than traditional news stories, they link the private sphere with public life, highlighting the small story that illuminates larger questions concerning the self, communities, and the human condition.

One reason why longform narrative journalism might resonate with audiences in the current media

environment is that this kind of storytelling complements information with emotionality without descending into sensationalism or infotainment (a combination of information and entertainment). Narrative journalists not only explore emotional experiences and subjectivities of individuals and groups but also put these emotional qualities in the center of their storytelling, challenging some aspects of objectivity (such as impartiality and detachment) as a traditional journalistic norm. On the other hand, acknowledging emotionality as part of professional journalism has expanded the repertoire of journalistic writing by capturing the breadth and depth of lived experiences through augmented objectivity.

Thomas R. Schmidt

See also Emotion in Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Interpretive Journalism; Literary Journalism; News as Narrative

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

The *Los Angeles Times* has been part of the city of Los Angeles' fabric since 1881, shaping the development and mystique of the City of Angels. For

decades, the newspaper was led by the Chandler Family, serving to make the family politically powerful and rich. But the paper's editorial focus changed when the last publisher of the four-generation reign began investing in the newsroom staff, who began regularly winning Pulitzer Prizes. In many ways, Los Angeles is a journalist's ideal: It is home to Hollywood, cars, oil, and aviation, not to mention crime, strife, and natural disasters. The *Los Angeles Times* has published the work of well-respected journalists such as editorial cartoonist Paul Conrad (who was on U.S. President Richard Nixon's infamous "enemies list"), columnist Jack Smith, photojournalist Boris Yaro, writer Patt Morrison, music critic Robert Hilburn, and reporter Ruben Salazar, who was killed in 1970 while covering the city's Chicano antiwar protests and later honored on a U.S. postage stamp. This entry is about the history of the *Los Angeles Times* and its impact on city development, politics, and culture.

Early Leadership

A century after the founding of what would someday become the United States' second largest city, the *Los Angeles Daily Times* published its first edition on December 4, 1881, with a seven-column front page containing more advertisements than news. Nathan Cole Jr., a St. Louis newspaperman who came to Los Angeles intent on starting his own publication, was the paper's primary investor and served as its editor. Former *Sacramento Union* publisher Thomas Gardiner, who also invested in the startup, was its business manager. With just 11,000 residents in Los Angeles at the time, the newspaper quickly experienced financial difficulties, and ownership was turned over to their printers. A hundred miles to the north, *Santa Barbara Weekly Press* publisher Harrison Gray Otis saw an opportunity to assert himself into the fledgling, yet promising, Los Angeles with its mild climate, undeveloped real estate, and absence of strong labor unions. Otis sold that newspaper and bought into the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, initially becoming its editor and then by 1886, full owner and publisher. He shortened the paper's name to the *Los Angeles Times*, which he simply called the *Times*. Otis became involved in the budding business community, helping to

launch the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce in 1888.

A veteran of many Civil War battles, Otis volunteered to fight in the Spanish-American War in the Philippines while his wife and son-in-law Harry Chandler kept the newspaper running. President William McKinley promoted Otis to the rank of brigadier general, an identity that stuck with him for the rest of his life. In an effort to attract residents and commerce to the area, the newspaper beckoned Midwesterners and Easterners with a mid-winter magazine touting the area's year-round outdoor recreation and Anglo residents. Using the newspaper to promote his pro-business and anti-union ideals ultimately increased his financial and political power.

Vacant land in the unincorporated San Fernando Valley to the north of Los Angeles was purchased by Otis, Harry Chandler, and other powerful businessmen (including a Los Angeles Water Board member) before the city announced its plan to build a 233-mile aqueduct from the northeast (Owens Valley, specifically) to Los Angeles. Using fear-mongering tactics, the *Los Angeles Times* compelled voters in 1905 to approve a \$1.5-million bond (equivalent to \$44.3 million in 2020) to buy land and water rights, followed 2 years later by a \$24.5-million construction bond (equivalent to \$723.6 million in 2020). Two years after opening the Los Angeles Aqueduct in 1913, the San Fernando Valley was annexed by the city, doubling the size of Los Angeles overnight and increasing the assets of the Valley landowners. As Los Angeles' largest landowner, Harry Chandler is widely considered to have inspired the villainous character in the 1974 film *Chinatown*, depicting California's water wars.

Otis's front-page vitriolic editorials influenced political decisions such as choosing union-free San Pedro as the official Port of Los Angeles rather than Santa Monica, the terminus of the union railroad. Provoked by Otis's incessant union bashing, union leaders retaliated by placing a suitcase full of dynamite near barrels of flammable printer's ink in an alley next to the *Times* building. The explosion in the early hours of October 1, 1910, killed 21 employees and injured more than 100 others. A suitcase containing dynamite was also found that night outside Otis's home as well as the residence of a Merchants & Manufacturers'

Association leader. (Otis was in Mexico at the time and both suitcases were removed before they could explode.) Brothers James B. (J.B.) McNamara and John J. (J.J.) McNamara, members of International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, were arrested and later pleaded guilty. Exactly 2 years after the bombing, the *Times* moved into a new building on the same site.

The Chandler Family

After Otis died in 1917, Harry Chandler took over as publisher, following in his father-in-law's footsteps by using the newspaper to wield influence and power. While publisher, Harry Chandler built the art deco, air-conditioned building at Broadway and First Street bearing the words, "True Industrial Freedom," that housed the *Los Angeles Times* from 1935 until the newspaper's move in 2018 to El Segundo next to Los Angeles International Airport. Despite the pro-business slogan, an attempt was made in 1944 to unionize the pressmen. The vote overwhelmingly failed, with *Times* management vowing to pay its employees better than union workers.

That same year, Harry Chandler died and his eldest son Norman Chandler took over as publisher when the *Los Angeles Times* was trailing its main competitors in circulation. Four years later, inspired by tabloids he'd seen while traveling in Europe, Norman Chandler launched the *Mirror*, an afternoon newspaper, to compete with William Randolph Hearst's *Los Angeles Herald-Express*. This resulted in a newspaper war with Hearst, which ended with an agreement in 1962 mandating the *Mirror* shut down on the same day Hearst closed its morning newspaper, the *Examiner*. Additional financial decisions resulted in the *Los Angeles Times* becoming the first general-interest newspaper to go public, accepting ads for alcoholic products, and attaining a forest products company and newsprint-producing facilities. Although still staunchly pro-business and right wing, the newspaper was starting its transformation.

Norman's wife, Dorothy Buffum Chandler, nicknamed "Buff," took journalism classes at the University of Southern California to learn more about the business. As her husband's administrative assistant, she called attention to the newspaper's coverage of women and the arts. In 1950, she

launched the newspaper's "Women of the Year" awards, which were even given to journalists who competed with the *Los Angeles Times*. As a well-placed philanthropist, she organized benefit concerts in 1951 to save the Hollywood Bowl and its orchestra and leveraged her societal position to raise \$19 million (equivalent to \$159 million in 2020) to help build the Music Center as a permanent home for the L.A. Philharmonic. The County of Los Angeles also contributed its share as part of the unique public-private partnership. The 3,156-seat Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, one of three performing arts centers at the Music Center, opened its doors on December 6, 1964, and frequently hosted the Academy Awards ceremony.

Editorial Change

The fourth, and final, Chandler to run the *Los Angeles Times* began his 20-year stint in 1960. Otis Chandler grew up wealthy, attending boarding schools and Stanford University. Competitive by nature, he was skilled at shot put and weight lifting and also enjoyed hunting and car collecting. In preparation for the top job, Otis Chandler had completed a lengthy apprenticeship, working in a variety of departments at the newspaper including the presses, newsroom, and business management. Norman Chandler's choice of his 32-year-old son to succeed him as publisher created a deep rift in the Chandler family. Norman's younger brother Philip, who at the time was serving as executive vice president of Times Mirror, was thought to be next in line as publisher. The conflict deepened a year later when the *Los Angeles Times* published an investigative series about the ultra-right-wing John Birch Society, which counted Philip Chandler's wife, Alberta, among its members. A tough front-page editorial signed by Otis Chandler himself only deepened the split.

Otis Chandler's legacy was his ability to bring respect and integrity to the newspaper, which he accomplished by hiring serious journalists, expanding the Washington, DC bureau and launching bureaus throughout the country and world. During Otis Chandler's two-decade run as publisher, the *Los Angeles Times* earned six Pulitzer Prizes, for coverage of the Watts riots in 1965, Vietnam War reporting by an international correspondent, exposing wrongdoing within the Los

Angeles city government commissions, and unsafe structural conditions at the nation's major dams, among other stories. (Despite the awards' existence since 1917, the *Los Angeles Times* had only won four Pulitzer Prizes before Otis Chandler became publisher in 1960.) Attention was also shown to local issues such as police brutality, traffic congestion, smog, and the plight of Latinos in particular. Otis Chandler left his position as publisher in 1980 to become chairman of Times Mirror Company.

No Longer in the Chandler Family

Tom Johnson, the first person outside the Chandler family to be publisher, stepped in after running an Austin, Texas, TV station and publishing the *Dallas Times Herald*. Johnson was publisher for 9 years, followed by David Lavenhol for 5 years and Richard T. Schlosberg III for 3 years. When Mark H. Willes, former General Mills executive and then-CEO of Times Mirror, took over as publisher in 1997, the pace of previous job-cutting and downsizing increased. Kathryn Downing, the first and as of 2020 the only female publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, was named in 1999 but left after a year due to a controversy in which newsroom employees were used to write and produce content for a special advertising section touting the opening of Staples Center multipurpose arena.

In what was considered the largest acquisition in newspaper history, the Chicago-based Tribune Company in 2000 acquired Times Mirror in a \$8.3-billion merger transaction. For the first time in its history, the *Los Angeles Times* was no longer owned by a local company. During the next 18 years, the newspaper had eight different publishers, which added to declining employee morale. In 2007, Chicago billionaire Sam Zell bought out the Tribune Company, and the remaining Chandler family members sold their entire stake in the company. Zell took the company private and in December 2008 the Tribune Company filed for bankruptcy. Employees' confidence in management fell in late 2017 when then-publisher Ross Levinsohn and then-editor Lewis D'Vorkin, both new to their jobs, failed to back up reporters who wrote articles critical of local tax breaks given to the Walt Disney Company, which resulted in

Disney banning *Times* journalists from new film screenings for a short time. Not long afterward, in January 2018, journalists at the newspaper voted 248-44 to unionize in the wake of dissatisfaction with top management and many years of cuts that had shrunk the staff from more than 1,000 in the late 1990s to fewer than 400. The newsroom's first union contract was finalized on October 16, 2019.

The ongoing crisis at the *Los Angeles Times* improved when billionaire transplant surgeon and cancer drug inventor Dr. Patrick Soon-Shiong and his wife, Michele, in June 2018 bought the newspaper and the *San Diego Union-Tribune* from Tronc, the rebranded name Tribune used for 2 years until it changed to Tribune Publishing. Soon-Shiong, who paid \$500 million in cash and assumed \$90 million in pension obligation for both newspapers, promised to improve its finances and restore the *Los Angeles Times* to its former glory. Although the stability of the newspaper improved, it continues to deal with declining advertisement revenues, calls for a more diverse newsroom, and equal pay for female reporters. In September 2020, reporter Angel Jennings was named the newspaper's first assistant managing editor for culture and talent, a new masthead-level position, to oversee the newspaper's Metpro and internship programs to promote diversity, equity, inclusion, and access. Veteran journalist Kevin Merida was named the newspaper's 19th top editor in May 2021, making him the third person of color to lead the newspaper since it was launched in late 1881.

Stephanie A. Bluestein

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Investigative Journalism; Journalism Awards; Labor Unions in Media; Media Ownership; News Organizations; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Pulitzer Prize; Tribune Publishing Company; Walt Disney Company, The

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LUCE, HENRY ROBINSON

Henry Robinson Luce (1898–1967) was an American editor, publisher, and media entrepreneur. Before television became the country's primary source for information, news, and entertainment, Luce's publishing empire dominated much of the American media landscape. That empire began with *Time* magazine in 1923, which he co-founded with Briton Hadden. *Time* was the first publication to present the news in short, concise, and opinionated stories. *Fortune*, Luce's second magazine, was first published in 1930 and covered American business in a new way: by discussing the intersection of labor, management, and government. Luce's most popular publication, *Life* magazine, was first published in 1936. Its pictorial content presented audiences with images and ideas from around the world. *Life's* mission

statement claimed, “To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events . . .” It became Luce’s flagship magazine. *Sports Illustrated*, Luce’s fourth publication, began in 1954 and presented sports and sporting events to middle- and upper-class audiences. Although it struggled in its first decade, the magazine began making a profit by 1964 when advertisers began to understand and appreciate its content.

After reviewing Luce’s early year and career, this entry explores Luce’s major publications and his influence on the field of journalism.

Early Years

Luce was born in 1898 in Tengchow (now Penglai), China, where his parents, Reverend Henry (Harry) Winters Luce and Elizabeth Middleton Root, worked as Presbyterian missionaries. Of the four children, Henry was the eldest. While in China, Luce attended the British China Inland Mission School. When the family returned to the United States, Luce was sent to boarding school at the Cathedral Grammar School at Saint Albans in Hertfordshire, England. At age 14, he attended the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut, where he befriended classmate Briton Hadden, who would later become a partner in Luce’s media empire. Both boys, even though polar opposites in personality and temperament, were interested in journalism and news in Europe.

At 18, Luce was admitted to his father’s alma mater, Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut. At Yale, Luce and Hadden, who had also been accepted to Yale, excelled in their studies. Luce became a distinguished student and prize-winning writer, while Hadden won every campus election in which he ran for. Both men were selected into the Skull and Bones, a secret society of young men who pledged to help each other throughout their lives.

After graduation, Luce moved to Chicago and worked at the *Chicago Daily News*, first as an assistant to columnist Ben Hecht, and later as a general reporter. By the fall of 1921, with the post–World War I recession in full force, Luce was let go from his position.

In Chicago, Luce dated and later married socialite Lila Ross Hotz. The marriage produced two children: Henry (Hank) and Peter Paul.

After Chicago, Luce took a job at the *Baltimore News* where Hadden was already working as a reporter. At the *News*, Hadden and Luce made plans for a new publication, which later evolved into *Time* magazine.

The Beginning of *Time* Magazine

The idea for *Time* magazine was to provide a growing, educated audience small capsulized stories of the world around them. At the time, newspapers and magazines fell into two categories: sensationalistic or elitist. The newspapers of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer tended to sensationalize the news and pandered to working-class readers. In contrast, the more serious newspapers used formulaic prose, excessively long stories and the mechanical style of writing used by the Associated Press. *The New York Times* was an example of the latter. It exemplified formal language, conservatism, and stories about obscure political events, speeches, and press conferences. Luce and Hadden’s idea was to create a publication that was lively, vivid, and accessible to an increasingly diverse middle-class audience.

After a difficult and frustrating fundraising campaign, *Time* magazine was born. The prospectus for the magazine offered an organized breakdown of the day’s news, including national public affairs, foreign news, the arts, sports, and people. The stories would be short, under 400 words, and fit under sections such as books, theatre, music, education, religion, or business.

Although Luce and Hadden did not strive for neutrality, they presented a more progressive and modern version of the news. Both Luce and Hadden quit their jobs at the *News*, and by early 1923, the first issue of *Time* was published. They hired fellow Yale graduate Roy Larsen as circulation manager. Larsen built a base subscription list of 8,000 before the first issue was even published.

Although magazine subscriptions grew with each issue, the magazine did not turn a profit until 1924. In the summer of 1925, citing cheaper operating costs, Luce relocated the home office and printing operations to Cleveland, Ohio. Hadden disagreed and fought to return the magazine to New York. After finding a less expensive printer, *Time* returned to the New York. The magazine continued to thrive and by 1929 reported a profit of \$400,000.

After contracting a case of blood poisoning, Hadden died on February 27, 1929, at the age of 31. After Hadden's death, Luce became the sole leader of *Time*, taking control of the management, as well as the editorial slant.

Luce placed Hadden's cousin, John S. Martin, as the managing editor of *Time*. Luce then acquired most of Hadden's stock, which allowed him to have the majority shares of Time Inc. He became the controlling stockholder as well as editor in chief and business manager.

Fortune Magazine

As *Time* continued to flourish, Luce developed an idea for a business magazine called *Fortune*. At the time, the few business magazines available focused on promoting corporate ideas and beliefs. Luce's idea was a publication that focused on the people who ran and worked in the business world. Unlike *Time*, which was tightly structured, Luce was able to explore different ideas with regard to design and photography. He hired talented artists and designers to create elaborate and elegant covers and illustrations. *Fortune* used expensive paper and high-quality photographs, which made it difficult and costly to produce. Its high production cost was transferred to its readers at \$1 per issue. As desired, *Fortune* attracted affluent readers and was first published in February of 1930 with 30,000 subscribers and multiple advertisers.

The March of Time

The March of Time began as a radio show to help promote and advertise for its sister publication, *Time* magazine. Larsen, *Time*'s circulation manager, came up with the idea as a way to increase visibility in the new medium of radio. Although never profitable, *The March of Time* gave significant support to *Time* magazine. It also led into the more successful, *March of Time* newsreel, which opened in theaters across the country on February 1, 1935. The short films lasted from five to 15 minutes and played before feature films in movie theaters. Directed by young filmmaker Louis de Rochemont, the newsreels received a special Academy Award in 1936. The newsreels continued to be popular and financially successful until 1951.

Clare Boothe and the Beginning of Life

Luce met Ann Clare Boothe during a Condé Nast party in 1934. At the party, Luce and Boothe discussed intellectual topics and the idea of a new photography magazine. At 31, Boothe was an accomplished writer and editor and a divorced mother. By the end of 1935, Luce had divorced Lila Ross Hotz and married Boothe in Greenwich, Connecticut (see Figure 1). The magazine Boothe and Luce had talked about when they first met was *Life*, which would soon become one of the most popular American weekly, pictorial magazines of the 20th century.

Life was published for 36 years, from November 1936 to December 1972, and was Luce's crown jewel. *Life*'s mission, taken from its prospectus, was to record, document, and educate all



Figure 1 Clare Boothe Luce, U.S. Ambassador to Italy, and Husband, Publisher Henry Luce, Arriving at Idlewild Airport, New York, NY, in 1954

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-124600. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c24600>. Phil Stanziola, photographer.

aspects of life. In the 1950s and 1960s, one weekly issue of *Life* was seen by more than half of the adult population of the United States, reaching more people than any television program at that time. During its first year, *Life* was said to have a pass-along factor of 17.3, meaning that, on average, more than 17 people would have read each copy. The magazine was also instrumental in the medium of photography. *Life*'s first picture editor, Wilson Hicks, described the magazine's unique combination of words and pictures as a photo story or essay. Each photograph would bring a different idea or point to the story, as well as each collection of pictures would help to support a theme, convey a mood, or deliver information in a way that one picture or written story could not. This made the magazine stand out from all the other mass circulation magazines, pictorial or otherwise. *Life* not only helped citizens learn about issues and events happening all over the world but also educated them with a visual vernacular of storytelling. The magazine turned Americans into consumers of a visual culture and customs and helped audiences see the world in visual terms.

The name *Life* had been Boothe's idea. It was the name of a former humor magazine that had fallen on hard times. Luce purchased the name for \$92,000. John Shaw Billings, an editor from *Time*, took over as managing editor, and Wilson Hicks became the magazine's photo editor.

The first issue of *Life* was incredibly popular, selling out everywhere. Newsstand copies were hard to find and selling for more than the cover price. The initial run of 250,000 issues was not enough for demand. It was also a financial disaster. Advertising rates were locked in for the first year, but as demand grew and production costs grew, losses quickly grew. After the first year and with the rise of advertising rates, circulation reached 1.5 million, more than triple the first-year circulation of any magazine in America at that time.

Margaret Bourke-White photographed the cover story for *Life*'s first issue on the Fort Peck Dam in Montana, the world's largest public works project ever undertaken in the United States. The photo essay intermingled photographs of workers in the small boomtown of Fort Peck with photographs of the dam. Over the years, *Life*'s photographers became some of the most successful and

prominent in the world. Photographers, such as Alfred Eisenstaedt, Robert Capa, Larry Burrows, Gordon Parks, W. Eugene Smith, and Carl Mydans, covered some of the most important events of the 20th century.

Life published its last weekly issue in December 1972. With circulation rates and advertising rates not keeping pace with its main competition, television, the magazine was no longer viable. It was revised as a monthly publication from 1978 to 2000 but did not have the resilience of first iteration.

"The American Century"

Luce was committed to his beliefs about America and was not afraid to use his publications to promote those beliefs. In the February 17, 1941, issue of *Life*, Luce published "The American Century" essay. The five-page essay was Luce's commentary on American life and the nation's uncertain relationship with World War II. It did not outwardly or explicitly call for an American declaration of war but, instead, called for a reverent commitment to righting the wrongs of the world. The essay encouraged thousands of responses from readers protesting America's involvement in the war. The essay was significant, not because America did enter the war, but because Luce was trying to redefine the way Americans viewed their place in the world: not as bystanders, but as major players in a larger, more complex political environment.

Sports Illustrated

Sports Illustrated, Luce's fourth magazine, was first published on August 16, 1954. It was popular with audiences but did not generate the financial profits anticipated. The magazine attempted to elevate the world of sports from just games people played into a powerful metaphor for the human condition. It covered the three most popular sports in the United States—baseball, football, and basketball—as well as more obscure sporting events such as horse racing, mountain climbing, scuba diving, and even baseball card collecting.

Although circulation rose year after year, advertising and revenue were slow to catch up. The cost of publishing the magazine far exceeded the original estimates. It was not until 1964, 10 years after its first issue, that *Sports Illustrated* became

profitable and one of the most influential sports magazines in the United States.

Luce's Legacy

On April 16, 1964, Luce announced his retirement as editor in chief of Time Inc., which, at the time, was reported to be the largest publishing business in the world. Luce died on February 28, 1967, in Phoenix, Arizona.

After his death, an article in *Life* magazine described Luce as "the most successful editor of his time, a great popularizer of ideas, a man who revolutionized modern journalism" (*Life*, March 10, 1967, p. 30). His magazines, *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, as well as the newsreels *The March of Time*, helped to change the practices of American journalism. Luce's formula was to synthesize, condense, and capsule information into short, readable, and understandable news stories. His business practices, as well as his ideas for publications, fueled his empire and legacy as one of the first media entrepreneurs to incorporate multimedia. Many of his publications, assets, and ideas are still in existence.

After his death, the Henry Luce Foundation, established in 1936, became the beneficiary of his estate. It continues to fund college scholarships in the fields of art, Asian studies, theology, education, public affairs, and public policy. According to the foundation's website, it has awarded more than \$1 billion in grants.

Michael DiBari Jr.

See also Business Magazines; Lifestyle Journalism; *New York Times*, *The*; Photo Magazines; Photojournalists; Sports Journalism; Yellow Journalism

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M

MAPS IN JOURNALISM

Maps in news stories allow journalists to more clearly and accurately show the public the location of one or more areas relevant to a story than they would be able to do with words alone. Maps also add an illustrative element to a news story, enhancing its design and attractiveness, similar to how photos or videos do. This entry examines the function, history, creation, and latest developments in news maps.

The Function of Maps in Journalism

Maps in news can describe not only the location of a specific setting but also its shape, size, and neighboring locations. They can show the location of events, such as where a demonstration took or will take place; demographics, such as how many people live in different counties within a given state; weather patterns that display where a rain or snowstorm may hit; and a number of other newsworthy topics that would benefit from graphic illustrations. Maps in news often focus only on key elements related to the story being told—main streets in a local story, for example, instead of all streets and alleys. Such maps allow the public to relate to the story being told, as their goal is to situate the public to the news story.

Similar to the news media's goal of informing and educating people, maps in the media allow

the public to further develop their knowledge of geography, locations, boundaries, and relations within locations. They help the public to better understand the world socially and physically, turning ideas that can be quite abstract into more tangible concepts. Maps, including those used in news stories, help the public to see geographic relationships and thus understand not only “where” events take place but also “how” and “why.”

Maps can be used in news stories about nearby areas as well as those farther away, including other continents or areas across the globe. Often, international stories, or those relating to areas with which the news audience is not as acquainted, will have accompanying maps, giving the audience additional information to understand and relate to the events being described.

Maps in news are typically simple in content and symbolization, so as not to require specialized knowledge to understand them. At the same time, maps in the media can educate the audience about the geographic location of places, events, or societies with which they may be unfamiliar. Many Americans, for example, learned about Middle Eastern geography in the early 1990s from maps the news media used when discussing the Gulf War, and about Iraq and Afghanistan in the early 2000s, when discussing the U.S.-led invasion.

In the 2020s, technology has offered news outlets advanced tools to analyze data to create those maps, as well as to create more interactive maps.

Different technologies and platforms, however, have changed the way journalists create maps and how the public uses them.

How Maps Are Created

The process of creating a map starts when an editor identifies a news story where a map could be used. The editor then submits a request for a map to an infographics specialist. Such requests often include the following: the name of the reporter and/or editor in charge of the story, in case the infographics specialist has any questions; a synopsis of the story itself, giving the infographics specialist context for creating the map; and the expected width of the final graphic, in columns (e.g., one column wide, two columns wide).

When available, a news outlet may choose to use a map that a news wire service, such as Reuters or the Associated Press, has made available. When maps from wire services are used, they are often adapted to fit the space the publication allocated for the map or to match the overall style used by the outlet, including, for example, typography and color scheme.

Sometimes, however, news outlets choose to create the maps themselves. For example, if the outlet has professional knowledge of the technique and software, creating maps from scratch may be easier, faster, or cheaper than using one provided by a wire service. A news outlet may also create its own maps when a story is too local, with no widespread appeal, to warrant interest from a wire service.

In such cases, the infographics specialist starts their work by identifying the location or locations to be covered in the map. To ease or speed up the design process, many news outlets compile templates or libraries of maps of common locations (e.g., nearby neighborhood, city, state, country) and symbols (e.g., ones for highways, state roads, or interstates). This allows for quick reuse or adaptation into a subsequent news map.

When creating a map from scratch, once the location to be covered is defined, the infographic specialist uses an existing map as the basis for designing their own map. In the past, this was done by placing transparency paper on top of existing paper maps and tracing the desired area. Later, with the advances of computers and

scanners, paper maps were scanned, and the tracing done with a computer. With the advent of the Internet and online mapping tools such as Google Maps, infographics specialists most often use screen captures of the desired areas as shown on a mapping site and trace the desired areas using those images.

Such tracing is commonly done using a vector-based software such as Adobe Illustrator. Vector-based software allow for a more precise tracing, and for the map, once created, to be later resized—whether bigger or smaller—without losing definition or quality. In this way, maps can be easily adjusted, such as when the original space available for the map changes, when the map is to be used on another platform (e.g., on the news outlet's website or on social media), or when the map will be used in a different story at a later time.

Print maps typically include six main elements: an overall title; a lead, which further explains the area being covered or the reason for creating the map; the map itself; the source (where the original image of the map was found); a credit line, listing the name of the infographics artists who traced the map or the wire service that provided it; and a scale of the map. As in journalism in general, accuracy is crucial for designing maps for the news. Thus, infographics specialists not only are careful in the tracing of the map and its details but also make sure to include an accurate scaling ratio of the map as displayed, compared to the real size of the area. If, for example, the map created is 5 inches wide when printed, but covers an area that is 5 miles wide in real life, the scale would convey that each 1 inch of the map represents 1 mile in reality.

Weather maps are a staple of television newscasts, although such maps are also widely used online and in print—something that *USA Today* highlighted when the newspaper was first launched in 1982. Television news weather maps show weather patterns, including temperature or wind direction, and are often animated. Various companies provide software to create these maps, including Accuweather, Baron, and The Weather Company. These companies use specialized hardware, including radar towers and tracking systems, to generate real-time weather maps, predict near-future weather, as well as show recent patterns and movements in weather.

History

Maps, in general, have been around for thousands of years. The earliest sketches of land portrayals ever found displayed good hunting areas within mountains and rivers. Found in Spain in 1993, they dated back more than 13,000 years. The earliest world map ever found dates back to 600 BCE. Around 150 CE, Ptolemy developed a method of mapping the entire globe, using what is now called *longitude* and *latitude*. In the 1500s, with the rapid expansion of world powers through navigation, a number of regional and world maps were developed.

As Mark S. Monmonier tells in his seminal 1989 book, *Maps With the News*, American colonial newspapers used maps as early as the 1810s, showing how legislative districts were divided within a state. Printing techniques at the time, however, made adding maps to news stories complicated: The use of metal or wood blocks in printing made tracing the outlines of specific regions and adding letters to name and describe areas quite hard. By the late 1800s, new technologies in news printing, including photo and half-tone engraving, improved the quality of news images overall, as well as the quality and details possible in news maps. Printing quality kept improving throughout the 1900s, as new technologies were developed and, by the late 1900s, the development of computers, especially personal computers, allowed maps to be created electronically and to be easily adjusted, corrected, and reused. This led to a great increase in the number of maps published by news outlets.

Historically, conflicts were a strong incentive for the use and interest of maps in newspapers. Conflicts in Europe and throughout European colonies in the 1850s, followed by the American Civil War in the 1860s, encouraged the use of maps in American newspapers, including full-page maps. World Wars I and II once again increased the use of maps in American news, assisting the public with understanding the events taking place across the globe. Two of the most famous infographics artists of the time were Charles Hamilton Owens, from the *San Francisco Examiner*, and Howard Burke, from the *Los Angeles Times*. Both were known for their realistic drawings in their maps, including sketches of specific buildings and landscapes.

In the 1980s, journalists started integrating data analysis into map-making, using, for example, geographic information software to find trends and write stories, creating maps based on such information. The first and arguably most famous case of mixing data analysis and map-making was the *Miami Herald's* coverage of the destruction brought by Hurricane Andrew in 1992. Stephen Doig, a reporter from the paper, led a team of reporters that produced a 16-page special report. Using a number of maps along with the stories, Doig and his team showed not only what residents affected by the hurricane could do but also how “lax zoning, inspection and building codes had contributed to the destruction” the hurricane caused. The coverage led to a number of political resignations and earned the *Miami Herald* the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service. The newspaper's coverage is widely credited with encouraging other journalists and news outlets to use data analysis in their news coverage and map-making, and further embrace computer-assisted reporting.

Latest Developments in News Maps

Since 2000, a number of technological advances, including the development of new platforms for news dissemination, have brought a number of new opportunities for using maps in the news industry.

One such platform has been mobile media. With more people relying on their mobile devices (e.g., cell phones, tablets) to read and follow the news, as well as to find directions, news outlets have had to adapt their news to these new devices. On the one hand, this has created some challenges: While maps in print or on the web can be as large as necessary, on mobile devices, maps have to be constrained to predefined, often small sizes.

On the other hand, these news devices and platforms have enabled news maps to be interactive as well as informational. For example, because most cell phones have geotagging enabled—which tracks where the user is located at any moment—a number of news outlets have recruited the public to contribute information that can be added to a map. Similar to how the app Waze tracks traffic patterns, news stations can use information the

public provides along with their location to create maps for news stories. These maps may discuss, for example, current events (e.g., sites affected by an earthquake or tornado), or weather patterns, with members of the public submitting images from their location.

Advances in touchscreen technology have also made maps more interactive. Maps no longer have to be static: Users can scroll left to right, top to bottom, and see more information than that contained in the map's original dimensions. On television, weather journalists can use large, touchscreen monitors to bring up different areas or additional information to the map, while political reporters can refer to various maps with different polling information when covering elections.

The addition of augmented reality in news maps can add interest to maps. Augmented reality superimposes information with images from one's own cell phone camera, allowing the user to interact with the story. One can, for example, receive further info on a location associated with a news story by activating one's cell phone camera when in that location. However, thus far, such technology is scarcely used by the news due to a lack of associated hardware, lack of reliability, and additional time required to develop.

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See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Data Journalism; Digital Distribution; Graphics; Pulitzer Prize; Social Media; *USA Today*; Weather Journalism

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MARKETING

Marketing is the customer-oriented process of creating, pricing, distributing, and promoting goods or services. Over the years, marketing has evolved from its dedicated, process-oriented roots to become a distinct and integrated component that drives the output of most organizations. The American Marketing Association defines marketing as an organizational function and set of processes for the creation, communication, and delivery of value to customers and for the management of customer relationships in ways that can benefit the organization as well as stakeholders. This entry offers an overview of the origins and development of marketing, discusses the concept of marketing mix, and explains integrated marketing communications.

For news media organizations, marketing accomplishes three important and interrelated functions: (1) to identify and create, distribute, and promote their products and services to answer to the informational, educational, and entertainment needs of their audiences; (2) to market their products and services to advertisers and third parties;

and (3) to increase brand awareness and develop strategies to promote organizational growth.

Both journalists and marketing practitioners use media channels to deliver information to their audiences. This proximity, combined with the need for media organizations to actively compete in the marketplace, has blurred to some extent the differences between marketing and journalism yet at the same time, has diversified and modernized both fields. The advent of new communication channels since 1990 has made it even more difficult to draw a clear distinction, at least from an applied perspective. Social media and the Internet of things have further expanded the traditional meaning of marketing, especially when it comes to customer interaction and brand awareness. Organizations value and strive for supporting user-generated content. In an increasingly segmented media market, one where gatekeeping has significantly switched from an organizational to an individual level, social media influencers have become important players in the marketing arena.

These competing marketing forces continuously shape the journalist's world as the consumer's need for news and informational channels dynamically change. Traditional print media outlets, such as newspapers and magazines, major employers of journalists, initially slow in adapting to modern business models, have openly embraced marketing and strategic communication, which had significant repercussions (sometimes negative ones) on newsrooms and traditional distribution channels. Adaptation, scalability, flexibility, and consumer engagement are staples of successful (or surviving) media outlets. In search of new revenue streams, many media outlets have implemented paywalls (either as a subscription or pay-per-article). While research shows that paywalls have a detrimental effect on page views and the number of readers, it also suggests that this effect is dependent on the news content, with political, economic, and social news being less affected by pay-to-access barriers. As a result, news organizations may try to adapt editorial content to provide more articles that readers are willing to pay for—another indirect influence of marketing goals and readers' engagement in the editorial process.

Journalism deals with information and has a duty to present accurate, factual, and balanced reporting and analysis of news events to its

audience. Marketing, on the other hand, and especially the *promotion* component, deals with persuasion, with the need and duty to generate or increase brand awareness and brand recognition, increase product or service recognition and demand, and ultimately increase sales. Journalism at its roots is descriptive; marketing is persuasive. By the end of the 20th century, information had become a commodity requiring effective packaging to be attractive to its intended audience. As of 2021, content must resonate with audience needs and values, and users have the opportunity to directly engage with organizations about the marketing messages they put forward. According to some researchers, a company's customers' investment in social media on topics related to the company's brand, products, or services, and the social media engagement those customers hold, should be a metric included on any return on investment calculation.

News media organizations make a significant portion of their revenues not only by selling information to readers (or indirectly to viewers) but by selling audiences to advertisers. Thus, as news media compete for customers for their advertising time or space, they must provide a news product which, using marketing terminology, must be tailored to the needs of the business (advertising) audience, with a competitive price structure, and be adequately promoted. Thus, a conflict arises between the need to be objective, tell the truth, and inform and the need to have a profitable business model and play a part in delivering third-party marketing-driven persuasive messages to readers or viewers who seek the media product because of its perceived informational value.

Business entities, on the other hand, employ journalism techniques to enhance the appeal of their public relations releases, so they are more likely to be selected for inclusion in the news. Research conducted by Lynne Sallot and Elizabeth Johnson in 2006 estimated that about 44% of news editorial decisions in the United States are influenced by public relations practitioners. This is a significant figure that adds to the pressure news media get from their advertising clients. This relationship reflects the balance of power between journalism and marketing in news media organizations. As the second decade of the 21st century has shown, media outlets are not immune to

advertisers' ire and have sometimes bowed to this pressure, especially when doubled by public outcry. Journalists have been fired for comments that they have made on their social media streams, which run against the values of their news organizations. As pressure on news media from market forces increases, journalists have to walk a continuously thinning line between sound journalism principles, audience scrutiny, and coping with increasingly demanding organizational pressure to deliver a *sellable* product.

To respond to the demand of increased competition among traditional and newer news outlets, media organizations apply marketing principles not only to promote their products but to affect the basic core of how news and editorial content is written and collated. The trend in the 21st century is changing from "delivering information" to "making information resonate with the audience" or packaging news to best meet the needs and values of advertisers and consumers. Not only the product, but the distribution channels have changed as well—with web and social media playing today a fundamental role on how news organizations market their products. The change can also be seen with the increasing number of journalism schools now offering social media and marketing courses and teaching news and information from more of a market-oriented perspective. For the first time, in 2018, social media surpassed newspapers as the main source of news for Americans, according to a PEW research study. Across the world, there is large variance in using social media as a main source of news, mostly due to trust and reliability issues.

Origins

The development of marketing can be traced through two distinct dimensions, one academic and the other functional. According to a 1988 seminal work by Robert Bartels, the academic evolution of marketing went through eight decade-long periods, starting in 1900.

The early years to 1910, or the discovery period, saw the first marketing courses in American colleges and the first published reports on price and distribution of agricultural goods, a first in utilizing the scientific method to explore the existence and interaction of market forces. The

second decade of the 20th century, or the conceptualization period, focused on researching and understanding of basic marketing processes and institutions and the role of products in the market. The period of integration in the 1920s was a time of assimilation of knowledge from sales management and advertising, thus creating the premises for further development of marketing. During the 1930s (the development period), the first comprehensive marketing theories were postulated, and the *American Marketing Journal* was first published in 1934. The 1940s was a period of reappraisal, marking theoretical development, and evolution of marketing from individual processes to a more integrative and systematic approach. The following decade built upon previous development and saw a refining of marketing knowledge with new theoretical work and development of modern marketing perspectives. The main achievements of the period of differentiation during the 1960s were the incorporation of quantitative research methods into marketing research and the extensive development of marketing models. The period after 1970 was marked by a realization that, at any societal level, interaction between organizations and their stakeholders may profit from the implementation of marketing techniques; this period also witnessed the development of social marketing as a distinct component.

The early 21st-century development of communication technologies and the increased utilization of online social networks (with billions of users, no geographical boundaries, and intimate targeting potential) mark another period in marketing's evolution. To further underline parallels between marketing and journalism, the same determinants irreversibly influence the way consumers seek information: user-generated content, almost nonexistent 20 years ago, represents most of the media consumption of young people. Online social platforms, social video-streaming services, blogs, instant messaging, and the like are but a few of the new outlets where people seek news and may trigger a revision of the position of the journalist in society.

According to Robert Keith in 1960, one can segment the real-life business impact of marketing into three main periods. Some marketing scholars have questioned this historical perspective,

although it is widely accepted and included in many marketing textbooks.

The first period (product-oriented), triggered by the industrial revolution, extends to the beginning of the 20th century. In an age of newly discovered mass production means and high demand, the main orientation of organizations was to design new products and make these quickly available to the market. The sales-oriented period lasted from the 1920s to the early 1950s and was defined by the depression and all the market turmoil that it generated. Diminishing purchase power and an abundance of products generated a sharp decrease in demand, forcing organizations to concentrate on sales. This is the great era of personal selling and the golden age of advertising.

The marketing-oriented period of the past half century has been fueled by the idea that to be successful in a market saturated with products and sales pitches, one must deliver to customers what they want, how they want it, when they demand it. This reorientation of the functional marketing philosophy has consumer characteristics and present and future needs as the focal point, heralding the golden era of consumer research.

The Marketing Mix

At the core of any marketing plan resides the concept of marketing mix. This notion is as important for a news media organization as it is for a retailer or manufacturer. Although perhaps not perceived consciously, the marketing mix is what drives how news is gathered, packaged, promoted, and distributed, thus influencing company policies and procedures, and in the end, the journalist. Postulated by Harvard Business School professor Jeremy McCarthy in the 1960s, the marketing mix comprises four elements: product, price, place, and promotion, sometimes referred to as the *four Ps* marketing concept.

Product represents the actual specifications of the goods or services offered to the customer and the congruence of these specifications with the consumer's needs and values. Some of the most important variables to consider are brand and quality, functionality and design, packaging and warranty, and postsale service and support.

Price represents the perception of exchangeable product value for the customer and the process of

determining that value, including any financial incentives that may be associated with the actual selling process. Variables that must be considered include list price, gross, and point of sale discounts, financing and leasing options, and allowances.

Place denotes the process of bringing the product or service in contact with the customer, at the right time, in the best place, and in the required quantities. This component of the marketing mix is sometimes called *placement* or *distribution*. Variables that must be considered include locations and logistics, distribution channels, and market coverage.

Promotion refers to the process of informing, educating, and persuading selected target audiences about the organization, the product or service, and the brand. It uses a complex arsenal of research, communication tools, and strategic thinking. Some of the major variables to consider include message development, advertising and public relations, media plans, and media channels.

The Extended Seven Ps

The development of the service industry during the final decades of the 20th century influenced changes in the marketing mix, which needed to adapt to new market realities. A departure from the traditional four Ps marketing concept is the seven Ps marketing mix, which adds people, process, and physical evidence to the traditional blend.

People. This concept has dual significance. On one dimension, it stands for any representative of an organization or its affiliates, distribution chain representatives, or service personnel who comes in direct contact with the consumer and may influence the overall satisfaction or perceived value of a product or service. Additionally, it means the consumers of a product or service, for their perception of the value of their purchase may influence other potential customers. The increased use of online discussion groups during the first half of the first decade of the 21st century and the exponential increase in users of online social networks during the second half of the same decade underscore the power of individuals in influencing the marketing of a product or service. This is of extreme importance to the

journalist. As people migrate from traditional news media, accounting for how people seek news from the multitude of available outlets influences how a journalist prepares a story and how it gets distributed. Furthermore, the explosion of user-generated content is threatening the core of the journalism profession. A strong trend of personnel downsizing at news media companies has been evident since 2004, with much of the former content being replaced by news generated freely by news consumers.

Process. This concept, specific to the service industry, addresses customer satisfaction from the perspective of the service process itself. This approach takes into account the intermediary steps needed to obtain the desired outcome, especially as customer interaction may be significant during the process. From a journalist's perspective, this can translate into transparency and responding to consumer questions and comments.

Physical Evidence. This concept is a direct complement of the *promotion* found in the classical four P's model, and it is also particular to the service industry. Demonstrations, endorsements, testimonials, and case studies highlight the fact that a service is intangible and its value is hard to evaluate prior to its delivery. Nothing could be more relevant for a journalist, especially for stories posted online: The story has a comments and a ratings field; any reader can post a comment and leave a rating. This trend has been exacerbated in the second decade of the 21st century through readers' engagement practices—in which readers not only share the story with their social network, but often comment on the story itself—thus influencing the uptake and perception of the information.

Integrated Marketing Communications

As noted, communication is an integrant part of marketing. The diversity of media channels and audiences and interaction between the two have created the need for organizations to present a consistent and coordinated message. One can define integrated marketing communications as the process of coordinating promotion with all other marketing efforts to deliver the maximum

persuasive and informational impact on targeted audiences. Integrated marketing communications practitioners take advantage of any new medium that may enhance and/or focus the delivery of their message—such as the usage of highly targeted promotional materials via online delivery, database marketing, and direct engagement of consumers via social media platforms. The overall businesses' openness to communication, plus the need to interact with news outlets in a language and a format they understand, has created a need for experienced journalists—many of them currently working as communication officers or social media managers in businesses. Marketing and journalism both serve audiences' need for information, and their strategic congruence has assisted the survival of news media organizations during periods of economic downturn and increased competition.

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See also Advertising; Advertorials; Business Journalism; Business Magazines; Social Media; Spin

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MATERIALITY

Journalism, as a way of working and knowing, is often described as a pragmatic discipline. That is, journalists go to press with what Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward have famously referred to over the years as “the best obtainable version of the truth.” Just what version of the truth journalists can obtain and the professional practices used to obtain it are facilitated and constrained by the material world. Among other things, a media organization’s physical proximity to events, the technologies, and tools available to journalists, the time limitations under which they work—in short, the realities of the physical environment—all have an impact on the news that’s produced. The physical environment likewise shapes audiences’ access to news and information in key ways, and the manner in which news spreads. Many traditions within social science and media criticism alike have focused on discourse and social processes as though they were unaffected by these physical realities—realities that scholars in countervailing traditions collectively refer to as *materiality*. This entry gives an overview of materiality as a concept within social theory and its particular intersections with scholarship on journalism.

Material Agency

If materiality is the notion that the physical environment must be contended with both by social actors and social theorists, closely related is the notion of *material agency*. Material agency is more specifically the idea that the material world exerts an influence in social systems and social interactions that compares in some ways to—and may be

an expression of—the influence of human actors. The word *agency* implies intentionality, which may appear initially problematic when applied to physical spaces and objects as opposed to people. But even things have tendencies and trajectories, if not actual intentions. Left to their own devices, the mold in the cellar will spread, the tree in the yard will grow, the hole in the roof will get bigger, tides will flow in and out cyclically, and so on.

When it comes to the intersection of such tendencies with social life, theorists and designers—following Don Norman—often speak in terms of *affordances* and constraints. An affordance is something an object enables you to do, irrespective of whether the designer may have intended it. If you’ve ever used a chair as a stepstool or opened a bottle on the latch plate of the nearest doorframe, you understand that the affordances of an object bear only a limited relationship with such intentions. Moreover, the affordances of an object are never absolute, but importantly intersect with the capacities of the user. A staircase can be a passage between floors of a building or an obstacle depending on whether or not the person approaching it is in a wheelchair.

Of course, affordances are only one side of a wider ledger, the other being constraints. Fences and railings, locks on doors, encryption placed on digital files: all of these are examples of technologies designed to constrain our actions in various ways. Moreover, they further demonstrate the relative nature of affordances—the lock on your front door is an affordance to you even as it serves as a constraint on potential thieves.

The role of technological design in enabling and constraining the actions of others has led to important discussions of what Langdon Winner famously described as “the politics of artifacts”—that is, the recognition that the built environment is constructed in ways that create and/or enforce power dynamics. Researchers tend to prefer the term “artifacts” to technology for the way that the former avoids artificial and often unhelpful distinctions between “high-tech” marvels and more seemingly mundane gadgets and environments, like padlocks or roadways, that do no less to enable, constrain, or choreograph our actions.

In one of Winner’s famous—and at times disputed—examples of political artifacts, low-hanging overpasses were placed over roads bound for the

coast with the unspoken intent of blocking the passage of buses and thereby preventing poor persons of color from visiting the beach. In another, automated farm equipment puts farm laborers out of work. In one example, the political impact of the design was seemingly the objective, while in the other it may have been an unintended consequence. In both cases, however, the fact that the result issues from a technological intervention rather than a law or executive action arguably short-circuits public debate and understanding of the underlying politics. This sidelong aspect of regulation through technology and architecture—that it can serve to constrain behavior while simultaneously avoiding the public scrutiny associated with overt politics—is a major focus and concern of many scholars of technology. Lawrence Lessig’s phrase “code is law” is often invoked to dramatize the manner in which artifacts, including digital ones, covertly regulate behavior.

Sociotechnical Systems

Of course, while the influence of the physical world—including tools and built environments—on social systems can be easy to overlook, overcorrections can be equally problematic. It’s not uncommon, particularly in popular discourses, to find accounts alleging that technology strongly influences or dictates human behavior—that television sets turned us into homebodies, for instance, or that mobile phones make us distractible. While technologies certainly play a role in influencing our behavior and social systems, the design and adoption of technologies are themselves the outcomes of social processes, and their role in our lives is interwoven with other influences like law and commerce. Accounts that overstate the influence of technology on behavior and social life are thus said, pejoratively, to be examples of “technological determinism.”

As Leah Lievrouw notes, more nuanced discussions of the role of technology in social systems emphasize mutual shaping, wherein the social processes behind technological design, use, and adoption are emphasized alongside, and seen as interacting with, any impacts of technological artifacts on behavior. Nuanced scholarship typically seeks to situate the influence of technology on social life within a larger constellation of

forces (law, commerce, social norms, scientific advancement, etc.) and often uses the term “sociotechnical systems” to refer to the interlocking nature of all these concerns. Common approaches to theorizing sociotechnical systems from the world of science and technology studies (STS) include actor-network theory (ANT), the social construction of technology, and Bryan Pfaffenberger’s notion of technological dramas. Lawrence Lessig’s notion of “four factors”—law, markets, social norms, and code/architecture—that regulate human behavior has also become an influential way of conceiving of the nature of sociotechnical systems.

Materiality in Journalism

Classic accounts of news work focus on the material constraints faced by journalists—how newsrooms have dealt with tight schedules, the limited availability of column inches and air time, and finite supplies of personnel and equipment. Such constraints have led to distinctive genres of news writing, such as the inverted pyramid, which make stories easier to cut down as necessary; to a focus on events that fit within the news cycle in which particular outlets operate; and to reliance on news subsidies and “diary events” to fill the news hole. Gaye Tuchman’s *Making News* and its description of the “news net” as a strategic arrangement of journalistic resources in space and time may be the classic example here.

At the same time, even as many classic accounts of news work offer up important concepts for considering materiality broadly, they often stop short of providing theories of technology in particular. The widespread uptake of digital technologies by audiences and newsrooms, especially in the late 1990s and 2000s, simultaneously upended traditional news routines and audience consumption habits, which in turn has led contemporary journalism researchers to focus considerable attention on understanding the social and organizational impacts of technological development and adoption.

Much of this work has involved updating and expanding upon classic accounts of the material conditions shaping news routines while importing and adapting conceptual lenses from the aforementioned field of STS.

Notable examples of such work include pioneering research by Pablo Boczkowski, eventually involving Eugenia Mitchelstein and other collaborators, that variously uses STS frameworks to explain technological adoption in newsrooms and applies affordance theory to discussion of news consumption; Nikki Usher's and Amy Schmitz Weiss's respective work on time, space, and place in contemporary journalism; C.W. Anderson's use of ANT to explain increasingly complex news ecosystems that have formed in metro areas in the age of the Internet as well as his exploration of the prehistory of data journalism, which frames journalists' use of documents using the language of materiality and artifacts.

David Domingo and his collaborators have also been leading voices in applying STS concepts broadly, and ANT in particular, to conceptualizing contemporary "news production, circulation and use," while at the same time cautioning against overemphasizing materiality in ways that minimize the agency of journalists themselves. Juliette De Maeyer has examined the ways in which materiality-oriented journalism research might push past methodological limitations often attributed to ANT, emphasizing the ways in which digital media retain traces, from hyperlinks to server logs, that allow for the mapping of associations between documents and technical artifacts that were often more difficult to establish in the pre-digital age.

In the world of broadcast journalism, Emma Hemmingsway has used STS concepts to explore the rise of "personal digital production"—the way emerging technologies have played into demands that journalists be multiskilled and work independently across multiple media. Rena Bivens has likewise applied the notion of mutual shaping to explain the influence of digital technology on evolving news routines, and Joshua Braun has adapted STS scholarship on technologically mediated networks into a methodological lens for exploring digital distribution of TV news and other media.

Moreover, as materiality has blossomed as a center of attention within journalism studies, a desire has emerged to push beyond the appropriation of STS concepts into the field and to emphasize new facets and framings of materiality within the world of news. Rodney Benson

has argued that accounts based in ANT favor thick description at the expense of explanatory value, for example, while Usher has emphasized how STS-focused accounts of the "objects of journalism" tend to privilege the utility of artifacts, paying relatively scant attention to the powerful role that affect, aesthetics, and emotional attachment play in our valuation of things. Seth Lewis and Rodrigo Zamith, drawing on Howard Becker's art worlds, have similarly drawn from literature outside of traditional STS founts, emphasizing the role of aesthetic and community standards in evaluating the worth of new digital objects.

Pablo Boczkowski, perhaps the earliest journalism scholar to draw heavily from science and technologies studies, wrote in a 2015 reflection that while STS may have provided an excellent springboard for the new "material turn" in journalism studies, many of the most pressing problems in the field will require new theoretical innovations and a broader integration of the field into the larger world of the social sciences.

Joshua A. Braun

See also Automation; Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Internet: Impact on the Media; New Media; Science and Technology Journalism

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McCLATCHY

Founded in 1857, the McClatchy Co. was one of the largest and longest-lived family-owned newspaper publishing companies in the United States

before it declared bankruptcy in 2020 and was sold to a hedge fund later that year. During their heyday, McClatchy newspapers championed liberal and progressive causes and charted the path for California to become a global economic and intellectual force for change. After 163 years under family control, the company was sold to New Jersey hedge fund Chatham Asset Management, which took control of its more than 30 newspapers nationwide.

The company's newspapers were known for high-quality journalism, winning a string of awards while under the leadership of C.K. McClatchy. Out of step with profit-driven corporate journalism, C. K. McClatchy led the company in the 1970s and 1980s with a philosophy that reflected his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. They championed truth, editorial quality, and public service over profit and defended newspapers as bulwarks of democracy. The company's mission to hold those in power accountable and support its labor unions at a time when most chains valued profits over people made it a paragon of 20th century journalism. Its tumultuous transformation from the owner of financially threadbare newspapers to a publicly traded powerhouse reflects the turmoil of the U.S. newspaper industry, much of which is now in the hands of private equity and hedge fund managers far more focused on profits than journalism.

The story of McClatchy mirrors the newspaper industry's seismic shift in the late 20th century, when many newspaper companies switched from private to public ownership. This provided enormous short-term financial windfalls to investors. But focusing on short-term gains distracted publishers from designing profitable ways to deliver news through inexpensive digital pipelines. This entry discusses the company's founding and expansion and details its journalism in what was seen as its golden age under C.K. McClatchy. It then looks at changes in the company culture that led to tensions between labor and management, how the company's expansion was followed by the loss of advertising revenue to the Internet during the late 20th and early 21st centuries, and the company's collapse into bankruptcy and sale.

Founding and Expansion: James, Charles, and Eleanor McClatchy

Family patriarch James McClatchy, born in 1824, left Northern Ireland at 17 for New York City. He joined Horace Greeley's startup, the liberal New York Tribune, which emerged as the nation's highest circulation newspaper and dominant Republican voice, shaping national opinion during the mid- to late 19th century. The Tribune reported a gold strike on Northern California's American River in 1848. McClatchy took Greeley's advice to "go West young man and grow up with the country."

McClatchy sailed around the horn, shipwrecked in Mexico and traveled largely by foot to Sutter's Fort, the Gold Rush river port that became Sacramento. Starting in the summer of 1849, McClatchy worked a series of newspaper jobs. A year after the first passenger train rolled through Sacramento in 1857, McClatchy joined the *Bee* newspaper ousting its editor, Rollin Ridge, within a week of arriving.

McClatchy's first editorial articulated a vision the family held for more than a century: "The object of this paper is not only independence but permanence" (McClatchy, 2020). McClatchy vowed to fight for what's right "no matter how powerfully entrenched wrong may be" (Paterno, 2003). So many Sacramento publications opened and closed, the city was known as the graveyard of newspapers. All but two failed: The afternoon *Bee* and the morning *Union*. The *Bee* became a bastion of progressive reform, supporting average citizens against greedy corporations and corrupt lawmakers. The *Bee* uncovered local corruption, supported abolition, and fought hydraulic mining and developers' plans to subdivide Yosemite Valley, while the *Union* made celebrities of Bret Harte, Dan De Quille (William Wright), and Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), sending Twain to Hawaii as a foreign correspondent in 1866. That same year, McClatchy bought a stake in the *Bee* for the equivalent of \$30,000 today. The investment paid off handsomely after the First Transcontinental Railroad joined the East and West coasts in Sacramento in 1869 and the city's population boomed.

For nearly a century, as California became a political powerhouse, politicians from local lawmakers to presidents courted the McClatchy

family to deliver votes. The family shaped the history and culture of Sacramento, beating back efforts to relocate the capitol, using editorial harangues to create a city of Victorian homes and miles of boulevards lined with shade trees.

When James died at 59 in 1883, the paper passed to son Charles as editor and older brother Valentine as business manager. Charles inherited his father's civic vision, championing collective bargaining, environmentalism, public utilities, women's suffrage, political independence, and abolishing the Electoral College. His brother Valentine publicly espoused nativism, eugenics, and anti-immigration laws aimed at Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos.

Charles and son Carlos bought out Valentine in 1922 to gain sole control of the *Bee*. They exposed Ku Klux Klan white nationalists secretly meeting in the Folsom Hills and launched the *Fresno Bee*. They acquired the Modesto News-Herald in 1927, renaming it the *Modesto Bee*, and five radio stations in Sacramento, Fresno, Stockton, Bakersfield, and Reno. While powerful California families the Chandlers and Hearst lived lavishly on the fortunes their newspapers made, the McClatchy family saw money as a way to strengthen journalism to protect the commonweal, publishing stories that led to dozens of libel suits. As Charles put it: "The *Bee* shall never be run for the counting house" (California Press Foundation, n.d.).

After the death of Carlos in 1933 at age 42 from pneumonia, Charles battled personal anguish and corrupt politicians. He assigned a reporter and Managing Editor Walter P. Jones to expose judicial and legislative corruption in Nevada. The series won the Pulitzer Prize in 1935, and the *Sacramento Bee* became the first California newspaper to win for meritorious public service. A year before his death in 1936, Charles asked his unmarried daughter Eleanor to return to Sacramento from New York City to become president of the company. He selected Jones as editor.

Trained in theater as a playwright, Eleanor had no publishing experience but proved adept at building the McClatchy brand during her four decades as company president. The company weathered the depression and diversified into radio and television broadcast channels and cable television. In the 1950s and 1960s, McClatchy newspapers supported California Gov. Pat Brown's

massive infrastructure expansion that provided free highways, free public universities, and a vast network to transport water statewide to expand agriculture and development in central and Southern California.

Jones maintained a long friendship with Earl Warren, a Central Valley high school graduate, who went on to become California's attorney general and then governor before serving as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969. Warren's legal philosophy echoed the McClatchy family's mission to protect the rights of the nation's least advantaged. Considered one of the most influential thought leaders in United States history, Warren wrote majority opinions that protected free speech and the rights of people of color, the poor, and the disenfranchised, a philosophy shared by C. K. McClatchy, who succeeded Jones as editor of the three Bees in 1974.

C. K. McClatchy and the Golden Age

C. K., named after grandfather Charles Kenney, was the youngest of three boys of Carlos and Phebe McClatchy. Born and educated in Fresno, he graduated from Stanford University, served in the Army, reported for *The Washington Post*, ABC's Washington DC news bureau, and the *Sacramento Bee*, before becoming associate editor of the Bee papers. In 1958, he married Grace Kennan, daughter of Cold War architect George Kennan, with whom he had three children, Charles, Kevin, and Adair.

When Jones died in 1974, Eleanor appointed C. K. editor and named him successor in 1978. She died in 1980 with a trust that preserved McClatchy as a family-controlled independent newspaper company. C. K. deplored much of what he saw in corporate journalism, especially the many companies devoted "to be ever faithful cash cows for the owners," (Paterno, 2003) he said. C. K. instructed his executives to seek truth, editorial quality, and public service over profit and appointed veteran newsman Frank McCullough editor of the three Bees.

Born east of Sacramento on a ranch in Nevada, McCullough graduated from the University of Nevada and worked for United Press International. He reported and wrote hundreds of *Time* magazine cover stories, was managing editor of

the *Los Angeles Times*, and became Time-Life Southeast Asia bureau chief during the Vietnam War. C. K. appointed McCullough executive editor of the company's growing stable of newspapers in California, Washington, and Alaska.

C. K. and McCullough ushered in a Golden Age of journalism at a company so aggressive it had more than a dozen libel suits pending at one point. In 1976, four *Fresno Bee* staff members went to jail rather than reveal their source for a government corruption story. C. K. spent hundreds of thousands of dollars fighting legal battles that eventually led the state legislature to change the constitution to include a shield law protecting journalists seeking to keep confidential their sources or unpublished information. The three Bees investigated local and state politicians, schools, developers, the federal government, and organized crime. From 1978 to 1983, the *Fresno Bee* published more than 300 stories illuminating widespread corruption in the San Joaquin Valley establishment. The *Sacramento Bee* assigned a team to expose hunger in the state, an investigation that lawmakers cited to successfully raise the minimum wage.

Each Bee newspaper published the same editorial on the opinions page for state, national, and foreign affairs, thus strengthening the influence of the company's liberal voice. The *Sacramento Bee* added entertainment sections and a Sunday magazine, increasing sports coverage and staff size. Paying some of the industry's highest salaries, the company hired reporters and editors with national pretensions and degrees from Stanford, Harvard University, and the University of California, Berkeley, including best-selling author Pete Dexter. Reporters traveled the country and abroad on assignments—to Somalia, El Salvador, and the Philippines. The paper subsidized Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson as they chronicled farm workers, illegal aliens, and the unemployed, tales that inspired a book and Bruce Springsteen's "The Ghost of Tom Joad." Maharidge and Williamson crisscrossed the country revisiting the people and places in the Depression-era Dust Bowl chronicle "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men," winning the Pulitzer Prize for Non-Fiction for their 1990 book *And Their Children After Them*.

The company invested in winning Pulitzer Prizes. Reporter Deborah Blum traveled the United

States to illuminate the issues and personalities behind highly controversial primate research and to produce a series of articles that also led to her 1994 book *The Monkey Wars*. Tom Knudson spent 8 months investigating the decision by the administration of President Ronald Reagan to deregulate and develop the Sierra Nevada. The 1991 series "The Sierra in Peril" illuminated unchecked air pollution, dying forests, poisoned rivers, vanishing wildlife, and soil erosion. Both Blum and Knudson won Pulitzers.

In the 1980s, the company had 25% profit margins thanks in part to double-digit increases in advertising revenues throughout the industry. From 1983 to 1986, McClatchy revenues increased almost 50% and net profits from \$6.9 million to more than \$45 million. C. K. took the company public in 1988 with controlling stock held in family hands. In a speech delivered, a few months before the sale, C. K. warned the next generation to reject corporate greed, group ownership, franchise journalism, and the false virtue of great size. He urged them to remain true to the company's mission to serve local communities and value public service over profits.

Within a year, C. K. died of a heart attack at age 62. McClatchy's new leaders, Erwin Potts and Gary Pruitt, did precisely what C. K. had warned against. Embracing modern corporate practices, they acquired so many newspapers the company eventually lost all its value, destroying jobs and the McClatchy family's fortune.

Change in Company's Culture

In the decade before he died in 1989, C. K. McClatchy and the family gradually ceded control of the company to Potts, then to protégé Pruitt. C. K. had hired Potts in 1975 from Knight Ridder Inc.'s *Charlotte Observer* in North Carolina to direct McClatchy's newspaper operations. Potts, a native of North Carolina, demanded total authority to change McClatchy's culture. Switching the Bees to morning delivery, he precipitated a battle between labor and management at a company that had historically championed unions. Amid the strike, Potts ordered workers to reclaim jobs or lose them. His enemies branded him a Southern strikebreaker. Less than 2 years later, in 1980, Eleanor McClatchy died.

Potts sold the company's electronic media, using the proceeds to acquire small California weeklies and out of state newspapers and invest in a paper mill in Spokane, Washington. He launched costly newspaper wars in Sacramento and Anchorage, Alaska, where there were still competing newspapers, and gained control of the company's newsrooms by urging C. K. to force the formidable McCullough to retire in 1985, a year after Pruitt arrived. By hiring editors and publishers loyal to him, Potts gained control of the newsroom under the guise of decentralizing power, giving business managers unprecedented power. With protégé and fellow Southerner Gregory Favre managing newsrooms, Potts and Florida attorney Pruitt remade McClatchy into a modern media corporation. The executive team broke labor unions, overpaid for newspapers, and spent millions on production plants, presses, modern glass and steel buildings, and luxury décor.

Amid the worst industry recession since World War II, Potts' compensation reached nearly \$1 million in 1991, while the company's net income fell to \$23.7 million, half its 1986 level. Guild members picketed the annual shareholders' meeting with little effect on Potts and Pruitt. They bought 13 more papers in Southern states with laws restricting unions, including six in South Carolina and one in North Carolina, Potts' previous employer *The News & Observer* in Raleigh. Retiring in 1996, Potts chose Pruitt to succeed him.

Pruitt went on another buying spree, boosting advertising revenue, defusing labor unions, and tightly controlling expenses. In 1998, he used debt to finance a \$1.4 billion deal to buy family-owned Cowles Media and acquire the *Star Tribune* in Minneapolis. Pruitt quietly reduced McClatchy's workforce 6.9% through attrition, producing record earnings in 2002 despite flat revenues. In January 2004, he bought the *Merced Sun-Star* and five other papers in California's San Joaquin Valley.

At the start of the 21st century, McClatchy journalism was heavy on features, sports, and projects and far less willing to battle big business controlling the advertising markets Pruitt wanted to dominate. Instead, Pruitt embraced the industry's latest trends to boost profit margins and appease Wall Street.

The Rise of the Internet, Bankruptcy, and Sale

In 2006, Pruitt purchased Knight Ridder Inc. for \$4.5 billion, an acquisition that led to \$2.5 billion in debt and likely set the stage for the company's eventual bankruptcy. The deal included 32 daily newspapers, making McClatchy the nation's second-largest newspaper chain after Gannett. Some analysts said Pruitt overpaid in the deal, which he financed with massive debt, jettisoning the company's respected digital division despite the Internet's growing prominence. Pruitt earned \$5.6 million in compensation that year, including a \$1-million bonus; he was regularly ranked the highest compensated CEO in Sacramento.

McClatchy's professional managers, like those in most corporate newspaper chains, bet on the past instead of the future. At the dawn of the digital age, rather than invest in developing strategies to deliver news through a cheap digital pipeline, the company spent billions acquiring legacy newspapers. Ad revenue collapsed as Amazon and Internet shopping replaced department stores; eBay and Craigslist pulled away classified ads, and online marketing obviated print. Old school executives like Potts and Pruitt failed to react quickly to rapidly changing technologies as they decimated traditional revenue bases.

To maintain profit margins, managers reduced the money spent to collect, process, and package the news, information, and advertising they sold. With cost structures 50% lower than legacy newspapers, digital competitors stole a generation of consumers uninterested in print. Forced to consolidate, hundreds of local newspapers died, creating news deserts nationwide. By 2018, two-thirds of U.S. daily newspapers were owned by companies with dozens of newspaper holdings, among the largest of which were in turn owned by investment entities such as hedge funds and private equity firms.

A week before he died in 2006, James McClatchy, a Stanford graduate and the last family member to actively manage the company, warned of the damage that would come if the company failed to fulfill its historic mission to better the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Not long after, Pruitt sold the Minneapolis paper to a private equity firm for

less than half what McClatchy had paid Cowles Media 8 years earlier, sending the *Star Tribune* into bankruptcy in 2009. In 2014, the newspaper was sold to billionaire and former Republican state senator Glen Taylor. In 2011, William Ellery, the last son of Carlos McClatchy, died childless.

It took more than a century to build and less than a decade to destroy the McClatchy media empire and the family's fortune. By the time C. K.'s youngest son Kevin McClatchy stepped down as the Pittsburgh Pirates's managing owner to replace Pruitt as McClatchy's chairman in 2012, nothing could have saved the company. In 2012, Pruitt left the company in crisis and joined the Associated Press as chief executive. McClatchy went bankrupt in 2020, the stock plummeting to less than a dollar, down from \$700 a share the year before Pruitt's Knight Ridder acquisition. The main creditor, Chatham Asset Management, a New Jersey hedge fund, owned supermarket tabloids that included the *National Enquirer*, whose editor admitted to suppressing news about Donald Trump's extramarital affairs to influence the 2016 election.

Chatham bought McClatchy in a fire sale for \$312 million in 2020. By then, McClatchy had reduced its full-time staff almost 80% to 3,300 with plans to cut more through 2022, according to the *New York Times*. Pruitt and former Knight Ridder chairman Tony Ridder filed claims on behalf of retired executives to recover \$118 million in supplemental pensions including \$14.5 million for Pruitt and \$5.3 million for Ridder. The company compensated Chairman Craig Forman nearly \$6 million in the 2 years before Chatham acquired McClatchy. After the sale, Forman left to manage a private investment fund. Kevin McClatchy also departed, selling a 63-acre Pennsylvania estate for \$3.5 million. Chatham took control of McClatchy's 30 dailies in September 2020, appointed cannabis entrepreneur and Boca Raton resident Tony Hunter chairman, and severed all ties to the McClatchy family.

Susan F. Paterno

See also Media Conglomerates; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; MediaNews; News Deserts; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Tribune Publishing Company

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MEDIA CONGLOMERATES

A conglomerate is a corporation with holdings in a diverse range of businesses, which can include media companies. A media conglomerate, however, includes holdings only in media and is by definition diversified into more than one medium, such as print, broadcasting, and/or online. Conglomerates have been criticized for diminishing journalism in order to raise profits, for not allowing their news divisions the independence to report on their owners impartially, and for reducing the diversity of voices in media.

A media conglomerate can be privately owned or publicly traded. Most of the largest media conglomerates are publicly traded, having typically

raised the capital needed for their expansion by selling shares to the public. Most of the largest global media conglomerates are based in the United States, reflecting Hollywood's dominance of global entertainment industries. Because of a lack of limits on ownership concentration in the United States, three giant media conglomerates dominate—Disney, Comcast, and AT&T (see Table 1).

A trend at the millennium toward “convergence,” or multimedia ownership, then accelerated corporate consolidation, often to levels unsustainable in two major recessions that soon followed. A countertrend of “de-convergence” saw some media conglomerates (e.g., News Corp., Viacom) split into smaller, more manageable entities, but consolidation soon returned.

Diversification is a corporate strategy designed to reduce risk by spreading a company's investments across a range of businesses. A company may be diversified horizontally, vertically, or diagonally. Only a company that is diversified diagonally with holdings in multiple media is considered a media conglomerate. Research has shown that firms that diversify horizontally tend to be more profitable, while those that diversify diagonally tend to be more stable. A horizontally integrated media company owns multiple outlets of the same type. A publisher that owns more than one title is a chain, for example, while a broadcaster that owns multiple stations is a network.

A vertically integrated media company owns affiliates that contribute at different stages of the same core enterprise—for example, a newspaper company that owns a paper mill or a movie studio that owns a chain of theaters. A newspaper company or movie studio that owns a television station or network, however, would be diversified diagonally and thus qualify as a media conglomerate. When the Washington Post Co. bought *Newsweek* magazine in 1961, for example, it remained a publishing company. It did not become a media conglomerate until it diversified diagonally into cable television in 1982. It became a conglomerate when it bought the Kaplan education company 2 years later.

Growth of Media Conglomerates

Media companies were actually among the first conglomerates, well before conglomeration

Table 1. Largest Media Conglomerates

<i>Company</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Media</i>	<i>Value^a</i>
1. Disney	United States	Film, TV, radio, cable	\$220 billion
2. Comcast	United States	Telecoms, TV, film	\$209 billion
3. AT&T	United States	Telecoms, TV, film	\$203 billion
4. Sony	Japan	Film, music, TV production	\$95 billion
5. Thomson Reuters	Canada	News, TV, B2B	\$40 billion
6. Fox	United States	TV	\$15 billion
7. Viacom CBS	United States	TV, radio, film	\$17 billion

Source: Investopedia

^a 2020 market capitalization in U.S.\$ billions (total stock value).

became popular as a business strategy in the 1950s. Newspaper publishers were some of the earliest owners of radio stations in the 1920s, but most soon divested their holdings in the new medium as incompatible with their core business. Some made a success of multimedia ownership, however, branching out first into radio and then into television. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, bought a radio station in 1924, which it renamed WGN after its front-page slogan “World’s Greatest Newspaper.” It then founded a television station in 1946, which it called WGN-TV. Both broadcast from atop the newspaper’s Tribune Tower and also repurposed its content.

The Tribune Company became an exemplar of media conglomeration as it grew throughout the latter part of the 20th century, but it also came to serve as a cautionary tale of the perils that overexpansion could bring. As it grew into a major newspaper chain by buying titles across the United States starting in the 1960s, Tribune also expanded its broadcast holdings, often in the same new markets to take advantage of its content-sharing strategy, which became known as *synergy*. In 2000, Tribune acquired the similarly diversified Times Mirror Company of Los Angeles for \$8.3 billion.

In 2007, however, Tribune was taken over by real estate developer Sam Zell in a deal that would prove its undoing. Zell took on \$13 billion in debt to buy out other shareholders and take the Tribune Company private. An economic downturn

soon dropped advertising revenues sharply, leaving the company unable to service such a massive debt. It filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in 2008 and went through a 4-year legal battle for control. It emerged from bankruptcy in 2012 owned mostly by private equity firms, or hedge funds, which had acquired much of the distressed company’s debt at deep discounts. Tribune then split into separate publishing and broadcasting companies. The newspaper chain was renamed Tronc (for “Tribune online content”) in a 2016 rebranding intended to emphasize a new digital orientation, but the corporate name reverted to Tribune Publishing in 2018. Tribune Media, which held the conglomerate’s broadcasting assets, was acquired for \$4.1 billion in 2018 by Dallas-based Nexstar Media Group, which thus became the largest owner of U.S. television stations.

Other media companies similarly diversified and grew, driven by economies of scale that reduced their average costs the larger they got, economies of scope from sharing content, and cross-promotion strategies. The giant Thomson Corporation began in the 1930s with radio stations and newspapers in Canada and then expanded into the United States and the United Kingdom. It secured a lucrative license for Scottish TV in 1957, which allowed it to buy the prestigious *Times* of London in 1966. Having sold off most of its media holdings by the millennium except for *The Globe and Mail* national

newspaper in Canada, it then acquired the global Reuters news agency in 2008 to form Thomson Reuters.

Magazine publisher Time Life expanded into book publishing in 1961 and then into the music business in 1967. Its parent company Time Inc. merged with movie studio Warner Communications in 1990 to form Time Warner. It merged again in 1996 with the Turner Broadcasting System, which owned cable companies, the satellite “superstation” TBS, and cable channels such as CNN and HBO.

Times Mirror diversified from its original *Los Angeles Times* into book publishing in 1962 and magazines starting in 1969. By 1983, it had also acquired numerous other major dailies across the United States, including *Newsday*, the *Denver Post*, *The Dallas Times Herald*, and the *Hartford Courant*. It also began to acquire television stations in markets such as Dallas, St. Louis, and New York starting in 1970 and then added cable television companies in Phoenix and San Diego.

The Walt Disney Company expanded from its original cartoon studio and theme park into movie and television production in the 1950s. It founded the Disney Channel on cable television in 1983 and further diversified by buying a book publisher and a record label in the 1990s. It bought Miramax Films in 1993 and 2 years later paid \$14 billion for Capital Cities/ABC, which included the ABC television network and cable sports channel ESPN. While media conglomeration grew in the 1990s, its popularity accelerated under a new model of media ownership almost as soon as the millennium dawned.

Criticisms of Media Conglomerates

Conglomerates and media conglomerates that own news media companies have occasionally been criticized for not allowing their news divisions the independence needed to cover their parent company and its other divisions impartially. They have also been criticized for cutting resources for news divisions at companies they acquire to boost profits. A major criticism of media conglomerates has been that they reduce the diversity of voices in society by increasing media ownership concentration. In his 1983 book *The Media Monopoly*, Ben Bagdikian counted 50 media companies that then owned

most (i.e., more than half) of U.S. media outlets. He predicted that if the trend to corporate consolidation continued unchecked, only one conglomerate would own most of the country’s media by the year 2000. Bagdikian revised his count through multiple editions of his book, to 29 by 1987, and to 20 by 1993. In an updated book retitled *The New Media Monopoly* and published in 2003, there was not one owner of most of the country’s media, as originally predicted, but five. That included the German company Bertelsmann, which was the largest publisher of English-language books in the world and also owned major U.S. holdings in magazines and music.

Regulation of Media Conglomerates

Concerns over the increased power and influence of growing media conglomerates, which started in the early 1970s, prompted the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1975 to prohibit the issuing or transfer of television station licenses to any owner of a newspaper in the same market. Existing cross-media ownership, such as that of WGN-TV by the Tribune Company, was allowed to continue under a grandfather clause, except in cases of market dominance. In Canada, the 1981 report of a Royal Commission on Newspapers warned strongly against allowing cross-ownership. The governing Liberal Party quickly banned it, but the prohibition was allowed to lapse in 1985 by a new Progressive Conservative government. In Australia, growing media ownership concentration, especially in the hands of newspaper mogul Rupert Murdoch, prompted the Labor government there to ban cross-ownership in 1987. Concerns over growing media conglomeration even brought legislation in the United Kingdom, where television had long been dominated by the BBC public broadcaster. A 1990 Broadcasting Act limited newspaper ownership of the ITV network, which had been established in 1955 as the country’s first private TV broadcaster.

Media Convergence

The advent of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s, the spread of personal computers, and the development of web browser software made

Internet adoption widespread by the end of that decade. This prompted interest among media companies in diversifying into online media. Most were unsure how the Internet would develop but believed it was the way of the future. Start-up Internet companies such as America Online grew by offering online access and web hosting. The merger of America Online and Time Warner in January 2000, just weeks into the new millennium, created the multimedia giant AOL-Time Warner with a market capitalization (total share value) of \$241 billion. Due to the dot-com bubble that inflated the share price of digital companies in the late 1990s, however, America Online shareholders received 55% of the new firm despite Time Warner owning most of the assets. The AOL-Time Warner merger created enthusiasm among media owners for diagonal diversification, with carriage companies seeking content companies to team up with, and legacy media looking for digital partners with which to navigate the online future. Many countries, however, banned or limited the diagonal diversification of media. Companies pressured governments worldwide to ease or lift cross-ownership restrictions, and most did. Australia dropped its prohibition on newspaper-television cross-ownership in 2006, and the United Kingdom also eased its limits. In the United States, several attempts were made by Republican administrations to drop or loosen the FCC's cross-ownership ban, including in 2017 by President Donald Trump, but each time it was blocked in the Senate or in court. In 2021, however, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed a decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit that vacated the changes, thus reinstating the FCC's decision to drop the prohibition.

One country that had no limit on media cross-ownership was Canada, which had dropped its brief ban in 1985. Canadian media were thus reshaped by three multimedia mega-mergers before 2000 ended, and the result was devastating. First, the CTV network was bought by telecommunication giant Bell Canada, which later in the year partnered with *The Globe and Mail* national newspaper to form Bell Globemedia. Canwest Global Communications, which owned the Global Television network, then bought the country's largest newspaper chain, Southam Inc. Quebecor, then the world's largest

printing company, which had recently bought the Sun Media newspaper chain, bought Groupe Videotron, a multimedia company that included cable television, cellular telephony, and the TVA network. The convergence experiment began to collapse in 2009, however, when Canwest Global declared bankruptcy due to debt and its newspaper and television divisions were auctioned off separately out of bankruptcy. CTV and *The Globe and Mail* dissolved their partnership voluntarily as unworkable the following year, and Quebecor sold Sun Media in 2014 to Postmedia Network Inc., which had been formed by Canwest Global creditors and bond holders, mostly U.S. hedge funds, to take over the former Southam newspapers.

From Convergence to De-Convergence

Convergence fell out of favor as a media business strategy after the dot-com bubble burst in 2001, and media conglomeration thus began to wane. AOL-Time Warner's share price fell from a high of \$55 in mid-2001 to \$8.70 on July 25, 2002, and it became the poster child for digital overexuberance. The company dropped AOL from its name in 2003 and sold the division to Google in 2005.

The trend in media ownership instead became one of de-convergence. Viacom, which owned cable television holdings and the movie studio Paramount Pictures, spun off its CBS network into a separate company in 2005. Belo Corporation split in 2008, with one firm owning the *Dallas Morning News* and the other owning its 50 TV stations. Even Murdoch's global giant News Corp. split in 2013, with one company owning its newspapers and book publishing divisions, and the other owning its TV networks and movie studio. Gannett, which had long owned the largest U.S. newspaper chain, split in 2015 by creating a new company called Tegna to own its 50 TV stations.

The trend began to reverse again, however, and increased conglomeration was seen when AT&T bought Time Warner in 2016 for \$108 billion and renamed it WarnerMedia. In 2017, Disney bought 21st Century Fox, News Corp.'s former entertainment arm. In 2018, U.S. cable giant Comcast paid \$39 billion for Sky, Europe's largest satellite broadcaster. In 2019, CBS remerged with Viacom to become CBSViacom.

Financialization of Media

The trends toward concentration, conglomeration, and convergence of media ownership were stages in the phenomenon of “financialization,” in which news media ownership became a means to make profits rather than of informing audiences through journalism. This trend, which was also seen in other industries, went to another level after the Great Recession of 2008–2009. Many converged media conglomerates that had become overextended with debt, such as Canwest Global and Tribune, were acquired out of bankruptcy by hedge funds, which had bought up their debt on the bond market, often for pennies on the dollar. By 2014, hedge funds owned six of the 10 largest U.S. chains and the two largest in Canada. GateHouse Media, which was owned by the hedge fund New Media Investments, acquired 200 newspapers between 2013 and 2018 to become the second-largest chain in the United States, and then paid \$1.4 billion for Gannett in 2019. Hedge fund owners cut costs mercilessly to milk newspapers of their remaining profits, mostly by laying off journalists. This created so-called news deserts, bringing calls for government intervention to help create a new nonprofit business model for journalism.

Marc Edge

See also Antitrust; Convergence; Media Ownership; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of

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MEDIA CRITICISM

When it comes to the news media, everyone's a critic, especially in the 21st century, when it is possible to share one's criticisms with the world via social media. But finding fault with society's messengers goes back to ancient times. As the Greek playwright Sophocles noted in the 5th century BCE, “No man delights in the bearer of bad news.” Writing in the 2nd century CE, the historian Plutarch reported that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, chopped off the head of a bearer of bad tidings and would listen to “only those that flattered him.”

Politicians have sought to discredit news about themselves ever since, pointing to errors, overreliance on anonymous sources, and what they see as an emphasis on the negative as evidence that news reports are unreliable, biased and, increasingly, “fake.” But not all attacks on the news media are self-serving, and not all attacks on the news media come from politicians. For that matter, not all dissections of the news media are attacks. While criticism is often thought of as synonymous with fault-finding, there is also a sense in which criticism is simply analysis of both strengths and weaknesses, as well as of process—the occupational traditions that dictate how a work of journalism gets made. Such analyses are usually but not exclusively found in the pages of scholarly books and journals and can take the form of seeking answers to such questions as How do journalists decide that an occurrence is newsworthy? How is information about that occurrence obtained? How is the information obtained then shaped for presentation to the public? This entry

discusses media criticism in both its fault-finding and more analytical senses.

Continuum of Criticism

Just as a film critic can pen a glowing review of a movie or a bravura acting job, a news media critic can find much that is praiseworthy in an individual work of journalism or in the performance of the news media as a whole. Still, most media critics, like most journalists, are meliorists. That is, just as journalists call attention to the problems of the world in the belief that knowing about the problems is the first step in solving them, media critics believe in the importance of good journalism and therefore call attention to journalism's shortcomings in hopes that journalists will hold themselves to a higher standard in the future. Of course, when media critics take fiendish pleasure in dipping their pens in poison ink, it may be hard to see the meliorism behind the glee. But even the most gleeful critics—and the comedians of late-night television can be counted among those offering a running commentary on the foibles of the news media—are trying to shame or prod journalists into doing a better job.

The continuum from nasty to constructive press criticism reflects vastly divergent views of the profession of journalism. Looked at through one lens, journalism is one of the pillars of democracy. According to this view, those who follow this noble calling are society's truth tellers, charged with the sacred responsibility of supplying the public with the information it needs to participate in the governance of nation, state, city, and self. Looked at through another lens, journalists are little better than circus sideshow barkers, trying to entice the public to spend a dime or a dollar to gawk at some oddity that may likely be an elaborate hoax.

This much is plain: Journalists, like all human beings, make mistakes. They can be careless, lazy, and gullible. They can also be guilty of poor judgment, at least in the eyes of those who disagree with their judgments. Because all their work is made public, their flaws, real or imagined, are there for all to see and for critics to point out. Journalistic errors are further magnified by what can be thought of as tip-of-the-iceberg thinking—the tendency to cite any instance of sloppy

reporting as evidence of a widespread culture of irresponsibility. This tendency, understandably, once made editors skittish about publishing corrections: Why call attention to your own mistakes? In more recent decades, editors decided that honesty might be a better policy than arrogance.

Perhaps the most common form of media criticism can be thought of as “Monday morning quarterbacking.” Just as in American football, where a disastrous decision by a quarterback under extreme pressure from hard-charging defenders can later be questioned by professional analysts and amateur fans who are not under such pressure, press critics can, at their leisure, pick apart the stories crafted by reporters who produced them under extreme deadline pressure. While fair-mindedness may be in short supply among Monday morning quarterbacks, it can be found in what might be thought of as a report card on media performance, in which the critic hands out grades that reflect both what journalists did well and what they did poorly in their coverage of a given event.

For a reliable guide to all the failings for which the news media has been criticized, one can look to the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists. The code calls on journalists to be accurate, fair and thorough, among other provisions, which means that sometimes journalists are neither accurate, fair nor thorough. Implicit in each iteration of the code, beginning with the first one, developed in the 1920s—and in efforts to articulate a set of guiding principles for the press, as the Hutchins Commission (Commission on Freedom of the Press) did in the 1940s—is the belief that news organizations are more than for-profit businesses: They have a responsibility to provide citizens of a democracy with the information they need to be self-governing.

The four sections of the latest version of the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, adopted in 2014, are titled “Seek Truth and Report It,” “Minimize Harm,” “Act Independently,” and “Be Accountable and Transparent.” In over-relying on official sources, reporters may fail to “give voice to the voiceless.” In their enthusiasm for a good story, they may fail to consider the impact that story will have on the lives of the people they are reporting on. Under pressure from

associates or their own supervisors, they may show favoritism. All such lapses make them vulnerable to critical censure.

Criticism of the news media occurs on several fronts, all of which may overlap:

- News organizations are businesses.
- News organizations are error-prone.
- News organizations have political agendas.
- News organizations are bastions of naïve empiricism.

News Organizations Are Businesses

To the extent that news is a product designed to be sold to consumers, the quality of that product can be compromised by financial concerns. Delivering news costs money. And however passionate the owners of news organizations may be about informing citizens about the world they live in, they don't just want to cover their costs. Like all business owners, they want to turn a profit.

Throughout the history of journalism, the profitability of news organizations has rested on the sale of space (in the case of print journalism) or time (in the case of broadcast journalism) to advertisers. An advantage of this business model is that relying on advertising as their main source of revenue has enabled owners to offer news to the general public at an affordable price.

That advantage is offset by two disadvantages: First, it makes news organizations vulnerable to economic fluctuations: If advertisers are making less money, they may cut their advertising budget, which could force a newspaper to reduce its number of pages, reduce its number of employees, and/or devote its diminishing resources to news that takes less time or money to produce. Any of these measures or any combination of these measures can result in a reduction in the quality and quantity of news the organization is able to provide to its audience.

The second disadvantage of the advertising model is that it can compromise a news organization's independence. Dependence on advertising revenue can lead a news organization to offer coverage of an advertiser that is more promotional than newsworthy, or to soften or ignore negative news about an advertiser. The need for advertising revenue can also tempt news organizations to

accept ads designed to look like news stories, thus blurring the line between the two kinds of content.

Critics have long contended that the advertising model needs to be replaced with a way of generating income that is less fraught with potential conflicts of interest and less vulnerable to economic downturns. The search for alternative funding mechanisms—such as taxpayer dollars—has grown more urgent in the 21st century as both circulation and advertising revenues have dwindled as readers have gravitated toward free online sources of information and advertisers have found alternate vehicles to promote their products and services.

Another business consideration that has drawn fire from critics is the temptation to sensationalize—that is, to exaggerate the importance of a story, to add or exaggerate details within a story, and to rush a story to publication before all the information has been verified. In the days when newsprint was dominant, critics would accuse news organizations of playing fast and loose with the facts just to sell more papers. Today, critics accuse news organizations of playing fast and loose with the facts or substituting light “infotainment” for more hard-hitting (and expensive) investigative journalism to generate more clicks or page views.

Finally, critics have voiced concerns about both the growing number of news organizations that are owned by large corporations and the shrinking number of corporations that own news organizations. There was always the potential for family-owned news outlets to allow the political, business, or personal interests of their owners to dictate or influence news coverage. Corporate ownership raised additional concerns: about the pressure for short-term profits taking precedence over the organization's long-term reputation for integrity and excellence; about the corporation using the news outlet to promote its other holdings (think of a news magazine and a movie studio owned by the same company and the magazine putting the opening of a new film from that studio on its cover); and about the concentration of ownership in very few hands reducing competition among news organizations, resulting in less aggressive reporting.

Robert Benchley sounded the alarm about several of these trends in his “Wayward Press”

column in *The New Yorker* magazine, which ran from the late 1920s through the 1930s. A. J. Liebling followed suit when he took over the column in 1945. So did George Seldes in his book *Lords of the Press*, published in 1938.

In *The Media Monopoly*, published in 1983, Ben Bagdikian reported that ownership of most media organizations was concentrated in the hands of 50 corporations. In an updated version of the book published two decades later and retitled *The New Media Monopoly*, Bagdikian noted that the number of corporations that controlled most media outlets had fallen from 50 to five. With the number of newspapers declining around the country due to consolidation and the aforementioned decline in revenue streams, critics bemoan the proliferation of “news deserts”—places that receive no news coverage at all.

News Organizations Are Error-Prone

News is produced under challenging circumstances. Even the most conscientious and honest reporters often must file their stories before all the facts are known, with different sources making contradictory or competing claims, with editors pressuring them to get information that their competitors do not have, and to get the copy in sooner rather than later, and with the desire for raises, promotions, and awards occasionally clouding their judgment. Hunting for journalistic gaffes, large and small, is almost a pastime for some critics, from the self-styled “grammar police” wagging fingers at every misplaced modifier and missing apostrophe, to those who conduct in-depth evaluations of the industry’s collective performance during or after coverage of a major news story.

Such criticism can come from outsiders—people who do not work for a news outlet—and insiders. Insider criticism can take the form of columns with names like “On the Media,” which analyze trends in the industry as a whole, as well as the output of staffers with titles like ombudsman, readers’ representative or public editor, whose job it is to hold their own news organization to account. The hiring of in-house critics took on greater urgency in the early 2000s when editors sought to regain public trust following a series of embarrassing scandals involving

reporters and columnists who were found to have fabricated and/or plagiarized. Some readers are naturally curious about how and why certain editorial decisions are made. The in-house critic is charged with directly answering or anticipating such questions by interviewing the editors and reporters responsible, just as a reporter would interview any outside source. The message to readers is that the news organization is holding itself to the same level of scrutiny and accountability as any of the powerful institutions it covers.

The use of professional in-house critics has waned in the second decade of the 21st century, in part because web-based journalism has given readers a platform to voice their criticisms of news coverage directly and instantaneously, in the form of a comments section appended to many of the stories and opinion pieces. Space limitations in print newspapers meant that only a very small and strictly curated selection of letters to the editor could be printed on any given day; now, it is not uncommon for a controversial topic to generate more than a thousand responses, some portion of which address the quality or tone of the journalism rather than the topic itself.

News Organizations Have Political Agendas

Depending on the political orientation of the critic, the same news organization can be vulnerable to charges that its status as a big corporation inclines it to defend the political status quo, or that the (presumed) liberal orientation of its staff biases it in favor of progressive causes and candidates. Far from being the impartial transmitters of fact that they claim to be, news organizations, according to this view, are ideologically driven, and what’s worse, the myth of objectivity at the center of journalistic culture blinds them to their own biases.

Here, it must be acknowledged that the criticism itself may be ideologically driven. Just as one sports fan will be convinced that an umpire or referee made a blatantly wrong call if that call goes against the team they’re rooting for, a fan of the opposing team will be equally convinced that the official’s call was exactly the right one. Bias, the saying goes, is in the eye of the beholder.

Coverage of elections is a case in point. Among the roles the news media assigns itself during a political campaign is the vetting of the candidates. Such work typically includes probing the politician's past pronouncements and behavior for inconsistencies. To opponents of that politician, such shifts smack of opportunism or pandering. But to the politician's supporters, the same shifts come across as a welcome sign of a willingness to evolve in the light of new information or experience, while the news organization's dissection of those shifts comes across as an unfair "hit piece"—and a sign, possibly, that the news organization has taken sides.

The word "objectivity" has fallen out of favor, in part because it suggested a kind of journalistic arrogance—a belief that those who report the news somehow stand above the fray and are therefore uniquely qualified to offer an accurate, undistorted view of what is going on in the world. Instead, mainstream journalists say they strive to be fair, neutral, impartial, or unbiased. They concede to having opinions about or reactions to news and newsmakers, but insist that it is possible to be aware of those opinions and reactions and to set them aside when crafting their reports—especially since they know that their critics keep a sharp eye out for any sign that they are not being neutral or fair.

While debates about the fairness, neutrality, and impartiality of the press rage on, journalists have also had to contend with critics who say that robotic adherence to principles of fairness or neutrality leads them to uncritically solicit and present the views of those who are clearly lying or lack the expertise to speak authoritatively on the subject in question. An example from the early 2000s was reporting on climate change. In stories in which they quoted climate scientists' dire predictions about the dangers of rising temperatures, many reporters felt obliged to find climate scientists—or critics of climate scientists—who dismissed the predictions and challenged the expertise or integrity of those making them. The upshot of such stories was that the science was far from settled, and that perhaps the problem was not so urgent after all. Because of such criticism, news organizations have since tried to do a better job of flagging false statements and, in the case of climate

science, indicating that climate change is a matter of fact, not opinion.

News Organizations Are Bastions of Naïve Empiricism

A series of sociological studies of the news that were published in the 1970s challenged what might be thought of as an agricultural or archaeological view of how news is produced: the notion that reporters harvest or collect the news as if it were a crop or a collection of relics to be brought back to the newsroom and then arranged for presentation to audiences. News, these researchers found, isn't so much gathered as constructed.

Regarded as an occupational culture, the newsroom is bound by a set of traditions that dictate what kinds of occurrences are considered newsworthy, the sets of practices deployed to yield information about a given newsworthy occurrence, the selection and organization of the information thus gathered, and the selection of words used to present that information to the public. Critical attempts to identify the underlying criteria by which journalists gauge the newsworthiness of an occurrence raise questions about the degree to which every stage of news production is predetermined by an inchoate news template. A sense of what the story is and how it should be told will influence where reporters go for information, who they talk to, what questions they ask, what they notice, which observations and answers they deem relevant when they sit down to write, and the order in which they assemble that raw material. The result, according to some critics, is a partial account of reality that obscures as much as it illuminates, oversimplifies complex realities and, often reinforces the ideological status quo.

An example would be the story of Kitty Genovese, a young murder victim whose cries for help, according to news coverage at the time, were ignored by her New York neighbors. The 1964 incident gave rise to what became known as *bystander theory*, the idea that in a situation where multiple people are available to help, each person will assume that someone else will act, and therefore, no one does. Years later, researchers reinvestigated the story, found that the story that Genovese's cries for help were ignored was

essentially false, and suggested that the story confirmed prevailing myths about urban life: that city folk were so busy, self-absorbed, self-protective, and numb to the sufferings of others that they had lost the fundamental human impulse to help their fellows.

A related criticism of journalism's occupational culture is that it breeds conformity, yielding television newscasts that all look and sound very much alike, and a selection of stories that varies little from one news outlet to another. Some critics attribute the lack of diversity in thought at least in part to the lack of demographic diversity: A mostly middle-class, mostly male, mostly white staff, which was the norm until late in the 20th century, will tend to focus on news that is of interest to white, middle-class men and ignore news that is of interest to women and people of color. News organizations have become sensitive to the problem, but their critics see lack of diversity as an ongoing problem.

Concluding Thoughts

The last of the four sections of the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists calls on journalists to "be accountable and transparent." Implicit is a recognition that it would be hypocritical for journalists to serve as a watchdog protecting the public interest from abuse of power by powerful people and institutions, while failing to hold themselves to the same high standard. The code of ethics focuses on self-policing, but there are also press critics, both in-house and out, professional and amateur, academic and journalistic, who essentially serve as watchdogs of the watchdog.

Some press criticism amounts to what is known in the sports world as *working the refs*: Knowing how sensitive journalists are to charges of bias, newsmakers complaining about being treated unfairly as a way of pressuring journalists to treat them better. So effective have these campaigns against the press been that it has almost become the conventional wisdom that most reporting is slanted, sensationalistic, and sloppy. The result may be a society in which no sources of information are trusted, there are no mutually agreed-upon sets of facts, and everyone believes whatever they are predisposed to believe. In such a society,

paralysis can set in, with the most aggressive liars and power seekers winning the war of words and seizing the levers of power.

Some press criticism is constructive: Some journalism is slanted, sensationalistic, and sloppy. If it is agreed that good journalism is indispensable to a free and just society, then press criticism is equally indispensable in keeping pressure on journalists to do their indispensable work as well as it can be done.

Russell Frank

See also Conflicts of Interest; Ethics; Media Monopoly; Objectivity; Trust in Journalism

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MEDIA LITERACY

Media literacy, as a space of practice and field of research, is concerned with how people critically consume and produce media in all forms. General definitions incorporate the abilities to access, evaluate, analyze, reflect, and create media across platforms, modalities, and content areas. Media literacy interventions range from formal learning environments to communities and organizations.

As an umbrella concept, media literacy incorporates subliteracies that focus the core

competencies of media literacy onto specific media practices. Common subliteracies include digital literacy, data literacy, health literacy, information literacy, civic literacy, and news literacy. Media literacy research and practice has long been concerned with journalism and news. These specific information environments are tied directly to democracy, and as such media literacy concerns itself with nurturing more civic-oriented participants in democracy.

Journalistic practices are increasingly situated in online spaces, and influenced by social networks, algorithms, and other digital technologies. As a result, how people engage with news and understand journalism practices are more central to the practices of media literacy. This entry introduces the main definitions and approaches to media literacy practice. It follows by exploring major debates in media literacy, followed by constraints and new directions for media literacy practice and research.

Media Literacy Definitions and Practices

Media literacy, a broad space for research and practice, often finds common ground in its aim to prepare people to critically understand media texts, reflect on their meanings and intentions, and meaningfully participate in media environments when possible. Definitions are often contested and applications vary, but major trends in media literacy practice and research involve developing competencies in people to critique and create media. Common media literacy approaches teach people to analyze advertisements, evaluate the sources of a news story, detect bias in political speeches, assess websites for credibility and verification of information, and create media in all formats. Typically, these approaches have found homes in formal spaces for learning, but have moved beyond classrooms into after-school programs, community organizations, and public institutions.

Formal Spaces of Learning

From primary school to higher education, media literacy's most common point of engagement is the formal classroom. Media literacy in

this context is devoted to developing learning interventions that help people become more savvy consumers and producers of media. Most media literacy research and practice, as a result, is designed for young people. Schools provide structured settings to work with students, experimenting with creative approaches to engaging with media, focusing on deconstructing media messages, remixing media narratives, and creating content.

Interventions at younger ages focus on more basic competencies on spotting and differentiating content types and message intention. At secondary levels of education, media literacy focuses more on Internet safety, online bullying, social networks, and on credibility of news and information. Media production practices are also increasingly common in secondary education, where students work on creative expression and positive social messaging through media. Student newsrooms also now incorporate media literacy practices to help young reporters understand and reflect on the impact and scope of their work. Media literacy practices in secondary education also focus on public health, combating beauty industry messaging that sets narrow and unrealistic standards for young girls, and preparing young people to navigate online information spaces, such as YouTube, Facebook, and TikTok.

In higher education, formal media literacy practices engage the media's role in democracy from a critical lens, focusing on manipulation, propaganda, inequality, and theories of control and oppression with and through media. These theoretical topics are complemented with practices around critical media making. Whether in film, journalism, public relations, advertising, or other communication/media related disciplines, as students learn the skills of media production and dissemination, they are asked to consider point of view, bias, framing, and audience.

Connections to Democracy, News, and Citizenship

As media have become more central to daily life, media literacy has become more concerned with democratic processes, news ecosystems, and civic participation. Media literacy practices focused on democracy find relevance in teaching

about civic systems and civic participation. Media literacy practices here are concerned with deconstructing the intent of political speeches, providing knowledge of how persuasive political information practices can impact public deliberation, and understanding how new technologies are impacting public dialog and credible information.

Alongside connecting media explicitly to democratic processes, media literacies have recently devoted significant attention to exploring journalism and news ecosystems, as they have been dramatically impacted by disruptive technological growth. Journalism industries are struggling to adapt to new business and information realities, while newsgathering and reporting now regularly competes with online spaces that are subsumed by personal expression, sensational content, and misinformation. News media literacy practices prepare citizens to better understand the changing landscape for journalism, while at the same time developing savvy news consumption skills. Many news media literacy initiatives struggle to keep pace with the changing norms for news delivery systems and platforms, and ever-changing journalistic norms.

In digital culture, media literacy research and practice has focused extensively on how people use media to meaningfully participate in daily civic life. Participatory culture explores the ways that people navigate the mediated spaces that allow for expression, dialog, interaction, and advocacy. Media literacies often focus on the benefits and harms of these online spaces, and use such dialogs to ask how people can meaningfully use online spaces to participate in civic life.

Ubiquitous Digital Technologies

The emergence of social networks and large media platforms in daily information and communication has propelled media literacy to focus on how large scale platforms, connective networks, and algorithms are impacting the information ecosystem. Media literacy practices center on critical inquiry about the role of algorithms in information dissemination, about privacy breaches by platforms that collect user data and repurpose it without consent, and how social networks prioritize information that is sensational, polarizing,

and that attracts like-minded groups into shared spaces for communication.

Media literacy has also worked to embrace the potential of technologies and platforms to bring communities together to advocate for causes, support peers, and to offer spaces for more diverse information gathering. Here media literacies concern themselves largely with how to navigate online spaces safely and securely, to distinguish misinformation from credible information, and to participate in spaces that are generative and beneficial. Terms like algorithmic literacy and data literacy have emerged recently to focus more on how data and algorithms impact media and information, and how people can use data in creative ways to help shape algorithms and connect data to human stories.

Major Debates

While general consensus exists about what media literacy hopes to achieve through implementation and practice, there exist several major debates that continue to frame research inquiry and dictate support from foundations and public institutions.

Empowerment Versus Protectionism

Perhaps the longest running debate in the media literacy field has been whether the goal of media literacy pedagogy is to protect people from media manipulation, bias, and harm, or to empower people to have voice, agency, and the ability to participate in society. While the debate has no clear defining characteristics, the protectionist approach normally responds to what is seen as a harmful media ecosystem, where: advertisers prey on young people from just after birth; companies use media tools and technologies to invade personal space and encroach upon privacy rights; bullying and other more harmful practices are abundant in online spaces; mass media and politicians use manipulative information techniques to distort truths; news organizations, which require profit over public benefit, select content that is more spectacular and sensationalized over that which is necessary for democracy to flourish; marketers use invasive media practices to gain eyeballs and offer ever sensationalized content; and large media corporations dictate

how information is produced and disseminated. This landscape necessitates teaching people how to protect themselves from media manipulation, and to do so they must learn how to critically consume media, to avoid harmful media practices and unsafe mediated spaces, and to take action when possible to combat such harmful practices.

The empowerment approach to media literacy focuses on providing the competencies to empower people's consumption and use of media for personal and public benefit. This approach believes that media systems are complex, and present multiple benefits and risks. Empowering people to use media in savvy ways avoids cynicism, negativity, and mean world effects. It acknowledges risks inherent in all media use, but prioritizes creating media habits and messaging that positively contributes to society. Empowerment approaches often focus on voice, agency, and participation. They use the personal interests of people (e.g., pop culture, sports, arts) to develop interest and promote meaningful engagement and participation with and through media.

Media Literacy Versus [Sub] Literacies

There has been a longstanding debate in media literacy on whether subliteracies benefit the space of research and practice, or if they create unnecessary redundancies, and negatively impact cohesion among scholars and practitioners. Media literacy is often understood as an umbrella concept, with core values and approaches to research and practice that span across the media ecosystem.

Despite media literacy's wide application, subliteracies have proliferated. Areas such as news literacy, data literacy, information literacy, and health literacy develop specific content area focus, but that often recreate core media literacy approaches. Debates exist about whether these groups should be aligned in how they share and collaborate versus working in silos that offer strong focus but lack scholarly and pedagogical collaboration.

Political Versus Apolitical

Media literacy has been consumed by political orientation. These debates have questioned whether media literacy pursuits should be funded by large media corporations, and whether media

literacy practices should take positions on issues such as climate change, gun rights, and immigration. Media literacy often aspires to promote critical understanding and civic applications, which reflect ideologies and viewpoints of the practitioners, researchers, and educators who design and implement media literacy experiences.

Public schools maintain a nonpartisan approach to curriculum. As such media literacy skills can be taught, but debates persist as to whether media literacy can be taught in public schools using a critical approach. Media literacy practices that involve climate change messages, gun ownership debates, immigration discussions, or LGBTQ rights often become spaces of contested terrain, where educators must navigate school policy, knowledge of issues, and student ideologies. When deconstructing news messaging, mainstream media outlets are often cases for media literacy inquiries, however there is little consensus on whether such inquiry can or should be apolitical.

Constraints

Alongside major debates in media literacy practice, certain constraints have hindered the advancement of media literacy as a field of inquiry and as a space for pedagogy and practice.

Solutionism

Media literacy has often been described as a panacea for the ills of media and society. With a proliferation of misinformation and fake news, many advocate for media literacy as the response. Seeing media literacy as a solution to a problem forces practitioners to define a problem that is often complex and nebulous. As a result, media literacy is reduced to a set of practices that often fails to keep pace with technological and media systems advancements and avoids rigorous and complex discussions.

Skills Without Application

Media literacy is often articulated as a set of skills that people can learn to better consume and use media. There is often an assumption that media literacy skill attainment leads to beneficial social outcomes. There is little evidence that

teaching people to analyze media content and identify credible versus false information leads to improved civic or social outcomes. There is evidence that people do become more critical readers of media, and this is a notable achievement. However, a focus on skill attainment often promotes transactional approaches to media literacy, where people are asked to master a competency but not connect it to large democratic ideas.

Unintentional Cynicism

Media literacy skill attainment can lead to increased cynicism about media messages and systems. This is apparent when media literacy interventions focus primarily on how media manipulates, when media are wrong, and how bias works in media messages. In such cases, research has shown that people learn to spot manipulative media techniques but are less trustful of media in general and less willing to engage with media.

New Directions

In recent years, media literacy has taken on new priorities as media continue to evolve technologically and economically. With each new platform, and ever increasing disruptions to media systems, media literacy practices reinvent themselves to attend to the social, political, and economic realities of daily life.

Civic Media

Media literacy has recently been concerned with the civic capacities of media. As traditional types of civic participation have moved largely into mediated spaces, new research in media literacy focuses on the technologies, designs, and practices that help people use media for civic betterment. This includes specific attention paid to local advocacy, and efforts to use media to promote inclusion and equity, advance environmental concerns, and support social justice movements.

Misinformation

The proliferation of so-called fake news in online environments has led to a focus on how

media literacy can be used to combat this phenomenon. Media literacy practices prioritize fact checking, source identification, and assessing the credibility of online profiles and platforms. This approach has been challenged by the invasive and often complex ways in which algorithms and bots work to spread information.

Platforms

Media literacy practices are shifting from a focus on content to a focus on platforms. As large scale social networking platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook continue to grow, alongside search engines such as Google and emerging expressive spaces such as TikTok, WhatsApp, and Snapchat, media literacy research explores how people use these platforms, how the platforms use users, and how information and communication flow in these spaces.

Data and Algorithms

Data and algorithmic literacies have emerged in response to the proliferation of big data in daily information and communication flow. Data literacies are particularly interested in teaching people how data are secured, how they are used to identify and target audiences, and how people can secure their data rights, understand privacy and data, and use data to tell their own stories. Algorithmic literacies focus predominantly on the ways in which algorithms are used to personalize information. Algorithms are generally seen in a critical light for media literacy, where they expose inequities, injustice, and often exclude marginalized communities.

News Ecosystems

As news systems continue to be dismantled and journalistic practices are disrupted, media literacy devotes considerable attention to the new ways in which people will find, consume, and engage with news. Local news efforts are hardest hit by current economic and technological shifts, and media literacy efforts are focusing on how local communities can learn to be more involved in news ecosystems, and support new models for journalism practice in digital culture.

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See also Bias; Data Journalism; Fact-Checking Movement; Fake News; Internet: Impact on the Media; Journalism Education; Participatory Journalism; Propaganda; Social Media

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MEDIA MARKETS

Media markets are of relevance to journalism as they determine the structure of the news media ecosystem, and thus impact the public sphere’s

access to information and content. The structure of the media market, for example, could cause an imbalance of power in news producers or diversity in journalism content, which could influence public policy or societal culture.

The economic definition of market refers to the context in which suppliers and consumers interact to determine the price of goods or services. In an effort to define a market, one must be able to identify three factors: the good or service, those providing it, and those who can buy it. The identification of these three factors helps further understanding of market behaviors, which then allows for the prediction of market outcomes.

When a good (i.e., product or service) is specific and thus easier to identify, market structure and market behaviors are also typically easier to identify. Several characteristics of market structure, including the degree of market power, barriers to market entry, and market externalities, can impact market behavior. First, dominance of supply or demand by one or few makes for a high degree of market power such as in the case of a monopoly or oligopoly. The existence of such an imbalance in market power can, of course, impact the price of goods. Second, imbalances in market power are often exaggerated by barriers to entry such as technical, economic, or regulatory hurdles that limit new participants into the market to produce products with enough differentiation to increase market competition. Third, any external influences such as political, economic, social, or technological factors may impact behaviors within the market.

News as a good or service is unlike any other product and has several distinctive features. First, it is a public good—it is both nonexcludable and nonrivalrous. In other words, it is difficult to prevent access to news. Consumption of news by some doesn’t materially impact consumption of news by others. Furthermore, purchase of the good is based on imperfect information. News has a high degree of originality so potential consumers make purchasing decisions without having full knowledge of the product.

This entry discusses the evolution of media market definitions and the principles upon which these definitions rest within the context of journalism and the news media ecosystem at

large. The definition of media markets has evolved through a number of iterations—some based on product determinations and others based on geographical considerations. The way in which a media market is defined or delineated is important as it relates to the promotion of competition (and the limiting of anticompetitive behaviors), which has an impact on consumer activities within the market. Understanding is thus of relevance to economists, policymakers, media managers and investors, scholars, and students alike.

In discussing the variety of media market definitions and associated concepts, this entry also highlights the potential challenges of applying these definitions to media markets in today's digital networked economy. The entry concludes with an explication of external factors that influence media markets.

Product-Based Media Markets

Historically, media markets are defined by looking at the specific product, content form, or medium. Newspapers, books, movies, radio, and television each capitalized on specific attributes of a distribution medium or network to provide content to the audience. Thus, each was its own media market. Producers would supply content and consumers would demand content, which was always coupled with a medium to define the market. Each media market was clearly defined and recognized.

Generally, as applied to the context of media, markets are uniquely defined. The media economy is an amalgamation of a variety of supply and demand contexts ranging from news to advertising to entertainment content to tech. Of course, media markets today can be both physical and digital. The supplier–consumer relationship in a media market is reflective of business to business, business to consumer, and even consumer to consumer relationships.

Dual Product Media Markets

Many media companies today in fact function in a dual product market in which one product (e.g., news or entertainment content) is targeted to consumers and the other product is the

consumers themselves, which is in effect purchased by advertisers. In other words, media companies can offer products in two distinct, but connected markets: the market for audiences and the market for advertisers. In the first, audiences provide time and attention in exchange for consuming content. In the second, advertisers purchase audience attention.

It is important to note that not every media firm operates in advertising sales. Many, however, are supported—at least, in part—by them. Examples of ad supported media products include many print newspapers and magazines (as well as their digital counterparts), podcasts, broadcast radio, TV networks, and cable television.

In defining media markets based on product, content, and medium, one could also analyze market behavior via patterns of market competition and concentration. For example, is the media market a monopoly, a duopoly, an oligopoly? Is there monopolistic competition or perfect competition or somewhere in between?

With regard to journalism, a media market refers to the context where producers supply, and audiences consume the news. It also, however, refers to the economic, social, and political consequences of those market behaviors. The product dimension of a media market has long been used by policymakers and scholars to understand market structure and market behavior. The dual product nature of media markets makes for a situation in which market structure and market power can uniquely impact economic, social, and political aspects of the public sphere. In the context of local journalism, for example, the structure of media markets can impact diversity of and access to content, as well as the overall robustness of a local news media ecosystem.

Today, however, defining media markets based on product determinations is a challenge as companies constantly redefine themselves and adjust their business models. For one, many firms produce and sell content distributed across a variety of platforms and mediums. In fact, most media companies strive to compete in several markets at once, diversifying their revenue streams across sectors. The product- and medium-based approach to defining media markets worked well historically; however, it serves little use in today's digital networked economy.

Geographically Based Media Markets

In addition to the product or medium dimension, traditional media companies also function in media markets defined by geographic dimensions. Newspapers or radio broadcasts, for example, historically operated in media markets determined by the location in which their products were offered. Media markets can be global, national, regional, or local.

Designated Market Areas

In the United States, for example, one way in which media markets are geographically defined is through an instrument known as the Designated Market Area (DMA). DMA regions are the mutually exclusive, geographically bounded areas in which people receive the same broadcast television options. There are 210 DMAs (geographic media markets) in the United States. DMA boundaries and DMA data generated from measurement of media consumed in each media market are owned by Nielsen. These data have long been essential for marketers, researchers, and media managers.

Every U.S. county is in a DMA, which are generally linked to major metropolitan areas, but can overlap in more rural areas. In other words, DMAs do not always fit neatly within state boundaries. Consider, for instance, media markets such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Kansas City, Chicago, or St. Louis, which extend beyond their home state into neighboring states. The Chicago DMA encompasses the city and surrounding areas in Illinois, but also portions of Indiana.

In the context of journalism, this means that a TV news station in the Chicago DMA should cover news across the DMA in an effort to meet local information needs of its community. However, TV viewers in similar geographical situations have long argued for a solution to the lack of local TV news. DMAs as an example of geographically based media markets are just another instance in a long line of raised concerns regarding journalism divides. These divides refer to the differences in the availability or robustness of journalistic resources across communities. Journalism divides have been found to follow patterns similar to

those depicted in the extensive literature on digital divides and show that lower income and more ethnically diverse communities generally have access to less robust local news media.

Further compounding the problematic nature of geographically based media markets is the popularity of the Internet and alternatives to traditional television. The number of U.S. households subscribed to pay TV (i.e., cable/satellite) continues to decrease each year as the number of households without pay TV continues to increase. Many people use digital streaming services to watch television content. Indeed, with a growing number of consumers moving away from traditional television services, DMAs and geographically bound media markets in general face a multitude of challenges with regard to their utility.

Core Function Media Market

One final approach worth discussing in a sense combines both the product and geographic dimensions of the media market. Alan B. Albarran proposed the core function media market, which is defined by identifying both the media content and the media distribution. The content of the media market—as opposed to the medium—might be news, music, film, or even user-generated. The distribution of the media market refers to whether it is broadcast, print, pay TV, or even streaming.

The core function media market certainly offers a bit more flexibility and utility for the identification of media markets than those defined along product or geographic lines; however, it does not come without its own challenges. In today's digital network economy, there are an increasing number of markets that overlap and intersect with media. Take online search, for example, in which content creation and content distribution might not be the core function of the market, but they're still critical to its functioning.

Market Factors

Indeed, there is no one size fits all method for delineating or defining a media market. Media markets must be analyzed and understood within the overall political, economic, social, and technological environments in which they function. In other words, the evolution of media markets is not

strictly a consequence of change from within the media ecosystem itself, but rather highly connected to changes in the external environment as well.

In the United States, political conditions such as the regulatory bodies of Congress and the FCC continue to impact the structure and activities of media markets. Historically, government regulation continues to trend toward less stringent policies of media ownership. Globally, trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have opened media markets and corresponding activities up to a global playing field.

A number of economic indicators impact media markets as well. In general, economic factors such as employment trends, the rate of inflation, consumer access to capital and willingness to spend all affect the general business climate, including media markets. If the economy begins to decline, consumers spend more conservatively. If retail sales decrease, companies may decide to spend less on advertising. In the news business, for example, this would lead to a decrease in potential revenue.

As society continues to evolve, so too does the makeup of media audiences and their corresponding consumption habits and behaviors. Audience fragmentation, for example, continues to increase across a growing range of news delivery platforms and an expanding array of news content options. Such proliferation impacts the structure of media markets.

Last, but certainly not least, are the technological forces that are highly consequential for media markets. Technology is interconnected with almost all aspects of the media value chain from production to distribution to exhibition. Indeed, technological disruptions resulting in transitions to digital, mobile, and social media have completely transformed journalism and media markets.

In sum, the digital network economy has had a tremendous impact on media markets. Digital technology lowered production costs for many forms of news and enabled the distribution of news content across a variety of formats and platforms. A general detachment of content from its geography, medium, platform, or means of distribution enabled consumption that is increasingly driven by interest and engagement in the content itself. Such a shift in audience consumption impacts market demand behaviors and furthers

general market transformation leaving the old guard of media market definitions less applicable. Thus, media companies, media regulators, and media policymakers currently face challenges in delineating how to define a market or where to hinge a business model.

Allie Kosterich

See also Antitrust; Local Journalism; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; News Deserts

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MEDIA MONOPOLY

Journalism professor Ben Bagdikian coined the term *media monopoly* to describe the concentration of ownership of the dominant media entities in ever-fewer hands. Although monopolies can be said to exist in many local media markets, he used the term metaphorically. No single firm owned all the mass media in the United States, and the prospects of that coming to pass were remote. Nonetheless, media were increasingly controlled by huge multinational corporations, Bagdikian argued, with serious implications for our information infrastructure and the quality of our news and our democracy.

Before joining the faculty at the University of California, Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism, Bagdikian spent three decades as a journalist, sharing a Pulitzer Prize for his work at *The Providence Journal* and later playing a key role in *The Washington Post's* publication of the Pentagon Papers. Much of his journalism focused on social issues, including racial discrimination, poverty, housing, prison conditions, and migration. In 1970 Bagdikian's prescient *The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media* explored the implications of the then-emerging electronic media and the growing institutionalization of the media.

Bagdikian returned to this question over seven editions of his book, *The Media Monopoly*, published between 1983 and 2004, the final edition of which was titled *The New Media Monopoly*. Fifty companies owned most major U.S. media outlets, he argued in the first edition. By 2004, five conglomerates owned most of the major newspapers, magazines, book publishers, motion picture studios, and radio and television stations in the United States. Not only was ownership more concentrated, the surviving firms were conglomerates operating on a global scale and enmeshed in dense networks of joint ventures. This entry discusses the increase in economic concentration in the media industry since the first edition of Bagdikian's book, concerns about how that concentration affects news coverage and U.S. democracy, and difficulties in measuring monopolization in the industry.

Economic Concentration in the 21st Century

The landscape has changed in many ways since then. With the explosion of the Internet and cable television networks, it has become more difficult to define the relevant media markets or how they are served. Not all of the big five Bagdikian identified have fared well since 2004. Time Warner, now WarnerMedia, shed its magazines and AOL before its cable systems were purchased by Charter Communications and its film and television properties by AT&T; Disney has acquired 21st Century Fox, the film business that was once part of News Corporation; News Corp. remains a global player but on a reduced scale; Viacom has once again absorbed

CBS; and Bertelsmann remains a dominant European media conglomerate but in the United States is now a major player only in book publishing (owning Penguin Random House). While Bagdikian stressed the diversification of these global players, and also the web of cooperative ventures in which they were enmeshed, many have retrenched since the Great Recession and the Internet transformed the economic structure of legacy media, in particular by decimating advertising revenue.

Today film and music are often distributed internationally, but most media operate at a local, national, or regional level. Bertelsmann's RTL Group operates radio and television stations and networks across Europe, while Comcast-owned Sky Television distributes television programming by satellite to European countries and through subsidiaries in Brazil, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines, and Turkey. Global conglomerates such as Bertelsmann, Informa, and RELX publish thousands of magazines and other specialized media, but most serve particular countries or industries. In Canada, Postmedia—controlled by Chatham Asset Management, which also owns McClatchy newspapers in the United States—dominates the English-language newspaper market. News Corp., which owns the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post*, and the HarperCollins publishing house, is also a dominant force in Australian and British newspaper markets. Rupert Murdoch also controls Fox Corporation, with its broadcast network, local television stations, and news and sports cable channels.

Around the world, many countries have highly concentrated television and newspaper markets, and the major players often cooperate in joint ventures and regional alliances. However, these sectors are also quite volatile as advertising-dependent media have been battered by global recession, and many have been acquired by investment firms specializing in distressed assets which they hope to make more profitable through consolidation and retrenchment.

Media Monopoly and Democracy

The seven editions of *Media Monopoly* addressed issues beyond the enormous size of these companies, including what Bagdikian saw as the intrinsic

contradictions between advertising sponsorship and meeting societal information needs, the preference of the corporate titans who ran these firms for economic and political policies that would serve their business interests, and the antidemocratic implications of, as one chapter title in the sixth edition put it, “public information as industrial by-product.”

Bagdikian believed that the consolidation of media in fewer and fewer hands had major consequences for the quality of the information ecosystem, the diversity of perspectives heard in public debate, and the robustness of U.S. democracy. He was especially concerned with the enormous power these media conglomerates held, and with the natural tendency of media controlled by the rich and powerful to give disproportionate emphasis to their concerns—to see enormous concentration of wealth as normal, perhaps even desirable. The private equity firms and other investors who increasingly control media firms are driven almost exclusively by profits, always seeking a higher rate of return. One can see the consequences of this particularly in the newspaper industry, where hedge fund owners have followed the purchase of dozens of newspapers with massive layoffs and used newspapers’ revenues for speculative ventures, and in the waves of acquisitions and bankruptcies that have swept through many communications sectors.

Bagdikian was equally concerned by the U.S. media’s reliance on advertising for so much of its revenue. This reliance has consequences for the audiences served (the affluent are more desirable to advertisers), for content (advertisers prefer congenial surroundings for their messages), and for local news and investigative journalism (which is more expensive to produce than features and punditry, both of which are also easily syndicated, further reducing costs). Advertising permeates the entire media sphere, even intruding into film and television scripts and news websites (as “sponsored content”). It encourages a fundamental alienation between the media’s revenue stream and their ostensible purposes (whether to inform or to entertain).

In recent years, the takeover of the largest newspaper chains by hedge funds has contributed to the growing phenomenon of so-called

new deserts, places in the United States without local newspapers or any reliable source of news, even as the media barons expand their domains and their wealth. By 2004, when *The New Media Monopoly* was published, many looked to the Internet for news and for information on art and culture. Bagdikian warned that the Internet too was under the control of the monopolists, but insisted that this was not inevitable. “It is not too late to mandate use of the enormous capacities of the country’s communications technology and the powers of antitrust actions to diminish the domination of the media by a few powerful conglomerates” (p. 265). (Moreover, recent research has established that nearly all original reporting online and in broadcast media originates from newspaper firms.) Bagdikian looked to a revitalized media reform movement seeking stronger antitrust and public interest broadcast regulation and an expanded public media sector as a beacon of hope; the task of reconceptualizing media as a public good, and to devoting the necessary social resources to its sustenance, is today more pressing than ever.

Measuring Monopolization

It can be difficult to test the proposition that a particular number of firms control the “lion’s share” of the mass media. In part, this is because of the distinctive nature of the regional and specialized markets most media serve; the *Reading* (Pennsylvania) *Eagle* did not compete with the *Denver Post* even before Media News Group added it to its portfolio, nor are the listeners to Saga’s conservative Christian radio stations choosing between them and their local Radio One (an ownership group targeting African American listeners) station. Speaking of a unitary media has always been a fraught enterprise, but particularly so with the fragmentation seen today in television and online media.

There are also empirical challenges. Most major magazines in the United States, and a significant number of other media firms, are privately held, and so need not publicly report financial results. Whether to avoid embarrassing their members or because of insufficient resources, trade groups such as the News Media Alliance have ceased publishing industry-level data. The scope and detail of

economic information made available to the general public through the U.S. Census Bureau has been dramatically scaled back as data were instead contracted to information brokers. Published census categories do not necessarily meet the needs of the researcher; for example, broadband and video services are subsumed within a broader telecommunications sector that also includes telephone service. Comcast, AT&T, and Charter Communications dominate broadband and cable television in the United States, operate as monopolies (or, at best, as part of duopolies) in nearly every market they serve, and have enormous market power. But to state with precision their market share on a national level is a difficult proposition.

The census similarly reports book industry figures that conflate textbooks, trade books, and books aimed at the professional market. Here, we can turn to *Publishers Weekly* and its annual reports on trade book sales to state that in 2019 five out of the 2,086 book publishing firms the census records accounted for 77% of all revenue for new trade book sales. Newspaper publishing is less concentrated (on a national scale; there are very few cities where there are even two daily newspapers carrying local news), with 35.4% of revenue going to the five largest firms in 2019. (However, the newspaper industry is rapidly consolidating.)

In film, the five largest firms account for nearly two-thirds of domestic box office receipts. (Not all of that revenue goes to the studios, and there are other important sources of revenue including international box office receipts, broadcast and DVD rights, and merchandizing. If anything, the major studios are better positioned to exploit these revenue streams.) The top five radio station groups account for nearly half of radio station revenue; the five major television networks and the local stations they own for 70% of broadcast television revenue. Cable networks rely on a combination of advertising and subscriber fees; the five leading programming firms accounted for 62% of industry revenue in 2019.

Bagdikian was, broadly speaking, correct, and remains so if one excludes certain media types from his analysis. There are no reliable revenue figures for consumer magazines, but while culturally significant they are not economic powerhouses. Music is dominated by global

conglomerates for which it is difficult to break out U.S. revenue. For online media, most legacy firms incorporate revenue from their online products under other headings, while Facebook and Alphabet dominate online advertising revenue, in the United States and globally.

Excluding magazines, music, and online-only media, the five largest U.S. media firms controlled 61.6% of media revenue in 2019; if cable system revenues are included, the six largest firms controlled 51.8%. Comcast (broadcast stations, cable and television networks, cable service, film) was the largest, with \$81.4 billion in media revenues (including cable systems, \$25.3 billion without), followed by AT&T with \$66.2 billion in media revenue (\$19.7 billion from its cable networks and film interests) and Charter Communications (\$45 billion in cable system revenues). Disney had media revenue of \$29.7 billion (broadcast and cable networks, broadcast stations, and film), ViacomCBS \$24.6 billion (book publishing, broadcast and cable networks, broadcast stations, and film), and News Corp./Fox (separate corporate entities, but under common control) with \$23.9 billion in North American revenues from book publishing, broadcast network and stations, news and sports cable networks, and newspapers.

The media monopoly conception, then, addressed not only ownership but also the implications of dramatically concentrating ownership on media performance—and hence on the broader culture and politics. The trends Bagdikian identified in the late 20th century have continued, with, many scholars argue, significant consequences for the quality of democracy in the United States.

Jon Bekken

See also Antitrust; Bertelsmann; Comcast; Facebook; Google; Internet: Impact on the Media; Media Markets; Media Ownership; Murdoch, Rupert; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; ViacomCBS

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MEDIA OWNERSHIP

The significance of media ownership in the United States has been debated since the founding of the country. Media owners oversee the collection, selection, and distribution of information with multiple intentions. The mix of business, politics, and the public trust is integrated into media ownership. The ownership of a news organization involves social responsibility. However, the personal interests of the owner often influences the news and information that is disseminated to the public. The balance between ownership and social responsibility has created extensive debate about the controls and regulations placed on news outlets. As news outlets, platforms and technology change the way the public receives information, the issues surrounding ownership become further complicated. This entry examines the history of media ownership, its influence on news, the regulation of media ownership, and the difference between public and private media ownership.

Background

Early media ownership was limited to authoritarian rule. The ruler of a country would control the information given to the public. Large segments of the globe accepted the basic principles of

authoritarianism as a guide for social actions. The control of information was seen as utility for the common good and the subjectivity of the message was perceived as the surrogate voice for the ruling monarch.

The rise of democracy and the spread of liberalism changed the acceptance of authoritarian media. The populace adopted the liberalism mantra of John Milton, that the market place of ideas will reveal the truth and that there would be a self-righting process. The more information that was available, the more likely the truth will expose itself. The concept promoted self-expression. Media ownership was seen as an extension of the individual and the media was free to express themselves because the false and unsound messages will vanish, under the weight of truth. The 18th century completed the transfer of the press from the authoritarian to libertarian principles.

In the early to mid-1800s, mass media in the United States began with heavily partisan newspapers. Political parties financed the papers to publish their political perspectives. The newspapers, controlled by these parties, were an important means to influence the political process. Multiple political parties would create different news media of the time to sell their political agenda. The papers did not attempt to seek objectivity but instead sold their partisan views to the public. Newspapers were created explicitly to advance the political interests of the parties controlling them.

In the mid-1800s, business interests influenced the changes in the newspaper industry. Political party papers became less profitable than bipartisan, less politically driven newspapers. The rise of the economic status of the reader coincided with the rise of the libertarian press, whereas the functions of the mass media, under the libertarian concept, are to inform and entertain. This concept would result in a more commercialized industry but one that would also maintain substantial political influence. The congealing of capitalism and politics would change the nature of media ownership. Media owners were primarily concerned with making profits but also, in some cases, interested in asserting a political agenda.

Media ownership became a competitive endeavor. The costs of publishing required a cache of wealth. Families with large amounts of capital for investment and growth became leaders of the

industry. News organizations became part of family dynasties, passed down from generation to generation. Families own the most influential and well-known news groups. For more than a century, the Ochs-Sulzbergers owned *The New York Times*, the Chandler family controlled the *Los Angeles Times*, and the Bancroft family managed *The Wall Street Journal*. Many newspapers were founded by individual families, managed for generations, and were central figures in their community politics.

In 1919, the advancement of technology and the creation of radio programming forced the United States government to create regulations, mostly for rules of operation and ownership. Business leaders and politicians fought to keep radio from being a government monopoly. General Electric (GE) developed a plan to create a private sector monopoly, whereas a private company would have the government's approval to dominate the radio industry. GE created Radio Corporation of America (RCA), pooling all the technology and patents to monopolize the wireless industry. At the time, other countries placed broadcasting in the hands of military or government interests.

The government restricted the ownership of RCA. The 1919 radio laws ruled that foreigners could own no more than 20% of any U.S. broadcasting facility. In 1927, the ownership percentage was raised to 25%. In 1985, Rupert Murdoch, the head of Australia's News Corp became a U.S. citizen so he could buy a number of TV stations and form Fox Television.

Modernity brought new modes of news. Technology enabled electronic distribution via radio or television. Consumer size grew substantially and the commercialization of news intensified. The initiation of radio broadcasting into American homes led to a programming and advertising platform, whereas time was sold to advertisers in small pieces. Advertisers could purchase segments of time within a program. Television would adopt this platform.

The news business expanded with the popularity of radio and television. Audience were attracted to the immediacy that radio broadcasts provided: wide access to the public. Radio became extremely popular. "Breaking News" such as the Hindenburg disaster in 1937 solidified the importance of radio broadcasts. The popularity of electronic

news impacted the lucrative investments for broadcasters and advertisers. Arthur C. Nielsen created an analytical system to rate popularity, for both radio and television. The system allowed media owners to analyze and compare the popularity of their shows.

Since the turn of the 21st century, the Internet has grown and is eagerly accepted by the public. News outlets had to respond to the changes in the audience and readers. Newspapers have shown a sharp drop in circulation. The Great Recession of 2008–2009 resulted in a catastrophic decline in advertising and put many newspapers out of business.

Ownership and News Influence

The significance of ownership structures on news coverage has been debated since the beginnings of mass media in the United States. The libertarian press model was consistent in the United States and the power of reaching a large portion of the country was coveted. The objectivity of the news was often a contentious issue between the public and the news organization. The most prominent issues arise from the "media baron" or the owner of one or more powerful media outlets who uses their media outlets to advance economic or political agendas. There are questions raised about whether ownership has any bearing on influence. It is clear that a diversity of owners reflects more democratic principles.

The concerns of the media baron began in the early 20th-century days of William Randolph Hearst. Hearst constructed a media empire to spread his influence on public opinion. At the peak of his fortune, in 1935, he owned 28 major newspapers and 18 magazines. He used his reach to instigate government policy. Sensationalized news coverage, focused on American interests in Cuba, was heightened by competition between Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. Many believe that the outcome of the rivalry between Hearst and Pulitzer was the Spanish-American war. It was one of the first times in history that the news media was able to directly influence public opinion. The result was a short conflict with a memorable headline, "Remember the Maine." After the war, the two tycoons continued their personal feud with

rousing headlines to increase their audiences. This era of journalism, when stretching truth and printing spectacular news reports was common, was labeled, “yellow journalism.”

Hearst and Pulitzer’s influence on the American public was due to the reach they acquired through their media empire. American media owners like Rupert Murdoch (1931–), Ted Turner (1938–), Canadian Conrad Black (1944–), and Italian Silvio Berlusconi (1936–) have wielded the same political and economic influence.

Berlusconi’s media career began in the 1970s and by 1980 he dominated the Italian airwaves with a variety of television stations. He diversified his holdings, acquired department stores, movie theaters, publishing companies, and the AC Milan football team. He consolidated his empire into Fininvest holding company, a vast conglomerate that grew to control more than 150 businesses.

Berlusconi created a conservative political party, Forza Italia, and was elected prime minister. He was investigated for corruption and left office. He was convicted of tax fraud and corruption, but the verdicts were eventually overturned. Despite these charges and criticism of his media ownership, he remained the leader of Forza Italia. He was reelected in 2001 after promising tax cuts, more jobs, and higher pensions.

Family ownership declined as the expansion of radio and television stations grew. News organizations were bought by large publicly traded companies looking to make a profit. By the early 2000s, family-owned newspapers and broadcast stations began to disappear. Corporations with no previous ties to journalism began purchasing news outlets in hopes of expanding their portfolio to stockholders.

The decline of the legacy newspapers led to the rise of the “new media baron.” Twenty-five of the largest newspapers are owned by investment groups. Instead of local ownership that had a vested interest in the community, the new newspaper owners focus on driving performance of their holdings, whereas newspapers are only a small portion.

From 2004 to 2008, hedge and pension fund investors accumulated a majority share of the publicly traded newspaper companies. When revenues fell, the investors questioned newspaper executives about their digital strategies. The

investors were not satisfied. Many newspapers in small and mid-sized markets were sold.

Sinclair Broadcast Group is an example of one corporation attempting to spread its reach to a significant portion of the country. It is one of the largest owners of local television stations in the United States. Their ownership has a conservative political leaning. Anchors of the Sinclair stations, nearly 200, are required to read identical statements, accusing national news outlets of pushing an agenda that was “extremely dangerous to our democracy.” Sinclair stations produce more stories with dramatic elements, commentary, and partisan sources.

Sinclair emulates the cable news industry. Critics cite that the cable news industry produces infotainment. The information that is delivered to the audience blurs the line between journalistic truth, opinion and “alternative facts,” and leads to incivility that comes from treating politics as entertainment. In some ways, Sinclair is a new media baron, modeled after William Randolph Hearst.

Ownership Regulations

Television news is dependent on federal protections. The federal protections are meant to ensure that a new outlet does not control the disbursement of facts to the community and that there is proper representation from both sides of an issue. There are concerns about the lack of diversity if two or more news sources in a community were owned by the same entity. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) placed limits on the number of broadcast news outlets that can be owned by a single entity. The FCC prevents duopolies in markets where allowing one owner to own two stations would not leave at least eight independently owned TV channels in the market. Under section 73.3555(b)(2) of the Commission’s rules, two television stations licensed in the same designated market area (DMA) may be commonly owned if one of the stations is not ranked among the top four stations in the DMA. However, the FCC makes exceptions for financial hardship. The FCC also limited broadcast licensees from owning daily newspapers in the same market.

The FCC ownership rules are aimed to limit concentration in mass media. The FCC rules limit

the number of radio or television stations that a single entity can own in a single market. In 2018, the FCC loosened the duopoly laws for Sinclair Broadcast Group. The FCC granted the transfer of seven full-power stations from Bonten Media Group to Sinclair. The FCC's defense of the ruling was based on the inability of another operator to be willing and able to purchase or operate the stations as a stand-alone facility. The "satellite exemption" has provided a means for corporations to buy many local affiliates.

There have been attempts to loosen the restrictions on ownership. The FCC passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The Act was considered deregulation as the national limits in radio station ownership was eliminated. Since then, the FCC is directed to reassess its media ownership limits every 4 years with the presumption that the limits may no longer be necessary due to the rise of the Internet.

By 2020, a few corporations controlled a large number of broadcast stations. Sinclair Broadcast Group owns 186 television stations and 620 channels in 87 markets. Sinclair raises concern because of their political bias and editorial messages they require their news divisions to broadcast. Other corporations such as Nexstar, Gray, and Tegna have purchased similar numbers of stations. Nexstar owns 199 stations in 116 markets.

In 2019, a federal court threw out changes to media ownership rules approved by the FCC in 2017. The changes eliminated the longstanding rule that prohibited a single individual or company from possessing a daily newspaper and a radio or TV station in the same market. A second change eliminated the rule regarding cross-ownership of radio and TV stations. A third change eliminated the prohibition on owning two of the top four stations on a case-by-case basis.

The court ruled that the FCC should have looked more closely at potential impacts on minority ownership. In the case, traditional media companies argued that the rules limit their ability to compete with newer Internet-based businesses such as Amazon.com Inc. and Alphabet Inc.'s YouTube Unit.

The FCC responded to the federal court by accusing the judges of obstruction in blocking changes to their rules. The FCC claimed that the evidence of newspapers going out of business,

broadcast radio struggling, and broadcast TV facing the competition from variety of platforms should be cause to change ownership rules.

Public Versus Private Ownership

The shift from private to public ownership has proven to be a seismic change to the newspaper landscape. News organizations have become investment commodities. The news organizations were traded like any other publicly held commodity. In 2005, large public and private companies spent USD 3 billion acquiring newspapers from one another. The Pulitzer group was purchased by Lee Enterprises for USD 1 billion in 2005.

In 2006, a series of sales signaled a bull market on newspapers. More than USD 10 billion changed hands, with McClatchy Company, owner of 27 newspapers in 2004, purchasing all of Knight Ridder's 61 newspapers for 4 billion dollars. McClatchy then turned around and sold four newspapers to MediaNews Group and Hearst for USD 1 billion.

In 2007, the sale of newspapers accumulated to USD 20 billion, led by News Corp.'s acquisition of Dow Jones and Sam Zell's buy of Tribune Company. Sam Zell is a real estate mogul and private equity fund manager.

After the 2008 recession, newspaper stock dropped significantly. The market capitalization of publicly traded news companies such as Gannett, McClatchy, and Lee fell more than 80%. Investors began to "flip" the companies as opposed to "buy and hold." The intention of the investors was to make a quick profit or purchase multiple newspapers at the same price they would have paid for one before the recession.

In the wake of the recession and buying/selling of the newspapers, many longtime successful media groups went into bankruptcy. Lee Enterprises, Tribune Company, and MediaNews Group were forced into bankruptcy proceedings by 2012. More than one third of all newspapers have changed ownership at least once since 2004. Seven of the largest 25 newspaper companies by 2004 were investment firms.

The investment firms are extremely different from the newspaper chains that preceded them. The newspapers are usually part of a portfolio, mixed in with real estate, retail, and financial

services. The main business of the firm is not journalism. The significance in the difference between the traditional ownership and the investment firm is the long-term commitment to local journalism. The new owners are not committed to the community but to shareholders who may not have a reason to be concerned about the news coverage. Financial return on the investment into the newspaper outweighs the public service.

Research supports the idea that public ownership results in better financial performance. However, the short-term investment strategy limits the amount of capital expenditure on infrastructure or other resources necessary for newsgathering. The new media barons eliminated staff positions at various news outlets and “hubbed” a small group in one office to complete the same tasks, streamlining similar job roles.

Television has seen significant changes from the 1980s and 1990s. Television networks became a part of corporate conglomerates. Profitability, in their news departments, became a mandate of the new owners. Staff cuts and budget reductions were widespread, resulting in a significant impact to news coverage. Foreign bureaus were shut down and hard news was devalued.

Many critics believe that the ownership is protected by a less critical news staff. Stories that involve their parent company are avoided. Stories that may help their advertisers rise. The result is a “synergy-bias” that complicates the modern newsroom and makes it difficult for news management to navigate potential internal threats caused by their decision to report certain stories.

Dean C. Cummings

See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Hearst, William Randolph; Media Markets; Nexstar Media Group; Sinclair Broadcast Group

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MEDIA NEWS

MediaNews Group is one of the corporate names of MNG Enterprises, Inc, a major U.S. newspaper chain. MNG does business under the name Digital First Media. The company, headquartered in Denver, Colorado, is majority owned by Alden Global Capital, a hedge fund based in New York. In essence, MNG Enterprises operates MediaNews Group, which is cobranded with Digital First Media. This entry discusses the history of the company, strategies it has used to cut costs and boost profits, its partnerships with other media organizations, and its place among peer media companies.

William Dean Singleton and Richard Scudder founded MediaNews Group in 1985, with both already owning a handful of newspapers. In 1987, the company acquired its flagship publication, *The Denver Post*, from Times Mirror. Through the years, it acquired more newspapers, largely by purchasing financially struggling newspapers and cutting their staffs and expenses. MediaNews grew in prominence with acquisition of several former Knight Ridder newspapers in the 2000s, but the debt incurred through their purchase and from changes in the newspaper industry overall ultimately led to its takeover by Alden and subsequent merger with Alden’s other newspaper venture, 21st Century Media, in 2013.

At its peak in 2000, the company’s newspapers had a combined circulation of about 2.7 million. At the time, a majority of its newspapers were in California, with other properties in Alaska,

Colorado, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Vermont, and West Virginia. The company has since exited several of these markets. The company also owned KTVA, a CBS affiliate in Anchorage, Alaska, from 2000–2012 and four Texas radio stations, which it sold in 2016.

Through its history, MediaNews was known as a *cost-cutting owner*. Singleton himself earned a nickname of “Lean Dean” for expecting more productivity from fewer staff members and cutting extensively at the newspapers the chain purchased. Singleton’s cutting strategy would be the foundation that many others would follow through the transition to the digital age.

History

Singleton and Scudder teamed up to purchase several newspapers in the early 1980s. Scudder had previously been publisher of the *Newark Evening News* in New Jersey, which his grandfather founded, and which his family sold to Media General in 1970. Singleton had picked up his own family of small weekly newspapers in Texas, but sought to grow with a purchase of the *Fort Worth Press* from Scripps. At 24, he tried to personally manage the *Press* and brought about its demise just 88 days into his leadership. In 1976, he connected with Joe Allbritton, then owner of the *Washington Star*, and convinced Allbritton to purchase the *Westfield Evening News* in Massachusetts. Allbritton subsequently purchased several more small papers in the northeastern United States for Singleton to run and named him president of Allbritton Communications.

As president of Allbritton Communications, Singleton took charge of the *Patterson News*, which is where he first connected with Scudder. The *Patterson News* owed Scudder’s newspaper recycling company several hundred thousand dollars, and when Scudder called Singleton to settle the debt, the two began a friendship. Their relationship turned into a business partnership when the duo purchased the *Gloucester County Times* in New Jersey in 1983, and Singleton left Allbritton. They bought more newspapers and eventually consolidated them under the MediaNews brand in 1985.

MediaNews built its portfolio from suburban newspapers early on, as well as a handful of secondary daily newspapers in major cities. Its first major such acquisition was the *Dallas Times Herald*, which it bought from Times Mirror, in 1986; however, the paper was already in financial trouble. Meanwhile, in 1987, MediaNews bought *The Houston Post* and *The Denver Post*. It rapidly built its ranks of mostly small papers with financial backing from Media General and Times Mirror. The company sold off the Dallas paper after 18 months and Houston in 1995. But it kept *The Denver Post*, making it the flagship of the chain as MediaNews collected more small newspapers through the 1990s, making purchases from Thomson, Knight Ridder, and Donrey Media, among others. The bulk of the chain was made up of small to mid-size newspapers; for example, when MediaNews bought the *Charleston Daily Mail* from Thomson in 1998, the West Virginia newspaper had a circulation of 41,507 and was one of the 10 largest properties in the chain of 37 dailies and 111 nondailies.

Singleton appointed himself publisher of *The Denver Post* in 2000, overseeing a newspaper war with the *Rocky Mountain News* while serving on the board of directors for the company. Under his leadership, the *Post* won national acclaim, including having the fifth-highest Sunday circulation of a newspaper in the country, and Pulitzer Prizes. Singleton would later serve as publisher of other properties in the chain, including *The Salt Lake Tribune*.

The 2000s saw substantial expansion in ownership of large properties, with MediaNews acquiring the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in Minnesota and the *Contra Costa Times* and *San Jose Mercury News* in California from McClatchy as it sold off several former Knight Ridder properties. MediaNews also purchased *The Salt Lake Tribune* from AT&T and *The Detroit News* from Gannett. It sold off a handful of smaller papers to make a move into television and radio, with MediaNews eyeing a multimedia strategy for the 21st century. These moves gave MediaNews additional major properties alongside *The Denver Post*, but also saddled the chain with substantial debt. Scudder stepped down as MediaNews’ chairman in 2009 for health reasons, with Singleton taking his place in 2010 in bankruptcy reorganization.

MediaNews declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in 2010 and quickly reorganized its debt. It emerged months later with its debt significantly reduced. However, the adjustment put a majority of its stock ultimately in possession of Alden Global Capital, which set up its ultimate merger with Journal Register Company. Simultaneously, Alden purchased controlling stock from the bankrupt Journal Register Company in 2011.

Alden created Digital First Media in 2011 as a holding company for its newspaper portfolio, with the MediaNews name continuing as a subsidiary for its papers and 21st Century Media being created as a subsidiary for the former Journal Register newspapers. At the end of 2013, the two subsidiaries were combined under the Digital First Media name. However, the MediaNews Group branding remained as the corporate name. Since the acquisition and merger, Digital First Media newspapers have endured significant budget cuts, layoffs, and overall shrinkage. Denver workers have led a fight against Alden's profit-boosting measures, and Singleton himself resigned as chairman and his seat on the editorial board of *The Denver Post* in 2018, saying of Alden, "They've killed a great newspaper" (Roberts, 2018).

Cost Cutting and Clustering

MediaNews was a pioneer in cost cutting measures at its operations. Singleton began this operation in southern New Jersey at the beginning of MediaNews' operations. Essentially, independently operating newspapers would be merged to share business and production operations. For example, MediaNews decided to cluster operations of two of its southern New Jersey papers—the *Gloucester County Times* (MediaNews' first newspaper) and the nearby *Today's Sunbeam*. In the arrangement, the newspapers shared advertising sales staffs, accounting and business offices, composing rooms, and presses. This model, which looks similar to a joint operating agreement (JOA), except that both papers have the same owners, became the backbone of MediaNews operations and a model for others.

MediaNews' clustering advanced to the closure of several newsrooms and newspapers entirely. For example, the papers in the San Francisco Bay

area, including the *Oakland Tribune*, *Alameda Times-Star*, *Hayward Daily Review*, *Fremont Argus*, *West County Times*, *Contra Costa Times*, *San Ramon Valley Times*, *East County Times*, *Tri-Valley Herald*, *San Joaquin Herald*, *San Mateo Times*, and the *San Jose Mercury News* all were or are produced in MediaNews' Bay Area Media Group, or BANG. At BANG, reporters, photographers, editors, and designers produced multiple newspapers, and their work would regularly appear in multiple newspapers at once, particularly reporting about issues of regional or state-wide importance. Over time, MediaNews closed, consolidated, or rebranded several of these publications and either offered zoned editions to individual communities or contracted coverage areas at the BANG cluster, and at other clusters nationwide.

MediaNews' clusters were not limited to its own papers, however. MNG partnered with other companies, such as Gannett and Stephens Media Group, in ownership and production. Together, their California Newspapers Partnership had consolidated functions of advertising, business, and production for newspapers from the three chains in the region. Ultimately, MNG acquired most of these papers, but made money off of its stake in the partnership in the process.

MediaNews' cost cutting earned Singleton the nickname "Lean Dean" for his tactic of consolidation and layoffs, particularly in business offices. Singleton tried to preserve as much news coverage as possible, but cut editorial in newsrooms as well. However, the deepest cuts were on copy desks, design staffs, and then composing and pressroom operators.

Joint Operating Agreements

Beyond its clustering agreements, MediaNews Group owns or owned five titles that are or were part of JOAs: the *Charleston Daily Mail* in Charleston, West Virginia; *The Denver Post* in Denver, Colorado; *The Detroit News*, in Detroit, Michigan; *The Salt Lake Tribune* in Salt Lake City, Utah; and *The York Dispatch* in York, Pennsylvania. Noteworthy is that when MNG owned and operated these publications in the JOAs in the first decade of the 21st century, these five made up half of all the remaining JOAs at the time. Of

these, Denver's JOA ended with the folding of Scripps' *Rocky Mountain News* in 2009. Detroit's JOA, the Detroit Media Partnership, is under contract until 2087 and was launched under Singleton's watch at the *Post* and MediaNews. *The Salt Lake Tribune* was sold to a nonprofit corporation; likewise, *The York Dispatch* in Pennsylvania was sold to a local family. The *Charleston Daily Mail* in West Virginia was sold to its partner, *The Charleston Gazette*, in 2004; however, the sale was blocked by the Department of Justice and settled in 2010 with MNG retaining a minority stake in the JOA but the *Gazette* maintaining ownership. The papers merged without required governmental notice and approval by MediaNews in 2015.

MediaNews and the Marketplace

Unlike peers Gannett and McClatchy, MediaNews is a privately held company and does not disclose finances publicly. Its bankruptcy and sale, however, gave insight into its operations. MediaNews Group took on significant debt with its acquisitions, but appears to have largely remained profitable through the years. Singleton's cutting philosophy kept profits at the forefront of operations, with its flagship newspaper *The Denver Post* never posting a loss during its fierce war with the *Rocky* when both papers discounted papers to a penny an issue for subscribers. In 2017, the chain reported profits of \$160 million.

Where peer media companies have diversified portfolios, MediaNews is primarily invested in the newspaper industry. The financial backing of Alden, however, is broadly invested in venture capital projects and the profitability of the newspapers is only minimally invested into the properties themselves.

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See also Gannett; McClatchy; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Newspaper Preservation Act

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MEN'S MAGAZINES

As periodical publications, magazines have developed into an important part of the media landscape, as they have been credited with original and targeted content, high-level writing, and striking art and design. Magazines mainly serve audiences by interest or topic, unlike newspapers, which usually have audiences defined by location. As special-topic magazines blossomed in the United States during the mid-to-late 1900s, men's

magazines emerged, aiming to reach a gender-specific audience covering topics and featuring art that were considered of interest to a traditionally defined masculine audience, such as stories about sports and photos of women.

As is the case with much of the media landscape, men's magazines also included a wide spectrum of topics and tone—upscale to pornographic, literary to lowbrow, explicitly “male” to subtly “male.” There is no one type of men's magazine, though the unifying factor is this: While the subject matter in these periodicals could certainly be of interest to all, the magazine editors envisioned and aimed to serve a predominantly male audience—covering the topics that it believed were their primary interests. This entry discusses the various types of magazines that have been classified as men's magazines: lifestyle magazines, sports magazines, “lad magazines,” and health magazines. It concludes by discussing the literary aspirations and achievements of many of these magazines.

Lifestyle Magazines

The major men's magazines published stories and content according to their own definitions of what it meant to be a man and have male-oriented interests. Some of these lifestyle magazines emerged as high-end, upscale periodicals—offering stories about leisure activities, photos of fashion, and profiles of celebrities (men and women). These magazines often also featured new and established authors writing stories that could be considered gender-agnostic—in that the subject matter would or could appeal to a reader whether male or female.

Esquire began publishing in 1933 under the leadership of Arnold Gingrich with the focus of the magazine centering on men and leisurely pursuits. Author Ernest Hemingway wrote for the first issue. The magazine would become a place where many literary icons—such as Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, Truman Capote, F. Scott Fitzgerald, J. D. Salinger, Norman Mailer, and many others—published their work.

Talese's profile called *Frank Sinatra Has a Cold* was later dubbed the greatest story the magazine ever told. In this story, Talese used devices of literature to chronicle the story of what happens when the most famous vocalist in the United

States has an illness that would be a minor matter to most (a cold) but was major for him (and his audiences).

Through the years, *Esquire* was known for its writing and art, including reporting on the Vietnam War (“Hell Sucks” by Michael Herr in 1968), and iconic magazine covers designed by art director George Lois. For example, the September 1965 issue featured a composite image of Bob Dylan, Malcolm X, John F. Kennedy, and Fidel Castro (each with one-quarter of their face showing) as part of a story on who college rebels look up to. Another iconic image was the May 1969 issue in which pop artist Andy Warhol was shown drowning in a can of Campbell's Soup (a spoof on pop culture and Warhol's famous artwork of the brand's cans).

The 40th anniversary issue of *Esquire* from October 1973 was published at 564 pages and touted as not only the biggest magazine in its own history but the largest of any (that the editors were aware of). Largely stories with little art, the issue featured work by many of the country's most prominent writers. The cover featured an illustration of 39 writers; two were women—Nora Ephron and Dorothy Parker.

The 1,000th issue of *Esquire*, published in October 2015, featured a one-page feature that it called the *Greatest Table of Contents of All-Time*, in which it listed 46 items (including a cover) from its past, calling it the perfect issue of *Esquire*. It listed pieces of fiction, features, essays, plus nods to signature elements of the magazine, such as “The Sexiest Woman Alive,” “What I've Learned,” and “ESQ&A.”

Gentleman's Quarterly launched in 1931 as a men's fashion magazine. It was not until the late 1970s that *GQ* was repositioned as a general-interest men's magazine (though still maintaining a strong fashion focus). Like its *Esquire* counterpart, which had such well-known editors as Harold Hayes, Clay Felker, and David Granger, *GQ* had Art Cooper as its iconic editor during much of the magazine's most prominent years. While the breadth of subject matter expanded, the focus on fashion has been prominent, as *GQ* is often considered the *Vogue* of the men's fashion world (*Vogue* and *GQ* are both owned by Condé Nast).

Playboy, which launched in 1953 featuring a photo of Marilyn Monroe, differed from other

magazines in that it also published photos of nude women. It was launched by Hugh Hefner, who once worked at *Esquire* and who became an iconic representation of *Playboy* and men's magazines—living the upscale life, often wearing a robe, surrounded by many women. He became synonymous with *Playboy* and its brand, and Hefner served, in the eyes of some, as the aspirational symbol of what maleness could be.

The magazine wasn't generally considered a pornographic magazine like other more extreme magazines, because the majority of its content centered around lifestyle stories, journalistic pieces, fiction, and celebrity interviews. The *Playboy* Q&A—a long-form interview with a well-known person—was as much of a signature of the brand as were bunny ears and centerfold pictorials. Still, some did call it obscene because of the explicit content and nudity. The 50th anniversary issue, published in January 2004, included a pull-out poster with small, thumbprint images of every cover in the magazine's history.

Sports Magazines

While not technically billed as men's magazines, sports magazines often were thought of as men's magazines because of the historically stereotypical assumption that sports were of interest to men and less so to women. The role of the sports magazines has evolved over the history of the medium. The United States has had a long history of sports magazines. *The Sporting News* launched in 1886 as the publication voice of baseball. *SPORT* magazine launched in 1946, and *Inside Sports* started in 1979. In addition, many sport-specific magazines have developed, with titles on football, basketball, and many other sports.

The major magazine in this space has been *Sports Illustrated*, which launched in 1954. *Sports Illustrated* and other magazines were able to highlight sports in more detail (and often with colorful images) than newspapers, and this served an important role in a pre-cable, pre-ESPN world. *Sports Illustrated* became known as one of the most journalistically muscular publications of its day—not a fawning fan magazine or too insider with statistics and data, as some magazines could be, but rather an independent voice covering the sports world.

Renowned sportswriter Frank Deford, who wrote for *Sports Illustrated*, has said that the primary effect that *Sports Illustrated* had on the literature of sports was in the storytelling. Instead of punchy game recaps in the newspapers, sports writers at *Sports Illustrated* could tell stories with texture, with character development, and in a three-dimensional way.

Sports Illustrated marketed toward a male audience in 1964 when it launched its Swimsuit Issue in 1964, which has historically been the magazine's most popular issue. This issue has regularly drawn criticism, with some saying that the issue had little or nothing to do with sports and everything to do with displaying the bodies of scantily clad women for a mostly male audience.

In the late 2010s and early 2020s, sports magazines have taken a large hit—with *ESPN the Magazine* stopping its print edition and *Sports Illustrated* (under two ownership changes since its original publisher of Time Inc.) drastically cutting staff and reducing frequency. In the case of *Sports Illustrated* what was once a weekly magazine changed to biweekly in 2018 and to a monthly magazine in 2020.

"Lad" Magazines

The late 1990s and early 2000s marked the high point of "lad" or "laddie" magazines—magazines that were aggressively "male" in topics. (Irish journalist Sean O'Hagan is credited with coining the term *lad culture* in a 1993 article.) Magazines in this space included titles like *Loaded*, *FHM*, *Arena*, and *Maxim*. These types of magazines had strong international presence with editions specific to many countries.

Popular in the United Kingdom and then in the United States, lad magazines often covered the subjects of cars, technology/gadgets, drinking, and sex—with many provocative photographs of women. It was common for these magazines to do lists and features highlighting celebrity or soon-to-be-celebrity women—for example, the *Maxim* Hot 100 list.

The first editor of the U.S. edition of *Maxim* was a woman, Clare McHugh. In her initial editor's note in the Spring 1997 issue, titled "So who's the chick?" McHugh addresses the question as to why a woman would want to edit a men's

magazine. For starters, she joked that getting paid to think about the opposite sex would classify as a good time. Saying that the men she hangs around are uncomplicated and don't worry too much about masculinity, she wrote, "They have real lives. They like sports, and babes, and beer," also acknowledging they liked fashion and fitness, as well as care about their jobs and relationships.

While some lad magazines attempted to pivot in the mid to late 2000s by shifting to more sophisticated content, most of these magazines stopped their print editions or went out of business. Some of this may have been due to the unpredictability of the magazine business (especially during the economic crisis in and around 2008), the ease and accessibility for men to get more provocative content for free with the rise of digital platforms, and a general pushback on content that was viewed by critics as a stereotypical representation of masculinity.

Predating these lad magazines were men's adventure magazines or pulp magazines, which were popular from about the 1940s until the 1970s. They featured war stories, tales of fantasy, and art of women. One of the popular magazines of this genre, *Man's Life*, featured illustrations often depicting some sort of violence (animal attacks) and/or women with low-cut tops. Coverlines often featured the word *sex*. Called the *arm-pit school* of journalism, these magazines died off with the advent of magazines that featured more explicit content.

Popular digital sites such as The Chive and Barstool Sports embody some of the same content and approaches that the lad magazines utilized during their popularity, with the major distinction being the absence of a printed product.

Health Magazines

When magazines with a special focus on health and lifestyle emerged, they existed in different forms. For example, *Prevention* launched in 1950 as a general-interest health magazine, *Cosmopolitan* (though it had existed since the 1800s) changed to a women's magazine in the mid-1960s, and *Self*, which was targeted toward women, was founded in 1979. Existing men's magazines revolved around lifestyle and leisure, but not health and wellness.

In the late 1980s, men's magazines focusing on health came into the landscape with such titles as *Men's Health* and *Men's Fitness*. While somewhat different from one another in their approaches to content, these magazines focused on fitness, nutrition, sex, general health, stress, and more. Content focused on two general demographics—the men who wanted to lose weight ("Lose Your Gut" was a popular coverline) and the men who wanted to add muscle ("Rock Hard Abs" was another). *Men's Health* made headlines in the media world for its large circulation, and some would credit its black-and-white covers in a sea of neon lettering on the newsstand for one of the reasons why it stood out. In the case of these men's health magazines, the idea was to provide information that would help men improve all aspects of their lives in an aspirational way, yet with the information aimed at those who considered themselves more "average man" than "upscale man."

In the 25th anniversary issue of *Men's Health* in 2013, editor Bill Phillips wrote that so-called experts thought the magazine wouldn't survive. "Men don't care about health, fitness, relationships, nutrition, or style, they said. You proved them wrong."

In 2000, *Men's Health* experimented with expanding its audience by launching *MH-18*—a similar magazine covering similar subjects, but for a teenage boy audience. *MH-18* stopped publication in 2001.

Though lifestyle magazines such as *GQ* and *Esquire* do cover health, those areas are not primary subjects within their pages. The late 1990s and 2000s also saw men's magazines with a hybrid approach to health and wellness content, as magazines such as *Men's Journal* featured ample health content, in addition to lifestyle and general-interest stories and art.

Men's Magazine Achieving Excellence

While some men's magazines throughout history have been both popular because of and criticized for their depiction of women in their pages, many magazines that have a traditionally male demographic have also served as the home for well-renowned authors and critically acclaimed work.

For example, *Esquire*, *Sports Illustrated*, *GQ*, and *Men's Health* have all won or been nominated for National Magazine Awards, long considered the most prestigious awards in the magazine industry. *Esquire* is considered one of the places in which the New Journalism (or literary journalism, as popularized by the likes of Tom Wolfe and Gay Talese) began.

While women-focused magazines have traditionally been the more foundational home for service journalism (i.e., how-to) stories, men-focused magazines have generally been more deliberate in combining lifestyle and service journalism with more traditional forms of storytelling and narrative journalism.

Ted Spiker

See also Health and Medical Journalism; Human Interest Journalism; Lifestyle Journalism; Literary Journalism; Longform Journalism; Sports Journalism; Women's Magazines

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MIDDLE EAST

There are a variety of ways to define the region known as *the Middle East*. One common one includes focusing on a variety of Arab nations including those in the Gulf area (Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen); North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco,

Sudan, Tunisia); and the East Mediterranean region (Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria). The latter includes Palestine as well as the non-Arab nation of Israel—both of which are recognized as nation states by the majority of the United Nations member states. But because of Israel's complex geopolitical history only two of its Arab neighbors (Egypt and Jordan) have formal diplomatic relations with it.

After reviewing the development and emergence of journalism in this region, this entry focuses on Arab media systems, emerging trends, and key events that have influenced the media landscape.

Emergence of Journalism

Media developed and journalism emerged in this region in the mid-18th century under Ottoman rule with the establishment of newspapers and print presses in Iraq, Egypt, and Syria. Newspapers were tools of Ottoman authorities and operated as such. The independent Arab press did not emerge until the mid-19th century. Notably, at the time, Egypt was a flourishing liberal cultural and intellectual center of the region. Syrian and Iraqi journalists suffered from censorship so they moved to Egypt where press freedom was guaranteed. It was these Syrian-Lebanese journalists who established the modern Arab journalism model based on a revival of past Arab glory and literature. It was during this renaissance that the renowned Egyptian *Al-Ahram* newspaper was launched in 1875. Except for official Ottoman publications, local newspapers in other neighboring countries including Palestine did not appear until the 20th century, although the history of press can be traced back to the establishment of the religiously oriented publications *HaLevanon* and *Havazzelet*, the first weekly Hebrew publications, and *Quds-iSherif*, the first Arabic publication.

After the Ottoman rule ended and was replaced by mostly French and British colonialism, a new press emerged in Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Although marked by censorship and restrictions, the profession managed to grow under a largely repressive environment.

Journalists learned to negotiate their roles by circumventing or accepting censorship and authoritarianism. But that did not stop the Arab press

who by 1945 became the beacon of nationalistic journalism and introduced the tradition of literary journalism, which helped carve out an influential position for them in society. The press became revered for its role in fighting for Arab nationalism, reformation, modernization, and democratization. They were also renowned for their opposition to the 1948 creation of Israel. This period became known as the golden time of pluralistic politics and journalism. In parallel and with equal drive, the pre-State Hebrew press had clear agendas linked to politics. The politician-journalist phenomenon dates to the earliest days of the Zionist movement in Europe, which continued after the establishment of Israel. The interwoven relationship had an important impact on Israeli journalism giving the press a unique role to play during its formative years.

As coups and revolutions occurred in several countries in the region during the 1950s and 1960s, a rise in dictatorships dulled Arab journalism and turned most of the media in the region into political weapons for many decades. It was not until the 1990s that the arrival of the Internet and satellite television and the ironic launch of the Qatari government-financed TV Al-Jazeera channel marked the end of one of the worst times for Arab journalism. Al-Jazeera TV was not originally created to be a focus of journalistic freedom in the region, but rather to challenge the dominance of Saudi Arabia's regional influence in pan-Arab media. This ushered in the pre-Arab Spring era of mixed levels of media freedoms and government interference. Journalists were inspired, including those who worked in government-owned news organizations. They began to push the envelope again and challenged the powers.

Fast forward to the present, and Arab journalists may not have the freedom and sense of power felt during the lead up to the Arab Spring era because the upheavals of 2011 resulted in civil wars and more authoritarian political systems rising to power. But journalism survives, albeit minus the passion perhaps.

Arab Media Systems

Arab media systems and political cultures are interwoven. One view is that media changes often reflect changes in domestic politics, while an

opposing view is that technological, political, and social developments create changes in the media. Media in the region have developed at a much faster pace than the political systems. This triggered democratization, despite periodic political setbacks, putting the media together with civil society at the forefront of political and societal changes.

Media had been dominated by the state or state-sponsored power elites and characterized by insulation from the outside, but technological innovations of the 1990s brought new content and a wave of liberalization and privatization to the public. For the first time, Arab governments consciously allowed, and even promoted, these changes in order to counter global and transnational competition.

At this point, the major players (Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia) introduced television channels and increased "cable news style" talk show programming. Arab journalists across the region used this opportunity to revive their profession by discussing a wide range of topics such as economic, social, and religious issues—previously seldom discussed and mostly unknown to viewers.

As a result of government loosening of regulations, a near unintended emergence of a dynamic public sphere was witnessed mostly in television and aided by the introduction of the Internet. Governments were focused on the perceived economic benefits of the Internet and missed the growth of unrepresented alternate voices, diverse views, and even public dissent.

Because Arab media systems continued to liberalize, a new dynamic between Internet activists and mainstream media journalists and professionals took place before and leading into the days of the 2011 protests—indicating that media, both old and new, may have indeed moved ahead of the political changes that were to occur shortly.

Israel

To discuss the region's media fairly, it would be difficult to include Israel as its media system is quite unique to that of its Arab neighbors. To a certain extent, Israel cannot be classified with most of its neighbors who function most commonly in authoritarian societies that frequently employ authoritarian-type press models. But to

describe the Israeli press system as operating in a liberal democratic model or social responsibility model is also not precise if official military censorship and the history of warring with Arab countries is considered.

Nonetheless, prior restraints and other severe measures of curbing press freedom in recent decades has not involved censorship but instead court order and rule of law limitations. Much of the media in Israel is privately owned and independent, indicating the classical characteristics of a liberal press system. It has also become adversarial, confrontational, and increasingly critical of government policies even during more contemporary conflicts such as the 2006 Lebanon War. Israeli journalists in general are advocates of social issues and critics of internal domestic affairs.

Israeli media also cater to the two largest linguistic minorities of Russians and Arabs, who tend to consume media in their first language, with the Russian media being more economically vigorous, mostly for cultural reasons.

The 1980s was a period of expansion for television and radio news putting pressure on the print press industry. This increase expanded after the government enacted a broadcast reform opening up a new private television channel, the *Arutz Shnayim*, in 1993, leading the way to further additions. As for Internet usage, Israel's rate is among the highest in the world with a reported 84% penetration rate and social media usage of 70% in 2020. These figures are among the highest in the region and often are double, if not triple, of those in other countries in the region.

Regional Journalism Post-Arab Spring

Arab journalists were able to operate with fewer restrictions immediately after the extraordinary wave of popular protests of 2011. Massive popular mobilization brought down long-ruling leaders in Tunisia and Egypt; helped spark bloody struggles in Bahrain, Libya, Syria, and Yemen; and fundamentally reshaped the nature of politics in the region. There is no consensus on the exact impact of traditional or social media on the collective action or regional diffusion of the protests, but there is no doubt that media was important.

If nothing else, journalists, for yet another brief period, were free from restrictions. In those heady days, most media in Egypt, the most populous country in the region, rallied behind the protest. Early signs of a classical democratic public sphere emerged. Government officials were drilled on television, political satire shows flourished, and opinion columns printed alternate views. Similar signs could be seen in other countries. However, the rebirth of quality journalism quickly degenerated into turmoil. An environment of polarization and sensationalism fostered ugly political trends.

Emerging Trends

The media landscape in which Arab journalism resides continues to change. The political context across the region remains varied and volatile, exacerbated by wars, internal strife, and more recently a lethal global pandemic.

Firstly, pan-Arab satellite television stations such as Al Jazeera and Al-Arabiya and later the digital media domain, such as blogs and social media networks, have contributed to a rise or even a resurgence of long-forgotten transnational Arab and Muslim identity, making them immensely popular. But they lost their force after getting involved with regional power struggles and presenting one-sided coverage of major news events, leading to a resurgence of nationalism in several Arab countries and resulting in a rise of national media. Private television stations have increased in quantity, becoming an attractive vehicle to reach large audiences. Egyptian channels such as Dream TV, El Mehwar, Al Hayat, Sada El Balad, CBC, and DMC are alternatives to the pan-Arab channels for both citizens and journalists.

In Algeria, private channels have also proved to be successful in creating a new national public allowing journalists to provide more choice in terms of national and regional news. These news channels, like Echourouk, Ennahar, and Dzair News, gained quick credibility among an audience that previously had little or no trust in national media.

Tunisia—the only nation characterized as a democratizing country following the uprisings—has had media reforms and an increase in press freedoms. However, the media of this fragile transitional country has been criticized for ideological

polarization. Journalists now have several stations to air their coverage, such as El Hiwar El Tounsi, Nessma TV, and Hannibal, alongside the reformed state stations of Watanyia. Even the failed states of Libya and Yemen witnessed an increase in private although biased stations.

Such examples underline the changes in the media and consequently the journalism profession, but it should not completely undermine the importance of the transnational media or the pivotal actors in the media landscape such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, or Qatar. In addition, many prominent journalists and media professionals have moved to international broadcasters where their freedoms are better protected. Prominent Arab journalists work for these stations—such as Al Hurrah, Radio Sawa, BBC, CNN, Deutsche Welle, France 24, Russia Today, and CCTV—despite their moderate viewership.

Another clear trend is the marked increase in digital media and its accessibility. As of 2020, the number of Internet users is more than 125 million, with penetration rate of 67%, rising from 28% in a decade. More than 53 million people use social media actively.

Improved infrastructures, rapid expansion of Internet connectivity, and affordable devices have spurred this growth, not only in the more affluent economies of the Gulf States, such as the United Arab Emirates or Saudi Arabia, but also in less affluent countries like Morocco and Sudan. This growth in Internet penetration has also allowed for much free space for alternate opinions, despite government attempts at suppression.

Smartphone ownership growth has paralleled increased Internet use. Over 80% of nationals in countries like Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates own a smartphone. More and more citizens are becoming dependent on social media platforms for many of their communication needs.

Digital media is not just increasing in quantity, but consumers are also changing the way they use it. Half the population of the Arab region is under 30 years old. This *youth bulge*, which is the term used to describe the proportion of Arab youth in comparison to older groups, is increasingly engaged with digital media. Because of this trend, and the fact that young people are early adopters of new technologies and extensive users of digital media,

governments, industry leaders, and scholarly researchers are keeping an eye on how they consume, interact, and create media. A rapid expansion of user-generated content in the Arab region since 2010, mostly disseminated via social media, has significantly altered the cultural and political landscape.

Consumption is changing among young people. Youth are consuming digitally and moving further away from the print press, and even though television is still the most popular news platform, at least one third of youth respondents access news content via social media often from non-news organizations. Importantly, youth also share news extensively via digital channels, giving journalists a novel platform to disseminate their work and avoid illicit government surveillance of online activity. Popular platforms in the region include Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, and TikTok.

Key Events

The aftermath of the Arab Spring has not been good for most of the region's media. Many of the existing regimes or rulers that survived the upheavals returned to old-time well-known repressive tactics using familiar justifications such as preserving national security or counterterrorism narratives to suppress journalists. Today, many journalists are being imprisoned for their coverage and opinions. By 2019, there was a second wave of protests—in Algeria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Sudan. As of late 2020, 89 journalists were imprisoned in 10 countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Harassment and murders are hard to verify, but the 2018 murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi has been linked to the Saudi government.

In recent years, Arab journalism has experienced some of the worst press freedoms in the world today. Citizens may feel increasingly empowered by social media, but many Arab governments have responded with a series of violent practices and new laws to control voicing of opinions.

Press freedom indexes like Freedom House rank six Arab countries at the bottom of 180 states—Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. Not a single Arab country made it to

the top 30 in 2020. In fact, Tunisia was the only nation to make Freedom House's list of free press countries. Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, and Morocco made their partly free list. While Algeria, Iraq, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and the United Arab Emirates rated as not free countries.

Censorship against journalists is rampant. The media in Egypt has become dominated by pro-government outlets. Many other media were shut down. What remains are private media owned by government-favored businessmen. This causes journalists to self-censor.

Prison is a common destination for journalists as any critique of government can be punished by a jail term, despite the adoption of constitutions that protect press freedoms. According to Reporters Without Borders, at least six journalists were detained in 2019 and 26 were already imprisoned. For instance, offices of the independent news outlet Mada Masr were raided and four staffers arrested and released. A few months later, the editor in chief was arrested and released.

Possibly the most horrific example of state violence against journalists was seen in the case of Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi journalist who was murdered by Saudi operatives inside the Saudi consulate in Turkey for his criticism of the government and ruler.

It has also been reported that Saudi Arabia keeps over 32 journalists and citizen journalists in jail. The government controls local media content and heavily influences regional print and satellite-television coverage.

Online activity is closely monitored by governments. Egypt has barred many news websites and regularly blocks up to 30,000 Internet domains during politically sensitive moments. The Saudi government has developed a sophisticated system of social media surveillance and uses automated bots to sway and manipulate public opinion trends in social media.

In countries suffering from internal strife, such as Yemen, the warring factions have either taken over or enforced censorship on all media in the country. In Yemen, it is reported that Houthi-backed authorities regularly block certain news websites, satellite broadcasts, and social media platforms. The Saudi-led coalition has also reportedly violated reporters. War has been dangerous

for journalists—who are frequently attacked, harassed, arrested, and sometimes disappear.

Yet, despite this bleak looking picture, many youth, in countries like Syria and Yemen, have taken their smartphones, cameras, and pens and gone out to cover and report important events for the first time. They sell stories to international news agencies, and upload others directly to the Internet, bringing vital news to the world.

Tunisia began a transition to democracy after removing their corrupt longtime president in 2011. Press freedom has improved much since the change of system, and many independent media operate freely in the country. However, journalists reportedly do face intimidation from the Tunisian government which has expressed concern about the political influence on private media outlets.

As for the status of Israeli media, it is much more secure than that of its neighbors as it is a multiparty democracy with strong and independent institutions that guarantee political rights and civil liberties for most of the population. It is, however, criticized for its discrimination against Arabs and other ethnic minorities. On press freedom indexes in 2020, it is rated free but ranks at 88th place lower than Tunisia on the Reporters Without Borders scale. Still, the media sector on the whole is vibrant and free in comparison to 180 countries ranked worldwide.

Philip Auter and Naila Hamdy

See also Online Journalism; Press Freedom

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MILITARY AND THE MEDIA

This entry reviews the history of military–press relations, spotlighting U.S. military operations and the evolution of battlefield censorship and war journalism from the mid-1900s, through two World Wars, the U.S. involvement in Korea, Vietnam, the Gulf region, and up to the early decades of the 21st century. For almost 200 years, the relationship between these institutions has been marked by the struggle to balance citizens' right to know with the Armed Forces' goal to provide defense and military secrecy. The military depends on the support of the American public to authorize and fund its operations and missions. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

guarantees freedom of speech, and the idea of the Fourth Estate exemplifies the media's responsibilities to inform the public and provide checks on governmental action. During almost all major past conflicts, the U.S. military imposed restrictions on the flow of information, arguing that wartime secrecy would safeguard the success of military actions. In previous battles, members of the press have also engaged in self-censorship.

Keeping the public informed, staying independent, and sourcing a variety of perspectives is hard to do well when working in distant battles and conflict zones. The U.S. military has routinely embedded reporters since World War II. Military–press relations have been impacted by new reporting styles, technological advances, public criticism over warfare and mismanagement, and recurring debates about journalistic professionalism in war and peace. Across the world, reporters continue to find ways to negotiate the challenging and long-lasting relationship with censors, intelligence and military officials, and the public, which journalists serve.

The 19th Century

The British military practiced rigid censorship of news during the Crimean War (1853–1856), and reports on battlefield action were either held back or not allowed to be published. In North America, during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) American newspapers—the primary vehicle for information—assigned full-time correspondents to cover military action. News was relayed by boat, train, and horseback, as well as via the telegraph, and often took several days to arrive at media headquarters in the North, particularly in New York City. During this period, journalism and correspondents posed little threat to military operations and criticizing American troops. Scholars of this period have noted that visual reporting began during the invasion of Mexico but did not greatly impact American public opinion.

This changed during the American Civil War (1861–1865), when visual media and photography, in particular, became important elements of war reporting as well as a means to chronicle history, even though this historical truth was often constructed or arranged. In addition, the telegraph, spanning a 50,000-mile network of lines,

provided news of the war, at high speeds across the nation. “War is a very old story, but it is new to this generation of Americans,” wrote publicist Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. in his 1861 *Atlantic Monthly* piece (p. 6). Major technological leaps opened up new possibilities for how reporters on the ground could send eyewitness accounts to their editors. While only a few journalists covered the combat during the Mexican American War, by the 1860s, this number had expanded to about 500 journalists. These reporters covered frontline actions and moved freely among the troops. Some officials, including Union General William Tecumseh Sherman, criticized the presence of the media, calling reporters a security threat. In an effort to control the narrative and restrict information, the Union War Department engaged in the first widespread censorship during war in U.S. history. The Union Army’s censorship measures ranged from fining newspapers, to delaying or closing publications, and to even jailing journalists for short periods of time. Some newspapers engaged in voluntary press censorship to help the military’s cause.

The conflict also gave rise to mass political propaganda and partisan news, which influenced wartime morale and public opinion on both sides, according to David W. Bulla and Gregory A. Borchard. By the 1890s, professional correspondents, such as Richard Harding Davis, were widely read. This golden era of wartime correspondents meant there was minimal pressure and military restriction on what to write and publish. During the Spanish-American War (1898), Davis reported on Theodore Roosevelt’s charge in Cuba, framing Roosevelt as a decisive man of action; this image energized Roosevelt’s presidential race in 1901.

Early 20th Century and World War I

During the Great War (1914–1918), all governments tied up in the conflict rushed to control information infrastructure, content, and channels. Wartime media governance took on both suppressive and expressive forms. States used mass publicity campaigns, coupled with censorship, to achieve one primary goal: molding thought and coercing the public to support governments’ military and political goals. Historians have chronicled the various censorship practices during the

First World War (Demm, 2019) and offered comparative analyses of national propaganda efforts (Lasswell, 1927).

Fear of Espionage and Limiting Freedom of Speech

The United States entered the conflict in Europe in early April 1917 and what followed was a set of constitutional changes to the First Amendment that restricted press freedom. The Espionage Act (1917), Trading with the Enemy Act (1917), and Sedition Act (1918) were passed to prevent the disclosure of intelligence secrets. The fear of espionage was shared by most countries engulfed in the war. The U.S. Congress passed the Espionage Act on June 15, 1917. This law—which has been controversial since its inception—aimed to protect military intelligence and made it illegal to share classified information or secrets. It targeted German spies who supposedly worked to collect intelligence and plan acts of terror or sabotage within the United States.

Although the law was intended to prevent “classic” espionage activities such as sabotage and the disclosure of secrets to the enemy, later it also limited freedom of speech during times of crises. Postmaster General Albert Burleson was given the authority to revoke mailing privileges—on which most immigrant papers relied—for suspected publications. The Trading with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917, forced all foreign-language publications to file daily English translations with local post offices on all political news and commentary about the war. For German-language newspapers, these repressive conditions changed their businesses model, as readers and advertisers withdrew their support, and editors had to signal public support for U.S. war aims and the government’s point of view (Fondren, 2019).

Committee on Public Information

Less than a week after the U.S. entered the war, President Woodrow Wilson appointed veteran reporter and publicist George Creel as the director of the Committee on Public Information (CPI)—the United States’ first government propaganda agency. CPI director Creel issued a censorship card, which Wilson edited himself, to U.S.

newspapers and magazines. The card included sensitive war topics and asked journalists to practice restraint on publishing stories that had not gone through official censorship. The topics were categorized into dangerous material that should not be published, such as current military operations; unverified news including rumors and stories on warfare technology had to be cleared with CPI censors before publication; and material that was unrelated to the war, which editors were allowed to publish. According to Michael S. Sweeney, this form of voluntary censorship was a form of disguised government control and coercion cloaked in appeals to common sense and patriotism. Scholarship has found that the U.S. press was for the most part uncritical: "It was not servants we wanted, but associates," reflected Creel after the war (Creel, 1920, p. 17).

World War II

During the Second World War (1939–1945), the media and correspondents had unprecedented access to frontline news and events, and hundreds of journalists were embedded with U.S. troops. Large government and bureaucratic institutions were created to control and produce wartime information. The U.S. government, under the helm of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had worked as assistant secretary of the Navy during World War I, decided to decentralize wartime media governance and keep censorship and propaganda separate. Through executive orders, President Roosevelt created two federal agencies, one for censorship (Office of Censorship) and one for publicity (Office for Wartime Information, or OWI).

The Bureaucracy of Censorship and Propaganda

Since December 1941, the Office of Censorship, led by former Associated Press Executive Editor Byron Price, controlled the censorship of domestic news. The agency issued a long list of censored topics in its *Code of Wartime Practices* and demanded that the media, in signaling patriotism, avoid publishing stories about the movement of troops or the location of war or ammunition factories. This form of voluntary censorship—or

pre-censorship—was instituted, and according to chief wartime censor Price, journalists knew that if they did not comply, compulsory censorship would be forced upon them. Only one journalist, a radio station manager in New Mexico, openly violated this code when he criticized Price's request to monitor foreign-language programs. Most journalists, however, accepted this self-censorship code. U.S. journalists did not publish information about major national security decisions, for example the program to develop an atomic bomb. Months before the first atomic test on U.S. soil, investigative reporter Andrew Russell "Drew" Pearson uncovered this information.

In addition to controlling information, countries also ramped up their efforts to produce war news, publicity, public relations, movies, magazines, and millions of other printer matters. Established in June 1942, the OWI, led by experienced radio journalist Elmer Davis, coordinated American propaganda directed at most other countries. The agency's efforts to publicize information abroad were often criticized from within the U.S. government, and the OWI also struggled with military officers' reluctance to share complete, accurate, and timely information. Before the OWI ceased its operations in 1945, the U.S. Congress had reduced the OWI's budget over concerns that it had become a partisan instrument.

Self-Censorship and Images of War

During the war, more than 1,650 American journalists covered the frontline fighting and reported news, stories, radio programs, and pictures to audiences back home. Many of these journalists considered it their patriotic duty to do their part in America's massive war effort. At the same time, journalists often self-censored their photographic work and even radio broadcasts, avoiding pictures of war violence, destruction, and deaths, knowing these images would not clear military censorship. American journalists also self-censored news before the United States' official declaration of war, for instance, in late 1939, after the fighting had begun in Europe, reports in American papers held back information about the movement of Canadian troops (Sweeney, 2001). The U.S. government did not release pictures of dead and killed American soldiers until the fall of

1943, when the OWI decided that these images might boost the public's support for U.S. war efforts as part of the "why we fight" propaganda. Photos of dead American soldiers, submitted but held back by censors, were sent and recorded in the infamous file known as *Chamber of Horrors* at the Pentagon.

During World War II, radio journalists, who had covered the fighting during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) rose to new prominence but also faced stricter military censorship due to the medium's immediate and widespread distribution, according to Sweeney. Perhaps most famously, CBS radio journalist Edward R. Murrow reported from the rooftops during the London blitz raids. Journalist Martha Gellhorn ignored American military restrictions on female war correspondents, stowing away on a hospital ship to gain a firsthand account of the Allied invasion of France in 1944. She reported from the beaches of Normandy in a nurse's uniform and provided frontline stories for *Collier's Weekly*. One of her most memorable accounts was a story on the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp, in which she described the horrific conditions of inmates.

Korea and Vietnam

While the relationship between the military and the press was amicable during World War II, this changed during the Korean War (1950–1953) and Vietnam War (1959–1975). In Korea, military–press relations were similar to those of the Second World War, with journalists reporting from the front lines. The news that correspondents and combat journalists were sending back home was not subject to absolute military restrictions, except for a short time span after China's intervention in Korea in late 1950. Scholarship has found that journalists covering the Korean War, continued to exercise self-censorship, which often meant leaving out the grim realities or photographs of combat. One example of this practice is when journalists, who were aware of the massacre of South Korean civilians at No Gun Ri, either ignored this news or treated it as insignificant. While tensions between the press and military censors increased during the Korean War, journalists mostly remained supportive. This was in part because

the conflict started with a communist invasion at the height of the Cold War.

Television News and Press as Critics

After the advent of daily television, the news coverage during the longer Vietnam War changed in comparison to the Korean War and increasingly included more graphic images and news reports. Rigid censorship was near impossible and the U.S. military—which fought without a formal declaration of war and would have needed the approval of the heavy-handed South Vietnamese officials—did not impose vast press restrictions on journalists or the news they were gathering. The absence of any official censorship meant that the U.S. media could write, report, and film what they saw. Scholars have argued that the Vietnam War marked a turning point in government–press relations, precisely because the absence of military surveillance on press went hand-in-hand with the rise of television news, which relayed the grim and brutal truths of American warfare to a global audience's living rooms.

Practically, the chaotic guerilla-style conflict, stretching out over a wide area, made it nearly impossible to stop journalists from reporting the realities of grim warfare, or to require correspondents to send their news and photos to military censors. Reporters were generally allowed to report any news that was not classified. While U.S. troops provided transportation to combat zones, reporters also hitched rides without formal permission and were able to access unfiltered news and connect with local sources. The U.S. government, nevertheless, monitored and tried to restrict journalists' movements. In response to the 1968 Tet enemy offensive—which was widely covered and shattered U.S. military's announcements and audience's hopes that the war could be easily won—journalists openly criticized the official narrative. CBS Evening News anchorman Walter Cronkite, one of the 20th century's most influential media figures, broadcast an editorial that he saw no future but military stalemate in South Vietnam. U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had been subject to growing criticism and public anger over the war, announced 5 weeks after Cronkite's broadcast that he would not seek reelection.

Public Opinion and Journalists as Participant-Observers

The Vietnam War influenced the professional ethos of journalists, as they became “participant-observers” (Taylor, 2013, p. 453). In his “Letter from Vietnam” series for *The New Yorker*, American foreign correspondent Robert M. Shaplen provided some of the best analytical reporting on the Vietnam War. Scholarship has also emphasized the role of television news and film crews, which provided powerful, close-up, and constant views of Americans in combat. These images galvanized public opinion and antiwar protests in the United States and around the world. Television crews sent their film material by plane to the United States instead of transmitting via satellite. This meant that visual news and television coverage showed events that had already occurred a few days prior.

During the war, reporters covered the Tet Offensive, street execution of a guerilla fighter, and U.S. forces burning civilian villages. These televised news stories allowed audiences to see the chaos, confusion, and often violence in a way that print journalism and words could not communicate. Together with news and information covered by print journalists, television broadcasts undermined the military’s official narrative and publicized optimism that it would win the war. Increasingly, journalists’ distrust in official information grew, for instance, they called the military briefings *The Five O’clock Follies*. The facts that reporters gathered in the field, the images they saw, and the civilian suffering they witnessed did not match up with the government and military perspectives, resulting in a credibility gap. After the end of the first television war, both military commanders and political observers continued to assess the power of television images during war. Others argued that the flawed strategy and high body counts rather than adverse press coverage brought about the vast rift in how the public perceived its government actions and this deeply divisive conflict.

When the war ended, trust between the military and journalists was at a record low. Military elites also accused journalists of bias, of using corrupt sources, and of spreading inaccuracies. In 1982, U.S. Army Chief of Staff General William Westmoreland filed a \$120 million libel case against

CBS over the network’s investigative documentary, *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception*. Westmoreland dropped the case before a jury reached a decision; however, the CBS documentary and the public allegations of high-ranking military officers against him received widespread interest.

Gulf and Iraq Wars

During the period that followed the Vietnam War, the level of distrust and skepticism between the military and the media increased. The U.S. military tightened censorship and reenforced its control, which meant restricting media’s access to battles and operations in the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, the military restricted journalists’ reporting from invasions in Central America in the 1980s (Grenada, 1983; Panama, 1989). The Gulf War (1990–1991) and Iraq War (2003–2011) solidified a new pattern of military–media relations, where military managed the access and perception of war news, and journalists could no longer report with absolute autonomy. Independence became a new hallmark for journalists who had to work with—but often around—official sources to verify information and provide a balanced picture. The Falklands War (1982), in which the British fought successfully with Argentina over the stretch of islands, was an instructive case study in generating pro-war publicity and strict censorship for U.S. military officials. All access to the Falkland Islands was controlled by the Royal Navy, and news, visual reporting, and photos from the fighting were heavily censored to reflect the British standpoint.

Restricting Access to Frontline Battle

During the invasions of Grenada and later Panama, the U.S. military used this model to restrict journalists’ access and witnessing combat. The Pentagon created a large bureaucratic apparatus to control information during the 1990–1991 Gulf War to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi forces. Under what is known as *Annex Fox-trot*, journalists in warzones required military escorts. In addition, press pools and military censorship were used, much like the Japanese army

had instituted vast press control in 1904. The sophisticated set of methods that military commanders relied on worked for the military. Out of 1,200 journalists, only 130 correspondents were admitted to the press pools. This number grew to 192, but journalists found that their military escorts sometimes overstepped their boundaries and their sheer presence intimidated sources during interviews. Information was heavily censored and pool reports were often delayed. Nevertheless, some journalists provided memorable—and highly controversial news—from the heart of the enemy's capital. In what has been called the *CNN effect*, cable news' 24-hour coverage from inside a Baghdad hotel was a milestone in television and war reporting. Scholars have noted that embedding journalists can help both sides, the military and the press. Yet journalists, having increased and secured access to news, can also be co-opted by the Pentagon's news agenda and narratives, since they might empathize with troops and internalize the military's logic, according to Heinz Brandenburg.

Embedding Program and Unilaterals

During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Pentagon embedded 600 journalists, following much frustration with the coverage of the Persian Gulf War. The expectations for embedded reporters were high: Their frontline coverage should provide an accurate picture of combat, not question the United States' claims that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, and counter claims of Iraqi officials about abuses American troops would make. During the course of the war, some journalists refused to give up their independence (in exchange for better access and protection in war zones) and reported under great risks. The military called these reporters *unilaterals* and some reporters, such as CBS journalist Bob McKeown arrived in Kuwait City earlier than the press pool. Scholars agree that unilaterals reported information that military authorities "tried to hide or spin" (Sweeney, 2006, p. 177). In 2004, CBS's *60 Minutes* program revealed torture photographs of American soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison. Scholarship on indexing and sourcing, such as that by Andrea A. Hickerson and colleagues, has found that these photos and the

scandal that resulted did little to change journalists' reliance on military sources in the aftermath.

Citizen-Activist News and Digital Media

Amidst continued uprisings and conflicts since the late 2000s, scholars have studied the limits of military and bureaucratic control—as well as the influence of internet technology—on war coverage worldwide. In the early 2010s, the world witnessed the Arab Spring protests (2010–2012), a series of anti-government protests in several countries in the Middle East. Citizens and journalists used emerging media technologies to report the events. In the aftermath of the uprisings, however, authorities in the Arab region and Africa tightened their grip on online journalism and freedom of expression by extending repressive speech laws (UNESCO, 2018). In 2011, WikiLeaks, a crowd-funded website that exposed massive data and information about government action, CIA intelligence, and military secrets, published secret files about prisoners detained in the U.S. Guantanamo Bay detention camp. In another blow to government authorities, in 2013, former CIA-contractor Edward Snowden leaked information to journalists, revealing the vast extent of the National Security Agency's espionage practices on journalists and ordinary citizens. New technologies and social media make it harder to restrict information from wars and conflict zones. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011—and has become too dangerous for many Western correspondents—has seen the rise of the "collaborative news clip," in which legacy media use eyewitness content from Syrian citizen journalists in multimedia videos and live blogs.

Outlook on Military–Press Relations

The tensions between the military and the media range back almost 200 years and have been the focus of much scholarly debate. Historically, restraints on free speech during wartime have created conflicts with members of the press and the public. In the future, too, military operations will require some measure of secrecy. In past conflicts, military censorship has been imposed from the top down by authorities, but this is no longer possible in an era of mobile phones, multimedia

stories, video content that can be livestreamed, and Internet access that penetrates the globe. Moreover, journalists are less dependent on the military to assist with safe and speedy communication modes. Government institutions no longer have the gatekeeping power, which they exercised in conflicts since the mid-19th century. While agencies such as the National Security Agency can screen, intercept, or stop news and reports, the public would likely scrutinize such undemocratic use of power. News and war reportage will continue to shape people's perception about the military's operations, successes, strategies, and important humanitarian aspects such as how civilians or enemy prisoners are treated. In the online environment, issues such as journalists' autonomy, the role of online warfare, cyberattacks, and cooperation with whistleblowers and platforms leaking classified secrets have all changed the complexity of reporting on military and national security issues.

Elisabeth Fondren

See also Censorship; Embedded Reporters; Fourth Estate; Press and Government Relations; War Correspondents

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MOBILE JOURNALISM

The practice of mobile journalism involves reporters using portable electronic devices to create and distribute news content. There are many tools that facilitate the process, including mobile apps, tablets, smartphones, and add-on gear, such as a stabilization gimbal or specialized camera lenses, that can enhance the quality of the content captured. There is a wide range of storytelling that can be produced using these devices—everything from documentary-style videos to infographics to 360-images and live news coverage. Mobile devices and apps also generally include the capacity to share content directly to social media and other digital platforms, as well as into traditional newsroom workflows, so that the content can be easily disseminated over the air during a live newscast or via a streaming platform, published on a website, or shared directly to a mobile news app, for example. This entry discusses the development of mobile journalism, the technology that made it possible, and the impact on journalists.

Mobile Beginnings

The first recorded instance of mobile journalism involved Canadian technology pioneer Steve Mann, who had developed what he called a *Wearcomp*—essentially a computer attached to a steel frame with a power converter and antennae attached. The system allowed Mann to simultaneously transmit and receive computer data, audio, and video while he walked from place to place. While wearing the apparatus one day in 1995, he spotted a major apartment building fire. Using his *WearComp*, he was able to wirelessly transmit hundreds of pictures to local newspapers while the event was still happening.

Though portable telephone devices were conceptualized in the early 20th century, the Japanese company Kyocera released the first mobile phone with a built-in camera in 1999. Around that same time, there were significant advances in wireless telephone technology, with the Japanese leading the way once again. In 2001, Tokyo became the first city to boast a commercial third generation (3G) mobile phone network. With these faster wireless connections, mobile phone users were

now able to send and receive not just pictures but video.

At this point, mobile phones were poised to become an essential tool for newsgathering and news consumption. The increased speed enabled a boom in podcasts, for example, as downloading audio programs directly to a phone solved the usability problems associated with transferring MP3 audio files via a cable to a computer. For example, WNYC, a public radio station in New York City launched the first podcast of a National Public Radio (NPR) program in 2005, and reported that the show doubled the number of listeners in just 4 weeks.

Not surprisingly, advances in mobile phone technology coincided with a more widespread occurrence of citizen journalism. Citizen journalists are essentially ordinary people who gather their own news content and then share it publicly. For example, eyewitness photos and videos captured on cell phones played a significant role in the reporting of the Southeast Asian tsunami in 2004 and in coverage of Hurricane Katrina and the London Underground bombings in 2005. Mobile phone capabilities continued to expand during this time period as well, earning the name “smartphones”—phones capable of performing many of the functions of a computer, giving users Internet access and the ability to run downloaded applications.

For professional journalists, smartphones would be a game changer. In 2007, the news agency Reuters teamed up with the Nokia mobile phone company to let a select group of journalists experiment with mobile reporting. Each reporter received a mobile journalism kit. These included a Nokia N95 smartphone, a keyboard, a tripod, and battery charger. The journalists went on to use the gear to successfully cover major news events, including the Beijing Olympics in 2008.

Also in 2007, Apple released the first iPhone. In those early years, citizen and professional journalists alike most often used their smartphone’s built-in apps, such as cameras and audio recorders, to capture news-related content. However, editing capabilities were still limited, so production techniques were typically applied to raw clips and photos later, using editing and other production software that was installed on a desktop computer.

Ultimately, it was the development of third-party applications that enabled a surge in mobile productivity and had a tremendous impact on the rapid and widespread adoption of smartphones for journalistic use.

Apps and Gear

Before journalists could be fully mobile and autonomous, they needed the ability to record, edit, and send text, videos, audio, and photos straight into a newsroom production system or to mobile news consumers via another distribution platform, such as a social network. Once developers created audio editing apps for smartphones, for example, radio reporters were able to record, edit, and mix their stories on location before sending those stories directly to air. Apple's App Store and Google's Android Market both debuted in 2008. These sites and others host tens of thousands of apps, many of them free to download, that have enabled not only traditional newsgathering practices but also innovative storytelling forms.

For example, mobile devices include a global positioning system (GPS) that makes it possible for users to get relevant information based on their locations. Location apps, such as Foursquare, take advantage of this capability, allowing users to check in once they reach a destination and then to potentially learn more about the location through the app. One of the first news organizations to experiment with this technology was the Austin American-Statesman, which partnered with a location app to create eight interactive "trips" around the city for its readers. Many news organizations have used the geolocation capabilities of their mobile apps to provide more relevant traffic and weather information for their audiences.

New apps and gear that help the user create or experience 360 visuals, virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) have sparked innovative storytelling as well. VR is a digital simulation of a three-dimensional environment that individuals can interact with in what feels like a real way. AR takes the user's view of the world and adds digital information and/or data on top of that. The digital news organization Quartz used AR to virtually bring NASA's Cassini spacecraft into people's homes, to let them "walk around it" and to learn

about its features in detail. The BBC created an AR app that lets people study various historical artifacts by viewing them, hearing about their history, and sometimes even seeing inside them with the app's X-ray function. New forms of storytelling continue to emerge and will likely be enhanced by ongoing technological advances in the mobile space.

In addition to apps, inexpensive and easy-to-use gear have changed the workflow for many multimedia and mobile journalists. As early as 2011, the Hearst-owned WGAL-TV in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, outfitted reporters with iPhones, laptops, and wireless adapters for cellular data. The expectation was that they would feed the station's online platform with information, photos, and video throughout the day while working on stories for the station's newscasts, too.

Smartphones have been especially valuable for journalists in breaking news situations as the ability to shoot, edit, and broadcast via one device reduces the amount of time needed to publish the content. To improve the quality of the content created, in addition to a host of newsgathering and production apps, mobile journalists may choose to carry a lightweight tripod, an external microphone, and an external light.

The Social Connection

The growth of mobile journalism and the expansion of social media's role in the mobile delivery of content are inextricably intertwined. In 2007, Facebook launched m.facebook.com and officially announced mobile support. By the end of that year, there were more than 50 million active users on the social platform as a whole, and the mobile version of Facebook gave those users an easy way to upload photos and to receive new messages on their phones via a short messaging service (SMS).

Twitter was originally developed in 2006 as a way to use SMS to communicate with small groups, but it quickly became a vehicle for news distribution. In June 2009, so many users were tweeting about singer Michael Jackson's death that they caused the platform's servers to crash. In 2010, Twitter released its official mobile apps for iOS and Android devices, and for the first time that year, users were able to upload and view

photos and video directly on the platform. With that new capability, citizen and professional journalists relied heavily on Twitter, along with their mobile devices, to cover uprisings from Tunisia to Yemen in what was called the Arab Spring. Without phones and social media, it would have been much more difficult for the world to follow what was happening in a part of the globe where Western media often have few reporting resources.

Soon, a majority of newsrooms were regularly monitoring Twitter for news content and the platform responded by releasing a guide for journalists on best practices for finding sources, engaging audiences, and creating effective tweets. About the same time, Facebook launched its “Journalists on Facebook” page with its own set of best practices for using the platform as a newsgathering and distribution platform.

Journalists routinely use their smartphones for informing and engaging audiences via social media platforms. They share photos and video, quotes, and other relevant information throughout the reporting day in a sort of ongoing conversation with their followers. They also regularly report live on events using nothing more than a social media platform, their phones, and a wireless or data connection.

The emergence of reporting live with a phone is closely linked to the growth of reliable wireless connections and enhanced by developments in social media. In 2006, Yankees pitcher Cory Lidle crashed his small plane into an apartment building and a Fox News Channel photojournalist used his phone to stream live video back to the control room, where it was patched through live on the air. Eventually, developers built applications, such as Periscope and Meerkat, which made it easy for anyone—journalists and other citizens—to stream live with a smartphone. The popularity of those apps prompted multiple social media companies to build out the infrastructure that would allow journalists and others to stream directly through those platforms without a third-party app.

Audience Appetite

The term *mobile journalism* also encompasses the consumption of news content on portable electronic devices. In 2019, the Pew Research Center reported that about 60% of Americans have said

they often get news via a mobile device, and one in four indicated they were using mobile apps to access news content.

Growth in mobile news consumption has been bolstered by journalism outlets creating their own news and information apps, which users download for on-demand access to the content the organization has published. In addition, “responsive web design”—essentially the practice of designing a web or mobile site that automatically adjusts to the device on which the consumer is accessing the content—has facilitated more mobile consumption of news. Responsive design, in particular, has been critical because so little news content is produced for mobile consumption only—it is nearly always first published to a news organization’s website or social platform.

Audiences also get access to news content on their mobile devices through push alerts—a message sent to a user in order to inform them of something they may want to read or view, such as breaking news. Users can decide whether they want to allow push alerts on their phones and other devices and are generally given the option to control the frequency of the messages.

Journalists’ Resistance

Though the audience seems to have fully embraced mobile consumption of news, not all journalists are fans of mobile newsgathering. Since many mobile journalists, or *mojos*, work alone, they are often required to have more skills and to be more adept at multitasking than journalists of the past. For example, it’s not unusual for a mobile reporter to be asked to take photos, capture video, and regularly update a story to social platforms while being required to meet a series of increasingly more demanding deadlines.

In addition to concerns about the workload, journalists have also expressed worries about the quality of the journalism they are able to produce under these conditions—as they are asked to do more, they have less time for fact-checking and for crafting better stories.

Issues of quality are also at the heart of some concerns about the use of citizen journalists’ mobile content in news coverage. Since most people do not have journalism training, they may

not always follow standard newsgathering practices, which help ensure ethical and principled content creation. However, the benefit of having more eyes and ears watching for news events has been leveraged by news organizations for years. CNN's iReport first launched in 2006 as a way to allow people from all around the world to contribute pictures and video of breaking news stories.

Ultimately, the growing demands of a journalist's job and a trend toward decreased staffing levels may be driving resistance to the practice of mobile newsgathering rather than concerns over the devices or delivery systems.

Emerging Mobile

Mobile journalism is nearly ubiquitous in the news ecosystem and will no doubt continue to be affected by increasing technological capabilities. Fifth-generation wireless (5G), for example, is expected to increase network speed and capacity for mobile users. The expectation is that 5G will enable faster and more reliable smartphone connectivity, which should make it easier to access increasingly elaborate multimedia content for audiences on the go.

The New York Times, for example, anticipates a day when mobile journalists automatically stream media in real-time, directly to the news consumer—from high definition (HD) photos, videos, and audio, to three-dimensional (3D) content. The media company also foresees 5G making it easier for audiences using mobile devices to enjoy more and better AR and VR experiences within stories.

Mobile storytellers are already using the technology in a wide variety of ways—from producing traditional, broadcast-style video stories to going live on Facebook to creating AR experiences. As 5G rolls out in more places around the world, fast data will become more prevalent, and as new technologies often establish new norms and a need for new products, it's more than likely that mobile journalism will continue to evolve.

Debora Halpern Wenger

See also Audiences; Citizen Journalism; Facebook; Innovation Journalism; Social Media; Twitter; Virtual Reality

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MORSE CODE

The telegraph was the most revolutionary invention in the history of communication. It separated the technological boundary line between the nonelectronic and electronic modes of communication. However, the invention itself—first contemplated in 1753—would have been all but meaningless without an accompanying language. That language, also a significant innovation, is Morse code, a series of closed circuits (or dots and dashes), and open circuits (periods of silence), which corresponds to the Roman alphabet and Arabic numerals zero through nine. Morse code has been used in military and rescue operations, shipping, and public safety, and it played a critical role in the development of American journalism during the Civil War era. This entry discusses how Morse code works, its

development during the 19th century, and its impact on journalism.

Operation of Morse Code

Using a telegraph key as the transmitter device, an operator sends out messages based on short signals—the dots—combined in sequence with longer signals—the dashes. On the other end, an electromagnetic device would receive the signals, and the receiving operator would write down the transmitted letters and numbers to form a communicative text. In the 19th century, the receiving device made a click noise, which the receiving operator would transcribe into the communicative text.

In U.S. amateur radio, an operator has a “handle” that corresponds to his or her license from the Federal Communications Commission. This license name, or call letters, might be WN4CRZ. The telegraph operator, using wireless continuous wave transmission, would key the following for his or her handle: dot-dash-dash, dash-dot, dot-dot-dot-dot-dash, dash-dot-dash-dot, dot-dash-dot, and dash-dash-dot-dot. There would be a short space—silence—between each character transmitted, and slightly longer space between words. The handle, or call letters, is unique to each operator. In the example, the “N” represents the level of license (novice) and the 4 stands for the region of the United States where the operator resided (Southeast). Another operator would respond with his or her own handle, and an amateur radio interpersonal conversation would begin over the radio waves. Before radio transmission, Morse code would be transmitted with wired telegraph, which required the building of lines, usually along railroad tracks in the 19th century.

In technical terms, Morse code occurs by connecting the current when the telegraph key is pressed down, forming a circuit. Turning the key off—that is, having the points on the key separate—disengages the circuit. The current or wave that carries the dot or dash occurs when the key is struck down. The grammar of Morse code was based on the relative usage of a letter, so that “E,” the most commonly used English letter, has the shortest transmission duration, which is a single dot. Much less frequently used “Q” has a longer duration: dash-dash-dot-dash. Morse code’s

grammar was also based on long held practices in visual signal messaging, including the flag-based semaphore system—long part of military operations in Europe.

Development of Morse Code

The code is named for artist Samuel F. B. Morse, one of the North American inventors of the telegraph. Morse made his telegraphy invention along with physicist Joseph Henry and machinist Alfred Vail. With a \$30,000 internal improvements grant from Congress, Morse and Vail built a telegraph line stretching 40 miles along the railroad between Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, DC, in 1844 after having received a patent for their telegraphic apparatus from the U.S. government. Morse and Vail would be the operators during the first official transmission of the Morse telegraphy from Washington to Baltimore on May 24, 1844. On May 1, Vail had transmitted from about halfway up the line to Baltimore back to Washington a message that the Whig Party had nominated Henry Clay for president; that transmission got to Washington 70 minutes before a train-delivered message did.

Morse’s May 24 transmitted message, 19 letters in length, to Vail was: “What hath God wrought” from the Book of Numbers 23:23 in the Bible. Morse was in the U.S. Supreme Court chambers when he sent the message, while Vail was in the Mount Clair train depot in Baltimore when he received it. The four words were suggested by Annie Ellsworth, the daughter of one of Morse’s friends. Baltimore-to-Washington transmissions continued several days later as Vail reported news from the Democratic convention. Vail later was a primary builder of early telegraph lines between American cities.

As Morse, Henry, and Vail were working on their pilot telegraphy device, Morse had begun developing a code for it in 1837. At the same time, in Great Britain, physician William F. Cooke and Charles Wheatstone developed a telegraph machine that used electromagnets to complete the circuit, and their machine would be used at first for the transmission of messages along rail lines in the Midlands. Cooke and Wheatstone built a telegraphic apparatus in 1841 that would print letters from a typeface wheel that was struck by a

hammer to form coded words that would have to be translated by an operator.

Morse's initial machine worked similarly. His device made indentations on a paper tape that was moved along by a clockwork-like device. As the currents were received over a wire, a magnet caused an armature to push a stylus onto the moving paper. This would result in an indentation in the paper or tape. When the circuit was off, the stylus retracted, leaving that portion of the tape un-indented. Morse developed his code to standardized text messages. Originally, Morse had planned a language of only numerals, and then the numerals would correspond to commonly used words. However, Vail came up with the ploy for using a code for each letter of the alphabet. Vail determined which letters were used most frequently by a form of content analysis in which he determined Roman letter frequency from articles in a newspaper in Morristown, New Jersey. The language became standardized by 1844 and became known as *American Morse Code*. The International Morse Code, which took into account different kinds of letter from those in the Roman alphabet, went online in 1851. These codes made the delivery of information across long distances a vital part of both industry and government. At one end, a transmitter would work the telegraph key, and the other end a receiver would transcribe what he or she heard as the "sounder," an electromagnetic clicker, detected the opening and closing of the circuit that corresponded to the Morse code. Both operators could switch roles instantly as both ends had a key and a sounder.

Civil War Era Use and Impact on Journalism

The development of the telegraph and Morse code had a significant impact on American journalism. During the Mexican-American War in the mid-19th century, reporters would ship their dispatches from Veracruz, Mexico, to Mobile, Alabama. From Mobile, the dispatches would be carried by an express rider on horseback to Montgomery. From there, the dispatches would travel by rail to Richmond, Va., and from there those reports would be transmitted along to New York using the telegraph. This saved days of time in the

transmission. Several New York newspapers shared the information coming from Mexico, and the rise of the New York Herald newspaper was directly related to publisher and editor James Gordon Bennett's early adoption of the telegraph as a means for moving news from the field to the newspaper office. In 1848, six New York newspapers combined their telegraphic operations to form the Associated Press, a cooperative that would share news and built nearly 100,000 miles of lines across the United States to serve nearly 2,000 newspapers by the 1920s.

The value of the telegraph and its language would become fully apparent in the United States during the Civil War. By the start of the war in 1861, lines had been laid along tens of thousands of miles of railroad tracks. Newspapers now could transmit what had transpired in a battle from one end of the country to the other. Major newspapers, particularly those from New York and Chicago, had a corps of reporters at the front, and their dispatches would be shared in newspapers all over the land as newspapers subscribed to the telegraph service. Because the cost of transmission was by the word, journalists learned to write shorter, clearer dispatches. Both the Union and Confederate armies also used telegraphy to transmit military information.

Controlling telegraphic information and effectively stifling the use of Morse code came to the fore in the Civil War. (Some governments around the world had been slow to adopt telegraphy because they feared it would stimulate political opposition.) At first, after Fort Sumter, the American telegraphic lines between Washington and Richmond, Virginia, were shuttered by the U.S. government. At the same time, U.S. soldiers in Baltimore cut the lines so that correspondents could not report on mob violence against a Massachusetts regiment as its soldiers transited through that city. In July of 1861, Winfield Scott, the commander of the Union Army, announced that he would determine what military information could be used in the telegraphic lines. Later, President Abraham Lincoln had Congress pass a bill that gave the federal government authority over the telegraphic lines, which to that point had been commercially owned. Thereafter, journalists agreed not to divulge troop strength or location, and not to guess at movements by armies in the

field. In order to work their way around the telegraphic censorship, journalists came up with codes of their own. The censorship sometimes made news reports quite lacking in detail and inaccurate, and the telegraphic lines sometimes broke down too. Due to these issues, the war news was often unreliable. Readers in the North might think that the U.S. Army had won a battle when in fact it had lost or fought to a draw.

Another major development related to the language of the telegraph was its impact on journalistic writing. Accordingly, newspapermen began to write more concise dispatches, and a new format of writing emerged, the inverted pyramid, where the most important and latest information was summarized at the top of an article. This happened about the same time as two other major 19th-century events in the United States: the rising emphasis on science as a way of knowing, including the key principle that the simplest explanation is often the best, and the development of information—that is, news—as the key journalistic commodity.

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See also Inverted Pyramid; Telegraph

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age of social media and cyber communication. Journalists have been portrayed as both dedicated crusaders in the pursuit of truth and unscrupulous manipulators of it, often in the same period. This dichotomy was evident almost from the beginning of cinema, as evidenced by such seemingly polarizing titles as *Horsewhipping an Editor* (1900) and *The Reporter's Courage* (1912). The likeable rogues and populist reporters of *The Front Page* (1931) and *It Happened One Night* (1934) were offset by the ruthless editors of *Five Star Final* and *Scandal Sheet* (both 1931). The crusading editor in *Deadline U.S.A.* (1952) had his darker counterpart in the manipulative reporter of *Ace in the Hole* (1951). The exposure of the Watergate scandal by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein in *All the President's Men* (1976) was contrasted by the scathing attack on broadcast news in *Network*, released the same year. Even recently, the heroic achievements of the *Boston Globe* team in the Academy Award-winning *Spotlight* (2015) were balanced by the vile depiction of the freelance cameraman in *Nightcrawler* (2014).

While the journalism film has seldom been recognized as a definable genre, perhaps in part because the journalist character can be found in films that are more widely identified as examples of other established genres, for those films that focus specifically on the practice of the profession a definite genre pattern and aspects of iconography can be determined. The motivating factor in journalism films involves issues of truth, which usually the members of the press are attempting to expose or reveal to the public, though in some cases (as in *Ace in the Hole*), it is the journalist who is concealing the truth or manipulating it for his or her own purposes. The genre formula also involves both external and internal conflicts, as the journalists must confront outside forces that are preventing them from achieving their goals, such as gangsters, corrupt politicians, and even an unreceptive public, while also undergoing debates within the news organization itself about the handling of the news. This pattern is evident even in such recent films as *The Post* (2017), *Spotlight*, and *Shock and Awe* (2017), with the journalists facing outside pressures while also debating among themselves when and how to break the story.

MOTION PICTURES, JOURNALISM IN

Much like the public at large, the film industry has had a love–hate relationship with the journalism profession, which continues even in the

The Silent Era

While many surveys of journalism films credit the 1931 film version of Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur's 1928 stage play *The Front Page* as creating the prototype for the screen reporter, the basic components of the genre were established during the silent era. The confrontational relationship between reporters and editors that provided the main focus of *The Front Page* and is still evident in journalism films today was apparent as early as Charlie Chaplin's first screen appearance in *Making a Living* (1914), in which he plays a hustler who drives an editor to distraction while applying for a job as a reporter. Despite the absence of sound, the atmosphere of a busy bustling newsroom was generated in these early works, with films such as *The Last Edition* (1925) taking an almost documentary approach to detailing the workings of a metropolitan paper. The silent era introduced the various divisions of the profession, including war correspondents, crime reporters, sportswriters, critics, advice columnists, scandalmongering gossip writers, and newsboys. Perhaps inspired by the exploits of Nellie Bly and other female journalists, the early silent era also proved to be a significant period for women in the profession, as indicated by such titles as *A Female Reporter* (1909), *The Girl Reporter's Big Scoop* (1912), *The Girl Reporter* (1913), *Dolly's Scoop* (1916), and both Biograph and Vitagraph listing films in 1914 titled *Her Big Scoop*.

Preproduction Code Films and Depression-Era Journalists

The coming of sound coincided with the appearance on stage of *The Front Page*, the influence of which was felt even before Lewis Milestone's first film version of the Hecht and MacArthur play in 1931, as the works of other journalists-turned-playwrights were brought to the screen, including *Big News*, *Gentlemen of the Press*, and *Speakeasy* (all 1929). The *Front Page* firmly established the image of the fast-talking, wisecracking reporter whose methods were sometimes questionable but justified since the journalists were less corrupt than the forces they opposed. One significant difference the screen version made from the play was to introduce editor Walter Burns at the beginning

rather than two thirds of the way through as the play had done. This allowed for the bantering antagonism between editor and reporter that remains a staple of the genre today, though even in the early silent era—before the Motion Picture Production Code, the industry's self-regulation of “social and community values,” began to be enforced—the screen adaptation had to tone down the play's profanity-strewn dialogue. Although Lee Tracy, who had originated the part of reporter Hildy Johnson on stage, was replaced in the film by Pat O'Brien, he brought his rapid-fire delivery to reporters in other films and soon became the definitive representative of the journalist on screen.

Another result of the pre-Code and Prohibition era was the popularity of the gangster genre. These films often involved members of the press either trying to expose or becoming involved with bootleggers and mobsters and drew on real incidents, such as the murder of Chicago journalist and mob associate Jake Lingle, which was anticipated by *Roadhouse Nights* (1930) and provided the inspiration for *The Finger Points* (1931). The more permissive standards of pre-Code Hollywood also allowed for a cycle of films involving ruthless editors resorting to sensationalistic tactics and exploiting sex scandals to increase circulation, as represented by *Five Star Final* (1931), *Scandal Sheet* (1931), and *Scandal for Sale* (1932). With the growing importance of radio as a source of both news and entertainment, the fast-talking print journalist was matched by his broadcast counterpart in such films as *Okay America* and *Is My Face Red?* (both 1932). Many of these columnists or broadcasters were modeled on the distinctive style of Walter Winchell, who blurred the line between newsman and entertainer when he and bandleader Ben Bernie exploited their phony feud on screen in *Wake Up and Live* and *Love and Hisses* (both 1937). Even the newsroom of *Five Star Final* was replaced with a radio setting when the film was remade 5 years later as *Two Against the World* (1936).

With the enforcement of the Production Code beginning in 1934, the image of the cynical, sarcastic, and at times unscrupulous screen reporter was softened to a more romanticized image. Frank Capra's conception of the working reporter as a populist hero standing up to the wealthy and powerful

(including editors and publishers), which he had developed with the eager cub reporter in his last silent film *The Power of the Press* (1928) and *Platinum Blonde* (1931), found its greatest expression in Clark Gable's Peter Warne in the multi-Academy Award-winning *It Happened One Night* (1934). Working class reporters proved popular with Depression-era audiences and allowed the journalist to engage in both class and gender conflicts.

The increase in the number of women entering the workforce as a result of the Depression was reflected on screen in portrayals of strong independent female reporters who were able to compete with their male counterparts on the level of basic reporters, even if they were seldom shown in higher positions as editors and publishers (except by default as a result of inheriting a paper from a deceased husband or spouse). Although Joan Blondell, Claire Trevor, and even Bette Davis played a number of newswomen during this period, the most successful performer of such roles was Glenda Farrell, who was given her own series at Warner Brothers as aggressive reporter Torchy Blane. This golden era of female journalists ended with the reworking of *The Front Page* as a romantic comedy in *His Girl Friday* (1940), featuring Rosalind Russell as a distaff Hildy Johnson sparring with Cary Grant's editor Walter Burns.

Foreign Correspondents, Media Barons, and Journalists in Film Noir

The Second World War brought an end to The Front Page brand of insouciant and irresponsible reporters, as focus shifted to the efforts of dedicated war correspondents. A year before the United States entered the conflict Alfred Hitchcock, in his second American film *Foreign Correspondent* (1940), signaled the change as hero Johnny Jones moves from a position of indifference about the war to commitment, concluding with Jones broadcasting a plea from London as the bombs are falling for America to come to the aid of its European allies. The end of the war also brought the era's greatest presentation of a war correspondent with Burgess Meredith's portrayal of Ernie Pyle in the *Story of G. I. Joe* (1945).

If the war correspondents created a heroic impression of the profession, the movie industry's love-hate relationship with journalism continued

to reinforce the negative aspects of the news business in the form of megalomaniacal media barons. The ambiguous attitude of the public toward the press is encapsulated in the title character of Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1941), who sees himself as a champion of the working man when he first takes over the *New York Inquirer* but whose actions increasingly are shown to be motivated by self-interest. Although the film contains obvious parallels to the life of media mogul William Randolph Hearst, who is even mentioned briefly early in the film, Welles and uncredited cowriter John Houseman always maintained that the character of Charles Foster Kane was drawn from a number of powerful businessmen as well as incidents from Welles's own life, though it was clear that the film hit close enough to home for Hearst to attempt to stop its release. The same year brought another negative depiction of a media baron in Capra's *Meet John Doe* (1941), which anticipated the Janet Cooke scandal by a few decades in its account of columnist Ann Mitchell (Barbara Stanwyck) creating a composite character representing the downtrodden and then having to seek out an actual person to play the part. These questionable actions ultimately are justified, however, and pale in comparison to the efforts of news organization owner D. B. Norton (Edward Arnold), who seeks to manipulate the public for his own Fascistic political purposes.

The cynicism evident in these images of news organization owners continued in the cycle of noir films, which emphasized the crime and corruption in the post-war era, and provided images of amoral journalists. The cycle reached its peak with Billy Wilder's scathing *Ace in the Hole* (1951), in which down-on-his-luck newsman Chuck Tatum (Kirk Douglas) sees a chance to regain his position as a big-time reporter when he finds a man trapped in a cave in New Mexico and realizes he can control and exploit the story for several days, despite the potential danger to his hapless subject. Wilder extends his cynicism beyond Tatum to the public at large, with a crowd gathering outside the cave that is seemingly more interested in being part of the carnival-like atmosphere than in the fate of the trapped victim. The only check to Tatum's style of journalism is provided by his cautious editor, who espouses a "belt and suspenders" approach to journalism.

Crime Commissions, Scandal Magazines, and Broadcast News

Although the balance was restored somewhat by films inspired by the investigations into organized crime by the Special Committee on Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce (the Kefauver Committee), including *The Captive City* (1952), *The Turning Point* (1952), and *The System* (1953), the decade produced more negative impressions of the press through films dealing with the scandal magazines that were having a direct impact on the film industry. That the pervasiveness of a more sensationalistic form of tabloid press extended beyond Hollywood to become a global concern is evidenced by Akira Kurosawa's *Shubun (Scandal)* (1950) and Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (1960), which established the concept of the paparazzi. Even more of a concern for Hollywood than the scandal publications was the competition from the emerging medium of television, and the potential for broadcast news to mislead and manipulate the public was evident in films dealing with both radio (*The Great Man*, 1956) and television (*A Face in the Crowd*, 1957). As the film industry came to regard the new medium as less a source of competition than of revenue, television became the domain of more traditional cinematic archetypes and formulas, including the familiar screen journalist, who all but disappeared from the large screen during the 1960s. The period produced only a few works of significance, though the decade ended with Haskell Wexler's influential *Medium Cool* (1969), which incorporated its fictional television cameraman protagonist into the actual volatile events of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Political Conspiracy, Conglomerates, and the Emergence of Social Media

Actual political events would ultimately reestablish the heroic stature of the screen reporter with the film version of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's account of their exposing of the Watergate scandal, *All the President's Men* (1976). The film provided the logical conclusion to a series of Watergate-era political conspiracy films involving journalists and reaffirmed the importance of a free

and vigilante press. The positive image of the profession was further enhanced by the big-budget production of *Superman* (1979) featuring the ultimate journalist hero, mild-mannered reporter Clark Kent, a character who had previously been relegated to cartoons, serials, and a television series, and the film's success preceded by several years the current cycle of superhero films.

Within a short time the pendulum shifted again, as reports of falsification or fabrication of stories by journalists Janet Cooke, Michael Daly, Christopher Jones, and others led to skepticism and mistrust of the press, an attitude reflected in films such as *Absence of Malice* (1981). The period also saw an increasing concern with the global impact of journalism, with the reemergence of the war correspondent as a major figure in *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982), *Under Fire* (1983), *Salvador* (1986), and *The Killing Fields* (1984), though these films continued to send mixed messages about the role of the journalist internationally. More recent films such as *State of Play* (2009), *The Fifth Estate* (2013), and *Snowden* (2016) suggest that we are entering a new epoch in communication and the way in which information is disseminated and received.

The end of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st have seen tremendous changes in both the journalism and film industries, including the decline of print media, the emergence of blogging and social media as means of communication, and the rise of media conglomerates and consolidated ownership (a development about which *Network* had already sounded a warning in 1976). In addition, platforms and methods that offer alternatives to traditional film distribution, such as streaming services and websites allowing for public posting of nonprofessional productions, have generated debates about what can be called a *movie*, while new styles and formats like found footage films and pseudo-documentary productions are challenging notions of what can be considered a journalism film. Yet, even with the changes in technology and aesthetics, one of the results of the Donald Trump presidential administration's attacks on the press, has been the reassertion of the traditions of the journalism genre and the importance of a free press, as evidenced by *Spotlight*, *The Post*, *Shock and Awe* and other recent productions. The candlestick phones and

clattering typewriters of the past may have given way to cellphones and computer keyboards, but reporters on screen (whether big or small) still argue with their editors and news organizations continue to debate how to handle a major story. What seems clear is that the film industry's love-hate relationship and the audience's fascination with films about the workings of the fourth estate will continue, no matter what new forms media may take.

Richard R. Ness

See also Celebrity and Fan Media; Entertainment Journalism; Foreign Correspondents; Hearst, William Randolph; Media Ownership; New Media; War Correspondents; Watergate

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than a decade. MSNBC is now part of NBCUniversal. From its beginnings, MSNBC has been willing to change its looks and content, leading to the perception that the channel was more opinion-journalism, rather than factual-journalism. Even so, the channel managed to beat both CNN and the nascent FOX News to major events on the world stage, such as their coverage of the crash of flight TWA 800, breaking the story almost 10 minutes before the other two networks. Unlike the other two all-news channels, MSNBC chased a younger cadre of viewers who understood the interconnective nature of computer networks and foresaw the shape and content in this new computer heavy environment. It was an idea that would make sense, but was ahead of its time in the production and dissemination of news via both cable and Internet. This entry examines MSNBC's launch and eventual relaunch, programming, controversies, and future.

Launch

To make all this happen took money, and a lot of it. Microsoft put up \$200 million, while NBC repurposed channel space for the network that had been used by the "America's Talking" network, itself only 18 months old. Each entity shared in the cost of constructing a \$200 million newsroom in Redmond, Washington. Leveraging the power of Microsoft for MSNBC.com and the narrative capabilities of NBC news for the MSNBC cable channel—both launched on the same day—was a highly anticipated event for both the dot-com and cable entities.

The industry was talking about this partnership as early as 1994 and the channel went live on July 15, 1996. There had been many changes before the launch as the network took advantage of the new "network of networks" or in other words the new global Internet. From the beginning, the effort by MSNBC to lure the 25- to 54-year-old demographic was a sea change from what both CNN and FOX News were doing. The stories on MSNBC were longer and, at least initially, crafted for a younger demographic. The use of prominent on-screen graphics listed email addresses and even some phone numbers, all in the hope that the viewers would become partners with the network in reporting. Unfortunately,

MSNBC

Seen as a response to the then all-news cable channel, CNN, MSNBC went live in July of 1996 after 2 years of planning. The channel was joint venture between Microsoft and NBC that lasted for more

this gambit did not pay off for MSNBC. In a bit of unintended irony, the first slogan used by MSNBC was “It’s time to get connected” even though the network had to lay off about 20% of its staff in September 1997 due to low ratings. The first year of operation found MSNBC the number three network, with 24,000 viewing households, compared to the 30,000 viewing households of FOX News and the almost 600,000 viewing households of CNN.

Early Programming

The first show featured Jodi Applegate with reporting from Lori Stokes. Over the next couple of years the content of shows on MSNBC featured both new “techy” news and opinions and reliable hard-news type stories. On the opinion side, Ann Coulter and Laura Ingraham with a show called *The Contributors*; Brian Williams’s *The News With Brian Williams*; *The Site*, a technology show with Soledad O’Brien; Jane Pauley with *Time & Again*, and Chris Matthews, who like Rachel Maddow started their own shows on the America’s Talking Network before coming to MSNBC. Matthews’s show on the new network, *Hardball With Chris Matthews*, drew on his experiences as President Jimmy Carter’s political advisor. Keith Olbermann hosted *Sports Center*, on ESPN before making the move to MSNBC in 1997. Olbermann became frustrated during the President Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinsky scandal and how it was overshadowing other stories. He left the network in 1998 and joined FOX Sports Net. *Don Imus in the Morning* (a morning simulcast of Imus’s show on KFAN radio) was canceled by MSNBC after Imus made a racist remark about the Rutgers Scarlet Knights women’s basketball team. Imus landed on the Fox Business Network.

Contemporary Programming

The 21st century was not even 2 years old when the World Trade Center was attacked and brought down on September 11, 2001. By this time, NBC had diversified its broadcast holdings and was able to reposition CNBC and CNBC Europe as well as MSNBC to provide up-to-the-minute coverage of this terrorist attack. Much of the

reporting from the scene came from reporter Ashleigh Banfield, who had been on the scene for a different story. The same type of repositioning broadcast and online assets helped the network score 3 times the ratings as it covered the 2002 Winter Olympics, but it still was not enough to unseat CNN from its higher rankings. This came after efforts by MSNBC to pivot the network to more opinion shows, trying to follow the lead of FOX News. MSNBC watched its ratings fall about 36% from the previous year.

Another indication of the network’s desire was the hiring of high-profile talent to do their own shows, especially in the evenings. Phil Donahue was a liberal anti-war activist but his show never reached the demographics that MSNBC needed. In his first week, ratings dropped to just 136,000 households from 660,000. Keith Olbermann took Donahue’s time slot for his show, *Countdown With Keith Olbermann*. The slot vacated by Olbermann was filled with *Hardball With Chris Matthews*. While former wrestler and Governor of Minnesota, Jesse Ventura, was offered the slot to do his own show, his show lasted only a few months.

Countdown: Iraq was hosted originally by Lester Holt. It was later called *Countdown*, with the show hosted by Keith Olbermann, who had come back to MSNBC to do the show. Conservative Tucker Carlson was brought into the lineup with *The Situation With Tucker Carlson*. The show lasted 3 years as *Tucker*.

From 8:00 PM until midnight each weekday evening, MSNBC hosted anchors Chris Hayes at 8:00, Rachel Maddow at 9:00, Lawrence O’Donnell at 10:00, and Brian Williams at 11:00 (all ET). Each one of the anchors brought a different-albeit liberal progressive filter on the day’s stories to the network anchor desks. Hayes’s show, *All In With Chris Hayes*, is an Emmy Award-winning show that often features debate. *The Rachel Maddow Show* looks beyond the days’ stories to focus on legislative policies. Maddow is a Rhodes Scholar, a progressive policy wonk, and an expert in military affairs. Maddow was also an anchor at the pre-MSNBC network, America’s Talking. Her show was widely received well by viewers, eventually showing better numbers than her opposition at CNN, *Larry King Live*.

While MSNBC was running its numbers up, the competition decided to cede the later hours to MSNBC. The daily late afternoon/early evening schedule featured *The Lead With Jake Tapper* at 4:00 PM, *The Situation Room With Wolf Blitzer* at 5:00 PM, *Erin Burnett OutFront* at 7:00 PM, and *Anderson Cooper 360* at 8:00 PM.

Controversies

Like most organizations, particularly large companies, MSNBC had its share of controversy over the years. Most of the controversies centered on personnel and bias; the difference being how those controversies were handled in a company as large as NBC with many issues played out in front of the network cameras. One of the first issues played out about a year after the network went live in 1996. Bad ratings for the year forced a 20% reduction of staff. Some of the other controversies include the following:

- Phil Donahue's program *Donahue* was canceled in 2003 ostensibly for low ratings, but in a time slot when Donahue was the highest rated MSNBC program that month.
- In April 2007, the simulcast of Don Imus's radio show, *Imus in the Morning*, was canceled after Imus made racist and sexist remarks about the Rutgers' women basketball team. Imus apologized for the remarks, but the show was canceled under pressure from advertisers.
- *The Rise of the New Right*, a 2010 documentary hosted by Chris Matthews, was criticized by conservatives and the Tea Party Movement for its depiction of the Michigan Militia's survival training camp. FreedomWorks called for a boycott of advertisers on *Hardball With Chris Matthews*.
- In November 2010, both Keith Olbermann and Joe Scarborough were suspended by the company for contributing to Democrat and Republican candidates, respectively, a violation of NBC News policy.
- In April 2012, Chris Matthews interviewed former GOP Chair Michael Steele on *Hardball With Chris Matthews* and made a number of assertions he had to apologize for later. In the interview, he called Mitt Romney a *flat earther*, stated that Romney didn't believe in evolution, and compared the Republican Party to the Ku Klux Klan.
- November of 2013 found host Martin Bashir taking aim at comments made by Sarah Palin that compared the federal debt to slavery. Palin referenced a particularly horrific practice and Bashir countered that Palin could benefit from the practice herself. Bashir was suspended and resigned 2 days later.
- Democrat candidate Andrew Yang waited over a half hour for his first opportunity to speak during the November 2019 debate that was hosted by MSNBC. Yang was left off of a network-created infographic, even though he was polling sixth out of 11 candidates. The story had been the same earlier in 2019 when MSNBC left candidate Yang off its graphics, even though Yang was tied for eight place. Yang's campaign workers tallied 15 times that MSNBC had not included Yang. Yang rejected a request to appear on MSNBC unless the network publicly apologized and would have a serious discussion about Yang's campaign.

Relaunch

In July 2012, a historic partnership came to an end when Microsoft and NBC announced the end of their 16-year partnership. NBC wanted more ownership of the news programming as well as sole ownership of their digital businesses, and Microsoft wanted more control over the digital content creation. There has been brand confusion ever since the partnership was announced. It made sense at the time: Microsoft wanted the control over the website and other online presence in the era of the Internet explosion in the late 1990s. But the company was uncomfortable about the left-leaning direction that MSNBC news was taking, although politics were not a major factor in this split of companies. In effect, NBC would now be solely owned since NBC's parent, NBC Universal, through Comcast, bought Microsoft's 50% share of the conjoined entities. It was reported at the time that the cost of this buyout to Comcast was about \$300 million.

Beginning in 2015, there was an increasing reliance on a standard presentation of hard news, which MSNBC was bringing back to the cable channel, albeit in a more generic format

that was led by Brian Williams. Williams went on to host *The 11th Hour With Brian Williams* a year later. This was the first primetime show in almost four years on MSNBC. A high point for the network came in 2017 when MSNBC outperformed both CNN and FOX News in the desirable young demographic, as well as total viewers. Five years earlier Brian Stelter wrote in the November 12, 2012 edition of *The New York Times* that in President Barack Obama's first term, MSNBC went from being an "also ran" to being the "anti-Fox." This was a singular experience for MSNBC; the network normally was outviewed by CNN to the tune of a couple million viewers. Still, the elusive 25- to 54-year-old demographic proved hard to catch.

Future Directions

At the end of the 2020 programming year, FOX News held a fairly comfortable lead in the ratings war, with about 2.6 million viewers. MSNBC followed with about 1.8 million, and CNN brought up the rear with about 1 million viewers on average. The surprise for the rating period was ESPN, the sports cable channel that ranked between MSNBC and CNN, with just over 1 million viewers. This can be attributed to the steady decline in total viewership as reflected in entertainment channels, and the rise in viewership for news and sports. And while FOX may have won the total viewer race, it was ESPN that captured the lucrative 18- to 49-year-old demographic.

Clearly, news and sports programs are major conduits for informational channels, but the industry warned the major players that, with the increasingly fragmented audience, coupled by a worldwide pandemic, all set against the backdrop of a contentious election year, meant that to survive they needed to be fluid. "Cable-cutting," *a la carte* programming, and the threat of more corporate partnerships change the ground upon which all these cable giants tread. Subscription channels such as Amazon, Netflix, and Hulu are not a threat since they rely on viewers to pay up-front for their programming. FOX News, MSNBC, and CNN are all basic cable offerings, which means they need to generate enough money by selling advertising, and that may likely become harder to do.

Gary W. Larson

See also Cable News; CNN; Comcast; NBC News; Streaming Media

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MUCKRAKERS

Muckraker is a somewhat pejorative term for an investigative reporter: Someone who digs up dirt or rakes muck. It is associated with a period of crusading American journalism—called *muckraking*—during the first dozen years of the 20th century, although the phrase can also be used to refer to investigative reporting in general.

Origin of the Term

President Theodore Roosevelt first coined the word *muckraker* in a speech on March 17, 1906. Roosevelt was angered by a recent political exposé published by his enemy William Randolph Hearst in *Cosmopolitan* magazine. In an address to the Washington Gridiron Club, Roosevelt complained about a dangerous new breed of the journalist whose inflammatory writings were sweeping America. "The man with the Muck-rake," Roosevelt said derisively, "the man who could look no way but downward with the muck-rake in his hands" only wanted "to rake to himself the filth on the floor" and "consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing." Such a journalist, the President said, "speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the

most potent forces of evil” (Weinberg & Weinberg, 2001, pp. 58–59).

Although Roosevelt’s use of the word *muckraker* was negative, the muckrakers themselves embraced the insult as a badge of honor. The term stuck and would thereafter be used to refer not only to the crusading journalists of Roosevelt’s time but to later investigative reporters as well. In fact, Roosevelt’s denunciation was surprising in some ways because he was personally sympathetic to the muckrakers’ reform agenda and because his political career had been helped tremendously by positive publicity from muckrakers, some of whom he befriended. But the muckrakers’ targets also included some of Roosevelt’s fellow Republican politicians whom the President tried to appease with his attack on these journalists.

Rise of Muckraking Journalism

Prior to 1900, investigative reporting in America was rare and mostly local in nature. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, muckraking became national in scope and seemed to flower everywhere in the United States almost at once. The decade between 1902 and 1912 is generally regarded as the heyday of muckraking. In general, the muckrakers targeted corporate wrongdoing, government misbehavior, and social injustice; they viewed all three as interconnected to each other and to systemic problems spawned by the U.S. industrial revolution of their time.

The muckrakers were a uniquely homegrown American phenomenon, championing optimism, personal responsibility, individualism, and the inherent goodness of man. For the most part, the muckrakers were white, middle class, and Protestant, and their writings bore an unmistakable religious influence. Earnest and righteous, they viewed their work as a moral crusade. They believed in equality of opportunity, certain that truth would prevail if given a fair chance in the marketplace of ideas. They focused on domestic, usually urban issues, tinged with a hint of American nationalism. Their solution for the many abuses they uncovered was a simple one: the Golden Rule. “Their criticisms of American society were, in their utmost reaches, very searching and radical,” historian Richard Hofstadter (1955) noted,

“but they were themselves moderate men who intended to propose no radical remedies. From the beginning, then, they were limited by the disparity between the boldness of their means and the tameness of their ends” (p. 196).

Historians have traditionally linked muckraking to the politics of the Progressive Era. “To an extraordinary degree, the work of the Progressive movement rested upon its journalism,” Hofstadter wrote, “The fundamental critical achievement of American Progressivism was the business of exposure, and journalism was the chief occupational source of its creative writers.” The “Progressive mind,” Hofstadter (1955) continued, “was characteristically a journalistic mind and . . . its characteristic contribution was that of the socially responsible reporter-reformer” (p. 186).

Supply and demand helped spur muckraking, too. “The historical pendulum swung toward muckraking as two mutually reinforcing phenomena converged,” and as one researcher observed, “the demand for information about societal ills from an alienated, literate population of consumers; and a fiercely competitive national media that sought to supply it” (Protess et al., 1991, p. 36).

In particular, the transcontinental railroad began supplying national distribution and marketing channels, which in turn created nationwide advertising and the first mass-circulation national news magazines. Technological improvements—linotype, telegraph, illustrations, and mass production—also increased the supply of this media while decreasing the price of production. *McClure’s* and other magazines became especially popular because of their unprecedented ability to reproduce arresting photographs. Total circulation climbed into the millions as these new, slick national publications became the primary delivery system for the muckrakers.

Demand for muckraking articles was also fueled by the many abuses stemming from the industrial revolution: sweatshop labor, slum tenements, and rapid urbanization, as well as increased immigration. At the same time, rising literacy rates created more readers. Journalistic exposés proved popular with consumers, and aggressive publishers began catering to the new demand for sensational scandal coverage. Moreover, political reform groups discovered that muckrakers could be valuable allies since reformers had no political

machine of their own to spread their message. Ironically, this proliferation of investigative reporting was made possible by the very industrialized capitalism that the muckrakers exposed.

Demise

The celebrated golden age of muckraking ended by the time the United States entered World War I in 1917. There were many reasons for the demise of muckraking: The reforms they brought about had curbed the worst excesses of the industrial revolution, reducing the need for such journalism. The decline of Progressive politics also hurt muckraking because the two were so closely tied together. In addition, World War I turned the public's focus abroad and increased public deference to authority at home. Many muckrakers simply grew tired of such confrontational journalism and turned to other careers. For its part, the public seemed to grow weary of the negativity of muckraking, in part, because some irresponsible reporting discredited the muckraking movement.

At the same time, some of the muckrakers' powerful targets exerted pressure on national magazines to get rid of such crusading reporting. The consolidation of corporate-owned media also eliminated some of the magazine outlets that had once published the muckrakers. This proved to be the beginning of a century-long evolution toward media monopolies. In the words of one researcher, "as technology widened the reach of communications, increasing costs of acquiring and starting media enterprises and expanding the potential profits, the news business in the twentieth-century followed some of the same tendencies toward greater consolidation that [could] be seen in other major industries, such as automobile and oil" (Hess, 1996, p. 7). The creation of such media monopolies was an ironic conclusion to an era that began with the muckrakers' exposés of similarly rapacious monopolies such as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil.

Historical Legacy

In the century since the muckrakers' heyday, historians have debated their political and journalistic legacy. The earliest scholarly interpretations were mostly positive, linking the muckrakers to important Progressive-era reforms: the Pure Food and

Drug Act, child labor laws, federal income taxes, the direct election of senators, and the antitrust prosecution of Standard Oil, among others. Later historians, writing in the middle of the 20th century, criticized the muckrakers for racism and viewed them as elitists who wanted to preserve the status quo and their own social position from assault by industrialization and ethnic immigrants. By century's end, historians reached a position somewhere in the middle, noting the limits of muckraking while praising its "exposure of the underside of American capitalism" (Shapiro, 1968, pp. 29–33).

Largely, the muckrakers were reformers, not radicals. Ida Tarbell, for example, focused on how Standard Oil's ruthless tactics against competitors led to higher prices for the consumer, largely ignoring the corporation's exploitation of workers or proposals to nationalize the giant company. Although some of the muckrakers became socialists—most famously, Upton Sinclair—most of them believed in reforming capitalism, which they realized had not only spawned the many injustices that they decried but also the reform journalism that made it profitable to document these abuses in the first place.

Noted American Muckrakers

Ray Stannard Baker (1870–1946)

Baker was one of the few muckrakers to write about racism against African Americans. His 1908 book *Following the Color Line* and subsequent articles made him the first prominent white journalist to expose lynching and Jim Crow segregation in mainstream nationwide publications. In addition, Baker's exposés of railroad corruption for *McClure's* magazine were credited with passage of federal laws to regulate the industry through the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Baker's support for presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson in 1912 led him to join Wilson's administration as a press secretary. In 1940, Baker won the Pulitzer Prize for his writing on Wilson's presidency.

Samuel McClure (1857–1949)

Samuel McClure, better known as S. S. McClure, was the founder and publisher of the most important muckraking magazine in the United States, *McClure's Magazine*, which dominated American

publishing from 1893 to 1911. McClure hired Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and other talented journalists; paid them well; and gave them the time and resources to dig up compelling stories of wrongdoing that created a national following. He also published high-quality fiction by Willa Cather, Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, and other writers. In addition, in 1884, McClure created the McClure Syndicate, which distributed material to newspapers.

David Graham Phillips (1867–1911)

Phillips' sensationalistic exposés of Senate corruption in 1906 led to the invention of the word *muckraker* by an angry President Theodore Roosevelt, who was defending Phillips' target, Senator Chauncey Depew, like Roosevelt a Republican politician from New York. Afterward, Phillips compiled his collection of congressional exposés into a book, *The Treason of the Senate*, which was laced with purple prose. "Treason is a strong word," Phillips declared, "but not too strong, rather too weak, to characterize the situation in which the Senate is the eager, resourceful, indefatigable agent of interests as hostile to the American people as any invading army could be, and vastly more dangerous" (Serrin & Serrin, 2002, p. 106). Phillips also wrote numerous novels until a man who claimed that Phillips had libeled his family murdered him.

Jacob Riis (1849–1914)

Riis pioneered the use of photography to expose the plight of the urban poor. A Danish American immigrant, his 1889 depictions of Manhattan slums in *Scribner's Magazine* came to the attention of then-police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, and the two men became lifelong friends. The next year, Riis published his collection of poverty photos in the book for which he would become famous, *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis was unusual for his time in viewing poverty as caused by social conditions rather than defective character. His work helped spur laws against child labor and create urban playgrounds, settlement houses, and improved public schools.

Upton Sinclair (1878–1968)

Sinclair was probably the most famous of the muckrakers. His 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, based on Sinclair's previous undercover reporting, denounced unsanitary conditions in Chicago meatpacking plants. The book became an international bestseller and with the backing of President Theodore Roosevelt helped lead to the passage of the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act, which established federal inspections to protect the public from tainted food and unsafe patent medicines. Sinclair was invited to the White House, where the Republican President solicited his advice and, while disagreeing with the muckraker's socialist politics, admitted that "radical action" was necessary to combat "arrogant and selfish greed on the part of the capitalist." Sinclair continued writing provocative novels and turned to politics, repeatedly but unsuccessfully running for public office. In 1934, in the midst of the Great Depression, he was nearly elected governor of California on a socialist platform. By the time of his death at the age of 90, he had published nearly 100 books and won the Pulitzer Prize for his fiction.

Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936)

Steffens was the foremost muckraker of the early 20th century. The affluent son of a California businessman, he began his career as a crime reporter for the *New York Post*, where he befriended an up-and-coming police commissioner named Theodore Roosevelt. But it was at McClure's magazine that Steffens truly blossomed, uncovering municipal corruption in cities throughout America: Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and New York City. "[B]ribery is no ordinary felony," he declared in his 1904 book *The Shame of the Cities*, "but treason," so widespread as "to change the form of our government from one that is representative of the people to an oligarchy, representative of special interests" (Steffens, 1957, p. 17). Two years later, his exposés of corrupt state governments were published as a book in *The Struggle for Self-Government*. In 1906, Steffens and other muckrakers founded their own short-lived muckraking periodical called *American Magazine*. But he soon despaired that reform journalism was

not enough and that more radical steps were necessary to stop the excesses of capitalism. He moved further to the left politically after covering the 1910 Mexican Revolution, which he supported. In 1921, Steffens traveled to the Soviet Union and proclaimed of the new Communist government there: "I have seen the future and it works." But he grew disillusioned with Communism as well, as recounted in his 1931 autobiography, and died 5 years later.

Ida Tarbell (1857–1944)

Tarbell was the leading female muckraker of her day whose detailed exposés of John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil helped lead to the passage of antitrust legislation and the breakup of Rockefeller's powerful oil monopoly in 1911. Tarbell grew up in western Pennsylvania at a time when Standard Oil was first developing oil fields there; her father was one of the many early victims of Rockefeller's ruthless rise. In 1902, Tarbell began a series of 19 crusading articles in *McClure's* magazine documenting the predatory practices of Rockefeller's empire and 2 years later combined her findings into a devastating book-length indictment, *The History of Standard Oil*. So tarnished was Rockefeller by Tarbell's exposé that he hired one of the first public relations consultants in American history and began handing out dimes to schoolchildren in a largely unsuccessful effort to improve his image. Tarbell continued writing and lecturing on other subjects in subsequent decades, but she disliked being held up as a female role model and rejected women's suffrage out of the belief that early feminists belittled the role of homemakers.

Mark Feldstein

See also Investigative Journalism; Sensationalism; Stunt Journalism

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MURDOCH, RUPERT

Rupert Murdoch is an Australian-born international media mogul and founder of News Corp. Best known for innovations in tabloid journalism and politicized news, Murdoch has often courted controversy by pushing the boundaries of media regulatory regimes in various countries. Murdoch spent the latter half of the 20th century growing his media empire from a single daily newspaper in Adelaide, Australia into a global multimedia conglomerate with news, publishing, and entertainment properties spanning six continents.

At the height of his power, in the early 21st century, Murdoch's media holdings reached a larger percentage of the world's population than any other media conglomerate. In 2019, Murdoch sold off the bulk of his entertainment holdings, reorienting News Corp toward publishing, news production, and aggregation. This entry first

discusses Murdoch's early years and how he built his media empire beginning in Australia before buying up media properties in the United Kingdom and the United States. It then looks at the controversy and scandal surrounding some of Murdoch's news organizations in recent years and the move to scale back his ownership of media properties.

Early Years

Born Keith Rupert Murdoch in Melbourne, Australia, he was the second of four children, and only son, of journalist Sir Keith Murdoch and philanthropist Dame Elizabeth Murdoch (née Greene). Keith Murdoch had made a name for himself covering the First World War as managing editor of a London-based cable service run by the *Sydney Sun* and *Melbourne Herald*. He gained renown for a letter he wrote to Australia's prime minister, denouncing the British military's willingness to sacrifice Australian soldiers during the Gallipoli campaign. The letter was leaked to the press in both Australia and the United Kingdom, amplified in the latter by press baron Lord Northcliffe, and earned Murdoch powerful friends in both countries. In 1921, Keith Murdoch assumed the chief editorial position at the *Melbourne Herald*, which began a decades-long campaign of newspaper and radio station acquisitions in Australia which would later serve as the inspiration and foundation for his son Rupert's own media empire.

By the time of Rupert's birth, on March 11, 1931, his family was already firmly established in Melbourne's upper middle class. He attended a nearby boarding school, Geelong Grammar, though he faced derision from his peers because his family's wealth and status were relatively newly acquired. Groomed by his father, Rupert developed an early interest in newspapers and political debate. Unlike his father, a conservative whose newspaper was known for its consistent anti-Labor stances, Rupert was initially drawn to left-wing ideas. After a brief apprenticeship at his father's *Melbourne Herald* covering police courts, and a summer job working for the *Birmingham Gazette*, in 1950 Rupert enrolled at the University of Oxford's Worcester College and moved to the United Kingdom.

While studying at Oxford, Murdoch's outspoken socialist politics and cherished possession, a bust of V.I. Lenin, earned him the nickname "Red Rupert." But Murdoch's idealism seems to have dwindled somewhat alongside his father's health during his university years. By 1953, shortly after earning his third-class degree from Oxford, Murdoch had taken a short-term subeditor position at London's *Daily Express*, where he studied the "black art of journalism" under Lord Beaverbrook, an arch conservative whose tabloid was as highly circulated as it was committed to sensation-alist and prurient reporting.

In October 1952, while Murdoch was in his final year of university, his father died after a prolonged illness. As his health deteriorated, with an eye toward his legacy, Sir Keith maneuvered assets to provide a basis upon which Rupert might continue the family business. While he oversaw the expansion of the *Herald* group into a regional media powerhouse, Sir Keith's personal holdings were relatively meager. By the time Rupert Murdoch returned to Australia, all that remained was the 75,000-circulation tabloid, the *Adelaide News*.

News Limited

Murdoch took the helm of News Limited, the parent company of the *Adelaide News*, in October 1953, and the 22-year-old soon developed a reputation for cost-cutting, micromanagement, and boundless energy. By 1956, he had managed to add a second newspaper, the money-losing *Sunday Times* in Perth, to the News Ltd. portfolio. In a strategy that would come to epitomize Murdoch's management style and journalistic values, he unceremoniously fired wide swaths of the *Sunday Times* staff, cutting labor costs and replacing editors and reporters with loyalists from Adelaide. The tabloid veered toward more sensational reporting worthy of Beaverbrook's Fleet Street, pandering with salacious stories, playing fast, and loose with the facts, employing a vulgar populist style. Newsstand sales in Perth increased apace, helping to fuel News Ltd.'s growth in the late 1950s, when it acquired newspapers primarily in the smaller cities and towns of Australia's Western and Northern states and territories.

Attuned to the latest technological developments, Murdoch was an early adopter of the

televisual medium in Australia. The country lagged behind the United States in terms of expanding access to television, with stations initially concentrated in the commercial hubs of Sydney and Melbourne. When the Australian Broadcasting Control Board announced plans to issue television licenses in Adelaide and Brisbane, in 1957, Murdoch advocated for one license per city—hoping to secure a monopoly. When the Australian Broadcasting Control Board disagreed, granting two licenses in each city, Murdoch's Southern Television Corporation secured one while his print rival, the *Advertiser*, secured the other. Eager to beat his opponent, and to fully leverage the new medium to break into the Sydney and Melbourne markets, Murdoch set off on a fact-finding mission to the United States. There he struck up a friendship with Leonard Goldenson, head of the American Broadcasting Company, to whom Murdoch sold a 6% stake in News Ltd. Upon his return, Murdoch launched his first national publication, *TV Week*, an Australian analogue to the U.S.-based *TV Guide*. By 1959, his Channel 9 television station was on the air and thriving in Adelaide. Murdoch ran the station lean, and with a chip on its shoulder.

Murdoch leveraged his growing print and television profits to stage an insurgency into the Sydney media market, which at the time was dominated by the Fairfax and Packer families. He first broke in through subterfuge, buying the suburban Cumberland Newspapers group via proxy. By 1960, he managed to convince Fairfax to sell him a down-market tabloid, the *Daily Mirror*. As in Adelaide, Murdoch leveraged his print media holdings to bolster his case for a Sydney television license. When the regulators rejected his application, he bought into a struggling station, WIN 4, located 60 miles south of Sydney in the town of Wollongong—within broadcast range of the city's south side. Murdoch leveraged his connections with the American Broadcasting Company to secure the rights to syndicate more than 2,500 hours of American-made programming in Australia. He then used *TV Week* and the *Daily Mirror* to promote the fledgling channel in Sydney. The move helped convince Sir Frank Packer to sell Murdoch a quarter ownership stake in his Television Corporation, in exchange for access to the American programming—effectively breaking the

Fairfax-Packer duopoly in Sydney and establishing News Ltd. as a significant player in the Australian media system.

Murdoch next turned his ambitions to the seat of Australian political power—making a play to usurp the highly profitable, though somewhat backwater, *Canberra Times*. When that paper was sold to Fairfax in 1964, in an effort to stymie News Ltd.'s planned expansion in the nation's capital, Murdoch launched *The Australian*, the country's first national daily newspaper. Unlike his earlier print ventures, tabloids with populist streaks, *The Australian* was a broadsheet with a stated commitment to impartial reporting in service of “the thinking men and women of Australia.” While it developed a reputation as a serious and trustworthy paper, capable of groundbreaking reporting, it struggled to turn a profit in its early years and was subsidized by the largesse of News Ltd.'s more profitable tabloid holdings. While nominally non-partisan, *The Australian* helped make Murdoch a player in Australian national politics, as it backed various politicians and causes that served his personal business interests and proclivities. As Murdoch's personal politics continued their shift rightward, the paper developed a center-right reputation as well.

Beyond Australia

While Murdoch began acquiring overseas media properties in the early 1960s, most notably in Hong Kong and New Zealand, by the end of the decade he was flush with cash and eager to expand to the United Kingdom. Initially interested in purchasing the London *Daily Mirror*, Murdoch settled for the *News of the World*. The widely circulated weekly, known for its conservative politics and for its penchant for covering sex scandals, was ripe for acquisition due to declining circulation and profits, combined with a complicated and contentious ownership structure. The latter posed a challenge, especially for an outsider like Murdoch, but also suited the underdog disposition he had cultivated in Australia. After a ruthless year-long battle for control, Murdoch took ownership in January 1969. Later that year he acquired the *Sun*, a one-million circulation daily broadsheet that Murdoch converted to a tabloid.

Under Murdoch, both the *Sun* and the *News of the World* became renowned for their sensationalism and sexism—the former with its infamous “Page 3” spreads featuring topless women. Nevertheless, his strategy met with considerable success—under Murdoch’s ownership the circulation of the *Sun* tripled by 1973. While the *Sun* initially maintained its pre-Murdoch support of the Labour Party, by the mid-1970s it joined the *News of the World* in advocating for conservative policies and politicians. By 1979, both papers backed conservative Margaret Thatcher for prime minister, and the *Sun* became a stalwart of right-wing politics in the 1980s—most notable for its over-the-top xenophobic coverage of the Falklands War, and its ruthless exposés of Labour Party politicians. Although adding the more reputable broadsheets *The Times* and *Sunday Times* of London to his holdings in 1981, a move that secured him some 30% of the UK national newspaper market, Murdoch’s initial foray into the UK made his name synonymous with low journalistic standards, reactionary politics, and ruthless business practices.

The 1970s also saw Murdoch’s first acquisitions in the United States, where his reputation often preceded him. As in the United Kingdom, Murdoch entered the U.S. media market via the path of least resistance. After considering the *Washington Star* and *Look* magazine, in 1973 Murdoch settled for the second and third most popular newspapers in San Antonio, Texas—the morning *Express* and evening *San Antonio News*. True to form, Murdoch steered both papers to pander to the lowest common denominator—pumping them full of sensationalist and trivial stories, alongside increased coverage of crime. The strategy, which had yielded exponential growth in his UK papers, produced only modest gains in San Antonio.

His other initial print buys in the United States didn’t fare much better. In 1974, he launched the *National Star* (later rebranded *Star*), a supermarket tabloid that proved an underwhelming rival to the more established *National Enquirer*. In 1976, Murdoch purchased the *New York Post*, a storied but financially weak liberal-leaning tabloid which he drove to the right, politically, but failed to make profitable. Then, following a bruising rejected bid for the London *Observer*, Murdoch engaged in a hostile takeover of the parent

company of *New York* magazine and the *Village Voice*. Murdoch’s successful bid came at a high reputational cost—the bulk of the *New York* writing staff resigned en masse, while a threat of revolt at the *Village Voice* (a lucrative source of classified advertising revenue) safeguarded the alternative weekly’s pugnacious spirit. The *Voice* would continue assailing Murdoch and the *Post* for the duration of his ownership. Murdoch further solidified his villainous reputation among the New York media establishment by breaking ranks with other newspaper owners during the newspaper strike of 1978, buying the *Post* a month of exclusive printing in the city and Murdoch the ire of his peers.

If Murdoch’s initial print acquisitions in the United States (primarily in New York, but also in Boston and Chicago) helped establish him as a ruthless international media mogul, they also demonstrated the limits of the tabloid strategy that drove News Ltd.’s growth in Australia and the United Kingdom. Whether due to latent puritanism or the Protestant work ethic, U.S. newspaper culture has tended to prioritize middlebrow taste and aspirational aesthetics while casting aspersions upon the sorts of sex-and-scandal, working-class-oriented style championed by Murdoch in his British Commonwealth holdings.

News Corporation

If Murdoch’s initial foray into U.S. newspaper tabloids failed to live up to his level of profitability in Australia and the United Kingdom, he soon found a lucrative niche in television. In 1980, Murdoch founded News Corporation, a U.S.-based (although, until 2004, Australian-incorporated) holding company for his increasingly global media portfolio. It was the beginning of a decade of maneuvering around legal obstacles to the Australian-born Murdoch’s ultimate domination of US broadcasting. The early 1980s saw News Corp. take its first step in a decades-long expansion into entertainment media that would make the company the epitome of a broader trend of global media consolidation.

After initial investments in Warner Brothers, which skirted Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regulations against cross-ownership of newspapers and television stations in metropolitan areas (Warner owned television stations in

Boston and New York, cities where Murdoch owned the *Herald* and *Post*, respectively), by 1985 Murdoch had purchased the Hollywood film studio 20th-Century Fox. Also in 1985, Murdoch made an aggressive move into the U.S. television market, buying the Metromedia TV stations that would serve as the basis for Fox Broadcasting Company.

Murdoch faced several challenges as he expanded his media empire into the U.S. broadcast sector, including FCC cross-ownership regulations, a cap on national market share for television station ownership, and a law preventing foreign citizens from owning American television stations. Murdoch resolved the latter in 1985 by becoming a U.S. citizen. As for the other FCC hurdles, Murdoch benefited from a deregulatory trend hastened by the Ronald Reagan administration in the 1980s.

Shortly before Murdoch's acquisition of Metromedia, for example, the FCC loosened television ownership restrictions, enabling one company to own a maximum of 12 stations (the previous limit was seven) so long as they did not amount to more than 25% of the national market. In addition to creating favorable regulatory conditions for aspiring media barons such as Murdoch, under Reagan-appointed Mark Fowler the FCC ended its long-standing fairness doctrine, which had mandated that broadcasters air "both sides" of matters of public controversy—a move that fostered the commercial viability of conservative talk radio by the end of the 1980s, an enabling step toward the reemergence of mass market partisan media in the United States more broadly.

The 1980s were a decade of massive global growth for News Corp. Among its many acquisitions were Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*, the New York book publisher Harper and Row (which Murdoch merged with Collins, creating one of the largest English-language book publishers in the world), and the Melbourne *Herald*, his father's former newspaper in Australia. But perhaps Murdoch's most significant intervention that decade was building a viable "fourth network" in the United States. Launched in 1986, Fox Broadcasting would soon rival the long-established "Big Three" U.S. broadcasters (NBC,

CBS, and ABC) through producing highly rated programming and securing lucrative rights to broadcast live sporting events. Fox was also a pioneering force in television tabloid programming, such as *A Current Affair*, *COPS*, and *America's Most Wanted*. These successful experiments in infotainment reflected Murdoch's print tabloid instincts—leveraging sex, scandal, and crime to sell papers—only applied to television.

By the mid-1990s, News Corp. had survived its final serious bout with U.S. regulators. In 1995, the FCC briefly considered holding Murdoch accountable for obfuscating the ownership of News Corp to avoid foreign ownership restrictions; he was ultimately invited to apply for a "public interest waiver"—all but absolving Murdoch of his previous violations. His foothold in the United States firmer than ever, Murdoch expanded into cable television the following year—launching Fox News Channel in 1996 to rival Ted Turner's long-dominant Cable News Network. Murdoch hired former Richard Nixon communication strategist and successful television producer Roger Ailes to lead Fox News.

Under the slogan "Fair and Balanced," a nod to the defunct fairness doctrine and subtle promise to conservative audiences that the channel would counteract a predominating "liberal bias" in the U.S. news media, Ailes and Murdoch perfected the televisual version of a Beaverbrook tabloid. While not immediately profitable, the channel's right-wing populist style found its stride in the heady aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks—riding a wave of xenophobia and patriotism to cable news dominance. In 2007, Murdoch added a cherry on top of his U.S. news sundae—buying the esteemed *Wall Street Journal*.

Decline

Murdoch's media empire would falter in the 2010s, consumed by the exact sort of scandals it was built on covering. Fox News's coverage of the Barack Obama presidential administration achieved new lows in terms of conspiracy reporting, and its open promotion of the conservative Tea Party movement in 2009–2010 undermined its nominal fairness and balance, exacerbating ideological polarization and

helping usher in a new “post-truth” era of U.S. political life. Meanwhile, across the pond, the *News of the World*—caught hacking the phones of celebrities as early as 2006—was discovered to have hacked the phone of a murder victim. The tabloid, Murdoch’s first purchase in the United Kingdom, succumbed to public outrage and ceased publication in 2011.

By 2016, Fox News was similarly shaken to its core. While public allegations of sexual harassment against the channel’s leading anchor, Bill O’Reilly, dated back to 2004, by 2014 allegations of quid pro quo sexual harassment and assault reached Fox president Roger Ailes. The flood gates opened 2 years later, when former Fox News anchor Gretchen Carlson’s sexual harassment lawsuit against the network’s chairman convinced more than a dozen other women to step forward with claims against Ailes. With Ailes forced to resign, Murdoch assumed the Fox News chairmanship—leading the network into a new era of lapdog coverage, largely parroting the “alternative facts” of Donald J. Trump’s presidential administration.

By 2017, Murdoch seemed ready to cash out. That year he began negotiations with the Walt Disney Company to sell 21st-Century Fox’s film, cable, and satellite divisions—the bulk of Murdoch’s entertainment holdings. The deal, which closed in 2019, enriched the Murdoch clan while allowing them to retain control of Murdoch’s prized print, broadcast, and cable news properties.

A. J. Bauer

See also Fox News; News Corporation; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

The Mutual Broadcasting System was an American commercial radio network for 65 years, operating from 1934 until 1999. Strongest in rural areas, it began as a cooperative venture and provided some competition for the more established national networks.

Origins

On September 29, 1934, four AM radio stations—WXYZ in Detroit, WGN in Chicago, WOR in New York, and WLW in Cincinnati—agreed to form a cooperative program sharing radio network. WGN and WOR controlled the operation (at first dubbed the Quality Group) and contracted with AT&T for telephone lines to link Chicago and New York, with all four stations agreeing to share the costs. The Mutual Broadcasting System was incorporated in Illinois a month later. When WXYZ (which had contributed the popular western adventure program *The Lone Ranger* to begin the network) withdrew to join the NBC network, Canadian station CKLW in Windsor, Ontario (serving the Detroit market), replaced it. *The Lone Ranger* remained on Mutual until 1942.

After a year on the air, the new network carried 40 hours of sustaining (non-advertiser supported) programs and 20 hours of commercial programming per week. The first coast-to-coast Mutual broadcast came in September 1936, and by 1940, the network served 160 stations, about 20% of those then on the air, though other networks also served some. Most of Mutual's stations were in rural areas and had less power than the affiliates of the older national networks. Indeed, many held primary affiliations with CBS or NBC and only a secondary relationship with Mutual. Still, Mutual had more affiliates than any other network—a record it held into the 1980s, long after the demise of most network programming.

When Mutual won the rights to carry the 1938 and 1939 baseball World Series broadcasts, CBS and NBC would not allow their affiliate stations to contract with Mutual for the popular sportscasts. Mutual's competitive problems and complaints to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) contributed to the latter's investigation of "chain" or network radio from 1938 to 1941. The FCC's new network rules were upheld in a landmark 1943 Supreme Court decision, helping to even the playing field for Mutual.

Mutual was the first national network to include FM stations as affiliates after World War II, by which time the network reached nearly 85 percent of the nation's homes. Yet it still operated as a cooperative, without a keystone station or headquarters in New York as the other networks featured. Most programs were produced by WOR or WGN.

Mutual News

Mutual began to carry more news as the European political crisis worsened in the late 1930s. Listeners heard correspondents via shortwave during the Munich Crisis of 1938, including London representative John Steele and Berlin correspondent Sigrid Schultz (who may have been the first woman to serve as an overseas radio news correspondent). Mutual also picked up reports from various news agency stringers including Walter Kerr of United Press.

Mutual took advantage of a cost-saving technique when, beginning in early 1938, WOR recorded English-language news broadcasts

transmitted by European shortwave stations (especially the BBC Empire Service), and Mutual rebroadcast them unedited, often juxtaposing opposing sides. This technique drew considerable praise from radio critics as a way of allowing listeners to hear all the points of view on the news of the day and enabling them to judge the propaganda for themselves without the commentary offered on CBS and NBC.

Yet Mutual also presented some very high-quality news analysts, including Raymond Gram Swing and Quincy Howe. Mutual affiliate WOL provided many of Mutual's public affairs and commentary programs, including that of conservative commentator Fulton Lewis Jr., the public affairs panel *American Forum of the Air*, and similar offerings. Mutual soon became known for controversial news commentators, including columnist Drew Pearson, Gabriel Heatter (who covered the trial and execution of the kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby in the mid-1930s), and Raymond Clapper (who replaced Swing). Pick-ups from other Mutual stations were usually confined to special events. The local affiliate was expected to feed any major event to the whole network. Mutual was the first on the air with the news of the 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, 6 minutes ahead of CBS and NBC. By 1945, Mutual's newscasts were a 24-hour operation.

By the mid-1940s, Mutual was also offering more sportscasts, including boxing matches, the World Series, the Cotton Bowl, and many other football contests. Sports continued to be a Mutual mainstay for decades. By the 1970s, Mutual had radio rights for several golf tournaments as well as tennis. By the mid-1980s, the network carried five weekday sportscasts plus nearly 40 weekend reports.

In 1978, interviewer Larry King inherited the nightly Mutual talk show slot that had been pioneered by Herb Jepko and taken over by "Long John" Nebel until his death. King was on for 90 minutes and listeners could call in for another 90. The program ran until 1994, airing in the afternoon for its final years. Jim Bohannon, who had worked for Mutual's WCFL in Chicago in the early 1980s, filled in for King on occasion. When King's show shifted to daytime, the nighttime show became Bohannon's.

Decline

Mutual ended its cooperative operation in 1952 when General Tire purchased it and operated it in New York. In the late 1950s, network ownership changed several times, often within months. On at least two occasions, a shortage of funds threatened to close network operations (it did file for bankruptcy once) and the number of employees dropped to only 50 compared to 350 at its peak in the 1940s. A scandal ensued when it turned out one short-term owner had secretly accepted money from a Caribbean nation in return for favorable comment on the air. None of the several owners had sufficient funding to move Mutual (which had about 500 affiliates in the 1950s and 1960s) into television.

Ownership changes continued as the network shifted its headquarters from New York to Washington in 1971 (the New York news bureau closed 3 years later). In 1972, Mutual began special network feeds to Black and Spanish-programmed stations with news and sportscasts. In 1977, then-owner Amway bought Mutual's first station—WCFL in Chicago—and soon thereafter bought a New York station, the network's first owned-and-operated outlets.

In 1977, Mutual signed a contract with Western Union to use its satellite facilities, the first radio network to employ satellite distribution. Aided by its satellite network, Mutual served 950 affiliates by 1979 but the number declined slowly from then on. Its Operation Newsline provided closed-circuit feeds of news and features to affiliates.

Mutual was purchased by Westwood One in 1985. In its last 15 years, Mutual largely produced newscasts, eventually from its headquarters in Crystal City, Virginia, just south of Washington, DC. Westwood closed Mutual on Sunday, April 18, 1999, and its newscasts continued under the marketing name of CNN Radio.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also CBS News; NBC News; Talk and News Radio

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NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

National Public Radio (NPR) is an American non-commercial radio network that produces and distributes news and cultural programming through its member (affiliate) stations around the country. Its flagship newsmagazine programs *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* each reached an estimated audience of nearly 15 million listeners a week in 2018. With over 30 news bureaus in the United States and overseas, NPR has an extensive newsgathering operation that provides in-depth news and analysis, both of which have helped establish it as a dominant player in the field of journalism.

From its beginnings as an alternative to commercial radio, NPR has moved into the mainstream. Its newsmagazine programs are among the top three most listened to radio programs in the country and it draws the largest audience of any program in morning “drive time.” This entry discusses the origins and funding of NPR, the shift toward a greater focus on breaking news in the 1990s, and changes at the network since the beginning of the 21st century.

Origins

NPR originated out of a view of radio as having an educational and cultural purpose. Following the early 1967 recommendations of the Carnegie Commission, which was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson to examine the future of

educational broadcasting, Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act in October 1967 that created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The Carnegie group and the new law used the term *public* to stress the role of public participation in the developing noncommercial broadcasting system. Over the next year or so, CPB would, in turn, create and oversee both NPR and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Although radio did not appear in the original Carnegie recommendations, the concerted efforts of advocates of noncommercial radio helped get radio included in the act.

NPR was formed in 1970 to improve the quality of public radio by improving programming and strengthening local public radio stations known as *affiliates*. A mission statement written by William Siemering, NPR’s first head of programming operations, said that NPR would “serve the individual” and celebrate the varied nature of the human experience, thus offering an alternative to what was available on commercial radio.

The first NPR news program to air was *All Things Considered* (ATC), a 90-minute news magazine that was heard on over 80 member stations around the country at 5 p.m. (EST), May 3, 1971. This first broadcast included a lengthy report on the May Day protests against the ongoing Vietnam War by college students and veterans, a piece on a heroin-addicted nurse, and a story from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation that combined antiwar poetry with songs and sounds of battle from World War I.

In its early days, ATC exhibited little structure and varied from day to day depending on what staff members offered to fill the time slot. When Jack Mitchell became the show's producer in 1972, he imposed a more conventional journalistic format on the program, placing a newscast at the top of each hour, with stories ordered based on their newsworthiness. He also added a cohost when he hired Susan Stamberg, who would become the voice of ATC for the next 15 years.

The 1970s were a period of dramatic growth and program development at NPR. The opening of a London bureau was a signal that the network was serious about covering international news. Because NPR had limited resources, the program emphasized analysis and interpretation over breaking news coverage. According to Jack Mitchell the reports offered a variety of perspectives from a cross-section of sources—academics, journalists, and the common man. Over the years, this was to change as the network added more reporters like Robert Zelnick, Linda Wertheimer, Cokie Roberts, and Nina Totenberg to cover the White House, Capitol Hill, and the Supreme Court, beats that were essential to a mainstream news organization.

When Frank Mankiewicz took over as CEO in 1977 his goal was to make NPR better known to both listeners and policy makers. To this end, he arranged for live coverage of debates over control of the Panama Canal in the U.S. Senate. The gavel-to-gavel coverage—over 37 days—raised the profile of NPR and became a precedent for future broadcast coverage of both Senate and House hearings. Mankiewicz also negotiated an increase in federal funding for public radio and put in place a satellite distribution system that improved the technical quality of its national programming, which made it possible for programs to be distributed from various places in the country, not just Washington, D.C.

NPR took another important step toward becoming a major player in radio with the launch of a matching morning news magazine, *Morning Edition*. The program made its debut at 5 a.m. on November 5, 1979, with Bob Edwards as its host and aimed at attracting listeners during morning “drive time” when radio audiences are at their peak. Although they had needed some convincing initially, within a week of the new program going on the air, half of NPR's 222 member stations

decided to carry the program (or portions of it). Within a year, 90% of NPR stations were airing some or all of the program and finding that their audiences were growing as a result.

Funding

From the outset, funding was a challenge for the organization. Federal funds for public broadcasting were given to CPB, which allocated these between public television and NPR. In the early years, NPR's share was between 17% and 20% of the CPB budget; under Mankiewicz, this increased to 25%, which led to an increase in staff, more programming, and more affiliate stations.

In 1982, a 25% cut in the CPB's federal fund allocation by the Reagan administration combined with a series of business ventures that required cash investments but that did not quickly yield returns, led to a debt crisis at NPR that brought the network to the verge of bankruptcy. By mid-1983, the projected budget deficit was \$9 million. NPR was saved by a series of loans from the CPB that were guaranteed by some affiliate stations—and Mankiewicz departed.

The debt crisis resulted in a change in the financial structure of public radio. Officials realized that federal funding would always be uncertain and that NPR needed to raise funds from other sources such as corporations, foundations, and directly from listeners. Under the new funding plan launched in 1985, the CPB would provide the funds earmarked for radio directly to local stations, which would in turn pay NPR for whatever of its programming that they aired.

The stations wanted NPR to unbundle its programming so that they could select programs piecemeal. This last request was not part of the new NPR business plan but was eventually incorporated into its business model. The new business plan also included a Radio Program Fund that would provide seed money and expansion money to local stations to develop promising programs. The restructuring plan helped put NPR's financial house in order so that it was able to retire its debt in 1988.

With a decreased reliance on the CPB and thus, the federal government for funds, NPR turned to listener contributions, corporate sponsorships, and foundation grants for funding. By 2020, the main source of funding was corporate sponsorships and

fees by member stations supplemented by listener contributions. Grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting made up 1% of its finances. Even so, the threat of this funding being taken away remains, especially under Republican administrations that find the network's coverage more liberal than neutral.

In 2002, a bequest of over \$225 million by Joan Kroc, heiress to the McDonald's fast-food fortune, gave NPR a huge boost in revenues. While \$190 million was to be placed in its endowment fund, part of the remaining money was used to expand news operations, including opening new bureaus and training investigative journalists.

This financial security also made it possible for NPR to embrace the potential of digital media, making it the biggest organization in the audio download business. In 2010, it received grants from the Knight Foundation that were used to put journalists through a digital training program. Grants from the Gates Foundation received in 2013 were used to increase its coverage of education and global health and to fund the creation of a new web and mobile platform.

Building a News Focus

In the post-debt crisis years, NPR moved away from the vision many had for it at its inception. Siemering's vision for NPR, articulated in the mission statement he wrote, was of a service that would "enhance intellectual development, expand knowledge," and in so doing make listeners "more responsive human beings and intelligent responsible citizens of their communities and the world" (Siemering, 2015). His hope was that NPR would serve audiences from varied backgrounds, religions, races, and with varying levels of education. Siemering envisioned a role for personal stories and diverse voices that drew on the audio quality of the medium. He saw the need for a radio service that enriched its listeners' lives and that did not look at its audience as a market. Unlike commercial radio stations, in its early years, NPR's *All Things Considered* did not follow a set programming clock; instead segments were of varying length and style allowing hosts to take the time they wanted to explore a topic.

During the 1990s, NPR focused on growing its overall audience, as there was a recognition that it would have to narrow its appeal to listeners

looking for news programming, if it was to develop a loyal following. Rather than try and offer a variety of content for a broad segment of the audience, NPR increasingly focused on news and began to take on mainstream commercial stations in terms of the news stories it covered. There was an increased emphasis on covering breaking news rather than relying mainly on analysis as had been its hallmark. NPR programs also gradually changed their style of reporting. In its early years, news and feature stories on NPR had been distinctive in their use of natural sound as an integral part of the story and in the way sound and words combined to create vivid radio pictures. As NPR moved to become a major player in radio news, it moved toward a more hard news approach with sound as a supplement rather than central part of the story.

With stations now helping cover NPR's costs, there was a greater need to pay attention to what stations said their audiences wanted. Stations also began focusing on increasing contributions from nongovernment sources—from their listeners and from corporations that could not advertise but could underwrite the costs of a program in return for a brief on-air mention. In the opinion of some NPR staffers, this meant providing radio programming that was bland and safe rather than innovative and cutting edge.

As the network moved toward financial stability two more programs were added—*Weekend Edition Saturday* (in 1985) hosted by Scott Simon and a year later *Weekend Edition Sunday* hosted by Susan Stamberg. In the realm of cultural programming, NPR created *Performance Today* to showcase classical music performances recorded by member stations combined with reviews, interviews, and features covering all of the arts and NPR's *Tiny Desk Concert* featuring live performances by a variety of artists. NPR also began to distribute programs produced by its affiliates. The most popular among these are *Fresh Air*, *Wait Wait Don't Tell Me*, and *On Point*. It also began coproducing programs such as *Here and Now* with stations such as WBUR.

During the Gulf War of 1990–1991, NPR sent more reporters to cover it than any other radio news organization in the world. Some saw this as a mark of NPR's stature as a broadcaster. Audiences began to expect that NPR would be there to cover breaking news whether it was happening in

China or the Middle East or New York City. When two terrorist-piloted passenger jets crashed into New York's Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, NPR expanded the hours of *Morning Edition*, *Talk of the Nation*, and *All Things Considered* to cover the crisis continuously for the next two and a half days.

Despite efforts to cut federal funding for public radio by some Republican lawmakers in the mid-1990s, NPR news programming continued to grow though half of its cultural programs were dropped in response to anticipated funding cuts. Increasingly, its news programming defined the network's identity with more news bureaus being opened at a time when commercial broadcasters were closing theirs. This commitment to news has won it a number of awards for journalistic excellence such as the Peabody Award, the George Polk award, and the Edward R. Murrow award.

A Changing Network

The first two decades of the 21st century brought further changes at NPR. Both of its long-running news programs saw a change in hosts. In 2001, *All Things Considered* initiated a slate of three hosts later moving to four—who would rotate studio assignments with more reports from different locations. Bob Edwards, host of *Morning Edition* for nearly 25 years, was replaced in 2004 by Steve Inskeep and Renee Montagne in the hope that a two-host approach might allow for better coverage of breaking news. As of 2020, *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* each had four hosts, with at least one host of each show broadcasting from NPR's studios in Culver City, California, known as *NPR West*.

Established in 2002, NPR West is the network's first major production center outside Washington. It allows the network to cover more stories that originate west of the Mississippi and to add more diverse sources and perspectives in its reporting. In recent years, the network has examined contemporary issues such as the impact of climate change, why medical bills are so high, and how Muslims in the United States are defining themselves through a series of episodes spread out over a few months. In 2018, it also began visual newscasts as a way to reach audiences on social media and mobile platforms.

One of the challenges facing NPR is attracting younger audiences as most of its programs skew toward older listeners. The median age for its radio audience is 53; for NPR.org it is 43. What has brought younger audiences to NPR is its podcasts, which adapt existing programming and create new content. The NPR podcasts *Up First* and *Planet Money* ranked among the top 20 podcasts in 2019. In 2018, NPR was the leading podcast publisher with 18.9 million distinct users streaming and downloading 165 million episodes each month. Another way it has been able to draw in younger listeners is by streaming on smart speakers such as Alexa or Google Home.

While NPR has undertaken initiatives to draw in more diverse audiences, these have not been sustained. *The Tavis Smiley Radio Show* first aired in 2002 as a collaboration between NPR and a consortium of African American public radio stations. With an audience including nearly 30% African American listeners, it had a more diverse audience than other NPR programs. Despite this, in 2004 host Tavis Smiley decided to end his program, saying NPR did not do enough to bring in minority listeners. In April 2007, it launched an hour-long show, *Tell Me More*, that focused primarily on issues facing African Americans and other minorities and on international stories, but the show was cancelled in 2014 as part of extensive budget cuts at the organization. By bringing in younger hosts from minority groups for its flagship shows, the network hopes to broaden the kinds of news stories that it covers.

NPR's audience profile is the envy of many commercial broadcasters. Fully 70% of the public radio audience holds a college degree, and listeners are about 3 times more likely to have a graduate degree than the average American. Some 29% hold professional jobs (compared to 10% in the general population). As it has expanded its presence across different platforms, NPR has been able to reach more listeners. In 2020, its estimated monthly audience across all platforms was 120 million.

Almost from its inception, NPR has faced criticism from both the political right and left. Conservatives who believe in the free market are philosophically opposed to federal funding for a public radio network, arguing that if there is an audience for its offerings, then NPR should be

able to find funding from private sources and its listeners.

Critics on the right have also complained of a liberal bias they argue is evidenced by the opinions expressed and the people invited on the air to express those opinions. Such criticism was heightened after long-time political analyst Juan Williams was fired in 2010, 2 days after he made unfavorable comments about Muslims on a Fox network show where he served as a political commentator. Critics saw NPR as following double standards, since other hosts such as Cokie Roberts and Nina Totenberg regularly appeared on other networks and expressed their opinions.

Critics on the left complain that NPR has not lived up to its promise and has failed to program for a diverse audience or reach out to people who are disadvantaged, instead serving only a narrow slice of the population. For many on the left, the pressure from market forces, as NPR increasingly relies on corporate funding, means that the network is not very different from its commercial counterparts. NPR programs however do cover a broader range of topics than commercial radio and better reflect the complexity of contemporary life.

Seema Gupte Shrikhande

See also Journalism Organizations; Podcasting; Public Broadcasting Service; Public Radio Journalism

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NATIVE AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

See Indigenous News Media

NATURAL DISASTERS, COVERAGE OF

Coverage of disasters regularly appears in the top 10 news stories followed by U.S. citizens. Hurricane Katrina in 2005 was No. 2 (behind the September 11, 2001 attacks) in the Pew Centre's "Public's Top Stories of the Decade 2001-2010," while the U.S. public were more interested in Hurricane Sandy in 2012 than in the presidential election campaign of that year. It is likely that media coverage of the 2019–2020 Australian bush fires and the 2019 wildfires in California was avidly followed by the public too. In popular culture, the disaster movie is still a box office staple. The drama and danger inherent in floods, earthquakes,

droughts, hurricanes, tsunamis, and wildfires produce compelling narratives that grip the public like few other topics. Natural disasters also appeal to the news media. They align almost perfectly with the news values, journalistic norms, and narratives favored by reporters. Disasters also provide the media with a clear-cut and relatively uncontested opportunity to fulfil their normative roles of informing the public, acting as a watchdog, and holding the authorities to account. This entry examines the news value of disasters, the characteristics of disaster coverage, and the role of journalists in disaster coverage.

Disasters and News Values

The scholarship of news values goes back over 40 years to when Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge first identified the characteristics an event must display before it is reported by the news media—and natural disasters are almost a perfect fit for many of them. Journalists like discreet, self-contained events rather than long-term trends. They like dramatic events, prefer negative news, and favor people-driven rather than statistics-driven stories. Newsrooms cover events that are near them or involve people like them or their audience. This news value of “proximity” is a key concept in coverage of natural disasters, and cultural affinity plays a part too: the Western media are more likely to cover a disaster event if the casualties are Western, too. In the United States, the popularity of the disaster location with American tourists increases the event’s attractiveness as a news topic. In their update of news values for the digital era, Tony Harcup and Deirdre O’Neill note that visuals are now an important consideration, especially for dissemination on social media. And natural disasters often provide the opportunity for harrowing (destruction, suffering) or inspiring (rescues, community resilience) photos or videos.

The notion that the media attach a value to natural disasters had led researchers to question how such a value is arrived at, and to ask what other considerations come into play, apart from the news values identified by journalism sociologists. Natural disasters throw up questions of intersectionality: To what extent do issues such as race and gender play a part in decisions about

coverage? There is undoubtedly a “hierarchy of suffering,” whereby disaster victims who are ethnically and culturally similar to media audiences are more likely to attract coverage. Coverage of disasters may also be examined through a gender lens, asking to what extent women feature in coverage and whether they are portrayed as having agency to the same extent as men.

Natural disasters also throw up the kinds of narratives that are attractive to the news media. Heroes who carry out daring rescues of stranded people, or who fight back flames or floodwaters, emerge, often from footage shot by non-journalists caught up in the event. Villains also become identified as the coverage develops: Authorities who are slow to act or who did not provide sufficient warning or engage in adequate planning. The media also favor narratives involving winning and losing, and disasters offer profuse examples: firefighters winning or losing the battle to save particular areas or emergency services winning or losing the race to deliver supplies or reconnect utilities.

Disasters and Normative Roles of the Media

In a polarized and partisan media environment, and at a time when fake news, deep-fake videos, and conspiracy theories are shared online, natural disasters present the news media with a pristine and uncomplicated opportunity to perform their normative functions. These include communicating warnings (where possible), describing what occurred, informing the public about events after the event, and contributing to individual and community recovery and resilience. Previous research has found that officials and the public learn about what is happening with ongoing disasters, what to expect from future disasters, and what to learn from past disasters from the mass media. The normative role of the media may extend to covering anniversaries and commemorative events related to the original disaster, and to hold the authorities to account over continuing disaster relief efforts, and the media have been assigned even wider normative roles by some, including storytellers, entertainers, folklorists, watchdogs, and archivists. It may also fall to the media to characterize an event as a disaster in the first place, in the face of official

efforts to downplay its significance. Scholars of crisis communications concede that once the media start calling it a disaster, it is a disaster.

There is debate over the extent to which the media are successful in performing these roles. There is widespread agreement among scholars that the media perform well when it comes to warning the public about impending disasters and informing citizens about ongoing developments. However, when it comes to explaining the causes of the disaster, or what influenced responses to it, or what the disaster will mean for the communities affected, the media perform less well. The media are excellent at reporting the present; the past and future often remain unexamined.

Characteristics of Disaster Coverage

As with other topics, the media covering natural disasters rely on official sources and often relay a “command post” perspective of events. Coverage of natural disasters is short-lived compared to other events; in a study of coverage of natural disasters over a decade, the average timeframe for coverage was a year (although, if Hurricane Katrina is excluded, it was 178 days). Reporters focus on the local and (in the case of the United States) state level, rather than the federal or societal. In the early stages of a disaster, there is a shortage of information; later, there is a surfeit. As the disaster unfolds, the usual gatekeeper role of the media changes to a policy of “open gates” whereby every item relating to an event is published or broadcast. The media prefer to deal with a central spokesperson representing the official response to the disaster and appreciate regular press conferences; however, they often, rightly, have an adversarial relationship with the authorities. One study found that, during the first 2 days of coverage of Hurricane Katrina, depiction of authority figures was positive, but once the media got a handle on what was happening, these references turned more negative. Furthermore, the media may report unconfirmed disaster “myths;” an example was news coverage of widespread looting, violence, and criminal activity during Hurricane Katrina.

Considerable attention has been focused on the frames found in media coverage of natural disasters. Researchers note that journalists return to

familiar sources and frames from previous disasters. Frames found in disaster coverage differ from those found in general news coverage in that political or ideological frames are largely absent. Disasters frames share much with narratives: for instance, war/conflict, myth/hero, and Man versus Nature frames have been identified in disasters coverage. In other analyses, frames are closely linked to topics. In a study of framing in U.S. print and TV coverage of major natural disasters, the “destruction or damage” frame was most common, followed by the “disaster cost” frame, the “evacuation” frame, and the “death and injury” frame. Nearly three quarters of disaster coverage focused on destruction or damage to homes, buildings, or other structures, over half referred to the cost of this damage, and almost a half referred to transportation/evacuation issues. Just over one third of stories emphasized death or injury—a surprisingly low number, given the old newsroom adage that “if it bleeds, it leads.”

A study of the bush fires in Australia during “Black Saturday,” 2009, identified a “blame frame” which focused on the perceived culpability of environmental campaigners. The search for a culprit continued in coverage of the commission established to investigate the causes of and responses to the fires.

The literature on the media framings of natural disasters points up a problem with framing research in general: Researchers tend to invent their own frame typologies without much reference to previous scholarship. This makes comparisons difficult. Furthermore, such frames as have been identified in media coverage of disasters bear little resemblance to the frames identified in coverage of other topics and events.

The Role of Journalists in Coverage of Natural Disasters

In addition to research about how (and how well or badly) reporters carry out the normative functions, there is a considerable amount of ethnographic research into the experiences of individual journalists reporting on natural disasters. Some of this research falls into the wider category of crisis reporting (not just natural disasters) and features familiar arguments about “parachute journalism.” However, parachuting in to a disaster region

seems unavoidable, given the unexpected nature of the events.

This kind of high-adrenaline, round-the-clock reporting engenders feelings of solidarity among the “press pack.” They often share sources and equipment and even food. Reporters at disaster sites assume greater independence and autonomy from their superiors, while back at the office, it is common for reporters on leave, and administrative or commercial staff, to volunteer to assist in the effort to cover the event.

On the ground, reporters can find themselves playing multiple roles: journalist, leader, and victim. Furthermore, journalists may have to attempt to carry out their duties while at the same time falling into the category of those affected by the disaster themselves. They may also find themselves acting as medics, search and rescue workers, or community leaders. Reporting on disasters also has an impact on journalists, including emotional trauma and posttraumatic stress disorder. For example, the BBC’s Africa correspondent, Fergal Keane, stepped back from his role in January 2020, announcing that he was suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder after several decades reporting on natural disasters and war zones around the world.

They also perform the important task of “witnessing” the event on behalf of a wider audience. The act of witnessing has been conceptualized as having four discreet phases:

Stage 1—journalists speak to eyewitnesses and report what they say;

Stage 2—journalists become eye witnesses themselves and write first-person accounts;

Stage 3—photography begins to take the place of the journalist; and

Stage 4—witnessing is outsourced to the public in the smartphone age.

The idea of witnessing is bound up with the notion of “presence.” For many news organizations, it is important to be present at the scene of a disaster and to ensure branded vans, satellite dishes, backdrops, and other equipment is visible. This propensity to use natural disasters as a form of branding opportunity has led to criticism of coverage as media performance. Furthermore, the

24-hour, rolling news cycle and the tyranny of the live feed can hamper the ability of reporters to gather news. Those involved in rolling TV broadcasts are less free to travel around the affected area than their print-media colleagues. The consequent lack of newsgathering and sourcing of new information means live feeds often become “nothing more than staged live presentations of information already gathered rather than reporting on actual ongoing events.” (Wang et al., 2013, p. 503). In contrast, print journalists are free from the necessity to “perform” eyewitnessing; instead, in their writing about their own experiences and those of others, they can bear witness more fully to the event.

Case Study: Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina struck the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama on August 29, 2005. The city of New Orleans was particularly hard hit following the breach of the city’s flood defense system. The disaster response was criticized for being slow and inadequate. Some 1,200 people died in the aftermath of the storm. The media played a central part in the rescue efforts: The authorities relied on media reports to coordinate their efforts, and journalists were instrumental in setting the priorities of officials. For instance, Fox News reporter Geraldo Rivera held a baby up to the camera and pleaded for citizens sheltering in the city’s convention center to be rescued.

The media response to the event has been extensively examined. The portrayal of Black people “looting” while white residents “looked for food” has been cited as evidence of inherent racism in the mainstream news media. The media have also been praised for its robust interrogation of official responses to the crisis (Maureen Dowd, in an op-ed column in *The New York Times* on September 3, 2005, called Federal Emergency Management Agency Michael Brown a “blithering idiot” [p. A21]), and for innovative use of online platforms to inform citizens (the NOLA.com blog of the *Times-Picayune* won a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage).

Events in New Orleans were also seen as an important juncture in the tension between the

media and the government over who controls the narrative of events. The George W. Bush administration and local officials tried to control media access and reporting, even prohibiting reporters from covering the retrieval of bodies. CNN secured an injunction to this ban, and it was subsequently reversed. In New Orleans, reporters were stranded in the flooded city along with residents; their parachutes had become boats.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Media During Disasters

Natural disasters give journalists the opportunity to do what they do best: cover a breaking news story in a dramatic and high-stakes situation. These events play to the strengths of the media, allowing them to perform their most fundamental task: finding out new information and conveying it promptly to the public. They also point up some of the failings of the media: their inability to put disaster events in wider contexts. Research has pointed up the failure of reporting to engage with the origins or causes of a disaster, to investigate the state of preparedness for the event, or to examine the implications of the disaster for the people and communities caught up in it. The media are myopically focused on the present.

This is a concern for future coverage. Climate change means that extreme weather events are more likely to occur and will be more intense and long-lasting when they do. Yet the media has been reluctant to link weather events to the increased energy in the weather system caused by climate change. This has been found in studies of coverage of multiple natural disasters, including Australian bush fires and flooding in the United Kingdom. As the science of climate change attribution becomes more advanced, it is hoped the media will more easily be able to make this connection.

Other limitations of the news media become apparent at times of natural disasters: the tendency to focus on local issues and the failure to connect these with national or international politics or policy; the propensity to indulge rumors and myths (of looting and crime, for instance) without substantiation, and the habit of moving on too soon, before the full story has been told. One thing seems certain: given the escalating

climate crisis, the media are going to have plenty of opportunities for this kind of reporting in the future.

David Robbins

See also Human Interest Journalism; News Values; War and Military Journalism

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NBC News

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is one of the original “Big Three” networks in the United States, together with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). NBC has been vital in radio, television, cable, and digital media developments. NBC News is a part of the NBCUniversal News Group, a division of NBCUniversal, which is owned by Comcast. This entry offers an overview of NBC’s radio origins and then discusses its expansion into broadcast and cable television and internet outlets, the launch of the cable network MSNBC, developments in the 21st century, and the involvement of NBC News in various scandals. The entry closes with a discussion of Comcast’s other media properties and the different facets of NBC News.

Radio Origins

NBC originated in 1926 as the first U.S. national radio network, then owned by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). In 1927, NBC operated two networks—the Red and the Blue—each with affiliated stations. Events such as Charles Lindbergh’s 1927 transatlantic flight and the 1928 presidential race helped NBC make a journalistic impact. However, news was not an initial programming strategy. NBC broadcasted the first daily radio network newscast in 1929—*The Headline Hunter* with Floyd Gibbons—a 30-minute program. In 1930, it became *Lowell Thomas and the News*.

In the 1930s, under the direction of A. A. “Abe” Schecter, NBC grew a news operation, but most broadcasts from abroad had an educational or cultural angle; not much was breaking news. In 1941, the U.S. government ordered NBC to divest one of its radio networks; the Blue was sold to what became known as ABC.

During World War II, radio commentators became a vital information link. News programming more than doubled during the war, helping to establish network news and special programming.

Expansion Into Television

RCA set up an experimental television station in New York in 1928 that was later known as WNBC-TV. Television was developing, but a decade later, few Americans had TV sets. NBC—often referred to as the *Peacock Network*—aired one of the first U.S. television newscasts in 1940. The newscast, anchored by radio broadcaster Lowell Thomas, could only be seen in New York. In 1947, NBC began the politically focused *Meet the Press*; its first host was Martha Rountree. The program was dramatically revived under Tim Russert’s guidance, in the 1990s becoming the most watched Sunday morning talk show. Since inception, the program has had 12 moderators; Chuck Todd has anchored since 2014.

Many consider the 1948 political conventions the true starting point for television news. What became *Nightly News* was launched in 1948 as *NBC Television Newsreel*. In 1949, NBC debuted the *Camel News Caravan*, a 15-minute weeknight network news with John Cameron Swayze. In 1954, it became the first newscast broadcast in color.

NBC ventured into news documentaries in 1952 with what became known as *Victory at Sea*, using naval war film. Despite only airing until 1953, because of syndication, it became one of the most broadcasted programs in early TV history. Producer Henry Solomon remained with NBC News, creating the *Project XX* series, documentaries airing for two decades.

The early morning program *Today* debuted in 1952, thanks to Sylvester “Pat” Weaver, then NBC’s chief programmer and later president. Originally set up as a 2-hour weekday program, it

later expanded to cover weekends too. In the 2000s, it was extended to a third and fourth hour with a combination of news, interviews, and features divided into several distinct segments; in 2020 the third hour was simply called the *3rd Hour of Today* while the fourth hour was called *Today with Hoda* [Kotb] and *Jenna* [Bush Hager].

In radio, Weaver helped create *Monitor* in 1955, a nationwide weekend program containing news, music, comedy, sports, interviews, and live reports. Originating from New York, and airing for 20 years, it featured a unique sound beacon to indicate its start each week.

In 1956, Robert Kintner took over NBC's programming, expanding news coverage. Chet Huntley and David Brinkley debuted as television coanchors at the Democratic National Convention, resulting in the evening news becoming the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The program—with Reuven Frank as producer—had Huntley in New York and Brinkley in Washington, D.C. Audiences loved the newscast; their sign-off “Good night, Chet; Good night, David” became a catchphrase. They anchored the newscast until 1970.

In 1960, NBC produced a documentary series called *NBC White Paper*. Many episodes dealt with serious issues such as organized crime and race riots; others had a lighter tone. The series lasted until 1980, winning many Peabody and Emmy awards.

In the 1960s and 1970s, President John F. Kennedy's assassination, civil unrest, and accomplishments in outer space spurred the networks into special coverage, increasing enthusiasm for television news. Because of successful American space missions, NBC turned studio 8H into space-mission central with models and mockups, maps, and animated figures to show astronaut movement. Kintner pushed “CBS Plus 30,” meaning NBC would always offer 30 more minutes of special events coverage than CBS.

Sponsors flocked to newscasts, special coverage, and documentary programs; the news division became highly profitable. In 1963, NBC along with CBS, expanded their weekday evening newscast from 15 to 30 minutes. In 1970, the newscast aired seven nights a week.

In 1969, NBC developed its first news “magazine”—*First Tuesday*. Airing the first Tuesday every month, the program was 2 hours,

featuring hard and soft news stories, each ranging from 15 to 40 minutes. Two years later, the program became *Chronolog*.

In the 1970s, NBC underwent several changes, the most visible being Huntley's retirement. The network launched several news magazine programs; most of them failed. One success was *Weekend*; it lasted 4 years. In the 1970s, RCA tightened its purse strings; new programs had to become profitable rapidly or they were dropped. The latter was the case with *NBC News Overnight*, which debuted in 1982 and was canceled in 1983. Despite a loyal audience, it did not generate enough revenue.

The 1980s and 1990s brought deregulation, audience fragmentation, and more NBC talent changes. Brinkley left in 1981. In 1983, Tom Brokaw changed from the *Today* morning show to *NBC Nightly News*, a move embraced by the audience. However, while NBC's nightly television newscast gained popularity, radio news began losing its appeal as talk radio gained prominence.

In 1986, General Electric bought RCA, which included NBC News. Downsizing and budget cuts followed; many employees and bureaus were eliminated. NBC News used more television stories from local affiliates to help fill gaps in network coverage. On the radio side, GE began divesting radio properties. Westwood One acquired the NBC Radio Network in 1987. It licensed the name “NBC Radio Network News”—later shortened to NBC Radio News. In essence, NBC Radio was no longer a network, only a brand name.

In 1992, NBC launched *Dateline NBC*—a magazine-style program mixing investigative reports, interviews, and features, anchored by Stone Phillips and Jane Pauley. That year *Dateline* aired a story about fire hazards in General Motors pickup trucks; people later learned *Dateline* rigged the crash test. While NBC and GM settled out of court, it dealt a blow to NBC's credibility; news chief Michael Gartner resigned, and several *Dateline* producers were fired. The scandal did not stop *Dateline*; Andrew Lack and then Executive Producer Neal Shapiro revamped the show, and in 1999, it began airing five nights a week.

Lack became news division president in the early 1990s. His ability to understand journalism, ratings points, and earnings helped NBC News; Lack revamped *Nightly News* and the *Today*

Show. *Nightly News* increased its ratings as Brokaw and Producer Jeff Gralnick focused on one main story with several special segments or features; by the end of the 1990s, it was the most watched evening newscast in the United States. The *Today Show* was outfitted with a street-level studio, added a music concert series under producer Jeff Zucker, and cemented itself as the number one morning show. With its distinctive, easy going rapport, the *Today Show* became the most lucrative program in network television. Lack transformed the news division into a profit center. Critics complained he had replaced hard news with “news you can use” features.

Cable and Internet Extensions

With technology progression, electronic, and satellite newsgathering became standard. Technology also meant increased competition and a blurring of lines between print and video, cable, and broadcast. In the 1980s, the Cable News Network (CNN) and Fox appeared, with Fox News launching in the mid-1990s. While the Big Three networks were dominant players, they were competing with hundreds of channels and network audiences shrank. NBC essentially closed its news documentary production; documentaries were not attracting audiences or sponsors.

Consumer News and Business Channel (CNBC)

To attract audiences, NBC joined the cable news movement by forming two cable networks. The first was the CNBC in 1989, a joint venture with Cablevision, focusing on business news and stock market updates. It initially did not attract viewers, lost 60 million in the first 2 years, and Cablevision pulled out. However, in 1991, NBC bought the rival Financial News Network, integrating it into CNBC. CNBC broadened programming when it hired Roger Ailes as president. His mandate was to make CNBC more appealing; Ailes added non-business and personal finance-focused programs. In the late 1990s and into the 2000s, CNBC was led by Bill Bolster. Under Bolster’s tutelage, the channel thrived; he added easy-to-understand graphics and statistics and talent such as Maria Bartiromo and Jim Cramer. A dramatic stock market increase also aided

CNBC. By 2000, its daily rating briefly exceeded that of CNN.

MSNBC

In 1996, NBC and Microsoft launched MSNBC, a channel focused on news and politics. They also launched MSNBC.com, a separate venture from the cable station despite the shared name. The cable channel relied on the resources of NBC News—with heavy-hitters Brokaw and Katie Couric making appearances—but while it was massively promoted on NBC, it failed to attract viewers. The channel lacked a clear identity and began covering more fashion and entertainment. By the end of the 1990s, ratings had fallen behind those of CNN and CNBC.

In 2002, MSNBC tried to counter Fox’s prime-time programming with Phil Donahue, but *Donahue on MSNBC* was cancelled in 2003. That same year, MSNBC added *Scarborough Country* with Joe Scarborough and *Countdown With Keith Olbermann*. While they were hits, both were later cancelled. In 2008, *The Rachel Maddow Show* was added, exceeding all expectations; it became MSNBC’s biggest draw. MSNBC generally occupies the ratings bronze spot, after Fox and CNN. Microsoft divested its interest in the cable channel in 2005 and in the website in 2012.

MSNBC’s website became a bright spot in the late 1990s, offering original content and a different experience from the cable channel. Under the guidance of former print journalist Merrill Brown, it became one of the most popular internet news sites. In 2012, NBC changed the website’s URL from MSNBC.com to NBCnews.com, making it a platform for NBC News.

Into the 21st Century

Couric and Matt Lauer anchored the *Today Show* on September 11, 2001, when the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., occurred. NBC went live—as did the other networks—for 4 days straight. It became the longest uninterrupted news event in American television history; commercials and programs were suspended.

In 2003, NBC News approached Westwood One for a radio service called *NBC News Radio*,

consisting of 1-minute news updates. Updates were written by Westwood employees but voiced by NBC talent. Westwood One also began distributing audio of *Meet the Press*, some of NBC's late-night programming, and even CNBC radio reports. Since 2016, NBC News Radio has been an audio news service distributed via iHeartMedia's network, containing reports from NBC News correspondents and presented by iHeartMedia anchors. The radio coverage includes 1-minute and 2-minute news segments, as well as features focused on politics, money, sports, and health. People can also hear these news reports on the internet.

NBC and Vivendi Universal Entertainment merged in 2004, after GE acquired 80% of Vivendi, resulting in the formation of NBCUniversal. With this acquisition and merger, GE acquired a significant media industry investment, although NBC was a small part of GE's overall revenue.

In 2004, Brian Williams replaced Brokaw on *NBC Nightly News*. Williams's coverage of the Hurricane Katrina disaster a year later was widely praised; he showed frustration over a slow federal response. NBC's disaster coverage earned a Peabody award, a George Polk award, and the DuPont-Columbia University Award.

In late 2006, NBCUniversal underwent a corporate restructuring that affected mostly off-camera employees. *Dateline NBC*, *Today*, and *NBC Nightly News* were the news programs hit the hardest. Layoffs continued for 2 years.

In 2009, Comcast announced it would purchase 51% of NBCUniversal from GE; the sale went through in 2011. In 2014, Comcast purchased the remaining GE shares for full ownership.

NBC News and Staff in Scandals

During the 2010s, NBC News was involved in several scandals. In 2012, NBC broadcasted an edited segment of a 911 call by George Zimmerman before he shot Trayvon Martin. The segment made it sound as if Zimmerman, rather than merely responding to a dispatcher, had stated that Martin was Black, supporting a view the shooting was racially motivated. NBC, while initially declining to comment, issued an apology.

In 2015, *NBC Nightly News*'s Williams was caught falsifying a story, saying he had been aboard a U.S. military helicopter hit by enemy fire

during the 2003 Iraq invasion. Williams apologized, but was removed from the newscast. He resurfaced in 2016 on MSNBC with *The 11th Hour With Brian Williams*.

Scandal rocked NBC News again in 2017. NBC assigned journalist Ronan Farrow to cover alleged sexual abuse by film producer Harvey Weinstein. Farrow's investigation was part of the media coverage of sexual abuse that was credited with starting the #MeToo movement, although NBC failed to publish it initially; Farrow took it to *The New Yorker* and won a Pulitzer. The #MeToo scandal extended to Lauer. A *Today* show anchor since 1997, Lauer was terminated in 2017 after a female colleague made a detailed complaint accusing him of inappropriate sexual behavior during the 2014 Winter Olympics. In 2019, Farrow alleged Weinstein had used his knowledge about the accusations involving Lauer to pressure NBC into dropping the initial Weinstein investigation and that NBC knew about the Lauer allegations well before firing him.

Another NBC anchor, Megyn Kelly, was controversial from the start; critics felt the former Fox News anchor was not appropriate for NBC. Her *Megyn Kelly Today*—filling the third morning hour slot—debuted in 2017. It was cancelled in 2018 after Kelly defended the use of blackface Halloween costumes, causing a massive backlash.

Comcast Media Properties

As part of NBCUniversal, NBC News is owned by Comcast, which also owns Spanish-language broadcaster Telemundo, TeleXitos, and Cozi TV, as well as multiple cable-only channels including MSNBC, CNBC, the USA Network, E!, and Syfy.

In 2017, Comcast via NBCUniversal purchased a 25% stake in Euronews, a European 24-hour news network. That year NBCUniversal also invested in Snapchat, producing shows for the social media platform, including a twice-daily NBC News show called *Stay Tuned*. Comcast expanded its European reach in 2018 by becoming the parent company of pan-European media company Sky, Europe's largest media company and pay-per-view outlet. Critics argue that because of its ownership structure, NBC's news programs, especially *Dateline NBC*, have become promotional vehicles for NBCUniversal and Comcast properties.

As of 2020, NBC News included a rapidly growing NBC News Digital Group handling sites such as NBCNews.com, tv.MSNBC.com, TODAY.com, NightlyNews.com, NBCLatino.com, and NBCPolitics.com. NBC News also included NBC News Channel, which services some 200 affiliate stations, NBC News Radio with a network of more than 750 affiliates, the educational venture NBC Learn, NBCUniversal Archives selling archival content, and in-house production company, Peacock Productions.

Madeleine Liseblad

See also ABC News; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; CBS News; MSNBC; Talk and News Radio; Television News; History of

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Wu coined the term *network neutrality*, commonly shortened to “net neutrality,” in a 2003 law review article. In the United States, net neutrality has been the subject of numerous Federal Communications Commission (FCC) policy shifts and shaped by a handful of federal judicial opinions.

The internet developed in the 1960s as a military and academic communications system designed to ensure government communications in the event of a nuclear war or other catastrophe. When the internet became widely commercial and accessible to ordinary users in the 1990s, U.S. Congress revised the Communications Act of 1934 by passing updated amendments known as *the Telecommunications Act of 1996*. These amendments set up a minimalist regulatory scheme.

As commercialization transitioned from dial-up modem service to broadband or high-speed internet technology, telecommunications and cable companies assumed control of the internet. Many modern telecommunications companies, also known as *internet service providers (ISPs)*, which primarily operate through cable lines and newer fiberoptic cables, also generate their own content or own and operate content or subscription services. This content is news, information, commentary, streaming video, music and other entertainment, and more that reaches end-user consumers.

Broadband internet access allows end-user consumers to access more “bits,” the digitized data that travel on the internet. Measured as megabits per second, broadband internet allows more data and information to travel over the internet. The more data and information traveling over the net at higher speeds facilitates streaming entertainment, online commerce, telemedicine, video conferencing, and other data-heavy content and transactions. Much of modern daily life on the internet requires high-speed access.

In the early 2000s, concerns arose that ISPs or cable companies had the technological capabilities and could develop a business-oriented or ideological incentive to discriminate against some content or speakers or favor some content or speakers over others. In fact, at least two ISPs were exposed for blocking virtual private networks.

In his 2003 article, Wu articulated concern that the companies that own the cable infrastructure could or might control or otherwise manipulate

NET NEUTRALITY

Net neutrality or open internet is the concept that internet traffic flows without regard to its origins or content. Columbia Law School professor Tim

the speed with which information travels on their cable wires. Wu posited that internet traffic should move neutrally and transmission regulation should be similar to that of pipes or telephone lines with all information and data treated the same:

A communications network like the internet can be seen as a platform for a competition among application developers. Email, the web, and streaming applications are in a battle for attention and interest of end-users. It is therefore important that the platform be neutral to ensure the competition remains meritocratic. (Wu, 2003, p. 146)

In the United States, regulation of the internet falls under the authority of the FCC. Since 1998, the FCC has adopted two separate approaches to internet regulation under the Telecommunications Act of 1996. These divergent approaches to regulation have changed with each presidential administration.

The first designation under Title I offers a “market-based light touch” or minimalist regulatory scheme by classifying the internet as an “information service.” The second designation under Title II classifies the internet as a “telecommunications service,” or a common carrier designation, similar to a public utility, which would empower the government to impose more stringent regulation in the public’s interest. Because common carriers operate with limited or no competition and perform an important public function, they are exposed to greater government regulation.

The FCC has changed its classification of the internet several times over the years, most notably:

- In 1998, the FCC first classified broadband as an over-the-phone telecommunications service;
- in 2002, the FCC classified cable broadband as interstate information service, which was ultimately upheld by Supreme Court in 2005;
- in 2015, the FCC reclassified the internet as a telecommunications service; and
- in 2017 and 2018, the FCC under Chairman Ajit Pai reclassified the internet as an information service in the Restore Internet Freedom Act. This “light touch” order restored the Title I classification.

Since the late 2000s, courts have weighed in on a number of challenges to FCC orders and standards in challenges by ISP and cable companies. Courts interpreting the FCC’s rules tend to defer to the commission’s standards, applying the Chevron doctrine under *Chevron U.S.A. Inc. v. National Resources Defense Council* (1984).

The government’s broadband policy was intended to bring broadband internet capabilities to rural or underserved communities. Deregulation, FCC Chairman Pai argued, would spur investment and innovation, and foster growth and expansion of the internet. The 2017 changes also empower the Federal Trade Commission to intervene on grounds that “throttling” internet traffic or outright blocking content could be viewed as an antitrust violation or restraint of fair competition.

How the government classifies and thereby regulates (or does not regulate) the internet has become a highly politicized public issue. On one hand, consumer and public interest groups and critics fear that without government oversight, the telecommunications companies could discriminate against information or data, throttle the internet, block content or certain speakers, or create a tiered internet whereby subscribers pay for premium or a higher-speed internet.

On the other hand, telecommunications companies and business interests are concerned that more aggressive government oversight could stifle expansion, innovation, and other technical developments. Extensive regulation could also impair expansion of broadband service to rural or underserved communities in need of strong internet access.

Following the FCC’s 2018 shift, a number of states, including California and New York, began to adopt their own standards and regulations regarding regulating network traffic.

Roy S. Gutterman

See also Internet: Impact on the Media;
Telecommunications Act of 1996

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NEW JOURNALISM

“New Journalism” refers to a literary movement in the 1960s and 1970s that tried to expand the definition of journalism by arguing that feature writers could use the same techniques to write stories about real-life events that novelists used to write about imaginary worlds. Writers, such as Tom Wolfe, Truman Capote, and Gay Talese, often credited with launching this movement, immersed themselves in their subjects, at times spending months in the field gathering facts through research, interviews, and observation. But when they sat down to write, they produced something very different from the feature stories typically published in newspapers and magazines of the time. Instead of forcing their story into a traditional formulaic structure and institutional voice, they constructed well-developed characters, sustained dialogue, vivid scenes, and strong plot lines marked with dramatic tension. They also wrote in a voice that was distinctly their own. Their writing style, and the time and money that their in-depth research and long stories required,

did not fit the needs or budgets of most newspapers, with the *New York Herald Tribune* being a notable exception. However, the editors of *Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, *New York*, and other prominent magazines sought out these writers and published their work with great commercial success. Many of these writers went on to publish their stories in anthologies or to write what became known as *nonfiction novels*, and many of these works became best sellers.

Fact and Fiction

The New Journalists expanded the definition of what types of stories counted as “journalism,” and what reporting and writing techniques journalists could legitimately use. They also associated journalism with fiction when they used phrases like “nonfiction novel” and “narrative techniques of fiction” in describing their work. In so doing, they ignited a debate over how much like a novel or short story a journalistic piece could be before it began violating journalism’s commitment to truth and facts.

Critics praised the New Journalists for writing well-crafted, complex, and compelling stories that revitalized readers’ interest in journalism and the topics covered, as well as inspiring other writers to join the profession. Other critics, however, worried that the New Journalists were tempting reporters to stray from the facts in order to write more dramatic stories; tempting them, for example, to create composite characters (melding several real people into one fictional character), compress dialogue, rearrange events, and even fabricate details. Some New Journalists freely admitted to using these techniques, arguing that they made their stories readable and publishable without sacrificing the essential truthfulness of the tale; others adamantly opposed their use, arguing that any departure from facts, however minor, discredited a story and moved it away from journalism toward fiction. John Hersey (1914–1993), a reporter famous for his 1946 nonfiction work *Hiroshima*, said in his widely quoted statement in the *Yale Review*: “There is one sacred rule of journalism. The writer must not invent. The legend on the license must read: NONE OF THIS WAS MADE UP.”

Challenging Objectivity

In engaging in this debate over what counts as truth in journalism, the New Journalists were contributing to widespread discussion over the nature of “truth” and our ability to know and represent it objectively in stories, paintings, photographs, and other representational arts. The New Journalists engaged in this larger debate by writing stories that challenged the ideology of “objectivity” and its related practices that had come to govern the profession. Some journalists and cultural critics worried that the New Journalists, by writing in a personal voice with a strong point of view and becoming immersed in their subjects, were replacing objectivity with a dangerous subjectivity that threatened to undermine the credibility of all journalism, including the heart of the profession, daily news. But the New Journalists argued that objectivity did not guarantee truth, and that objective stories could be more misleading than stories told from a clearly presented personal point of view.

The New Journalists were not alone in challenging objectivity. Similar challenges were being mounted by scientists, historians, and anthropologists who were also struggling with the philosophical and practical limitations of objectivity and experimenting with new narrative forms for their nonfiction works. Mainstream news reporters also echoed the New Journalists’ arguments as they began doubting the ability of “objective” journalism to arrive at truth—especially after objective reporting failed to convey the complex truth of events such as McCarthyism (1950s), the Vietnam War (1960s and 1970s), and the Watergate scandal (mid-1970s). By 1996, objectivity had been so crippled as a guiding principle that the Society of Professional Journalists dropped it from its ethics code, replacing it with other principles such as fairness and accuracy.

Roots of the New Journalism

The New Journalists of the 1960s were not the first reporters in the history of American journalism to advocate for a more literary approach to writing about contemporary events—nor were they the first to call themselves “new.” Journalism historian Michael Schudson argues that as early as the 1880s, two stereotypes of reporters had

emerged: the newspaper reporter who churned out facts in a formulaic account, and the “new journalist”: an educated “man of letters” who could write stories that “sparkled” and had the same literary power to draw readers in as did the best-written novels. Some journalists of the time, such as Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936), believed that this power had a moral dimension. Reporters were morally obligated to write stories that were true, well-crafted, and rhetorically persuasive because only these stories (as opposed to dry, factual reports) could lead readers to empathize with others and spur them to take action against social injustice and abuses of power. Steffens and other like-minded journalists—Ida Tarbell (1857–1944), Ray Stannard Baker (1870–1946), David Graham Phillips (1867–1911), among others—wrote investigative magazine stories that President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) derisively called *muckraking* and they wrote about society’s “muck” in a literary, rhetorically persuasive way. The social and literary ambitions of these first “new journalists” had a lasting impact on journalism, providing a foundation for generations of investigative and literary reporters and editors who believed in factual, socially committed journalism that “sparkled”—including the New Journalists of the 1960s.

The Writers

Since the beginning of American commercial journalism in the 1830s, reporters with literary ambitions have been writing stories about real-life events using characters, scenes, dialogue, action, plot—all the devices that in later times became associated more with fiction than with journalism. Their work has been published in newspapers, magazines, books, and, more recently, online publications. There are too many major writers to name. That said, those wishing to learn about the New Journalism could begin by reading the work of three foundational writers: Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, and Truman Capote. They could also expand their reading by turning to a number of anthologies that include the work of influential nonfiction writers. These writers include Joseph Mitchell (1908–1996), John McPhee (1931–), Tracy Kidder (1945–), John Hersey (1914–1993), Joan Didion (1934–),

Hunter S. Thompson (1937–2005), Michael Herr (1940–2016), Annie Dillard (1945–), Ted Conover (1958–), Richard Ben Cramer (1950–2013), Jane Kramer (1938–), Susan Orlean (1955–), Calvin Trillin (1935–), Lillian Ross (1927–2017), Norman Mailer (1923–2007), A. J. Liebling (1904–1963), Martha Gellhorn (1908–1998), and Jimmy Breslin (1930–2017). Finally, those wishing to understand how the New Journalism has influenced new generations of writers can read the journal edited by Lee Gutkind (1945–), *Creative Nonfiction*.

Tom Wolfe (1931–2018)

Journalism critics and historians identify Tom Wolfe as one of the most influential promoters of the New Journalism. Wolfe graduated from Yale University with a PhD in American Studies and then took his first newspaper job in 1956. He worked for *The Washington Post* and later for the *New York Herald Tribune* where, he says, he met writers like Jimmy Breslin, who showed him that journalism could be creative and exciting. In 1963, when a newspaper strike in New York City left Wolfe temporarily without work, he turned to his editor at *Esquire Magazine* with an idea: he wanted to fly to California to write about a custom car show and the hot-rod culture. The result was Wolfe's now-famous "Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby," an energetic piece marked with his personality that has become a model of what the New Journalism could achieve. The article later became the title piece of Wolfe's first book, a collection of 22 magazine and newspaper pieces, published in 1965.

In 1973, Wolfe published *The New Journalism*, in which he explicated the features of the genre. He went on to write several successful books in the style of the New Journalism. *The Right Stuff*, a story about the Mercury 7 astronauts, was adapted in 1983 for the Oscar-winning film of the same name. *Bonfire of the Vanities* was a satire of 1980s status-conscious New York, and *From Bauhaus to Our House*, a biting history of modern architecture. Wolfe is still credited with helping to establish The New Journalism as a literary movement, although he gave that credit to another writer, Gay Talese.

Gay Talese (1932–)

Talese was born in 1932 in Ocean City, New Jersey. As he writes in "Origins of a Nonfiction Writer," he grew up in his mother's dress shop, listening to the stories the white-gloved ladies who frequented the shop told about their private lives and about their friends and neighbors and watching as his mother encouraged the tales with unobtrusive questions. As he listened and watched, he learned "much that would be useful" to him years later when he began interviewing people for articles and books. Talese started working as a reporter in high school, writing more than 300 stories for the *Ocean City Sentinel Ledger*. He continued writing in college and then after graduation he headed for New York City where he found work as a copyboy for *The New York Times*. In his spare time, he wrote stories about the ordinary people and places that did not interest most reporters—and he quietly offered them to the editors of the *Times*, who were impressed with his work. In 1953, Talese, who had graduated college as an army officer, was commissioned and sent to Fort Knox. He kept in touch with the *Times* by writing stories during his military service. In 1956 when his tour of duty ended, the *Times* invited him to return to the paper, this time not as a copyboy but as a sports reporter. He continued to work for the *Times* for 10 years, developing the style that earned him a place in the history of New Journalism. Talese also wrote for *Esquire*, producing his most influential stories for that magazine. His two arguably most famous pieces, a profile of Joe DiMaggio titled "The Silent Season of a Hero" and his profile of Frank Sinatra titled "Frank Sinatra Has a Cold," were anthologized along with his other most popular *Esquire* pieces in the collection *Fame and Obscurity* (1970).

Talese also used his skills as a literary journalist to write internationally best-selling books. *The Kingdom and the Power* (1969) provided an inside look at *The New York Times*. *Honor Thy Father* (1971) detailed the rise and fall of the notorious Bonanno crime family of New York. *Thy Neighbor's Wife* (1981) examined the hidden and changing sex lives of Americans. *Unto the Sons* (1992) narrated his own family's emigration from Italy to the United States in the years before World War II.

Although Tom Wolfe gave Talese credit for developing the distinctive style and reporting

methods of the New Journalism, Talese never considered himself a New Journalist. He thought of himself as a very traditional writer who wanted to “do something that would hold up over time, something that could get old and still have the same resonance.” He also came to associate the New Journalism with journalists who are more interested in being celebrity writers than in doing the hard legwork required of good reporters—in cultivating a flashy, easy style designed to get attention rather than hold up over time. Yet Talese admired the work of Tom Wolfe and Norman Mailer, New Journalists who, he said, achieved “remarkable things” through diligent reporting. Although Talese did not call himself a New Journalist, he influenced many writers who did, and he continues to influence literary journalists writing today.

Truman Capote (1924–1984)

Unlike Wolfe and Talese, Truman Capote was not a journalist but a playwright and a novelist. However, he became a central figure in the New Journalism in 1965 when *The New Yorker* magazine serialized what Capote called his nonfiction novel, *In Cold Blood*. The novel told the story of a family of four in Holcomb, Kansas, who had been murdered in their beds. Capote spent 6 years reporting and writing the piece. As he told a reporter for *Life* magazine, he wanted to see if he could write a true story about real life events that had the dramatic power, excitement, and intricate structure of a novel. Capote, who by this time had become a celebrity among New York’s social elite, was interviewed extensively about his work. As he described what he did and how he did it to reporters from major national media, he introduced the idea of the “nonfiction novel” into popular discourse. He also triggered controversy as skeptical reporters, wary of his attempts to combine fiction and journalism, tried to discredit his claims to accuracy, and questioned his assertion that a responsible journalist could write a true story that read like a novel.

Conclusion: The New New Journalists

Today, the term *New Journalism* is most often associated with the writers of the 1960s and

1970s who stretched the boundaries of legitimate journalism by challenging the ideal of objectivity and advocating the use by journalists of narrative techniques used by fiction writers. Their ideas of “good journalism” continue to be explored and refined by new generations of reporters and editors who believe that it is possible to write creative, literary nonfiction that is factually true. In the early 1990s, the spirit of the New Journalists was reincarnated in yet another literary movement called *Creative Nonfiction*. This movement gained momentum under Lee Gutkind, who organized an annual creative nonfiction writing workshop at Goucher College in Baltimore, helped establish one of the nation’s first degree programs in creative nonfiction, founded the journal *Creative Nonfiction*, and published several anthologies. In the editorial rooms of newspapers and magazines, in professional journalism organizations, and in creative writing workshops across the country, writers and editors continue to take inspiration from the New Journalists, experimenting with forms, styles, and practices that can work for and give credence to a genre that tries to be simultaneously creative, personal, and “true.”

Elizabeth Fakazis

See also Credibility; Hard Versus Soft News; Literary Journalism; Muckrakers; News as Narrative; Objectivity

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NEW MEDIA

“New media” is a complex, relative term. It broadly refers to new and additional environments of communication that arose from the Internet and related technologies—social media and computer-mediated communications—during the digital revolution. New media can refer to the move from analog to digital technologies, which is why some argue that a more concrete term for these new environments of communication is “digital media.” New or digital media are sometimes seen as in contrast with “old” analog media, although some argue they are an evolution of older media forms. Examples of old media are broadcast television, radio, and print media (e.g., newspapers). Examples of new, digital media are websites and social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn), virtual and augmented reality, and streaming services for entertainment and gaming. All are new environments for communicating content and information that require digital technologies.

New media have created several disruptions to the journalistic profession. This entry explains the importance of new media in society and journalism, how journalists are using new media, and how new media have created changes in the journalism profession.

What is “New” in New Media?

When discussing new media, one must acknowledge how it is intertwined with convergence culture, a term coined by Henry Jenkins in his book *Convergence Culture: When Old and New Media Collide*, first published in 2006. The idea is that the “new” in “new media” is misleading because much of the digital revolution was an evolution of previous media, not necessarily novel media forms. For example, an online book is a book, an old medium, that has converged with modern technology. In terms of journalism, an example would be an online newspaper. The content of the newspaper is likely still the same, but it has converged with new technology so it can be read online rather than on paper, and it is easier to find or circulate via the Internet and social media.

What is “new” in new media is that the convergence of old media with modern digital technologies created *new methods* to organize social, political, and economic structures, as well as create new ways to disseminate and consume content. Further, new media refer to the technology that enabled increased globalization, moving society from an industrial age of manufacturing to an era of information.

While new media is a complex term, it encompasses the rapid and continual evolutions in media that create: new textual experiences, new ways of representing the world, and new relationships between subjects and media technologies. New media have led to a shift in media organizations’ focus away from “audiences” to “users” and from “consumers” to “producers”; the idea of a “mass audience” to multiple niche audiences, and from one-way communications to two-way communication.

With new media, people can consume content in multiple ways. For instance, one can read the digitally formatted version of a book downloaded to a tablet, consume entertaining content from Netflix on one’s laptop rather than through television, or read about a new game within a forum on Reddit. Social media have given a voice to the underrepresented, allowing us to see and understand the complexities of our world and increase global communication. The technological affordances of these platforms allow individuals to shape their consumption habits or experiences as they see fit—for example, by sampling items from the à la carte format of Netflix or YouTube. Users can choose what they wish to consume at any given time.

Further, unlike old media, audiences are no longer passive. Technological affordances allow new media users to interact with, shape, or even produce content themselves. Through social media, users can contact and communicate with a company or provide a news organization with a story, creating two-way communication. Further, due to the rapid growth of new technologies, there is a fragmentation of the mass audience. The ability to produce, publish, and disseminate material easily online has led to a proliferation of niche media organizations and websites. Rather than focusing on a mass audience, many media organizations are now focused on hyperlocal news, or specialized services or interests.

Use of New Media by Journalists

As discussed earlier, new media is a term that encompasses a range of different phenomena and involves a variety of disciplines. The term *new media* might bring to mind different things for different people. A computer science major might simply think of new media as the Internet. A doctor might think of new media as a technology that helps image and analyze the body. For journalists, several positive and negative aspects could come to mind. New media have brought notable changes to journalistic routines and created new journalistic values. They have been adopted by journalists to aid in traditional journalistic routines, mainly as information-gathering tools and a way to gain sources.

New media, particularly social networking platforms, have features that aid in traditional journalistic practices such as conveying, verifying, and displaying information. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter allow journalists to transmit news content to their audiences by posting links, pictures, and videos of news stories they produce. Journalists can use the platforms to query followers by posting questions to their network. They can use the platforms to conduct story research, gaining background information on someone by checking their Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram profiles.

Social media platforms also act as another avenue to contact sources and enable journalists to monitor sources through the content posted on their social media feeds efficiently. If a journalist does not have a source's phone number, they can sometimes message the person through social media applications.

Journalists can gather information by skimming through their social network feeds, allowing them to see and read what people in their community or nationwide are discussing. Journalists can interact with their audience through online messaging and comments allowing them to learn more about their audience. The ability to link and share social media posts created by others enables journalists to be transparent about where they derived their information from.

Lastly, the unique features of digital platforms also allow journalists to create more content and transmit content at a faster rate than traditional

print and broadcast media. Journalists can now post and share content instantly rather than waiting for the latest publication to come out or for the next news program to air on TV in the designated time slot.

Changes in Journalism Due to New Media

New media have led to both positive and negative changes in the journalistic profession. As explained earlier, social media platforms have created another outlet for journalists to gather information and sources. They are also another avenue to transmit information quickly to an audience. However, media workers must now create more content and disseminate it faster due to the demands of an online audience. Journalists are now forced to multitask and generate content for "old" media as well as several online communication environments. Also, they must be more transparent about their work routines and engage more with the audience online. The move away from one-way communication to two-way communication between journalists and the audience, and the increase of avenues for content distribution, has drastically increased the workload of journalists.

The two-way communication factor of new media, particularly social media, has led to an increased emphasis on audience engagement. As audiences are turning their attention away from traditional broadcast and print media for more personal web and mobile platforms, two-way communication between an audience and a journalist has become valuable. Interacting with an audience is now an essential journalistic value as the engagement garners an audience's attention. Journalists must fight for attention as new media allow anyone to be a producer of content, creating a plethora of information and a fragmented audience.

The new value of engagement has led to new work routines for journalists. In his 2015 book *Engaged Journalism: Connecting With Digitally Empowered News Audiences*, Jake Batsell lists several ways journalists can engage with audience members through new media. These include promoting events online, where audience members can meet them face-to-face, to foster trust and show transparency. Journalists can also generate discourse and debate with followers through these new communication environments directly, by

asking their followers questions or inquiring about their feelings on an issue.

Audience Fragmentation

New media have contributed to a move away from mediatization—the idea that media shape and frame political discourse in society. The mass audience is now fragmented, there is more polarization of content, and the line between news and entertainment has blurred. The broader social institutions that media organizations once formed are disintegrating; the political process no longer needs to rely on the media to send out messages. New media environments provide government institutions with a platform that allows them to avoid interacting with the news media and still reach a large audience. Furthermore, new media have led to an abundance of information sources and communications, which, in turn, has led to niche marketing and polarization of content, in some cases with some news organizations tailoring news to liberal or conservative audiences.

Journalists often use culturally familiar themes that resonate with their audience, which can lead to the news media reinforcing the status quo. However, due to the affordances of social media, audience members now have some control over content production and dissemination. News managers have allowed journalists to share their gatekeeping role with so-called citizen journalists, either by sharing audience members' content on their media organizations' platforms or by having journalists work with members of the public to create content in a process known as *participatory journalism*. These developments challenge news organizations' authority and their control over messages and meaning-making.

New media have created several other challenges for journalists. For example, studies have found that journalists use social media mainly as a tool to find information and individuals who can serve as news sources. However, they often don't trust the information or sources they find on social media and prefer to use traditional media sources that have already been vetted. The use of new media to gather information involves new skills of verification and cannot fully substitute for traditional means of journalism.

Another issue with the adoption of new media in the newsroom is that it changes rapidly. The appropriation of modern, digital technology in journalism is an ongoing process. The affordances of technology are tried out and renegotiated often. While new media are becoming more accepted by journalists and part of their everyday workflow, the constant change can lead to burnout and point to issues with hyper-connectivity. Not only among journalists but among many social media users, there is a feeling of always being on and connected. The availability of new media allows one to send and receive messages quickly, which for some can create a sense that they must always respond promptly to maintain relationships.

Kirstin Pellizzaro

See also Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Digital Distribution; Digital Journalism Tools; Internet; Impact on the Media; Participatory Journalism; Social Media

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NEW WORLD INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER (NWICO)

Despite dramatic geopolitical and media changes worldwide, the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) continues to be a topic of interest to researchers and practitioners interested in international media. The conceptual framework of the NWICO placed journalism

practice and international news media flow at the center of the political, economic, and cultural agenda of countries in both the developed and developing world. In the early 21st century, NWICO provides useful insight for understanding of current journalism trends. This entry provides a brief history of NWICO, its importance when it emerged in the early 1980s, its main concepts and principles, and its present significance.

Although its origins can be traced back to the critical perspectives on media and communication that emerged in the early 1970s, the NWICO was the product of the 1980 MacBride Commission report, *Many Voices, One World*, commissioned by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a contribution to the debate about equity in international communication. Named after its head, Sean MacBride, former Irish foreign minister and winner of the 1974 Nobel Prize, the commission was charged with assessing international communication problems and making suggestions for their resolution in an effort to place these issues at the forefront of the international policy agenda (Thussu 2005). Proponents of NWICO identified the commission as part of an ongoing process, not as a compiler of “any given set of conditions and practices” (MacBride et al. 1980, p. xviii). The primary goals of NWICO included ensuring justice, equity, and reciprocity in information exchange. It advocated less dependency and downward diffusion of media, as well as increased self-reliance and cultural identity.

UNESCO formed a commission that began work in December 1977 focusing on issues of accuracy and balance of information, infrastructure, and functioning of news media, and rights and responsibilities of journalists and news media organizations. Its report included 82 recommendations aimed at reducing the gap between “the info-rich” and “the info-poor.” However, many around the world read the report as a forceful critique of the role of hegemonic influence of Western news media in the context of international relations and conflict resolution.

The MacBride report called for capacity building efforts in media and communication in developing countries through both infrastructure and human resource development. In addition, it also called for improvements in international news

reporting, particularly in breaking away from what was described as an excessive focus on “negative news.” Rather, the commission proposed development journalism, and the use of media technologies such as radio and TV for development and preservation of cultural identity, as important functions in the context of developing countries. The commission emphasized the effective integration of communication into development and culture throughout its report. This included language related to people’s participation in media production and elimination of barriers to diversity and choices of media products and content. The commission also called for international cooperation and partnership in the process of increased balances in information flow for reducing dependency of developing nations on media products from developed countries in the field of communication as a means to promote peace and security and to lessen political tensions.

However, the report—and NWICO more generally—quickly became highly political and controversial in a world dominated by cold war politics. Developed countries, particularly those opposed to Communism and Soviet-driven views, were skeptical of UNESCO’s role in shaping international communication in the 1980s. Western countries were supporters of the “free flow of information,” a position particularly aimed at countering the Eastern block’s tilt toward state media control (Carlsson 2003). This position was fueled by NWICO recommendations supporting the state’s role in addressing communication problems. The focus on the East-West dispute was broadened as NWICO included language bent on increasing flow of other media products South-South (in other words, from developing nation to other developing nations), and cultural and technical cooperation besides news, which were perceived as important in international relations (Carlsson 2003). Although the commission’s report received broad international support, the United States and the United Kingdom (UK) criticized it as a bold attack on freedom of the press, leading to the withdrawal of both countries from UNESCO membership in 1984 and 1985, respectively. While the UK rejoined UNESCO in 1997, U.S. separation lasted until 2003 (McPhail 2002).

Self-reliance and cultural identity emerged as key principles among the MacBride Commission’s

recommendations, which many nonaligned states incorporated into their planning. The commission also introduced such language as “local level and horizontal communication into thinking about development” (Carlsson 2003). Such recommendations led UNESCO to launch an International Program for the Development of Communication to assist developing or poor countries in building media infrastructure, developing communication capacities for more balanced flow of information, and promoting regional cooperation among developing countries through media programming.

NWICO sought to integrate people’s participation in the process of societal development. However, globalization of media systems spurred by deregulation and commercialization in an increasing international economy ultimately sealed the fate of NWICO as a viable issue. Implementation of NWICO’s recommendations in the late 1980s was a difficult task for most countries due to a lack of financial and human resources and a rapidly changing political, financial, and social environment, turning NWICO into an interesting process in the history of international communications with limited, if any, impact in the view of most researchers and academics.

The commission argued that negative news of disaster and political and ethnic conflict was affecting international perceptions about both developing and developed countries. Readers from Third World countries, for example, saw the “western coverage of their countries as disproportionate and distorted” (Chaudhary 2001, p. 241). Similarly, such media coverage in Western countries also prompted the media in Third World countries to “overemphasize the negative issues about western countries” (p. 242). But after the commission came forward with recommendations emphasizing a need for professional standards and integrity in news media, both Western and Third World media became more cautious in news reporting, as is evidenced in recent studies.

In analyzing the continuing debates around NWICO, Thussu explains that “despite many advances in democratization of the media, some of the key criticisms in the report are as valid in 2005 as they were in 1980” due to the impact of globalization as epitomized by media mogul Rupert Murdoch (1937–) (Thussu 2005, p. 47). Continuing imbalances in international news

media flow, and the trend toward globalization and privatization of the media, accelerated by media conglomeration and concentration, has undermined public communication in a global media culture. Media networks in the developing world emerged early in the 21st century (i.e., Tele Sur in Latin America; Al Jazeera in the Arab world) with the objective of countering dominant Western international news media (CNN, BBC, international news agencies). They sought an alternative perspective to international current affairs, international news flows remain largely dominated by large media corporations based in the developed world. In other words, the players have changed from countries to transnational media corporations but the issues remain the same.

Access to communication technology in developing countries is not much better owing to a huge technology gap between developed and developing countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) report on the “Digital Divide” (defined as the gap between those with access to digital communication and technologies and those without access to them) supports such an assertion with the following:

a person in a high-income country is over 22 times more likely to be an Internet user than someone in a low-income country. Secure Internet servers, a rough indicator of electronic commerce, are over 100 times more common in high income than low-income countries. In high-income countries, mobile phones are 29 times more prevalent and mainline penetration is 21 times that of low-income countries. (UNCTAD 2006, p. iii)

Historically, low income, limited infrastructure, insufficient and untrained personnel due to a continuing brain drain from poor to wealthy countries, and weak competitive and regulatory environments have slowed the adoption of newer technologies in poor developing countries. However, adoption of satellite and broadband communication systems in some developing nations in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa has helped them further cultivate diversified and innovative approaches for socio-economic development.

While for many journalism scholars the NWICO debate has turned into a relic primarily studied as a historical issue, international media developments such as the increasing concentration of media ownership and the predominance of few news media sources on the global media landscape are similar to those studied by the MacBride Commission, albeit in a changed political and economic context. Perhaps, it is time to reassess the recommendations of the MacBride report as part of a renewed discussion on international media and communication issues.

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See also Comparative Models of Journalism;
Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information;
Journalism and Globalization; International
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NEW YORK TIMES, THE

The New York Times is a leading U.S. newspaper with a worldwide readership publishing digital and print editions. It is widely regarded as a *newspaper of record*, meaning the paper creates a historical record of key events by providing accurate, professional journalism with rigorous editorial oversight. The newspaper’s famous motto “All the news that’s fit to print” was first created by Adolf S. Ochs in 1896 and is still featured on its print edition.

The *Times* holds the record for the most Pulitzer Prizes awarded, 127 total, claiming 16% of all 2007–2016 awards. The paper was famously nicknamed the “Grey Lady” for its heavy text orientation and resistance to color printing. However, in 1997, long after other major newspapers featured color, the *Times* published its first front page color photo alongside other significant changes, including separate sports and entertainment sections. The *Times* published its first digital edition in 1996. This entry discusses the *Times*’s history, business model, staff diversity, and its role in U.S. Supreme Court decisions on press freedom. It then looks at some of the controversies involving the *Times*’s coverage and staff in recent years and closes by discussing the paper’s coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic and the impact of the pandemic on the *Times*.

The Ochs-Sulzberger family has controlled the paper since 1896, initially through family ownership and, once the paper went public in 1967, through a controlling interest in the ownership group of The New York Times Company. In 2017,

Arthur Gregg Sulzberger was appointed *Times* publisher, following his father and grandfather. Critics charge that the Ochs-Sulzberger family dynasty promotes nepotism and restricts innovation.

The *Times*, like other mainstream newspapers, was historically supported by advertising and print subscriptions. The rise in popularity of web-based news spelled disaster for many newspapers, which lost critical classified advertising revenue to free sites, such as Craigslist, and lost corporate and political advertising revenue to news aggregator sites, like Google News and Facebook. In response to these challenges, the *Times* pioneered a new business model in 2011, transitioning from the traditional advertising-supported model to a paywall model, requiring paid subscriptions for access to digital-only content, including news, cooking, and crossword apps. In contrast to declining circulation figures for most major U.S. daily newspapers, the *Times* reports a continued increase in digital subscriptions with a stated goal of reaching 10 million total subscriptions by the year 2025. A 2017 study commissioned by *Times* Executive Editor Dean Baquet made several recommendations, including streamlining operations by cutting editing positions, adopting a more visual format, employing a more diverse staff, and promoting greater audience engagement and loyalty. The same report also outlined a project to devote more resources to covering then-President Donald J. Trump, whose 2016 election coincided with a spike in *Times* subscriptions.

History

The New York Times was founded by 31-year-old Henry Jarvis Raymond, speaker of the New York State Assembly, and George Jones, a banker. Raymond had previously worked for other New York papers, including Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, and met Jones while working at the *Tribune*. The first issue of the *Times* was published on September 18, 1851.

When Raymond died in 1869, Jones gained editorial control and financial oversight of the paper. He served as editor until his death in 1891. In 1871, the *Times* began printing the misdeeds of William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, the head of the Tammany Hall political patronage system. The

coverage is credited with bringing public attention to the Tweed Ring as well as to the newspaper. In 1884, the paper endorsed Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland, breaking with its reputation as a Republican newspaper. The paper also provided significant coverage of the Civil War and Reconstruction. When Jones died in 1891, control of the *Times* passed to his heirs, who sold the paper to a group of investors known as *The New York Times Publishing Company*, led by Charles Ransom Miller.

In 1896, 38-year-old Adolph S. Ochs, the successful newspaper publisher of the *Chattanooga Times*, bought the then-failing *New York Times*. It has remained under the control of the Ochs-Sulzberger family since. The *Times* became a public company in 1967, though the family retained ownership of Class B stocks holding controlling voting rights. In March 2008, the *Times* gave two hedge funds a seat on the board, the first time the *Times* has accepted directors nominated by outsiders.

When Adolph Ochs revived *The New York Times* starting in 1896, the paper began to value fact over entertainment, a dominant news value in the 1890s. It also became the elite paper of New York, attracting a wealthy, upper-class audience, and soon developed the standard for modern mass circulation newspapers. In 1914, the paper was the first to report on the sinking of the *Titanic*. It was the only paper in the world to publish the entire Treaty of Versailles in 1918. In 1927, the *Times* attained exclusive worldwide rights to Charles A. Lindbergh's personal account of his New York to Paris flight.

When Ochs died in 1935, control passed to his daughter Iphigene Sulzberger, her husband Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and his nephew Julius Ochs Adler, as trustees of the Ochs Trust. Arthur Hays Sulzberger became the publisher, while Iphigene Sulzberger directed from behind the scenes. A passionate suffragist, she pushed the paper toward more progressive policies.

In 1945, a *Times* journalist, drafted into the military, was the only reporter on the Nagasaki bombing mission. In 1955, the paper published the entire 138,000-word transcript of the Yalta Peace Conference. Despite the Jewish background of the Ochs and Sulzberger families, the paper has been criticized for downplaying the Holocaust of

World War II and for some of its coverage of Israeli affairs. Arthur Sulzberger, in turn, passed control of the *Times* to his son-in-law, Orvil Eugene Dryfoos in 1963.

In December 1962, the company's printers, represented by the International Typographical Union, led a strike against the *Times* and other city papers, which dragged on for an unsurpassed 114 days. After the strike, the *Times* revenues were down by \$16 million, and daily circulation had dropped 80,000, making it the costliest strike in New York's history. Dryfoos felt personal responsibility for the crisis and the stress took its toll on his health. He died of heart failure, aged only 50, in 1963.

Arthur Ochs "Punch" Sulzberger, son of Arthur Hays Sulzberger, took over as publisher after Dryfoos' death. The younger Sulzberger served as publisher until 1992 and is credited with turning the *Times* into a public corporation, with its 1967 offering of stock shares. Sulzberger oversaw the initial publication of the *Times*'s national edition in 1980. Punch appointed Abraham Michael "Abe" Rosenthal, an influential *Times* reporter who won a Pulitzer Prize for his international reporting, to the position of executive editor, in which Rosenthal served from 1977 to 1988. In Rosenthal's 2006 obituary, *Times* writer Robert McFadden described Rosenthal as "a principal architect of the modern *New York Times*."

The *Times* was the first paper to report on General William Westmoreland's request for 200,000 troops in Vietnam following the Tet Offensive of 1968. In 1970, the op-ed section was added opposite the editorial page and, in 1971, the Business section was added. The *Times* won the Pulitzer Prize for its critical coverage of the causes behind the *Challenger* space shuttle explosion in 1986, which killed all seven astronauts on board.

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr. became publisher in 1992. He oversaw the *Times*'s transition to the Internet and appointed Howell Raines, another Pulitzer Prize-winning *Times* journalist, as executive editor in 2001. But Raines resigned just 2 years later following the scandal over Jayson Blair, a *Times* reporter who resigned admits charges of plagiarism and fabrication in his reporting.

Sulzberger Jr. oversaw the transition of the *Times* to digital and, despite newsroom cuts and declining advertising revenue, worked to create an

economically viable newspaper. In response to massive revenue losses for traditionally advertiser-supported media outlets, Sulzberger led the *New York Times* in 2011 in creating a paywall, requiring subscriptions for full access to content.

In 2017, the Ochs-Sulzberger family appointed 37-year-old Arthur Gregg Sulzberger, who goes by A.G. or Arthur, as the new publisher. A.G. marks the sixth *Times* publisher from the Ochs-Sulzberger family. A.G follows in the footsteps of his father Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr. and his grandfather Arthur Ochs (Punch) Sulzberger, who were successive *Times* publishers.

Women at the Times

The New York Times, like many other newspapers, has had a long history of gender-based discrimination. Compared with other major U.S. papers, however, the *Times* took longer to elevate women into positions of power in the newsroom. Adolph S. Ochs opposed hiring women. Gender hiring discrimination continued at the *Times* during World Wars I and II, a time when more women were entering the workforce and other major papers were increasing their female staff. From the beginning of Ochs' tenure in 1896 until 1935, only four women worked as reporters in the *Times* city room. Sara Jane Clarke, hired in the 1850s, was the first female reporter on the payroll, working under the pen name Grace Greenwood. In 1869, Maria Morgan became the first woman to have a desk in the *Times* city room, the heart of news operations. In 1921, Anne O'Hare McCormick began writing stories for the *Times*, but was not put on the payroll until 1936, a year after Ochs' death. In 1937, McCormick, who had interviewed Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, became the first woman to win a major category Pulitzer for her foreign correspondence coverage.

Women who were employed by the *Times* were mainly assigned to the "Food, Fashions, Family, Furnishings" division, known as the *Four Fs*. The one-page section ran from 1955–1971. The Four F's offices were located far from the main newsroom. Betsy Wade, the *Times* first female copy editor, got her start in the section.

On February 1, 1972, Wade led a small group of women from the *Times* in founding the

Women's Caucus to address discriminatory practices. They later drafted a letter to the publishing family and directors documenting salary inequality, raise discrimination, and violation of civil rights. In 1974, seven discrimination lawsuits were brought against the *Times* in the U.S. Southern District Court of New York. In 1977, the judge approved a petition to pursue *Boylan v. New York Times*, a class action suit including 550 women. It was settled out of court in 1978.

In 2011, Jill Abramson became the first female executive editor in the paper's 160-year history. She was fired less than 3 years later with no clear explanation. Her departure was followed by the appointment of Dean Baquet, the *Times* first African American executive editor. In 2018, Monica Drake was promoted to assistant managing editor, becoming the first African American woman featured on the *Times*'s print edition masthead.

"Actual Malice"

New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, a 1964 U.S. Supreme Court case, ruled public officials and people running for public office have a higher standard to prove in defamation cases, which are cases that assert harm to reputation through the publication of false information. *Times v. Sullivan* established the principle that the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and press protected strong criticism and even inaccuracies about public officials in order to foster vigorous debate about government and public affairs.

The case arose from a full-page ad, "Heed Their Voices," published in the *Times* on March 29, 1960. The Union Advertising Service for the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South, a civil rights group, paid for a full-page ad, which included text critical of violence against civil rights activists and the Southern justice system. L. B. Sullivan, an elected commissioner of the city of Montgomery, brought a civil libel suit against the *Times* for the ad's content. The suit eventually moved on to the Alabama Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the plaintiff, stating that the *Times* ad had identified and defamed the plaintiff. The defense could not argue truth (the standard defense), as there were factual errors in the ad. The case was appealed by the *Times* to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Court unanimously ruled in favor of *The New York Times*. Writing for the Court, Justice William Brennan said, "A state cannot under the First and Fourteenth Amendments award damages to a public official for defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless he proves 'actual malice'—that the statement was made with knowledge of its falsity or with reckless disregard of whether it was true or false." The Court also held that falsity is not sufficient to warrant the award of damages to public officials in libel cases.

Pentagon Papers

The Pentagon Papers was the informal name of a 47-volume, 7,000-page classified study commissioned by the Pentagon to assess U.S. policy and planning in Vietnam. The study was made public in a *Times* series that began on Saturday, June 12, 1971. *The Washington Post* and other papers soon picked up the story. The publication of the stories and the ensuing Supreme Court case (on whether the papers were within their rights to publish secret government documents) were significant because they dealt with government accountability, censorship, and First Amendment rights.

The Pentagon Papers were classified as top secret-sensitive and only 15 copies of the final study were produced. Former RAND and Pentagon researcher Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers to *Times* reporter Neil Sheehan. Familiar with the Papers from his work at the Pentagon, Ellsberg was convinced that making the documents public could stop escalation and continuation of the unpopular and devastating Vietnam War. There was significant debate among the top officials at the *Times* over whether or not to publish the Papers, and if so, how. In the end, publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger approved a 10-part series, with a six-page daily limit.

On June 14, 1971, the day after publication of the initial report on the classified documents, Attorney General John Mitchell requested that the *Times* halt publication of the series, claiming that publication posed a significant and immediate threat to national security. On June 15, the government won a temporary restraining order against the *Times*, which stopped publication. The order was later extended to *The Washington Post* when they commenced publication. The *Times*

appealed the injunction against publication to the Supreme Court, arguing that the restraining order constituted prior restraint in violation of its First Amendment rights. Relying on language from the 1931 *Near v. Minnesota* decision, the government argued that publication posed a threat to national security, which trumped the First Amendment rights of the press. The Court ruled 6 to 3 in favor of the *Times*, issuing a per curiam opinion (one that is not signed by any one justice) which stated, “Any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity . . . [The government] thus carries a heavy burden showing justification for the enforcement of such a restraint.” Weakening the precedent-setting value of the decision, however, there were nine separate opinions, none joined by more than three justices.

The Court’s decision affirmed that the First Amendment rights of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to publish the Pentagon Papers could not be abridged by the government. At the same time, the court did not hold that prior restraint was always unconstitutional. There was no evidence that the publication of the Pentagon Paper harmed the U.S. military, defense, intelligence, or international affairs. Nor did publication lead to the end of the war. What publication did do was fuel the fires of public debate over U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Controversies

Beginning in 2001, *The New York Times* published multiple stories outlining Iraqi President Saddam Hussein’s plan and capacity to develop and stockpile weapons of mass destruction. This coverage is credited with drumming up support for the administration of President George W. Bush’s plans to invade Iraq, although much of the information was later found to be false and based on claims from Iraqi defectors who wanted to overturn Saddam Hussein’s regime. In an editors’ note published in 2004, *The New York Times* said its reporting on the claims about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction “was not as rigorous as it should have been” and that even when its reporters wrote articles calling into question those claims, those articles were not displayed as prominently as the original articles.

After his 2016 presidential election win, Donald J. Trump routinely began criticizing the *Times*, calling the paper such things as “fake news,” “an enemy of the people,” and “the failing *New York Times*.” In June 2019, President Trump accused the *Times* of “virtual treason” for publishing a story related to international relations between the United States and Russia. The story included information potentially embarrassing to Trump including how the Pentagon was hesitant to share information with Trump due to privacy concerns. In response to the article and Trump’s reaction, Trump’s National Security Council stated they did not have any national security concerns about the *Times*’s coverage. Banquet and A.G. Sulzberger also accused Trump of endangering the lives of journalists due to his repeated personal attacks on journalists, including calling them un-American and enemies of the people. Despite this series of conflicts with Trump, the paper has at times been criticized for seeming reluctance to characterize his comments or policies as racist or sexist.

Under the leadership of editorial page editor James Bennet, whose tenure began in 2016, *The New York Times* op-ed page became a source of controversy. The page ran a number of extraordinary opinion pieces from contributors who regular readers found unacceptable for views on climate change and foreign policy, among other topics. One such controversy occurred in June 2020 when the *The New York Times* published an op-eds by Arkansas Senator Tom Cotton, a Republican and Trump ally, calling for the U.S. military to respond to civic unrest in American cities during Black Lives Matter protests. Outrage and criticism came from *The New York Times* newsroom, with staffers sharing screenshots of the op-ed’s headline online with some version of the comment “Running this puts Black @NYTimes staff in Danger.” Initially, A.G. Sulzberger and Bennet defended the paper’s decision to run Cotton’s op-ed; however, due to mounting criticism, A.G. Sulzberger announced Bennet’s resignation in June 2020.

COVID-19

At the epicenter of the first major U.S. COVID-19 outbreak, *The New York Times* provided extensive coverage of the novel coronavirus. On May 24, 2020, as U.S. deaths by COVID-19 reached

100,000, the *Times* published on the front page of the Sunday paper the names, age, and a personal detail about 1,000 people who died from the virus, representing 1% of total fatalities.

In the first quarter of 2020, the *Times* saw the biggest increase in subscriptions since it established the paywall in 2011, mirroring an uptick in subscriptions and readership for many local and national papers. By April 2020, digital subscriptions topped six million, an all-time high. Subscription and total revenue increased during the same period. However, advertising revenue continued to fall, following a previous trend, but exacerbated by the economic toll of COVID-19.

For most local and national U.S. newspapers, the economic effects of the pandemic and dwindling advertising dollars led to sweeping layoffs, furloughs, and closures despite increases in subscribers; however, this has not been the case at the *Times*. *Times* Chief Executive Mark Thompson attributes the relative success of the *Times* to the paper's preexisting transition to relying less on advertising. For the *Times*, its market reach, transition to digital, diversification, and subscription model provide power in times of economic uncertainty.

Colleen Mihal

See also Audiences; Fourth Estate; *International Herald Tribune*; News Audiences, U.S.; Pentagon Papers; Prior Restraint; Pulitzer Prize

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NEWS AGGREGATORS

News aggregators combine computer software, algorithms, and journalistic practices to enable writers, editors, and audiences to collect news stories and other information as they are published by news providers and to organize the information in a specific, personalized manner. This practice can be accomplished in several ways, but the most common is the use of HTML coding on the websites of newsgathering organizations to create RSS feeds and other public notifications of instant updates to news content. News aggregator applications are installed on users' mobile devices, home assistants, and computers. These programs regularly search for updated information from newsgathering organizations and compile it for a news feed. The term *news aggregators* can also refer to websites and online publishers that republish RSS feeds, news stories selected using search engine optimization, information from newswire services, publishers, social media feeds, and other primary and secondary news sources.

News aggregation is based on the concept of content syndication, where content created by one or more newsgathering organizations is distributed through a different organization. Historically, syndication involved republication of both hard and soft news content by newspapers in different locations. These newspapers paid the initial publishing source (often a large metropolitan daily newspaper) for the limited right to reprint the stories. The nature of syndication has changed as technological advances allow for more information to travel much greater distances. Online journalism allows for more and different types of syndication, particularly the syndication of headlines and breaking news scoops.

Most news aggregators are web based: they deliver RSS feeds and other content using web browsers. However, other aggregators use stand-alone software that connects to the Internet to deliver RSS feeds and other content. Well-known news aggregators include Google News, Apple

News, and the MSN Start Page. Other news aggregators have been designed to display news feeds as scrolling screensavers or to send news feeds directly to an end user as a daily email digest. Many social media platforms are designed to act as personalized news aggregators. Feed scroll applications and websites (e.g. Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr) and group-voted link ranking and curation (e.g. Reddit, Digg, Slashdot) are the two most common forms of social media news aggregation practices and applications. This entry further discusses syndication and the evolution of news aggregators. It then looks at contemporary media theory related to news aggregators and ongoing changes in the use of news aggregators.

Syndication and the Evolution of Aggregators

While web-based news aggregators are a relatively recent phenomenon, they have their roots in news agency reports carried in local newspapers, which attempted to provide a local angle on stories for their readership. This practice developed into the familiar newspaper sections still in use today, such as the front page, editorial page, international section, sports section, and so on. In the late 20th century, most major metropolitan daily newspapers began to publish zoned editions, which carried both the main sections of the newspaper, plus an added section (or sections) of news specific to a subregion within the metropolitan area. While this practice of audience segmentation was common in newspapers, it was less common in local broadcast journalism as there was no practical method to focus stories for only part of a region. Before the rise of online journalism and newsgathering beginning in the 1990s, feature syndication had become a widely accepted news practice. Importantly, however, it was still practiced under the control of traditional news editors.

When newspapers began publishing on the Internet, they extended these practices into the online space: Sections of printed newspapers usually became separate sections within the overall websites. Since online versions of newspapers required no printing and distribution costs, the number of niche audience or local editions could be expanded, increasing geographic customization and demographic personalization. Stories could be

expanded and more photos—or even video—provided. The rise of independent intermediate websites that collect and republish headlines and hyperlinks began to erode the impact of traditional news editors. The social and political effects of a 24-hour news cycle in journalism (begun with cable news services and greatly expanded online) began to create expectations that print and broadcast news editors should provide near-constant updates and headlines.

In the 1990s, Ramanathan Guha created protocols for meta content framework formats while working for Netscape and Apple. This research was systematized as Resource Description Framework. There was no trademark or patent granted, making the protocols effectively open sources. RSS, originally an abbreviation for Resource Description Framework Site Summary and later said to stand for both Really Simple Syndication and Rich Site Summary, was released in 1999 and became the standardized software protocol that news websites use to publish updated headlines onto the World Wide Web through publication of data and metadata tags on their websites.

RSS 2.0 was released in 2002. RSS is a “pull” protocol, and not the same as web-based broadcasting, which is a “push” protocol. RSS feeds are effectively passive and must be constantly searched for, although this searching can be, and almost always is, automated. Further complicating this process, the intermediate sites that collect and republish RSS feeds are often called *news aggregators*. Such naming is misleading because it confuses individual practitioners with the overall practice. The newsgathering organization, intermediate websites, and end users all engage in the same process of acting as news aggregators, and increasingly the distinctions between them are disappearing.

Using these RSS feeds, intermediate sites collect new information, and end users can select and compile information based on their needs and interests. This developing feature of journalism allows for very personalized editorial control and continues to evolve and to change the way in which individual audience members and readers interact with their news. The upsides to the growing use of news aggregators include the increased relevance of selected news to the end user, faster access to breaking news, advertising that is more

targeted, and an increased personal agency for an audience that had been passive. Among the downsides to the growing use of news aggregators are the increased pressure on journalists for speed and scoops, the erosion of the distinction between newsgathering and republication, intrusive generalized advertising, and lack of any professional editorial role.

Contemporary Media Theory

Media theorists and technology pundits have made many predictions regarding the effects of online publication of newspapers and the rise of news aggregators. The balance of increased personal agency and decreased professional editorial control were popular topics of speculation and research even before the technologies had been fully developed. As early as the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan had predicted an anarchic computer web and expected that some form of personal organization would be necessary. In the mid-1990s, Nicholas Negroponte coined the term “the Daily Me” to describe the interface with which end users would receive, customize, and manipulate information. Negroponte envisioned a prototype “digital newspaper,” either in the form of an on-screen interface or a portable device, that would receive information constantly and arrange it in a personalized format.

Open-source movements have actively lobbied to keep standards open and to mitigate the effects of corporate ownership of media. These advocates have pushed for open web standards like XML and the Atom syndication format for the publication of news feeds, as well as free open-source software for stand-alone news aggregators. In theory, these open source aggregators allow for both commercial content and advertising while preserving the prerogative of intermediate websites and end users to copy and republish RSS feeds. More recently, media theorists such as Henry Jenkins and Cass Sunstein have stressed the complex interactions between existing corporate structures of newsgathering, evolving technologies for cataloging and moving information, and an active audience that self-organizes around emerging dynamic demographics or specific points of view.

Probably the most notable feature of the effect of online news aggregators on journalism is that

of homophily, “love of sameness,” the sociological theory that similar individuals will move toward each other, and act in a similar manner. Coined in 1954 by social scientists Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, the idea of homophily has been expanded by evolving media technologies, enabling demographically or politically similar individuals to seek out news sources that agree with their preconceived views. But homophily also describes the likelihood that users will thus exclude news sources that challenge or disagree with those pre-existing views.

News aggregators can create hyper homophily by allowing an end user to maximize exposure to agreeable news while minimizing exposure to new and conflicting information and create an “echo-chamber effect” of personal information feedback. Combined with algorithms for automated personalized selection of news, these ideas were expanded into the concept of the “filter bubble,” coined by Eli Pariser to refer to political, intellectual, and cultural isolation from disagreeing viewpoints. The filter bubble differs from general homophily in that the end user is unaware that news stories are being excluded from their news aggregators or may be unaware of alternate viewpoints altogether.

Continuing Changes

Most social media newsfeeds, including Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn, use automation and algorithms to function as news aggregators by republishing professionally created and edited news alongside amateur content and personalized information. Digital video recorders, such as TiVo, and most cable and satellite home hardware boxes, can also function as content aggregators, recording content as it is broadcast and cataloging it for later viewing.

Despite the erosion of traditional news editors, much of the audience of news websites and newspapers still prefer professional editorial oversight, design, and content selection. These readers use a mixture of information from news aggregators and from more traditional, edited sources. The continuing use of news aggregators has not displaced traditional news publications, but it has altered how news is written and distributed.

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See also Convergence; Digital Distribution; Digital Sound; Internet: Impact on the Media; Podcasting; Reporters, Online

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sense, can be defined as a structured account of one or more protagonists undergoing a series of events. Journalistic storytelling, in particular, uses different kinds of narrative conventions across a variety of genres (e.g., reportage, report, first-person narrative) in various forms of media (print, audio, video, digital).

Even though journalistic forms and formats often seem homogenous and uniform, they have significantly changed over time. News as narrative, then, is a rather recent phenomenon that emerged in the second half of the 20th century and fundamentally altered some practices, values, and norms in journalism, particularly in the United States. A number of scholars have shown that news organizations in the United States moved away from a straightforward chronicling of daily events. Instead, journalists began pursuing a more interpretive approach, using more subjective, explanatory, and contextual elements in their presentation of news.

Between the 1960s and the 2000s, American journalism experienced a variety of cultural and institutional influences that created enabling conditions for reporters and editors to redefine the news genre and their professional roles toward encompassing more narrative, and thus more emotional, storytelling. In part, the evolution of news as narrative grew out of changing pressures on the news industry. In the 1960s and 1970s, journalists were coming to terms with changing lifestyles and the end of the New Deal consensus. In the 1980s, economic transformations and new business realities created opportunities for narrative storytelling but also pushed journalistic writing more toward commercial objectives. In the 1990s, when Americans were experiencing affluence and abundance after the Cold War had ended, journalism was exposed to and contributed to the mediatization of public life. Against this backdrop of both gradual and decisive social, economic, political, and cultural changes in the United States, news as narrative expanded the scope and mission of what journalists were doing. In addition to the traditional objective of journalism to answer the question of “What happened?”, narrative techniques allowed reporters and editors to address the questions “What does it mean?” and “How does it feel?”. Critics of this development contend that news as narrative prioritizes

NEWS AS NARRATIVE

All forms of news are constructed in a narrative way, but some forms of news are more narrative-driven than others. Narrative, in its most common

human interest at the expense of structural analysis, dramatizes instead of illuminates, offers light entertainment instead of public service, and leads to trivial stories driven by a desire to please commercial interests.

In the context of journalism scholarship, scholars have focused on studying three different dimensions of narrative. They have examined narrative characteristics with regard to the *production of news*—both in terms of news as general narratives and journalistic stories as narrative news. Secondly, they have emphasized the *cultural functions* of journalistic storytelling with respect to its mythological features as well as its patterned structures of meaning. Finally, scholarship in the area of journalistic narratives analyzed *epistemological implications*, examining how different types of narrative reflect different ways of knowing. This entry discusses these three strands of research, along with the development of new forms of storytelling in response to technological change.

Report Versus Story

As with other systems of symbolic forms, the production of news can be understood as a set of conventions shaping the content of information. There are two basic kinds of conventions: report and story. The news report offers a systematic explanation of current or past events, typically structuring the information in the form of an inverted pyramid with the most important part of information at the beginning and other aspects organized in descending order of relevance. News writing in general is characterized by conventions, maintaining the illusion that the presentation of the news is natural and neutral when in fact it is always already structured by implicit news values. The news report is a narrative convention that makes one forget it is a convention. As a result, scholars have been eager not only to demonstrate the constructed character of news reports but also their potential ideological side effects, privileging, for example, the perspective of government elites and professional experts over the experiences of regular people.

Narrative news stories, on the other hand, foreground stylistic elements such as character, plot, descriptive detail, and point of view with the goal

of creating an immersive experience often designed to elicit emotional responses from readers, viewers, or listeners. This kind of journalistic storytelling borrows literary techniques to create reality effects, that is the illusion of being in the presence of reality itself. Consequently, scholarship has shown how journalists deliberately and strategically craft emotionally engaging narratives to highlight the lived experiences of people, dramatizing the large and often abstract events of which news is made. At the same time, critics of narrative journalism contend that this form of news prioritizes human interest at the expense of structural analysis, offers light entertainment instead of public service, and leads to trivial stories driven by a desire to please commercial interests.

News as narrative, however, is not just a result of symbolic conventions in the context of news production. It is also determined by social conventions and organizational practices of reporting. As early as the 1970s, scholars explored how professional practices and occupational routines shape aesthetic conventions. They challenged the notion of news as a creative endeavor and instead emphasized the organizational pressures of a highly standardized manufacturing process. Nonetheless, scholarship also documented how narrative journalists were employing a specific set of reporting techniques more akin to the strategies of anthropologists and ethnographers. What this line of research established was the observation that narrative journalists were in a permanent tension to reconcile the demands of storytelling with the challenges of factual reporting. The discussion about determining the border between fact and fiction triggered lively debates between journalism scholars and literary theorists.

Cultural Functions of Journalistic Narratives

The cultural functions of journalistic storytelling become apparent when we think about storytelling as an intrinsic and constitutive element of what it means to be a human being. If humans are storytellers, then different kinds of storytelling help construct particular social meanings. Some scholars have argued that news stories are modern forms of myths, emphasizing the universal character of stories in establishing a sequential and

semantic order where none had been before. While some scholars sought to identify mythical archetypes in news coverage (e.g., the hero, the outcast, the traveler), others were more interested in the narrative capacity of journalists to create mythic figures in the context of public rituals and collective meaning-making, thereby asserting their authority in the public sphere. Yet, research has also shown that not all forms of journalistic storytelling provide closures to public forms of meaning-making. At the same time, as much as journalists may attempt to legitimize their roles as storytellers by advancing unresolved storylines, they also have to consider the role of audiences and other public actors to resist, reinterpret, and redefine dominant narratives.

More broadly speaking, the term *news narrative* can also denote dominant interpretation of events or processes. Storytelling in this context constitutes a collective effort at constructing dominant interpretations of reality, a kind of framing, that results in news as an interpretive form of collective discourse, privileging some story lines and concealing others. As a range of scholars have contended, these narrative frames promote conventional ways of seeing and may reinforce existing ideologies. At the same time, however, the collaborative nature of dominant frames also opens opportunities for allowing a wide range of voices and viewpoints.

Epistemological Dimensions

When examining news as narrative, scholars have also focused on conceptualizing narrative characteristics of news writing as different ways of knowing. Narratologists pointed out that narrative representations are different from, yet not inferior to scientific knowledge. As much as science offers exact measurements, say for capturing temperature, the act of storytelling can provide a specific account of what it felt like to dip a toe into freezing water on a particular day. Some scholars have tied this ability to address emotional experiences to a systematic and strategic practice of journalists to infuse their reporting with emotion, thereby foregrounding personal experiences in addition to telling the facts.

But these subjective experiences are not the only types of knowledge that news as narrative

renders accessible. Since narrative inherently offers a particular strategy to interpret the interconnect-edness of basic categories such as time, process, and change, news as narrative also has an objectifying dimension, revealing characteristics of social life and the human condition. As a result, this kind of journalistic storytelling has been identified as an efficient strategy to foster empathy as well as create opportunities for understanding otherness.

The interpretive approach of news as narrative has frequently spurred debates about the boundary between fact and fiction. While literary theorists were keen on deconstructing the porous border between reality and imagination of nonfiction writing, journalism scholars emphasized that interpretive writing must not give way to fabrication, manipulation, and deceit. The underlying question in these debates was how storytelling affected one of modern journalism's core normative values: objectivity. The latter evolved over the 20th century and provided journalists with a conceptual anchor to express their role in society, emphasizing a privileged position for holding the powerful accountable. While critics of news as narrative argued that storytelling was undermining objectivity, others highlighted how the interpretive approach, as long as it is embedded in journalistic ethics and values, may actually augment the capability to convey information in objective, yet multidimensional ways.

New Forms

News as narrative is a cultural practice that is constituted by institutional and organizational characteristics within specific media systems. At the same time, narrative techniques shape and constrain the representation of social and political reality. Narrative as news, then, can best be understood as a reflexive process of meaning-making in the realm of news and institutionalized public debate. As technology keeps transforming the media landscape, journalists are adapting both to new platform of storytelling and new narrative modalities. The strands of scholarship mentioned earlier are being updated and expanded in response to technological change. New forms of storytelling, such as podcasting, virtual reality, 3D experiences, "gamified" news, data journalism, and

automated journalism, make it necessary to examine traditional conceptualizations of narrative and develop new strategies for assessing the narrative characteristics of these journalistic representations. Scholars will have to trace and analyze if and to what extent these new iterations heighten inherent tensions of news as narrative (e.g. reason vs. emotion, objectivity vs. subjectivity) and how journalists create novel conventions and routines around technological affordances.

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See also Human Interest Journalism; Literary Journalism; Longform Journalism; New Journalism; Objectivity

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NEWS AUDIENCES, U.S.

News audiences in the 21st century are rapidly changing, particularly as new technologies open news media to consumers who cannot or will not pay for their information. At the end of the 19th century, newspapers dominated and directed public life and conversation. The penetration of television into American daily life in the mid-20th century established the nightly news program as the arbiter of public life. Now in the 21st century, legacy news organizations are struggling to adapt to a new media environment dominated by instantaneous, Internet-driven communication channels, social media, and on-demand entertainment content. Younger generations are accessing a multitude of news sources rather than relying on one source, rendering it difficult to get a true snapshot of who is consuming news and how they are doing it.

Shifting news media consumption channels have driven legacy media companies into consolidation and bankruptcy, and media watchers' prognostications show a bleak future for print newspapers and broadcast news organizations that do not adapt quickly to Internet and streaming media paradigms. In 2018, the Pew Research Center reported that people who consumed news on social media surpassed those who got their news from newspapers for the first time; however, this does not mean that audiences trust the news they get from social media. Pew also reported that 57% of those who said they got their news often on social media also said they expect inaccuracies and falsehoods to riddle their online news.

Understanding today's news audiences requires looking at the changing paradigms of news consumption during the 20th and 21st centuries and the economic and social pressures pushing news consumers toward online, interactive news mediums and away from legacy news mediums, such as

newspaper and television. This entry first discusses the changing habits of U.S. news audiences and the effects on newspaper circulation and television viewership. It then looks at news audiences in the immediate aftermath of the election of President Donald Trump, the fragmentation of news audiences during the 21st century, and the loss of many local sources of news.

Newspaper Circulation and Television Viewership Losses

Newspapers were the dominant public communication medium in the United States at the turn of the 20th century. At the height of its run, the yellow journalism staple the *New York World* had a circulation of around 1 million subscribers. Total national circulation for all U.S. newspapers, which numbered around 7,000 daily and weekly publications in 2019, shows a much different readership base. The Pew Research Center noted that total weekday newspaper circulation in 2018 was around 28.6 million people, and Sunday circulation, which had fallen about 13% between 2017 and 2018, was 30.8 million. Digital circulation is difficult to calculate because it is self-reported by each outlet, and some publications don't report their full numbers to the Alliance for Audited Media, which audits circulation figures for the largest print publications in the United States and is where the Pew Research Center gathers its numbers. The numbers from 2018 show that national circulation figures for newspapers were lower than they were in 1940, when numbers first started being officially documented by *Editor & Publisher*. In 1940, national weekday circulation was around 41.1 million and Sunday circulation was 32.4 million.

The evening television news report captured and dominated news audiences from the mid-20th century; however, even television news is challenged when it comes to finding and securing the scattered news audience's attention. While cable news received a revenue bump from the 2016 elections, local news audiences remained in decline, according to the Pew Research Center's State of the News Media in 2018 report. In fact, local TV news saw the steepest drop in viewership of any of the news mediums analyzed, including newspapers and digital news channels.

The erosion of television news viewership of the three nightly news broadcasts was documented as early as the mid-1990s. A 1996 Pew Research Center study found that young adults and computer users, in particular, were leading large declines in public consumption of print newspapers, local nightly news broadcasts, and cable news channels. The erosion of viewership was steep between 1993 and 1996, with only 42% of respondents saying they watched a nightly news broadcast in 1996. In 1993, 60% of respondents said they watched one of the three network nightly news broadcasts. Newspaper consumption was steady at around 50% in 1996. The only winner in 1996 was local news broadcasts, which saw a slight increase in consumers who only viewed local news and consumed no other news broadcasts between 1993 and 1996. This report also documented a decrease of people who consumed two or more news sources a day.

Pew Center studies on media consumption habits in the 2000s continued to show slow declines in TV news consumption and an accelerated loss of print outlets and print audiences. Around 1,800 newspapers in the United States, most of which were weeklies, shuttered their operations between 2004 and 2019. This left many communities with only one or, in more than 170 U.S. counties, zero newspapers, pushing those communities into the growing number of so-called news deserts nationwide. In 2018 and 2019, print newspapers ranked lowest among the ways that U.S. news consumers got their news.

In 2002, 41% of respondents to the Pew survey said they'd read a newspaper in the last day. By 2012, that number had fallen to 23%. By 2018, only 16% of respondents read newspapers. More than 50% of the survey respondents watched television news in 2006, but that number had slipped below 50% in 2012. However, in 2018, cable news revenue was rising, viewership was up 8%, and local TV news revenue rose, as well, although viewership for both morning and evening newscasts was down more than 10%. The Pew Research Center notes that the rising ad revenue in 2018 could be attributed to a midterm election bump.

Trump Bump

The 2016 election of President Trump produced a short-lived boon for the news industry. In a

so-called Trump bump, the nation's largest dailies—such as the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*—saw an increase in subscribers and readers, particularly digital readers, in 2016 and 2017 as consumers sought reliable, factual sources of news. The Trump bump also produced an increase in numbers showing the public's trust in the media. Public trust in the media hit bottom at 32% in 2016, according to Gallup; however, by 2018, those numbers had risen to 45% of the public saying they trusted the media. However, this is still much lower than the 1970s, when trust in the U.S. media hit a high of 72%.

The Trump bump leveled off quickly, with subscription numbers falling quickly throughout 2017. Many publishers saw little to no boost in advertising revenue, and many of the news readers that were attracted to publications read them in digital format and did not pay for the content they viewed.

Fragmentation of News Audiences

There are several reasons for declining print news readership and television viewership numbers, including the implementation of the World Wide Web in 1991, which led to the increasing demassification of media, and a jaded public that increasingly showed a lack of trust in news media, regardless of medium.

Where 20th century media relied on their roles as the gatekeeper or arbiters of information, delivering the information they thought most pertinent, 21st century media breaks down the supremacy of the gatekeeper and allows audiences to determine the content they consume with no intermediary between the source and receiver of information. Where 20th century media relied on mass audiences, 21st century media audiences are demassified. In other words, 21st century media—led by the Internet's ability to proliferate niche websites, blogs, and podcasts—reach fragmented groups of smaller and specialized audiences.

Theories about demassification of audiences increasingly see media consumers as active participants in choosing media content and that various audiences prefer different content for their individual uses and personal gratifications. Uses and gratifications theory, originally developed in the 1970s by Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler, and Michael

Gurevitch, explains the explosion of social media as a primary venue for people seeing and consuming news, as social media fulfills people's need for human interaction, approval, relationships, and connections over shared interests. This assumes that an audience in a world with media demassification is an active, empowered audience that picks and chooses media sources to fulfill their personal needs, which Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch found can include needs to be educated, to identify with others, to be entertained, to be socially fulfilled, and to escape.

Demassification has benefited media in that it has allowed highly specialized outlets to find audiences, although not necessarily advertising dollars. It has also benefited audiences in that readers and viewers no longer have to watch general shows to gather a small amount of information on a specific, possibly offbeat or out of the ordinary, topic. At the same time, subaltern or alternative publics that had not made it into mainstream media sources have been able to find an outlet for their ideologies in the demassified media marketplace.

Non-mainstream media sources have been called a wide range of names, from participatory, citizen, and community media to grassroots, autonomous, and radical media. There is a both tension and a symbiotic relationship between niche media audiences and producers and mainstream media producers and audiences. The mainstream media producers pick up stories and ideas from alternative media sources and nondominant media producers create communities and distribute information that unifies smaller groups of people around a single idea that is broadcast through the group members and then beyond via social media and other personalized distribution channels. An example of this is a news story that quotes tweets as its evidence. The tweets were created for a niche audience, distributed through a social media network, and further distributed via the mass medium of a television cable news network or a newspaper.

Demassification did not start with the Internet. The 20th century was marked by the increasing division of radio, television, and print publications into specialized topics. The magazine industry embraced demassification of audiences and topic specification as an industry survival tactic. Just a few examples of special interest magazines that

exemplify the splintering of audiences include *Twins*, *Car & Driver*, *Better Homes & Gardens*, *Simply Knitting*, *Food & Wine*, and *Teddy Bear Times & Friends*.

However, the Internet certainly accelerated the fragmenting audience. Audiences seeking information that confirmed their opinions and expectations were accused of creating echo chambers where readers were able to hear information that agreed with their point of view echoed to them and reinforced. Pew's 1996 numbers show that the Internet had an effect on news consumption habits soon after it was made available to the public with the implementation of the World Wide Web, but the 2000s accelerated the consequences of news consumers having instantaneous access to information.

In 2018, 20% of respondents said they got news often from social media. Just one year later, the Pew Research center found that 55% of American adults got their news either often or sometimes through social media, with almost a third of respondents saying they got their news "often" from social media. The split between young adult use of media and the ways that older generations use media is increasingly revealed by the shifting of audiences from fixed, schedule-bound programming to on-demand, streaming media. As Rasmus Kleis Nielsen and Richard Sambrook observed in the executive summary to the 2016 report, *What Is Happening to Television News*,

There are no reasons to believe that a generation that has grown up with and enjoys digital, on-demand, social, and mobile video viewing across a range of connected devices will come to prefer live, linear, scheduled programming tied to a single device just because they grow older. (p. 3)

News Deserts

The declining number of newspapers and other legacy news outlets has caused many concerns about the growing number of news deserts, or regions with no official news sources for community news, across the United States. The study of news deserts is relatively new. Michelle Ferrier, a pioneer in studying the communities at-risk of losing their local coverage, developed the Media

Deserts Project in 2010 to use geographic data to visualize which areas of the United States had no local media at all and which areas had a high penetration of media coverage. A 2018 University of North Carolina School of Media and Journalism report found that one in five publications shuttered in the first part the 2000s.

For the most part, both of these studies show that the losses are highest in rural areas, where people tend to be poorer, less educated, and more vulnerable, although suburban areas had lost more than 70% of their outlets between 2004 and 2018, according to the UNC study. Half of the counties in the UNC study only had one paper, often a weekly, left by 2018, and almost 225 counties had no local paper left. The UNC study reported the highest losses were in the South, where 91 counties were without a local news outlet in 2018. The next highest number of news deserts was in the Mountain region, where 28 counties had no local newspaper in 2018.

News deserts are concerning because, without a local newspaper, local government affairs and events are left uncovered and residents are unable to fully participate in their communities' democratic processes without coverage. They're left out of conversations that could concern them, such as rising tax rates, the implementations of new policies, land use decisions, and other public conversations that determine the future of community growth and governance.

In some communities, digital initiatives have tried to step in to cover the holes in local news. However, these are risky at best as digital advertising dollars are hard to get, with Google and Facebook snagging at least 50% of the available money. The Poynter Institute reported that multiple studies have found it difficult for local news sites to gather enough visitors and income to be self-sustaining enterprises. In addition, a 2019 survey by the Pew Research Center found that two thirds of Americans are worn out by the amount of news they're receiving, a finding that has not changed significantly since the 2016 election cycle. Information overload and finding new revenue streams are challenges for news sources seeking to snag and keep the attention of today's news audiences.

Candi S. Carter Olson

See also Audiences; Journalism and Globalization; New Media; News Deserts; Social Media; Streaming Media; Trust in Journalism; User-Created Content

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NEWS AVOIDANCE

The phenomenon of news avoidance has recently gained substantial attention from both scholars and practitioners, as an increasing number of people seem to be turning their backs to the news.

This trend is potentially problematic as news consumption has several positive effects. At the individual level, it benefits political knowledge and engagement. In addition, news consumption has positive externalities (i.e., benefits for society beyond the individuals who consume the news). For example, people in power are less likely to engage in malpractice if there is a high risk of being exposed in public by journalists. If increasing news avoidance erodes the economic foundation of the news industry, these effects will fade. At the same time, however, news avoidance can have positive effects on people's mood and mental well-being. This complexity illustrates the importance of understanding the character of news avoidance and its underlying causes. First, this entry provides an overview of different types of news avoidance in terms of their nature (intentional and unintentional) and scope (consistent, occasional, and selective). Second, it provides a systematization of the underlying causes (individual-, content-, and contextual-level factors). Lastly, it outlines some important questions for a deeper and more detailed understanding of news avoidance.

Different Types of News Avoidance

In general, news avoidance can either be intentional or unintentional in nature. *Intentional news avoidance*, on the one hand, is based on a specific distaste for news that drives an individual to deliberately steer clear of news exposure. *Unintentional news avoidance*, on the other hand, is not based on a specific distaste for news, but rather stronger preferences for other types of media

content. It occurs in situations where consumption of other types of content, such as entertainment, squeeze out news exposure from an individual's general media repertoire. Thus, unintentional news avoidance is not an active opt-out of news in the same way as intentional news avoidance is.

In addition to the distinction between the intentional or unintentional nature, three types of news avoidance can be identified in terms of their scope: *consistent*, *occasional*, and *selective*. While consistent news avoidance can be both intentional and unintentional and is characterized by very low or no news exposure, occasional and selective news avoidance are entirely intentional and do not necessarily result in low news exposure. As such, consistent news avoidance is primarily concerned with a very low frequency of news consumption while occasional and selective news avoidance is more focused on the deliberate behaviors of restricting news consumption. Each type and how they have been studied in extant research is detailed in the following subsections. Their main characteristics are summed up in Table 1.

Consistent News Avoidance

A consistently low or non-existing news consumption can be both intentional and unintentional in nature. As such, the consistent avoidance of news is either a consequence of disliking the news in general or having a higher preference for other content.

Most studies focusing on this type of news avoidance rely on survey measures, but their analytical approaches differ. While some studies draw

Table 1 Different Types of News Avoidance and Their Main Characteristics

	<i>Types of news avoidance</i>		
	<i>Consistent</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Selective</i>
What is avoided?	News in general	News in general	Specific news content
What is the level of general news exposure?	Very low or non-existing	Not necessarily low	Not necessarily low
Is the avoidance intentional or unintentional?	Both	Only intentional	Only intentional

on cluster analysis or latent class analysis to inductively classify news avoiders based on general patterns in news exposure, other studies apply a cutoff point that distinguishes news avoiders from more regular news users. This cutoff point can either be relative to the average news exposure among respondents (e.g., one standard deviation below the average) or it can be defined by an absolute level of news exposure (e.g., the ones who report not to consume any news during an average day).

Although survey measures provide a potential foundation for systematic comparisons across countries and over time, this potential is rarely fulfilled due to the different analytical approaches. Instead, studies based on national representative samples have arrived at substantially different estimates of how large the group of news avoiders is. These differences are of a magnitude that is unlikely to be explained by cross-country differences alone but is at least partly due to the different methodological choices.

Other studies apply a qualitative approach to understand the group of consistent news avoiders. Through interviews with people with low levels of news exposure, these studies try to uncover how this group perceives the news and why they only to a very limited extent consume news. The aim of these studies is not to estimate the extent of news avoidance, but rather to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities behind it.

Occasional News Avoidance

The second type of news avoidance is characterized by an individual's occasional avoidance of news, which does not necessarily result in an overall low level of news exposure. Thus, an individual can intentionally avoid the news some of the time, but at the same time consume considerable amounts of news in general. This understanding is also clear from the operationalization of news avoidance in the empirical studies. For example, in the Digital News Report from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, survey respondents were asked "if they find themselves actively trying to avoid the news these days." Indeed, studies based on these data also show that this type of news avoidance has only a weak negative correlation with general news consumption.

Selective News Avoidance

The third type of news avoidance is characterized by avoidance of specific types of news content rather than news in general. This can be specific issues that dominate the media agenda at a given moment in time, such as a terrorist attack, a pandemic, or specific political issues. Thus, people selectively and intentionally avoid specific content that they have a distaste for. As such, this type of news avoidance is closely related to selective avoidance to political content in opposition to one's own political standpoint.

This type of news avoidance has been analyzed through both quantitative and qualitative approaches. While some studies follow developments in avoidance of specific news topics over time using panel surveys, other studies use in-depth interviews to understand why people avoid specific content, such as, for example, news about U.S. President Donald Trump.

Underlying Causes of News Avoidance

Extant research has illuminated different potential causes for news avoidance at different levels of analysis. To provide an overview, they can be divided into three groups of factors: (1) individual-level factors, (2) content-level factors, and (3) contextual-level factors. Differentiating the potential explanations into distinct categories can be helpful in thinking systematically about when and how different causes are most likely to affect news avoidance and how causes at different levels of analysis potentially interact.

Individual-Level Factors

When exploring causes at the individual level, it is important to distinguish between factors that are relatively stable (e.g., interest in news and politics, media trust, civic norms, sociodemographic variables) and more malleable factors that fluctuate over time and often have a more emotional character.

One of the most prominent motivations for news consumption is an interest in news and politics. Political interest has been demonstrated to be quite stable after being established through childhood and adolescence and can thus be seen as a dispositional interest. Studies of news avoidance

have found a lack of interest in politics and news to be a strong explanation for news avoidance. While media trust is likely to be less stable than political interest, studies have also identified media distrust as a prominent factor related to news avoidance. Thus, if people are not interested in or do not trust mainstream media, they are in general more likely to avoid news. Likewise, if people do not see news consumption as a civic duty, they are more likely to avoid news. In terms of sociodemographic variables, studies have shown contradicting results for how gender and education are related to news avoidance. In contrast, research has repeatedly demonstrated that younger people are more likely to avoid news compared to older people.

These quite stable individual-level factors are prominent explanations as to why some people are more likely to have a consistently low level of news exposure than others, but they also have an impact on occasional and selective news avoidance. For instance, people with low interest are more likely to engage with the news in periods when they are in higher need of the information, for example, during election time.

In terms of more malleable factors, research has pointed out that a substantial proportion of news avoiders' experience that the news has a negative effect on their mood. A feeling of news overload, fatigue, and paralysis have also been related to news avoidance. Although people in general have a slight preference for negative information, the plethora of available (negative) news can thus be counterproductive as information overload can create stress, confusion, and anxiety and lead to news avoidance.

While there is a risk that these less stable factors can lead to sustained and consistent news avoidance over time, they are also likely to serve as explanations for occasional news avoidance, where people avoid some of the news some of the time when news consumption affects their emotions negatively. Likewise, news overload can trigger selective news avoidance of specific issues, such as Brexit or the coronavirus pandemic. As states of negative mood and mental well-being as well as perceived news overload tend to vary both between individuals but also within individuals over time, they contribute to a more dynamic understanding of news avoidance and how

individual-level factors interact with content-level factors and context-level factors to explain different types of news avoidance.

Content-Level Factors

News avoidance is also influenced by characteristics of the news content. When news avoiders state that they do not trust the news, this is likely to be at least partly a result of biased news reporting. Likewise, when many people who avoid the news mention a negative impact on their mood or mental well-being, the precondition is that at least some news with a negative focus is available to them. It is reasonable to assume—all else being equal—that the more negative the focus of news coverage is, the more negative the general impact of news exposure on people's mood will be. Thus, more stable characteristics of the news, such as a negativity bias, can explain consistent news avoidance with a stable and low level of news exposure. However, the valence of current affairs news also fluctuates based on variations in news selection and in events and developments in the society that journalists cover. Thus, even though there are certain general trends in characteristics of news coverage, for example, a negativity bias, some news has a positive tone, and there is substantial variability in valence over time, which is especially likely to affect occasional and selective news avoidance.

In addition, as indicated earlier, these fluctuating content characteristics interact with individual-level factors in explaining dynamics in news avoidance. For example, people with different types of personality traits are likely to respond differently to negativity in the news. Thus, changes in content characteristics do not have a uniform impact across all individuals, and what makes some people avoid the news might motivate other people to expose themselves to more news. This makes it important to consider interactions between content-level factors and individual-level factors when explaining news avoidance.

Contextual-Level Factors

The final category of factors focusses on the context in which individual-level factors and news content are embedded. Contextual factors refer to environmental and situational characteristics,

which potentially impact the consumption and content of the news. Variation in such factors can appear across both spatial and temporal contexts. One of the most prominent contextual-level factors is the structure of media and news supply, which creates varying opportunity structures for news exposure across contexts. These opportunity structures vary both across countries and local information markets.

Opportunity structures also change over time—both long-term and short-term. The most prominent long-term change in opportunity structures is the development from a low-choice media environment with a relatively limited and stable supply of media outlets and content to a high-choice media environment where the proliferation of cable television and the internet has created a plethora of available content. This development is likely to increase the amount of news avoidance, as people can more easily find content that matches their preferences. This means that while people with a high preference for news are more likely to consume even more news, people with a higher preference for other types of content are likely to end up unintentionally avoiding the news, illustrating the interaction between contextual-level and individual-level factors. Focusing on explaining consistent news avoidance, some studies confirm that with the rapid expansion of available media content, an increasing number of people have a consistent low level of news exposure. However, other studies point to more modest increases in news avoidance over time.

More short-term changes in the context, such as an election, a pandemic, or a terrorist attack, also impact the opportunity structure and can have a potential impact on particularly occasional and selective news avoidance. For these more short-term fluctuations, the interaction with variables at the other levels is also important. For example, in election time, news coverage will be more intense, which makes it more difficult to avoid the news. While such intense coverage may lead some avoiders to tune in to the news, it may cause others to tune out due to news overload.

Unanswered Questions and New Research Avenues

While the number of studies on news avoidance is steadily increasing, conceptual unclarities and

divergent analytical approaches call for rigorous thinking to ensure an accumulation of knowledge. To this end, future research will benefit from clearly specifying the type of news avoidance under consideration and carefully consider the complexity of potential underlying causes. The overview of different types of news avoidance and the underlying causes presented in this entry may serve as a useful point of departure.

Future research on news avoidance is faced with challenging questions. In the new, digitized hybrid media environment it is increasingly complex to establish what news is and through which channels and platforms people are exposed to news. Extant research to a high degree relies on self-reported measures of news exposure and often implicitly rely on people's own definition of what news is. Furthermore, people are known to overreport their news consumption in surveys, which could result in an underestimation of news avoidance. Here, a fruitful avenue for future research is more unobtrusive measurements, such as tracking data. Such approaches are, however, also limited by the difficulties of obtaining cross-media measures that can provide holistic accounts of people's news consumption patterns.

These questions speak to the fact that extant research has primarily focused on the factors that can explain why people avoid the news. However, understanding the implications of the different types of news avoidance is crucial for dealing sensibly with people avoiding the news. For instance, if the result of news avoidance is that an increasing number of people characterized by low levels of knowledge and engagement are alienated from democracy, it is essential to mitigate news avoidance. However, if people are able to gain knowledge and get motivated to broadly engage in politics by substituting news with, for example, political satire or updates in their social networks, the implications of news avoidance might not be as bleak as some suggest. Here, the distinction between consistent and occasional news avoidance is also important. While it might even be beneficial for the mental well-being of some people to avoid some of the news some of the time without fundamental ramifications for their political engagement and knowledge, individuals consistently avoiding the news are more likely to end up with low levels of political knowledge and engagement.

Another promising research avenue is to explore how news avoidance can be mitigated. This research is already emerging but also deserves more attention. One strand of research focuses on how to create opportunity structures favorable for inadvertent news exposure in high-choice media environments and shows potential for mitigating unintentional news avoidance. Another strand of research explores if changes in news selection and presentation can reduce the extent of news avoidance. One example is the constructive journalism and solution journalism movements, which aim to counter the negativity bias of news by complementing news coverage with stories that focus on inspirational examples and potential solutions to the problems presented. News media around the world have embarked on experiments that implement this type of journalism in the hope that it will lead to fewer people feeling alienated from the news. Similarly, another emerging trend in the news industry is what has been labelled “slow journalism.” As a response to the accelerating news cycle and overwhelming stream of news updates, this type of journalism emphasize in-depth carefully curated news designed for the audience to escape a feeling of news overload and fatigue.

More research on these endeavors to mitigate news avoidance is needed, and together with additional research on the causes and consequences of news avoidance, such research will provide a more complete picture of when and why people avoid the news, what the effects are, and what can be done about it.

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See also Audience Research; Audiences; Infotainment: News Audiences, U.S.

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NEWS CONFERENCES

A *news conference*, also known as a *press conference*, is a managed tactic used by organizations and public officials to communicate directly with members of the media. Organizations select one or more individuals to deliver information to invited journalists and usually to answer questions. Presented by politicians and government agencies, law enforcement, businesses, nonprofit organizations, and other newsmakers, news conferences are a strategic forum for the delivery of information that is deemed highly newsworthy, timely, and significant. This entry explains the strategic goals and risks of news conferences for sponsoring organizations, the role of and benefit to participating media, uses of the forum in various historical and contemporary communication scenarios, and event logistics.

A news conference is called when an organization, public official, or other newsmaker has a significant news story to share with the media and, through the media, with the public. The event may be held in a conference room or other suitable setting, with the speaker or speakers usually positioned at the front of the room, often using a podium and microphone, and members of the media assembled as an audience.

A typical news conference is characterized by one or more ranking or expert spokespersons acting on behalf of an organization and an audience of general or specialized journalists representing print, broadcast, or digital news outlets. Because some press conferences are carried live on television, streamed online, or recorded for later use, space may be provided for television cameras, often on a raised platform behind the audience. The sponsoring organization, through its speaker or speakers, will typically present its information and then allow a question-and-answer period to accommodate inquiries from the media. The discursive nature of the news conference is one of its prime characteristics and a reason it may be considered a staple of democratic discourse.

Role of News Conferences in Media Relations Strategy

When sponsored by an organization, policymaker, or other public official, a news conference

is a media relations tactic that fulfills the goal of proactively engaging the media in discourse related to the organization, individual, or agency. Though some news conferences can cover multiple topics, many news conferences are organized around a specific and significant newsworthy story deemed to be of interest to members of the media on behalf of their reading, listening, viewing, or browsing audiences. Organizations and individuals hold news conferences with the hope that the forum will result in media coverage that promotes strategic goals—for example, coverage that increases an organization's or individual's visibility, exposes the public to news and strategic messages, favorably shapes public opinion, generates positive commercial or investor behaviors, or protects organizational or individual reputation.

Because a news conference represents a high level of commitment and risk on the part of the newsmaking individual or organization, and because news conferences demand a high prioritization by participating media outlets, news conferences are typically reserved for the most newsworthy announcements, exhibitions, and situations. Thus while the rising participation numbers at the local soup kitchen may warrant a press release, a riot at or million-dollar donation to that soup kitchen may warrant a news conference. News values such as timeliness, prominence, and significance need to be considered when making this determination.

News conferences also serve the goals of media relations by providing a platform for the delivery of strategic messages related to change. By hosting the news conference, an organization or individual reserves the right to issue a statement or series of statements before members of the media can pose questions. The opportunity to speak first gives the organization an opportunity to carefully and comprehensively articulate its position. In some cases, as in the event of an emerging crisis or an ongoing investigation, the question-and-answer session might be eliminated, leaving the participating media to determine how to handle the information provided.

Many times, the host organization will complement the speech or statement with written, visual, or digital materials that reinforce or contextualize the news. When collected into a digital or physical file and distributed to the media, these materials are called a *press* or *media kit*. The media kit may

include immediately relevant items such as press releases conveying the news story; speech transcripts; selected quotes; relevant data; product samples; multimedia resources, including photographs; and more. The media kit may also contain contextual or background information, such as supplemental press releases; background materials on the organization, issue, or story; biographical information about the speakers; supplemental materials, including fact sheets, reports, and infographics; and so on. These materials may also be provided to the media on an organization's website.

In addition to the dissemination of organizational messages and materials, a news conference also serves corollary reputational and strategic goals. For example, by bringing a news story to the media and thus to the public, particularly when willing to engage in questions and answers, an organization can exhibit a character of transparency. When it willingly engages in questions or answers by the media, the organization also promotes an image that recognizes responsibility to the public's need to know, as well as a sense of accountability to stakeholders and the community. The mutual engagement of an organization with its relevant media partners also fosters relationships that support ongoing strategic communication efforts.

Role of and Benefit to the Media

From the perspective of the participating media outlets, news conferences provide direct and important access to newsmaking organizations, particularly to their leadership and related experts, as well as policy-makers and public officials.

The value of the news conference structure, in contrast to one-way communication to the media via press release, email, or online newsroom, is an opportunity to personally engage with newsmakers to expand and clarify the scope of information available to the public. Journalists prepare for a news conference by studying the sponsoring organization or individual, researching the topics to be presented, and preparing questions in advance. The opportunity to participate in two-way communication in the form of questions and answers gives the media an opportunity not only to clarify or expand information but also to challenge it; to investigate the underlying motivations of

organizations and individuals; to broaden the scope of information available to the public; and to explore consequences and alternative interpretations. Members of the media thus serve as gatekeepers, responsive to the public interest, determining how and how much of the news will be reported, if at all. This follow-up production by journalists is an important stage as they extrapolate and frame information for their readers, viewers, and listeners.

The seating arrangement of reporters may be governed by seniority or protocol, with major media outlets benefitting from assigned, front-row seats at many White House news conferences, while others fill in or find standing room in the back. In other scenarios, the press may assemble in order of arrival or proximity, especially in the case of an impromptu or nontraditional news conference. Question-and-answer sessions, generally, are directed by the primary spokesperson, who may call on reporters in order of personal preference and determine the end of the session. Journalists may also take advantage of the forum to pose questions related to current events or other, unrelated topics. Reporters often stack their questions and provide follow-up queries. Members of the media attend the news conference with the expectation that their questions will be answered; however, a spokesperson may choose whether or not to answer a question, to do so partially or completely, or to dodge or object.

Strategic Applications of the News Conference Formula

News conferences are a preferred tactic for many disparate organizations, industries, and individuals who adapt format, style, and logistics to meet strategic goals.

Law Enforcement and Public Safety

Law enforcement and public safety officials use news conferences to provide timely and crucial information of concern to the public. Examples may include providing a summary of a recent crime or event; eliciting public support or issuing warnings in the event of a manhunt or natural disaster; and giving an update on an ongoing investigation or unfolding situation. These news conferences can include statements by experts,

victims, or other relevant individuals. Among many notable examples in this category were the daily or twice-daily news conferences held by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Public Health Emergencies

In the event of a public health emergency such as the spread of COVID-19 in the United States beginning in 2020, news conferences can be an effective tool for government, health care, and related officials to convey urgent news or advice to the public. The White House, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the World Health Organization, hospitals, governors, mayors, global leaders, and even celebrities were among those holding news conferences related to the crisis.

Candidates and Elected Officials

Because of the high news value of elections and political controversies, particularly at the state and national levels, political candidates and elected officials hold news conferences regularly and aggressively to build public recognition, articulate policy positions, and engage constituencies. Arguably those who employ the news conference tactic most frequently, candidates and elected officials use both traditional and nontraditional settings for their news conferences. Nontraditional settings can help shape a candidate's character or highlight a main campaign message, as when a candidate discusses labor policy at a Detroit manufacturing facility or environmental policy at a national park.

Joint News Conferences

Unlike a news conference that includes multiple speakers, experts, or stakeholders, a joint news conference typically denotes an event featuring two or more high-ranking political figures from different countries. According to the White House Historical Association, President George H. W. Bush was the first U.S. president to implement this type of news conference. A joint news conference highlights the diplomatic relationship of the individuals and perhaps offers commentary on the issues under discussion. Typically, journalists from

both countries may participate, with translators on hand when needed to facilitate conversation between the political leaders or between the spokespersons and the media. Although the goal of the joint news conference may be to highlight the collaborative or productive relationship of the leaders on behalf of their nations, questions can deviate from those topics into other current events.

Publicly Traded Companies

Publicly traded companies host news conferences to engage the financial media at various stages of the business cycle, including the initial public offering, the issuance of quarterly and annual earnings reports, announcements concerning corporate leadership, and more. News conferences can also deliver important news related to corporate performance, as when a company fails to generate or exceeds its expected quarterly revenue, or news related to new technologies or initiatives, as when a company introduces a new product or launches a charitable campaign. In times of crisis, a news conference can provide a venue for acknowledging and responding to concerns of investors or the public.

Nonprofit and Advocacy Organizations

Nonprofit and advocacy organizations can use news conferences for substantial news stories and announcements, or in tandem with other tactics, to move public opinion on important issues. Rallies, demonstrations, and public gatherings can provide a lively or compelling backdrop for a news conference on a controversial issue or policy question. Strategic positioning of a news conference—at a garbage dump, art exhibit, or the national border, for example—can prompt members of the media to complement verbal reporting with relevant sounds and images that strengthen the organization's message.

Sports

Sports leagues, teams, and athletes use news conferences regularly to generate attention and enthusiasm among the sports media and, through them, their fans. News conferences can be used as a tool for pre-event publicity, as when boxers

famously erupt in pre-title-fight press conference brawls. They are also used to generate off-season interest, as in college sports media days, which hype incoming recruits. News conferences can also bookend sporting events, as with pretournament press conferences by top Ladies Professional Golf Association contenders or postgame National Football League press conferences, at which coaches break down the winning (or losing) play or star players provide sound bites on an inspiring (or second-rate) performance.

Risk

While a news conference has the potential to deliver significant advantages to the sponsoring organization or individual in terms of visibility, message delivery, or crisis management, a news conference also presents a level of risk to the organization. These risks may come about due to the exposure of the organization or its representatives; the possibility for mistakes on the part of the spokesperson or communication staff preparing the remarks; the variable and often unpredictable stance of the media; the possibility that the organization's position or statements may be misrepresented or misinterpreted; and the volatility of a question-and-answer session, particularly in a high-stakes or controversial situation. In reality, a news conference does not guarantee favorable coverage or any coverage at all and may result in damage to the organization, individual, or cause.

Organizations may take informed steps to mitigate these risks. Strategies to manage risk may include carefully scripted and rehearsed statements or speeches, recognizing that impromptu remarks or nervous spokespeople may result in misstatements; invitation of journalists considered friendly to the organization or issue; prepared answers to anticipated questions; elimination of the question-and-answer session, despite the subsequent risk to perceived organizational transparency; and participation of experts, partners, or public figures to provide added credibility and visible evidence of support. At times, particularly in times of crisis, the risk of failing to communicate will outweigh any risks inherent in the news conference setting.

Planning and Logistics

Once an organization, policy-maker, or public official determines that a news conference is in order, those responsible for strategic communication will determine the scope of the topic, identify desired media participants, and clarify timeline. The preparation phase may be as short as minutes or hours, as in the event of a crisis, or as long as weeks or months, as in the planning of a collegiate media day or product launch. The event will be announced by means of a media advisory or alert and often supplemented with follow-up phone calls or emails to highly desired participants.

Logistical preparation centers on the identification of a location that is convenient for the sponsoring organization or official as well as the media to bolster participation; however, the site may be selected with an eye toward effective contextualization of the news. The White House, for example, holds regular news conferences in the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room, but other presidential news conferences have been held in the Rose Garden, at national parks, on military bases, and elsewhere. Similarly, businesses and nonprofit organizations can choose traditional or nontraditional settings such as a convention center, assembly plant, service facility, or even public outdoor space. Public officials, including law enforcement, may select a formal setting or, conversely, the scene of an accident or public event. No matter where the news conference is held, planners must consider access and security, the appearance and visibility of speakers, the number and position of assembled media, Americans with Disabilities Act compliance protocols, and the position of cameras and recording equipment.

Strategic preparation for the news conference by the host organization includes development of tactical messages by the communication staff; selection and schedule of speakers and their remarks; preparation of the main statement as well as answers to likely questions from the media; and production of supplementary resources such as multimedia, materials for distribution to journalists and other attendees, and web-based or social media distribution strategies. When time permits, and particularly in the event that a news conference will engage complicated issues of policy or elicit deep scrutiny from the media or the public,

speakers may engage in a period of rehearsals for their main content delivery as well as question-and-answer sessions.

White House Origins of the News Conference

For centuries, the press has been seen as a collaborator with public officials in the implementation of public policy and in shaping public opinion. However, as the press moved away from single-minded political affiliations of the early-to-mid 19th century and into an era in which circulation and advertising drove revenue—and thus content—lawmakers found it imperative to engage the media in new ways. Following the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson agreed to interviews by members of the press. By the 1880s, reporters were stationed outside presidential candidate James A. Garfield's Mentor, Ohio, home to hear comments from his front porch. And as the new century dawned, Theodore Roosevelt, thrust suddenly into the presidency by the assassination of President William McKinley, invited reporters to the Oval Office for regular and often candid statements and discussions.

News conferences evolved during the 20th century as an intentional and structured way for the president to deliver news to members of the media. President Woodrow Wilson is credited with holding the first presidential press conference on March 15, 1913. The event was held in the Oval Office with Wilson, standing behind his desk, and more than 100 reporters. Early press conferences were intended to be “off the record,” according to the White House Historical Association, so that presidents could have an opportunity to modify or retract their statements before being reported by the press.

Subsequent presidents continued the tradition, and the role of the press was quickly formalized, with the White House Correspondents' Association formed in 1914. Nevertheless, early White House press conferences displayed qualities that continue to characterize news conferences: careful statements with an eye toward public dissemination, members of the media eager for a scoop, a spokesperson sometimes unwilling to answer a question—or unwilling, at least, to give the answer

the press desired. The press was addressed in the Oval Office as late as the Roosevelt administration. Notably, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was the first presidential spouse to call her own press conference on March 6, 1933. Eleanor Roosevelt would go on to host hundreds of press conferences, with most restricted to women reporters. Beginning with the Truman administration, presidential news conferences would be held in other locations to accommodate growing numbers of reporters. Since 1970, White House news conferences have been held in the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room, atop the former White House swimming pool, as well as other locations.

Technology has impacted the delivery of press conferences and their reach, with recording by radio, television, and newspaper equipment first permitted under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, beginning in 1955. President John F. Kennedy was the first to deliver a live televised press conference, in 1961, and capitalized on his personal charisma to build a rapport with reporters as well as viewers at home.

In the modern era, news conferences by organizations, politicians, and other public figures can be livestreamed to global audiences via web and social media platforms. Online news conferences offer several advantages, including broader geographical distribution of participating media, smooth interface with websites and social media audiences, easy integration of multimedia content, cost-effective administration, text or voice-delivered questions, and archiving functions so the news conference can be viewed at a journalist's convenience.

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See also Democracy and the Media; News Values; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Public Relations

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NEWS CORPORATION

News Corporation was an international media conglomerate originating in Australia but headquartered in New York City. Incorporated by Rupert Murdoch in 1979 as a holding company for his Adelaide, Australia-based News Limited, it would become the mogul's primary vehicle in a decades-long global campaign of media acquisitions and start-ups. While not the largest or highest earning media company of its time, News Corp. attracted sustained critical scrutiny as the epitome of broader trends toward consolidation and globalization within the media industry.

By the early 21st century, News Corp.'s news and entertainment holdings reached a larger percentage of the world's population than those of

any of its competitors. The firm's close association with the Murdoch family—whose patriarch is renowned for his conservative politics, tabloid journalism, aggressive business stylings, and for circumnavigating tax and media regulatory regimes in multiple countries—made it the subject of regular controversy. In 2013, "News Corp" rebranded and spun off the bulk of its entertainment and television holdings—creating a separately traded 21st Century Fox, which was acquired in 2019 by the Walt Disney Corporation. The restructured News Corp has slimmed down considerably, but maintains global influence, particularly in book publishing, news production and aggregation.

This entry first discusses the origins of News Corp. before looking at the company's expansion into the United States and eventual global dominance. It then looks at the roles of Murdoch family members in the company and the effects of the phone-hacking scandal at its *News of the World* tabloid newspaper and the sexual harassment scandal at its Fox News Channel and the firm's subsequent fragmentation.

News Limited

News Corporation's predecessor, News Limited, was founded in 1923 by journalist James Edward Davidson as a holding company for newspapers in Western and Southern Australia. It was acquired in the late 1940s by Sir Keith Murdoch, who upon his death in 1952 bequeathed it to his son Rupert. Rupert Murdoch took the reins of News Ltd. in 1953, upon completing his degree at the University of Oxford and working as a subeditor for London's infamously sensationalist and conservative tabloid the *Daily Express*. In its first decade under Murdoch's leadership, News Ltd. experienced rapid expansion—growing from a single holding, the 75,000-circulation Adelaide *News*, into an insurgent force in Australia's media system. Murdoch first targeted newspapers in the country's more far flung cities and towns, perfecting a populist tabloid style and honing a reputation for cutthroat business practices, before launching an advance upon Sydney, the country's commercial hub. Murdoch engaged in subterfuge and leveraged his fledgling global television connections to break into the Sydney market,

ultimately purchasing the tabloid *Daily Mirror* and effectively breaking the duopoly of the Fairfax and Packer families. News Ltd. solidified its national dominance in 1964, when it launched *The Australian*, Australia's first national daily newspaper.

News Ltd. first began its international expansion in the early 1960s, with acquisitions in Hong Kong and New Zealand, but made its first global waves in the United Kingdom with its purchase of the *News of the World* and *Sun* newspapers in 1969. Throughout the 1970s, News Ltd. distinguished itself by producing among the most prurient, reactionary, and profitable tabloids of London's infamous Fleet Street.

News Ltd. papers championed conservative Margaret Thatcher's rise to power, which she reciprocated by exempting from the United Kingdom's monopoly assessment procedures the company's 1981 purchase of London Times Newspaper Ltd. (adding a more reputable broadsheet to the company's portfolio and securing some 30% of the UK national newspaper market). Meanwhile, the 1970s also saw News Ltd. take its first steps into the United States. Following a similar strategy to its expansions in Australia and the United Kingdom—purchasing under-valued and unprofitable newspapers, dialing up the sensationalism and dialing down the cultural sensibilities—News Ltd. initially faced headwinds in the U.S. print market. Its San Antonio, Texas newspapers, the *Express* and *News*, achieved moderate profitability, but the *National Star* (a supermarket tabloid founded in 1974 to rival the *National Enquirer*), the *New York Post* (purchased in 1976), *Boston Herald* (1982), and *Chicago Sun-Times* (1984) all underperformed in their respective markets.

Incorporation and U.S. Growth

Shortly after incorporating, and relocating the headquarters of Murdoch's media empire to New York City, News Corporation began a series of targeted investments and acquisitions that would profoundly reorient the U.S. film and television industries. After initial investments in Warner Bros., skirting Federal Communications Commission regulations against cross-ownership of newspapers and television stations in metropolitan areas, in 1985 News Corp. purchased the

Hollywood film studio 20th Century Fox and the Metromedia TV stations, which would combine to serve as the basis for Fox Broadcasting Company in 1986.

Before Fox, the United States television market had long been dominated by three networks, colloquially known as the "Big Three" (NBC, CBS, ABC). These three networks produced entertainment and news content to be syndicated by local affiliated stations around the country. The Big Three had each emerged, in their own ways, out of previously established radio networks—their national scale made the prospect of building a "fourth network" seem a daunting, even impossible feat. Nevertheless, through its ownership of studios and stations, Fox was able to leverage economies of scale to become the first new U.S. television network since 1948. Extending its print strategy into broadcast, News Corp. relied upon tried and true tabloid tactics to draw attention to the upstart Fox network.

Fox was an innovator of cheaply produced, scandal-driven infotainment (e.g. *A Current Affair*), true crime programming (e.g. *COPS*, *America's Most Wanted*), and, later, edgy reality television (e.g. *Who Wants to Marry A Millionaire?*). Fox's early rise also benefitted from News Corp.'s 1988 purchase of Triangle Publications—a \$3 billion debt-financed deal that made the conglomerate the largest magazine publisher in the United States by circulation. That acquisition included the 17-million-circulation *TV Guide*, which News Corp. used to promote fledgling Fox programming lineups.

News Corp.'s successful entry into the U.S. broadcast market came at a steep cost—almost entirely financed by short-term debt. The early 1990s saw a string of near-death experiences for News Corp., as it struggled to pay off and reschedule its obligations to well over 100 creditors around the world. News Corp. ultimately avoided bankruptcy largely due to its own byzantine and convoluted ownership structure, designed by Murdoch to prevent bank takeover. A debt override agreement was secured by 1991, but News Corp. continued to struggle with regulators and tax authorities in several countries throughout the decade. In the United States, News Corp. survived its last major regulatory challenge in 1995, when the Federal Communications Commission invited

the company to apply for a public interest waiver, absolving the company of its decade-long violation of U.S. restrictions on foreign media ownership.

The 1990s also saw News Corp. expand into the U.S. cable television market—first with the light-entertainment channel FX, which launched with 18 million subscribers in 1994. The channel struggled to build its subscriber base, failing to break into the lucrative New York City market due to gatekeeping by Time Warner, the cable company owned by media mogul Ted Turner. Two years later, News Corp. would escalate its battle with Time Warner—launching Fox News Channel in 1996 to rival Turner's long-dominant Cable News Network. Fox News, like many News Corp. properties, started off as an underdog. It poached former Republican Party communication strategist and successful television producer Roger Ailes from America's Talking, the NBC-affiliated predecessor to MSNBC. But it again struggled to build a subscriber base.

Despite offering cable providers \$11 per subscriber (a nearly 10-fold higher price than the next highest carriage offer), News Corp. again faced headwinds from Time Warner, launching Fox News with only 18 million subscribers. Fox News struggled in its early years, even as it honed its right-wing populist style covering the Bill Clinton impeachment hearings. The channel's breakthrough moment was its coverage of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and their aftermath. By January 2002, Fox News had usurped Cable News Network as the top-rated cable news channel in the United States—a position it has mostly maintained ever since. News Corp. extended its dominance of U.S. conservative media in 2007, when it took ownership of the esteemed *Wall Street Journal*, as part of its acquisition of the financial information and publishing firm Dow Jones.

By the turn of the 21st century, News Corp. had firmly established itself as a fixture of the U.S. cable and broadcast television markets—its Fox affiliates broadcast programming to most local markets, while it dominated or contended for dominance of news (Fox News), sports (Fox Sports), and business (Fox Business) programming. Its print holdings exerted outsized political and pop cultural influence, as well. The company's

innovations in conservative news, in particular, played a significant supporting role in polarizing the country's political parties and discourse.

Global Dominance

While News Corp. was founded in part to give Rupert Murdoch a U.S. base of operations, the scope and scale of the company's acquisitions strategy was always global. The 1980s saw News Corp. purchase a majority share in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* and Murdoch's father's former paper, the Melbourne *Herald*, in Australia. News Corp. also purchased the New York book publisher Harper and Row, which it merged with the British publisher William Collins to create one of the largest English-language book publishers in the world (HarperCollins).

News Corp. was also an early adopter of satellite television, which it saw as a means to circumvent the established terrestrial and cable television monopolies in various countries. In the late 1980s, after failing to win regulatory approval to launch a satellite service in the United Kingdom, and a failed bid to be part of the British Satellite Broadcasting consortium, News Corp. launched a four-channel pan-European satellite network called *Sky Television*. It beat British Satellite Broadcasting to the air by 6 months and in late 1990, with both companies sustaining heavy losses, the two merged to create BSkyB. The venture was an early money loser for News Corp., but in the coming decades, it would expand its satellite services around the globe to more profitable effect—leveraging its vertically integrated distribution system to reach tens of millions of households across Europe, Asia, Australia, the Middle East, and Latin America by the early 2000s. By 2004, News Corp. had acquired DirecTV, securing the second largest subscription-based television provider in the United States—further eroding the dominance of traditional cable providers, like the company's U.S. rival Time Warner.

If News Corp. excelled at producing and distributing content in the print and visual mediums, thriving in markets around the globe, it had more mixed results in its digital media acquisitions. Its purchase of the early social networking site MySpace in 2005 was a flop, and the company sold the site, now styled as Myspace, in 2011.

News Corp has continued to invest in artificial and social media intelligence, however. In 2013, it acquired and expanded Storyful, and its 2020 launch of the artificial-intelligence driven news aggregator site Knewz reflected the company's continued interest in the latest technological innovations.

A Family Affair

Since the beginning, when Rupert Murdoch inherited the Adelaide *News* from his late father Sir Keith, News Corp., and its predecessor News Ltd., have been almost synonymous with the Murdoch clan. True to form, virtually every significant stage of the conglomerate's growth has corresponded with a new marital partner for Rupert. He met his first wife, Patricia Booker, while in his early years of leading News Ltd. in Adelaide. The couple had one daughter, Prudence, born in 1958 while Murdoch was in the early stages of building News Ltd. into a dominant player in Australia. Murdoch met Anna Torv, his second and longest marital partner, while she was an entry-level reporter at News Ltd.'s Sydney *Daily Mirror*. They married in 1967, as Murdoch was leading the early stages of News Ltd.'s overseas expansion. Their marriage lasted until 1999, and yielded three children: Elizabeth (born 1968), Lachlan (born 1971), and James (born 1972). Wendi Deng was an up-and-coming executive at News Corp.'s Hong Kong-based subsidiary Star TV when she met Murdoch in the late 1990s. The two married in 1999, as News Corp. was in the midst of global expansion and shortly after Murdoch's divorce with Torv was finalized. They had two children, Grace (born 2001) and Chloe (born 2003), before divorcing in 2013. Murdoch married his fourth wife, American actress Jerry Hall, in 2016, about a year and a half before Murdoch began the process of selling the bulk of his global entertainment properties.

The four children from Murdoch's first two marriages have each played various roles in News Corporation over the years. Prudence has served in various directorial roles with News Corp. and its subsidiaries, while Elizabeth founded the UK-based television production and distribution company Shine Group, later purchased by News Corp. Murdoch's sons, Lachlan and James, have both held

multiple executive roles with News Corp. and its subsidiaries. In keeping with the patriarchal spirit bestowed by Sir Keith, Murdoch's sons have, respectively, been variously rumored as likely successors to their father's News Corp. chairmanship.

Scandal and Decline

The first decade of the 21st century saw News Corp. at the height of its global power, but also the first hints of scandals that would soon perpetuate its fragmentation. As early as 2004, rumors of sexual harassment at Fox News Channel swirled amidst reports of lawsuits and multi-million-dollar settlements by then top-rated Fox personality Bill O'Reilly. In 2006, the *News of the World* itself became news in the United Kingdom when reports surfaced that its reporters had hacked the phones of celebrities in pursuit of tabloid scoops. At the time, these scandals seemed minor blows to News Corp.'s overall reputation, hardly making a dent in terms of the company's massive bottom line. Both would prove emblematic of deeper management issues within the conglomerate, and harbingers of its decline.

In 2011, it was revealed that the *News of the World*, in addition to hacking celebrities, had hacked the phones of deceased British soldiers, of terrorist attack victims, and of the murdered schoolgirl Milly Dowler. The ensuing public and political backlash, not to mention criminal investigations, came at an especially inopportune time for News Corp., which was in the midst of an effort to obtain full ownership of BSkyB. Long a dominant player in the United Kingdom's national newspaper market, and already a controlling minority shareholder in BSkyB, the bid would have given News Corp. full control of the United Kingdom's largest pay television broadcaster. In an effort to save the deal, News Corp. abruptly shuttered the *News of the World* and engaged in a series of top-tier management shakeups. Both Rupert and James Murdoch resigned their posts in News International, the News Corp. subsidiary that controlled its British newspaper holdings, and James also stepped down as BSkyB chairman. While James Murdoch would resume as chair of BSkyB in 2014, the scandal effectively halted News Corp.'s long battle for total control of the television network.

Meanwhile, a leadership crisis was also brewing at the Murdochs' U.S. flagship property, Fox News Channel. By 2016, longstanding rumors of an entrenched climate of sexual harassment and intimidation at Fox came to a head when former anchor Gretchen Carlson filed a lawsuit against the Fox president Roger Ailes. The lawsuit inspired other former Fox employees to come forward with allegations, forcing Ailes to resign. Murdoch assumed the Fox News chairmanship as Donald J. Trump was accepting the Republican nomination for president. Under Murdoch's leadership, the channel faced intensified criticism for its apparent revolving door with and fawning coverage of the Trump administration.

The following year, the Murdochs began scaling back their global media empire. The family had split News Corporation into two separately traded companies in 2013—"News Corp," comprised of the original firm's print news and publishing assets, and 21st Century Fox, which retained the original firm's entertainment-oriented and other television media properties. In 2017, the Murdoch-controlled 21st Century Fox entered into negotiations with the Walt Disney Corporation, prompting a bidding war with Comcast. Ultimately, Disney paid \$71.3 billion to acquire the 21st Century Fox film and television studios, including what were formerly News Corp.'s entertainment-oriented cable and satellite channels, among other assets. In 2019, the remaining television properties, including the Fox Broadcasting Company, Fox News, Fox Business, and Fox Sports, spun off into a new Murdoch family-controlled public company called *Fox Corporation*, with Lachlan Murdoch at the helm. Rupert Murdoch, meanwhile, retained the chairmanship of the reborn News Corp, which maintained the bulk of the mogul's global newspaper, magazine, and book publishing assets.

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See also Fox News; Media Monopoly; Murdoch, Rupert; Walt Disney Company, The

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NEWS DESERTS

News deserts is a term used in both scholarly publications and the popular press to describe geographic regions or communities that lack access to critical information on quality-of-life issues, such as education, governance, politics, and the environment. The University of North Carolina Hussman School of Journalism and Media defines a news desert as a "community, either rural or urban, with limited access to the sort of credible and comprehensive news and information that feeds democracy at the grassroots level" (U.S. News Deserts, n.d.). Other researchers define news deserts as geographic communities that lack a local news outlet, or a group of people sharing similar characteristics and backgrounds, such as immigrant communities, that lack adequate coverage by mainstream media.

Much scholarly research on news deserts has focused on a recent dramatic decline in the number of mainstream newspapers because newspapers have historically been the prime source of locally relevant news and information for many residents outside of major media markets. Thousands of communities in the United States—including rural villages as well as inner city neighborhoods and suburban towns—have lost local newspapers and are at risk of becoming news deserts. Other countries with vast land mass, including Canada and Australia, as well as mature democracies in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, have experienced a decline in local newspapers and local journalism. This entry traces the origin and evolution of the term news deserts, the reasons that news deserts emerge, the implications of news deserts, and potential solutions to the problem.

Origin and Evolution of Meaning

The term *news deserts* is of recent vintage, used first in government publications and the popular press to describe the loss of hundreds of local daily and weekly newspapers in the first decade of the 21st century. A 2011 report by the Federal Communications Commission, *The Information Needs of Communities*, introduced the concept, noting that many communities faced a shortage of local, professional reporting, which would most likely lead to government waste, corruption, less effective schools, and other problems in the community. In the same year, a Chicago journalist and community activist described a “communications desert” as a community in which vital information did not reach its residents. Others noted the emergence of a “digital divide,” in which many communities lacked access to reliable broadband access. As a result, the residents lived in “media deserts,” with only limited news and entertainment options. By the middle of the second decade of the 21st century, many scholars and media outlets had focused the framing around the emergence of news deserts, a concept similar to “food deserts,” which are geographic areas where residents lack access to fresh, affordable food. Similar to the need for food, communities require up-to-date, credible news so residents can fully participate in society and make informed and educated decisions.

As of 2020, research on the growing challenge of news deserts has focused much of its attention on communities without a local newspaper or with significantly diminished newspapers because newspapers are the dominant producer of original news content that is often picked up by other local media, including television and radio. Scholars have estimated that as much as 85% of the news in a typical day in the United States originates with journalism produced by a local newspaper. More comprehensive methods to measure local news production are emerging, making it possible to analyze the broader local media ecosystem or media ecology. Regardless of the particular mediums inferred by the term, areas with a dearth of access to important local news leave communities and their residents malnourished.

Between 2004 and 2019, the United States lost a fourth of its newspapers—more than 2,000 weeklies or nondaily publications, and at least 70 dailies. By 2018, at least 1,800 communities were classified as news deserts, lacking a local news outlet. Between 2008 and 2018, the country lost half of all newspaper journalists when thousands of weekly papers closed and multiple rounds of layoffs caused the remaining regional papers to significantly scale back coverage of state and local news. Hundreds of newspapers shed journalists and scaled back local news coverage so significantly that they became known as *ghost newspapers*—shells of their former selves.

Residents of U.S. communities in the South and Midwest are most likely to live in a news desert. Most of the newspaper closures have occurred in economically struggling communities with high poverty rates, where residents have limited access to print, broadcast, or digital information. However, urban, well-educated communities are not immune.

Early predictions that digital news organizations would make up the deficit have not materialized. Even though the digital journalism segment has experienced limited growth, it has not been able to make up for the loss of reporting on everything from routine government meetings to investigative and analytical reporting on topics such as education, politics, the environment, and business. Of the more than 500 local digital sites that had been established by 2019, 90% were located in metro areas that already had several media

options. Most of these digital outlets had only a handful of journalists and limited financial resources.

How News Deserts Emerge

The decline in local newspapers has been driven by two trends. One is a change in habits and preference, as both readers and advertisers switch from print publications to digital alternatives. Also, the economic model that supported local print newspapers in the 20th century has collapsed, and the industry has failed to replace lost print advertising and subscriber revenue with digital profits. Retail and classified print advertising traditionally furnished the vast majority of revenue and almost all the profits of most local newspapers. Between 2000 and 2010, print newspaper advertising in the United States fell below 1950 levels and has continued to fall in the second decade. Simultaneously, audiences began searching online for news and information.

Beginning in 2011, more Americans accessed their news online than by reading a print newspaper. Because most local newspapers did not charge online viewers to access news and information on their websites in the first decade of the 21st century, consumers began expecting to receive their digital news for free. By 2014, newspaper subscription revenues weakened by more than \$23 million as consumers questioned the need to pay for news content. These factors have contributed to public reliance on social media and partisan digital sites as a source of news, raising potential exposure to misinformation, propaganda, and conspiracy theories—especially at the national level, and increasingly at the local level, as well.

Advertisers follow consumers, so instead of migrating their print ads to newspaper digital sites, the vast majority of local advertisers moved to online platforms promising to reach hyper-targeted audiences at less expense and through innovative marketing solutions such as native advertising. By 2019, Google, Facebook, and Amazon garnered 70% of the \$130 billion online advertising market, leaving all news media—including television and digital start-ups—to fight over the remaining 30%.

As a result, media ownership in the United States looks radically different than it did in 2000.

In the wake of the 2008–2009 recession, many newspapers—family businesses, as well as large chains—were forced to file for bankruptcy. Many of these newspapers were snapped up by a new type of owner: private equity firms and hedge funds that specialize in purchasing distressed businesses. The drive of these newcomers to maximize profits often conflicts with traditional values of journalism and its civic mission.

Consolidation in the industry, weaker commitments to the civic mission of journalism, and the drive to maximize profits have paved the way for massive newsroom layoffs, a reduction in the production and quality of local news, and the sale or closure of newspapers that do not meet financial projections. News deserts emerged as a consequence of this shift in ownership, the dramatic loss of print advertising revenue, and an inability to compensate by generating digital revenue. Many surviving newspapers, which operated at double-digital profit margins at the beginning of the century, clung to low single-digit margins by 2020.

Implications of News Deserts

Economists consider local news a public good because an entire community benefits when its residents have access to news and information that helps them make informed decisions about important issues. Abundant scholarly research in several countries has shown that strong local journalism builds social cohesion, encourages political participation, and improves the efficiency of decision-making of both local and state governments. The 2011 Federal Communications Commission report identified eight areas of information deemed critical for daily life and for communities to thrive: economic opportunities, education, emergencies and risks, the environment, civic information, health and welfare, political information, and transportation. In 2019, in spite of the segment's significant job losses, surviving newspapers still produced a larger percentage of original local news about important topics in civic life than all other mediums combined.

Local news organizations, particularly newspapers, contribute to the overall health of their communities. The rise of news deserts raises concerns about the transparency and accountability of local

government and business. Absent any news media to perform investigative journalism and assume the institution's historic watchdog function, there is no mechanism to hold those in power accountable. Studies have shown that political partisanship is correlated with distrust of the media and perceptions of media bias. Although public trust in news organizations has remained higher for local news than national news, overall trust of the media has experienced declines for years.

There have been various attempts to fill the local information void, including the hiring of more journalists by public broadcasting outlets, the establishment of digital outlets, and nonprofit funding of both legacy and start-up news organizations. Yet, studies have found that surviving newspapers still produce more locally relevant news and information than all other mediums combined, including local television, radio, and digital outlets. Therefore, the loss of a local newspaper—and the subsequent diminishment in readily available local news and information—has significant political, social, and economic implications for the long-term health of individual communities, as well as for society and democracy in general.

Potential Solutions

Reviving local news will require a reconceptualization of the building blocks of journalism, leaving start-up and legacy news operations to reach for new models—for-profit, nonprofit, and even publicly funded options common in many European and British Commonwealth countries. Some experts suggest a broader focus on “media deserts” to measure the entire community information ecology including news, information, and public conversation in an effort to map the complex communication systems at work in communities. Increasingly, community activists, legislators, and others are looking to address the issue of news deserts with governmental policies at the national, state, and local levels.

Many universities, advocacy organizations, and nonprofit foundations have created centers or programs to track industry changes, engage with industry, and collaborate to identify potential business solutions and product innovations. Policy recommendations include government subsidies,

taxation and licensing fees, and antitrust legislation aimed at curbing the market dominance of the tech giants such as Google and Facebook. Alternatives to government intervention include increased investment by venture capitalists, nonprofit organizations and community foundations, public/private partnerships, and private philanthropists. Regardless of the interventions proposed, successful solutions must address the unique market economics and information needs of a particular community.

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See also Hyperlocal Journalism; Local Journalism; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Newspaper Preservation Act; Nonprofit Media; Public Funding

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NEWS DIFFUSION

News diffusion is the process by which information about people, events, and trends flows through society. The systematic study of news diffusion began in 1945 when Delbert Miller investigated news flow about President Franklin Roosevelt's death. His findings launched the theoretical study of news diffusion. Miller found that after initial exposure to the information via the radio, word of mouth was the primary means in which the information spread; thus, the majority of people found out about Roosevelt's death via personal contact.

Research of news diffusion has tended to spike during periods marked by significant news stories. For example, a 2003 study found that 97% of Americans knew about the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, within 3 hours of the attack. This entry discusses the research on news diffusion, including patterns of news diffusion and the development of news diffusion theories. It then looks at more recent trends in news diffusion with the advent of social media and other technologies.

Several academic disciplines study news and information diffusion. While a majority of the research is found in mass communication literature, sociologists and scholars specializing in public opinion have also paid a good deal of attention to news flow. News diffusion theory naturally lends itself to strategically thinking about how to diffuse messages and create information salience within social circles. As a result, news diffusion theories are important not just to journalists, but to other information managers such as advertisers, political consultants, and educators.

The tangled web of information flow has grown more complicated with the advent of the

Internet and social media. A Pew study found that more than half of all U.S. adults (55%) in 2019 got their news from social media, up from 47% in 2018. Those figures, combined with declining readership of newspapers and viewership of television news, indicate that news consumers are looking elsewhere for information, which is changing, to some degree, how content diffuses through society.

Thanks to mobile devices, customized social media feeds and the democratization of content that makes anyone a publisher, news consumption is increasingly an individualized experience. Scholars have found that the ways and reasons people get news are constantly evolving, and research has emphasized shifting patterns of news consumption, the uses of mobile devices and social media networks, differences across countries and cultures, willingness to pay for content, and perceptions of trust.

Patterns of News Diffusion

Typically, patterns of news diffusion are represented using schematic drawings. An S-curve is most often associated with diffusion and represents an initial small spike that dips then surges again as information about a news event spreads. Scholars have also tried to identify other news diffusion patterns. For example, the J-curve suggests that when an event is of high interest, the news reaches a few individuals who then diffuse it rapidly through interpersonal channels.

Other patterns of news diffusion have been introduced over the years. The importance of interpersonal communication in news diffusion theory has aligned the study of news flow to the work of sociologists Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz in 1955. Their two-step flow model of communication speculated that mass media's reach is extended by opinion leaders, typically people who have the most access to media and who have a strong understanding of media content. Communications researcher Stephen Chaffee suggested in 1975 that news information diffusion had three distinct patterns or types. One is incomplete diffusion, when a story fails to work its way across the audience. The two other patterns are fast-moving news and very slow-moving diffusion.

Development of News Diffusion Theories

The 1960s saw a number of news diffusion research studies surrounding major news events, such as the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and Martin Luther King Jr. 5 years later. These studies affirmed that the more human interest in the event, the more likely it was that interpersonal communication would assist the media and cause the rapid diffusion of news. Communications researcher Bradley Greenberg found in 1964 that within an hour of Kennedy's assassination, 92% of Americans knew of the event. Furthermore, he found that how that information was diffused was most often impacted by whether a person worked and when the event happened. If the event happened during the work week (Kennedy was shot at midday on a Friday), employed people were most likely to find out about the story from a colleague. If the event happened over the weekend, the mass media were primarily responsible for diffusing the story.

During the 1980s, scholars furthered news diffusion research by examining how demographics and political affiliations related to the process. Researchers examining the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan in early 1981 once again found that interpersonal communication was the primary means most of those studied had found out about the shooting. Further examination found that demographics did not impact the first awareness of the news event, but did impact how an aware person would diffuse the information. Younger persons were more likely to tell someone else what had happened, and men and young people were more likely than women or older people to turn on the television to learn.

Communications researcher Melvin DeFleur (1987) conducted a meta-analysis of news diffusion research and found a lack of systematic study on the news flow process and as a result very little research aimed at theory building. DeFleur also found that frequently studies of news diffusion relied on accidental rather than random sampling, which limited reported results to little more than anecdotal value. He also argued that one could not apply the principles of technological diffusion (the study of how and why people adopt new technologies, a focus of much research attention

since the 1980s) to the study of that news and information diffusion. DeFleur argued that news diffusion was a less rational process than deciding to adopt a new gadget and therefore the same driving concepts were not always at play.

A handful of studies have explored why people tell others of news events. Telecommunications researcher Walter Gantz and his colleagues found in 1976 that people are compelled to insert themselves in the news diffusion process based on four needs: to establish social status, to satisfy informational and interest needs, to express one's emotions, and to initiate social contact with others. Their study did not focus on a particular news event, but rather on news in general. Sharing is often related to social and relational motivations as much as informational ones. Sharers want a reward of some kind, be it recognition and/or responses. But they also share with the characteristic of their audience in mind. A word-of-mouth study (2009) about how information was shared about films found that consumers transmitted details only when they felt it appropriate for their audience. In other words, an audience's "fit" for the content matters as much as the content itself.

More Recent Trends and Social Media

News events, such as the 9/11 attacks Hurricane Katrina in 2005, renewed interest in news diffusion research. Even with the ubiquitous nature of media today, a majority of Americans interviewed on September 12, 2001, just a day following the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, reported first hearing about the event from someone else (50%) rather than from the mass media (39%). The Internet's momentum as a news delivery source also led researchers to wonder what role the web played in disseminating news about the 9/11 attacks. Researchers found that most people went to the web in search of additional information *after* hearing about the event from traditional news media (primarily television) or another person. This finding confirms the continuing pivotal role of interpersonal communication as the primary driver of news diffusion.

Platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit energize the process of diffusion through synchronous communication, allowing users to post and

then share information in real time. This does enhance the ability of traditional media to reach larger audiences and continue to set the news agenda, but it also decentralizes the power of diffusion, as individuals get a say about what stories are shared widely. Jonathan Bright (2016) found that 50% of sharing occurs less than 3 hours after publication, and 90% occurs less than 16 hours after publication. On Twitter, those percentages jump—50% of shares occur in hour one, and 90% happen within 10 hours. That means timing matters.

A study of Hurricane Katrina evacuees relocated to other areas of the country after a harrowing week in the New Orleans Superdome found that news did not diffuse to them in an accurate way. These evacuees, who included people from low-income households, non-English-speaking households, and nonwhite households, were described by researchers as being at “high risk” of being left out of the news diffusion process. Researchers found that mainstream media failed to adequately provide these displaced residents with meaningful information about how they could best prepare for the crisis and suggested that crisis communication plans need to consider how to reach populations that are not regular users of the mass media.

Research published in 2018 on the diffusion of crisis information, such as news shared during Tropical Storm Cindy in the United States in 2017, found that, in addition to timing, the influence of someone in the social media network and the nature of the content spur quicker diffusion. During a disaster, content on social media is shared rapidly, and speed increases if the initial post is from someone who has influence, typically measured in followers. Scholars have found that higher rates of diffusion are seen earlier on, when news is shared shortly after an event. But that rate of diffusion lessens over time, as more people and news organizations battle for attention among users.

Sometimes during crises, news is shared on social media via personal channels, from people experiencing the crisis. “People-based” media, such as Twitter, blogs, and online community forums, are critical in diffusing information. And typically, individual users are the ones circulating the initial information. Then, traditional media

step in to carry the story forward, disseminating information to a much wider audience. In a 2014 study, researchers found that while people are still the most turned to sources for stories centered on a crisis, social media posts are the second most frequently quoted sources, highlighting how reproduction helps hasten the spread of news.

There is also a dark side to diffusion—rumors and lies, both of which diffuse at a much faster rate than true news content. Studies have found that users who spread fake and/or extremely biased information are smaller in number, but also more active on social media and connected to more users than average. A 2019 study of the 2016 U.S. presidential election found that more users on social media favored Hillary Clinton for president by a wide margin, but supporters of President Donald Trump were much more active on social media channels. The study also indicated that that diffusion of center and left-leaning news moved in a traditional fashion—mainly journalists spread the news to the audience. But “fake news” was spread mostly by Trump supporters—mainly individuals who spread the news to other people but also to right-wing media outlets, who would then sometimes amplify the message.

A 2018 study found that the most shared stories were often viewed as negative and that strong emotional responses to information were related to higher rates of sharing. Stories that aroused anger or controversial information were seen as credible and interesting, and thus worthy of sharing.

Critics of the way news diffusion is studied point out that the bulk of the research has focused on major news events, and as a result of that focus on national or global events, while researchers haven’t spent as much time paying attention to how local news diffuses. Future research might also study the role of individual users in the diffusion process, rather than that of traditional media organizations. Understanding how power users of social media platforms contribute individually to the process of spreading—or sometimes originating—information could also yield new ideas about agenda setting and gatekeeping.

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See also Agenda Setting; Framing; Gatekeeping; News Syndication

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NEWS ORGANIZATIONS

News organizations—like organizations in all industries—are specialized entities that are functionally assembled to efficiently achieve the work of their industry, the creation of news. Organizations define the nature of work, divide that work into specific tasks, design jobs around these tasks, coordinate the tasks, and create processes that ensure work quality. News organizations have primarily three types of work to coordinate—journalism, business, and technology: journalists create news and information products that are presented to audiences; business personnel market the journalism products to audiences and advertisers; technology and journalism are merged to design, produce, and distribute journalism contents across media platforms. All these tasks are overseen by an organization's management.

News organizations comprise what is broadly referred to as *the press*, or news media. They vary greatly in size and scope from small town newspapers to radio and television stations to digital websites. They report news and public affairs to local, regional, national, and international audiences. In the United States, *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, network affiliates (ABC, NBC, CBS), cable and satellite stations (CNN, Fox News, MSNBC), and websites BuzzFeed, ProPublica, and Vox are well-known examples.

As a media-dependent entity, journalism has had to adapt to many fundamental changes in the

digital age. News organizations mirror the media evolution. Most are in a period of transformation, producing traditional mass media products (e.g., newspapers and television news) while reorganizing and reinventing themselves for opportunities in the online and social media realm. Digital media have also had a profound impact on the business of journalism. This entry explores the digital transformation of news organizations, beginning with a review of the organizational model of the mass media age, followed by an era of organizational change prior to the digital age, and finally the ongoing evolution of digital news organizations. Throughout it explains how journalism work is organized and structured, the impact of technology and economic factors on news organizations, and how news organizations have evolved over time.

The Mass Media Era

For much of the 20th century, news media operated in largely stable, geographically defined markets, lending a degree of predictability to media businesses. The number of news organizations in most markets, except major cities, was relatively small: one daily newspaper and several television and radio stations. Journalists decided the news (without audience input), and one had to work for a news organization to produce journalism (there was no other way to publish). These dynamics created limited competition in media markets, and many media firms producing journalism thrived, with profit margins routinely above 20% (4–5 times the average for Fortune 500 companies) into the first decade of the 21st century.

In the mass media era, news organizations were defined by the medium of content produced (e.g., magazine, newspaper, radio, television) and the geographic market of the target audience. The size of the organization mirrored the size of the market served. News outlets in urban areas could have hundreds of employees, each assigned specialized tasks; those in rural areas might have a handful of employees who did all the work. News organizations develop their own cultures—shared values and practices understood by organizational members—that

are guided broadly by the professional values of journalism, but these cultures vary considerably by medium, audience interests, and the journalists producing the journalism. These conditions explain why journalistic content focuses on similar topics and issues across geographic regions, yet the content itself differs greatly based on the medium, locality, and journalists who produce it.

During the 20th century, most news organizations organized work to create daily products of news content (e.g., a newspaper, or television or radio news shows). The work was a series of steps (information gathering, story creation, production, and publication or broadcasting) that resembled an assembly-line, each step with a deadline for the completion of the work. The process most often was linear, starting with an editor or news director assigning a reporter a story, the reporter gathering information and creating a draft of a story, an assistant editor reviewing the reporter's work, which then was passed on for preproduction (e.g., to a copy editor, designer, production assistant), before final approval by the editor or news director for placement in the news product.

The linear process of news production meant journalism work was organized around prescribed patterns—routines—intended to ensure the work is completed efficiently (i.e., meets deadlines and standards of journalism quality). However, the very nature of news—the unpredictability of when and where news occurs—makes the application of a linear production model and associated routines problematic in journalism. Media sociology scholars, who study forces impacting media content, have found that journalism routines create practices that result in predictable reporting that is overreliant on public officials, substitutes balance and fairness for truth, lacks diverse perspectives, and favors the status quo. Put succinctly, the routines that should produce journalism of high quality often led to reporting that did not meet professional standards.

Despite these critiques, news organizations thrived through much of the second half of the 20th century. Facing limited competition, news media shaped public discourse and were profitable.

Some news organizations brought national attention to social and political issues through their investigative reporting during this period. In 1971, after *The New York Times* published excerpts from the Pentagon Papers, a U.S. State Department study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam that revealed government deception, the Nixon administration sought a court injunction to prevent publication of additional excerpts. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled 6–3 against prior restraint of publishing, supporting First Amendment rights of a free press. Investigative reporting on the 1972 Watergate break-in by *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein ultimately led to a Congressional investigation and the resignation of President Richard Nixon. The episode led to praise for news organizations' dogged pursuit of government corruption and deceit and—at the same time—questions of whether the news media were becoming too powerful.

In the 1980s, satellite and cable television became a platform for news organizations to broadcast live from around the globe. World leaders pondered the impact of the “CNN effect,” the broadcasting of news as it happened to an international audience. News media began to reflect broader globalization. The British Broadcasting Corporation extended its international radio and television programming. Al Jazeera, many of whose journalists began their careers at the British Broadcasting Corporation, first broadcast in 1996, and quickly gained influence beyond the Arab world. Also in 1996, Fox News launched in the United States to more than 18 million cable subscribers. Founding CEO Roger Ailes, a Republican Party media consultant for several presidents, changed the landscape of news by encouraging reporting that favored conservative ideals and the Republican Party.

These factors—the news media's apparent power, greater competition for audiences, increasing subjectivity and bias, and work routines that often undermined journalism's professional values—contributed to sagging public credibility. By the mid-1990s, news organizations—responding to changing news markets, lower credibility, and internal pushes to do journalism differently—recognized they needed to change.

The Transformative Years: Organizational Change, Digital Horizons, and Convergence

The stable news business environment began to unravel in the 1990s, even before the widespread use of the Internet to publish and consume news. News media firms quickly learned that they were not organized for innovation. The American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1995 created a Change Committee of editors from about 15 newspapers ranging in daily circulations from 5,000 to more than one million. These editors—from small papers such as *The (DeKalb, Ill.) Daily Chronicle*, *Grand Forks (N.D.) Herald*, *Wichita (Kansas) Eagle* to metropolitan papers, including the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (founded by Joseph Pulitzer), *The (Portland) Oregonian*, and the *Los Angeles Times*—used their newsrooms as laboratories for changing journalism processes and practices.

Common to these efforts was disassembling the assembly-line approach to journalism, removing the linear structure (e.g., editor to reporter with several assistant editors and producers along the way) and creating flatter, less hierarchical news processes. Many newsrooms abandoned beat reporting and created reporting teams focused on topics of reader interests. Some editors spoke of the need to “blow up” the culture of the newsroom, and that a less linear, team-based organizational structure would reorient how journalists think about and do their work.

The 1990s also saw broader levels of organizational change to newsrooms. For decades, part of the independence associated with journalism professionalism was apparent in the way news organizations were structured. Journalists enjoyed a “wall” of protection from the business and marketing interests of the organization. In most news organizations, business and journalism operations seldom interacted; often their offices were in different parts of the building or different floors.

Following trends in manufacturing industries, news organizations restructured to become more *integrated*. The reorganization created interdepartmental teams of business and journalism personnel, bringing together two areas of organizational knowledge to address business challenges and seize

opportunities. Research exploring the restructuring and integration of news organizations found that many efforts struggled. Many journalists thought removing the wall between business and journalism conflicted with professional values, jeopardizing their independence. Many journalists also saw change initiatives as pushed on them by top management. Journalists perceived attempts to change the culture of the newsroom as threats to journalism quality.

This transformative era, thus far, has noted two changes to the structure of news organizations: the integration of specialized departments (journalism and business, later informational technology) and the adoption of a team-based structure of news coverage and reporting. Both forms of organizational restructuring produced changes in newsroom cultures, yet bigger—largely unforeseen—changes were on the horizon.

News organizations began their own websites in the mid-1990s, and by 2000 nearly all news organizations were publishing news online, usually at no cost to the public. The Internet quickly changed the organization of journalism work. For example, deadlines became never-ending, as news could be posted at any time. There became a bigger premium on timeliness as a news value. Legacy news organizations (e.g., broadcast or print) no longer waited to break news at regularly scheduled evening broadcasts or in the daily newspaper. News organizations were reorganizing for a “digital-first” portfolio of traditional and online products.

The digital mindset prompted yet another form of restructuring in news organizations: interfirm alliances. The Internet required multimedia content—audio, graphics, photography, print, video, and nearly all news organizations were focused on content for their mass media product. Suddenly, newspapers needed people who could do audio and video; television needed more reporters and writers to maintain and update websites. The web required cross-media skills.

In the first decade of the 21st century, hundreds of interfirm alliances (usually between a newspaper and television in the same market) were formed in the United States and Europe. Commonly called *convergence agreements*, the

partnering firms shared resources to merge traditional forms of mass media (broadcast and print) into online media content. Early examples of these agreements were in Lawrence, Kansas, and Tampa, Florida. In Lawrence, the World Company moved its print and broadcast outlets in northeast Kansas into one building in 2001, where all media were coordinated by a central news desk.

In 2002, the *Tampa Tribune* partnered with WFLA, the local NBC-affiliate, to create TBO.com, a news website that featured content produced by both partners. In convergence agreements, the partners collaborated on stories, shared content, coordinated reporting, and cross-promoted their work.

Few convergence agreements lasted more than several years. News organizations learned how to do multimedia journalism. The short-lived partnerships taught journalists several lessons about digital media. First, broadcast and print newsrooms had different cultures, and despite shared professional values, journalists from different media thought differently about how to tell stories. Journalists also needed a digital skill base; it was no longer sufficient to specialize in print or broadcast media. Finally, online media created new opportunities for digital news businesses. Journalists no longer had to work for mass media; digital start-ups, such as the Huffington Post (now HuffPost, launched in 2005), Voice of San Diego (2005), and Politico (2007), became increasingly popular sources of news as well as career opportunities for aspiring journalists.

In 2008 to 2010, an economic recession contributed to significant reductions in advertising revenues to firms that produce journalism, as advertisers moved online and found many options for ad placement. The recession precipitated waves of layoffs in news organizations and the stark realization that few news companies had sustainable digital business models. Furthermore, a new force in journalism work and news organizations—social media—was just beginning to be felt. The reality was news organizations had been experiencing profound change for two decades, had reduced resources after rounds of layoffs, and had no clear digital business model, yet more radical changes were about to come.

The Digital News Organization

The financial fragility of news organizations became clear during the 2008 to 2010 recession. News consumers were moving online, where they had nearly an infinite number of choices for news. The vast majority of news organizations made their online content available for free, and news firms realized their mass media business models did not transfer to online business. The mass media model provided two sources of revenue: subscriptions or circulation and advertising. Online, news organizations were not generating money by posting content for free, effectively removing one source of revenue. Online ads generated considerably less revenue than legacy products because web metrics revealed the audience size for online stories was miniscule compared to the audience size of legacy products. Newspaper organizations found that their online advertising revenue amounted to trading “print dollars for digital dimes.”

Since the recession, news organizations have cut costs to stay in business and many daily newspapers have closed (in the United States, 1,408 daily papers in 2008 were down to 1,286 in 2017). Many news organizations became concerned about their ability to sustain themselves. Waves of layoffs continued. Between 2008 and 2019, the number of U.S. newsroom employees dropped by 23%, from about 114,000 to 88,000, according to the Pew Research Center. Reductions in the labor force were most acute for newspapers, down by 51% over the same period from 71,000 to 35,000 journalists.

The impact of fewer journalists has meant many stories go unreported, there are fewer resources for investigative journalism (which requires considerable time and resources), and many news organizations lost their most experienced and talented journalists. News organizations became smaller, younger, and less experienced; yet, at the same time, they became more digital, with younger journalists less resistant to forces of journalism change.

The digital age has also facilitated online-only news organizations. Some of these are national and international in scope and attract large audiences. Many target niche audiences with entertainment, business, and special interest content. In

2018, 37 online sites garnered 10 million or more unique visitors per month. Among them are the Bleacher Report, Gizmodo, MarketWatch, Mashable, and Slate.

However, most online news sites are grassroots, independent ventures (not owned by corporate media firms), focused on local news, seeking to fill the gap left by staff reductions or closures of news organizations in a particular region. Most are small and a considerable number are run on a nonprofit basis. A 2016 study found that 229 independent, online-only news sites existed in the United States. Of these, 60% existed less than 5 years, 70% employed five people or less, and about 85% focused on local or regional news. Forty percent were organized as non-profits.

News organizations continue to reorganize journalism work. They identify themselves less as medium-specific (television, radio, or newspapers) and more as content-driven information providers. News work is expanding, with fewer journalists expected to produce content for an expanding number of media platforms, including the organization's website, legacy products, and several social media platforms.

Digital technology allows for much journalism to be done outside the newsroom. Journalists use smartphones for gathering sound and video, and breaking stories are edited and posted online from the scene of the news. Thus, journalists find themselves in a paradoxical situation: they are more connected than ever by media to their editors and team members when doing journalism, yet they do more work alone, performing several previously distinct jobs (news gathering, editing, producing). News work has become networked. News organizations are less hierarchical and news processes less linear. The journalism organization and news work are more “fluid.”

News organizations increasingly use digital tools in news work. Web analytics provide audience data in real time (e.g., number of hits on a story, length of time spent on story, from which medium the story was accessed, and feedback such as comments, likes, shares, retweets). The impact of these web metrics on news work is controversial, as news organizations become focused on news that is popular and trending. The gate-keeping function of deciding what news is important is determined by the public as much as

journalists. Journalism's reduced gatekeeping role has had what some scholars call a "de-professionalizing" impact on journalism.

Social media are prominent must-use digital journalism tools, but also an ongoing puzzle. The social media news audience is growing, so news organizations post their content where the audience is. The user accesses the content at no cost; the news organization does not receive direct income from social media news consumers unless the user clicks on the story on the news organization's website. The puzzle is that news organizations know they need to put their content where the audience is, yet posting on social media brings no income. Social media are another way of giving away journalism at no cost and do not address revenue problems of digital media.

Many journalists use social media in innovative ways. Journalists are livestreaming news events, podcasting, hosting live chats, creating interactive communities, organizing events, and creating personal sites. News organizations increasingly see the social media presence of the journalists they employ as a valuable organizational asset. Individual journalists with larger social media followings bring larger audiences to news organizations.

Digital tools, including social media, provide journalists opportunities to engage citizens in ways mass media never could. Digital media are interactive tools for audience engagement and allow journalists space to create their own presences in ways that can enhance journalism professionalism. *The Washington Post's* David Fahrenthold won a 2017 Pulitzer Prize for his investigation of the philanthropy of Donald J. Trump during the 2016 presidential campaign. Fahrenthold posted hand-written notes on Twitter, asked social media followers to come forward with ideas, leads, and questions, and explained his investigation as he progressed. This type of journalistic transparency reflects the potential of digital media in journalism.

Fahrenthold's example also reveals how digital age news organizations are continuously experimenting and learning. News work continues to change. News organizations are smaller, organized for flexibility and fluidness, and less hierarchical and linear. News professional cultures are in flux as many news organizations struggle financially and

search for successful business models. Scholarship suggests the professional culture of journalism is becoming more commercialized, and news management has been key to integrating business values into newsrooms. The economics of news in the digital age have been an ongoing problem for many news organizations.

The profound impact of the digital age on news organizations is not complete. As new forms of mediated communication emerge, there will be a concurrent need for new journalism knowledge, skills, and continuous updating and training. These dynamics suggest that change and uncertainty for news organizations will continue into the foreseeable future.

Peter J. Gade

See also Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Gatekeeping; Innovation Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; Media Markets; Newsroom Culture; Objectivity

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NEWS SYNDICATION

News syndication is the distribution of content other than hard news or spot news to news media outlets. Typical content includes political commentary, travel articles, opinion, advice columns (for health, family, gardening, investment, house hunting, etiquette, cooking, etc.), puzzles, cartoons, comic strips, horoscopes, and entertainment reviews. In the old days, it also included short stories, chapters of novels, and whatever else would be of interest to a wide and varied audience. This entry defines news syndication and examines early and successful examples of news syndication, including the syndication of literary works, comics, and games. This entry then examines the broadcast syndication and explores some of the broader implications of syndication in the current news market.

Defining News Syndication

News syndicates do not produce their own work. These businesses pay journalists or cartoonists for their work and then sell their pieces to subscribing

news organizations. Syndicates might pay the journalist a percentage for every subscriber who uses their work, or a flat rate no matter how many subscribers they have, or a combination of flat rate and a percentage.

Other similar terms used in the past for news syndicates distributing feature content were newspaper syndicate and press syndicate to describe the news organization using the material, print syndicate to indicate the medium, and features syndicate to represent the type of content being distributed.

Wire services, news services, and news agencies are akin to news syndicates in that they distribute content to news outlets. However, these are news organizations that produce their own work by employing journalists to cover issues and events happening in various national or international geographic areas (e.g., Washington, D.C.) or follow the latest news on various topics (e.g., health). They distribute that content to other news outlets wanting their services. Local newspapers subscribe to news services because the news is of interest to their readers, but the newspaper does not have the funds to send reporters to cover the event. Some of these news service businesses are independent press agencies and others are press associations made up of various newspapers sharing their content, while still others are newspaper conglomerates, which are newspapers or news media companies selling their reporters' work to outside news organizations.

The origin of the word *syndicate*, loosely defined, is an organization or group of representatives combined for a common interest. In this case, these are mostly agencies granting permission to reprint or use content that they either own after paying the journalist or in which they represent the copyright holder and receive a percentage of the sales (commission).

Early Examples and Experiments

In times gone by, cities and even small towns supported many daily and/or weekly newspapers that ranged from a four-page broadsheet to several octavo pages. As one looks back in history, several newspaper owners engaged in what may be considered the forerunners of syndication.

A group of Boston patriots published a weekly series of stories from 1768 to 1769, called the

Journal of Occurrences, about the occupation of the British in Boston. These stories were transported to various states and inserted in newspapers throughout New York, Pennsylvania, and Boston. Samuel Adams and others were thought to be responsible for the stories, which fueled the fire for the American Revolution. This is an example of news being reprinted and distributed to newspaper readers in another region.

Features syndicates and press associations overlapped as newspapers helped each other save resources and fill their pages. An early occurrence of newsgathering and news distribution was in New York in the 1830s when the Association of Morning Newspapers pooled their resources for boats to meet and gather news from ships coming in from Europe. About 25 years later, the Harbor News Association and the Telegraphic and General News Association were merged to form the General News Association of the City of New York, which became the role model for future press associations, such as the regional New England Associated Press, the Southern Associated Press, and the Western Associated Press, among others.

Syndicates helped small newspapers compete with larger ones by supplying needed content from one area to another. Many journalism historians attribute Moses Y. Beach with forming the first syndicate in 1841, although it was for only one event. He arranged for a messenger to bring President John Tyler's address to congress to New York. Beach printed the address on multiple one-page inserts that were sold to about 20 other news organizations. Because Beach changed the title head for each newspaper, publishers could immediately give readers the complete address within their newspapers without the added time and expense of setting the type. Beach later became a founder of the first America press association, formed to gather and distribute news to other newspapers.

Other short-lived examples appeared throughout the decades, and into the Civil War when syndication filled a need. As President Lincoln called for volunteers in 1861, typesetters, printers, and reporters left their jobs to sign up as soldiers, leaving newspapers short-handed. Ansel Kellogg, editor of the *Baraboo* (Wisc.) *Republic*, found he could no longer fill his newspaper without help. He contacted David Atwood and

Horace Rublee of the nearby (Madison) *Wisconsin State Journal* and requested broadsheets to be printed with news of general interest on one side so that he could print local news on the other, filling his four-page newspaper. The arrangement worked well. Other editors noticed his success and made the same request. In addition to news and other items of general interest already printed in its newspaper, the *Wisconsin State Journal* included advertising, such as a lawyer's services. This is thought to be the first features syndicate that lasted longer than one or two events.

The First Profitable Literary Syndicates

Most of the prior syndicates were outcomes of short-term need and happenstance. After the war, several individuals began selling their short stories to multiple newspapers. Other people became literary agents by securing, representing, and selling the work of other writers to newspapers. About 20 years after the end of the Civil War, bona fide syndicate businesses were formed. Charles Dana of the *New York Sun* sold novelist Henry James's book chapters and short stories and also the works of author and poet Bret Harte, known for his tales about the California Gold Rush that readers on the East Coast enjoyed.

S. S. McClure set up in 1884 what is thought to be the first profitable syndicate to offer a variety of editorial content. McClure Newspaper Syndicate introduced American audiences to essays, celebrity interviews, poetry, and commentary. He started with the works of Rudyard Kipling and Conan Doyle, and over time the company signed up other literary giants including Fannie Hurst, Mark Twain, Jack London, H. G. Wells, Sarah O. Jewett, and Robert Louis Stevenson. The company would buy the rights to an author's work for about \$150 (about \$3,800 in 2020) and sell it to each newspaper for \$5 (about \$125 in 2020). Syndicates made more revenue with each newspaper that subscribed to the service.

McClure catapulted his company into a premiere syndicate by adding comic strips, sports features, columnists, and in-depth reporting exposes called *muckraking*. Investigative reporters exposed the underbelly of big business, unsafe working conditions, child labor, and crooked politicians, among other stories that were too expensive for most newspapers to pursue on their own.

McClure's was the first to carry columnist commentary about Washington, which was added to columns on gardening, fashion, interior decorating, and other general interest topics. McClure's syndicate was sold in 1952 and has been re-sold and folded into other businesses over the years, although the spirit of McClure's is still seen in other syndicates today.

The Syndication of Comics

Most news syndicates sold stories, poetry, commentary, and pictures. When New York newspapers began to publish comics in 1896, and then daily comic strips; news syndicates also added comics to their stable of offerings as the trend caught on. Comics were a profitable boon for the syndication business. One-panel comics and comic strips originated to make people laugh. Over time, the illustrations often commented on politicians, politics, and the state of the world, similar to today. Comics fill anywhere from one page in the daily newspaper to a whole section on Sundays and even more online.

The Syndication of Games

News syndicates are very much alive today after a long history of sharing news and learning how to become a successful business. There are businesses that offer general features from advice columns on any topic to comics to puzzles to Sudoku. Other businesses specialize in topics such as religion or environment features.

Over the years, the number of syndicates grew as the number of newspapers increased and needed content attractive to a general audience. At the end of the Civil War, three syndicates were in operation. In 1913, there were 40. By the 1930s, about 130 newspaper syndicates distributed 1,600 features to 13,700 newspapers. Fifty years later, 300 syndicates provided 10,000 features to newspapers and broadcast for a combined \$100 million in sales. Today, the tally of syndicates is much fewer than in the past because of newspaper closings and the availability of general content on the Internet directly to consumers.

The formula for syndicates' success, however, is their array of desirable content. When syndicates pay freelancers for exclusive material, then

it is available only to subscribing news organizations. It is up to the news outlet if they'd like the syndicated material to appear in print or digital or both. During the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, for example, several newspapers, including the *Lansing (Mich.) State Journal* offered an expanded selection of syndicated features online such as comics, puzzles, crosswords, Jumble, Sudoku, and Solitaire for free as a service to its community members who spent months quarantined in their homes. Once consumers are on the newspaper's website, they often are attracted to local news stories they are willing to pay to read and then become subscribers to the digital newspaper.

An example of a popular international syndicate is King Features Syndicate, owned by Hearst Entertainment and Syndication Group. In addition to newspaper syndication, the Hearst Group also has cable network partnerships and television programming. King Features distributes about 150 features such as columns, comics and cartoons, horoscopes, puzzles, and games to about 5,000 print and online newspapers internationally. Some of its 65 comic strips include *Blondie*, *Dennis the Menace*, *Beetle Bailey*, and *Prince Valiant*. Its many columns include "Car Talk," "Hints from Heloise," and "Money Matters."

Another large news syndicate is Andrews McMeel Universal, which distributes features to 400 international and 2,500 U.S. news outlets. Its comics and cartoons include *Calvin and Hobbes*, *Peanuts*, and *The Far Side*. Its columnists include Dear Abby, Miss Manners, and The Animal Doctor, among many other features.

News Agencies Today

News agencies employ journalists to cover international and national hard news and spot news. They offer news stories in the forms of text, pictures, podcasts and video to newspapers, magazines, radio, and television news outlets worldwide. Although there are many news agencies, the "Big Four" include Thomson Reuters (the largest, founded in 1851 and located in London), the Associated Press (founded in 1846 in New York), United Press International (founded in 1907 in Boca Raton, Florida), and Agence-France Presse (founded in 1835 in Paris). Together, these

agencies supply about 90% of the news in newspapers internationally.

Broadcast News Syndicates

The same news agencies that supply hard news content to print and online newspapers also provide hard and spot news content to television and radio stations for their news programs.

News syndicates provide the content (e.g., columnists, horoscopes, comics) that goes around the hard news stories in the newspaper. Broadcast syndicates distribute television and radio programs (e.g., soap operas, game shows, children's shows, late-night talk shows) that air around the hard news programs. Broadcast syndicates buy the television and radio programs from the producers and then sell the programs directly to local stations.

There are three main types of broadcast syndicates: first-run syndication, off-network or second-run syndication, and public broadcasting. First-run syndication offers shows that are seen for the first time in a country. It might be a show that has never been seen anywhere or it has been successful in one country and is now new in another country. Off-network, or second-run, syndications are reruns of shows that are now licensed to other networks. For instance, while the situation comedy *Friends* might air in the early evening on one channel, it also can be seen later at night on a different channel in the same market. Public broadcasting syndication is shows produced by, and shared among, members of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and independent stations.

The longest running syndicated television show is the children's show *Sesame Street*, which was first produced in 1969 by Children's Television Workshop (now Sesame Workshop). Its first-run shows are on HBO Max and reruns are on PBS. Another long-running syndication is the game show *Jeopardy!*, with more than 8,000 episodes aired.

A popular syndicated radio show is the news-magazine *All Things Considered*, produced by National Public Radio network. It has almost 15 million listeners who turn on their car radios during their afternoon drive home from work. A self-syndicated radio program and podcast is the

financial advisor *The Dave Ramsey Show*. It has 14 million listeners and is aired for 3 hours midday.

Early radio shows were recorded on transcription disks in one studio and mailed to other stations, who aired them when they could. The delivery system changed with technology. Transcription disks moved to phonograph records to tape recordings to cassette tapes to compact disks. Programs are now distributed through satellite and the Internet as MP3 and FTP downloads.

Impacts and Significance of News Syndicates

News syndicates were a lifesaver to many early local newspapers that did not have the resources or personnel to fill their pages. So, they shared news stories by mail. As audiences became more educated and mobile, they were interested in national and international issues. News agencies (also called *wire services*) used the telegraph to send breaking news to multiple newspapers over large geographic areas simultaneously. News syndicates would follow up with feature stories that included in-depth analysis, commentary, and illustrations of these national and also international events. A requirement was that newspapers must publish the content on the same day to appear as fresh news. Because of news syndicates, a person could travel across the country and not miss their favorite daily columnist or new chapter to a story. Small community newspapers could compete with metropolitan papers by offering similar content.

News syndicates introduced a library of classic novelists and other literary authors, such as Jack London and H. G. Wells into everyone's homes. In turn, these writers turned into literary giants because news syndicates introduced and sold their work across the country.

Media competed and borrowed from each other as some successful news syndicate columnists and cartoon characters made successful transitions to star in early radio programs, and popular radio personalities turned their work into syndicated features. Syndicates also helped newspapers competed with magazines' entertainment content.

While news syndicates produced many advantages to both the newspaper business and audiences, there were also disadvantages. While some critics were concerned that too much syndicated

content made newspapers appear homogeneous, others thought a shared culture was good for the nation. Other critics noted that in order to attract national audiences, syndicated content was too standardized and generalized; it missed out on hard-hitting topics unique to the community. Also, whereas some syndicated columnists would comment on conditions that happened in the region where they lived, they missed important topics or conditions happening elsewhere.

Journalists have worried about syndicate competition for their jobs. The concern is that the number of jobs could decrease as syndicates supply the work of a few writers to many newspapers. Newspapers could subscribe to a news syndicate for less money than hiring reporters.

The news media industry affects the syndication business and vice versa. On one hand, if news media do not have the resources to hire reporters, then they subscribe to news syndicates for content to fill their pages and programs. This is more revenue for syndicates. On the other hand, when news media have the funds to employ reporters, then they can fill their own pages and not use as much content from syndicates. This is less revenue for syndicates.

Today, news syndicates offer a wide variety of content to print and online publishers and radio and television producers who use the material to supplement their own content. There are about 412 news syndicates in the United States with many more news syndicates worldwide.

Lucinda D. Davenport

See also Agence France-Presse; Associated Press; Audio and Video News Services; Cartoonists, Political; Comics; Commentators, Radio; Feature Syndicates; Photo Agencies; Public Broadcasting Service; Reuters; Talk and News Radio

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NEWS VALUES

Journalists are taught either through workplace socialization or college training that events and people may possess any of a half dozen attributes or values that can make them newsworthy. “Scoring” potential stories for those values is one of several routines used by news workers to define, select, and deliver news. This entry explores the history of this routine, explains how it was applied in the past, and evaluates how social media may be forcing changes in its application.

Most news professionals and academics agree that the traditional list of news values includes

conflict (struggles featuring people, governments, or social and natural forces), impact (the number of people affected and how much they are affected), proximity (geographic or demographic closeness to the reader, listener, or viewer), timeliness (the more recent, the more newsworthy), prominence (how widely known a person or event is on the local, regional, or national and international levels), and novelty (unique or bizarre people and events). Human interest sometimes is cited as a distinct attribute, but many argue that it is a component of the other six.

News workers usually are taught to test for the presence of these news values by asking a series of questions—Who? What? Where? When? Why? and How? Beginners also learn that potential stories should incorporate more than one value, and researchers have found that the initial paragraphs of a print or broadcast story usually contain at least two news values.

The vetting and application of news values have changed little over time. For example, at the turn of the 20th century, an editor from the *Chicago Tribune* instructed a reporter not to write stories about fatalities involving railroad employees or obscure people unless there were two or more such deaths or great property loss. Almost 90 years later, an analysis of broadcast news by William Adams found reporters applying a somewhat similar “exchange rate”: The death of one Western European equaled 3 Eastern Europeans, or 9 Latin Americans, or 11 Middle Easterners, or 12 Asians.

Development

Tobias Peucer, a doctoral student at the University of Leipzig, produced one of the earliest studies of news values and their attendant questions in 1690. Peucer included timeliness and significance (impact) in his list, and he wrote that “accounts” should answer six questions: character (or who?), events (or what?), cause (or why?), manner (or how?), place (or where?), and time (or when?). His dissertation included a longer list of stories that should not be written like accounts that challenged moral teaching or that focused on everyday events.

The systematic application of news values in mass periodicals dates from the penny press era of

the 1830s and was a product in part of technological and economic competition. During the course of the 19th century, publishers in the United States and Britain abandoned partisan political content and replaced it with stories that would attract more readers and advertisers. At the same time, they invested in new presses. By the 1890s, hand composition, steam-powered presses, and four- and eight-page dailies were being phased out. They were replaced by costly high speed presses, linotypes, and stereotyping equipment that made possible larger daily newspapers attractive to both advertisers and readers. However, many publishers overspent, or invested in already saturated markets.

To cut costs, publishers and editors needed a way to quickly and cheaply fill the larger newspapers. As part of the solution, they hired inexperienced reporters and invested little in their training. How these novices were to learn the basics of news work was problematic. Busy editors generally proved not to be generous teachers. Trial and error could be time-consuming. Not counting courses in typography, American universities did not offer a sequence of classes in journalism until 1893. The University of Missouri founded the first school of journalism in 1908. Beginners could consult “how-to-do-it” books like E. L. Shuman’s *Steps Into Journalism: Helps and Hints for Young Writers* (1894) or related magazine articles. From Shuman, they would learn three news values—actors (prominence), the place (proximity), and the time some newsworthy event occurred—were so important that they should always appear in the first paragraph of a story. Novices also could read one of the 300 works of fiction written about journalism or journalists during the closing decades of the 1800s.

Knowledge Brokers

Beginners generally found the best instruction came from interactions with what present-day researchers call *knowledge brokers*. In the case of late 1800s journalism, these brokers could be star reporters whose careers encompassed jobs at many newspapers, exposing them to the latest innovations in news work. Established reporters who worked at the same newspaper as the

beginner who needed help also could provide aid, as could editors of other types of periodicals who purchased freelance work from beginners. Rheta Childe Dorr (1866-1948), for instance, credited her early success in the late 1800s as a writer in the New York City market to helpful suggestions made by other, more accomplished freelancers.

The news values passed along by knowledge brokers proved durable and were codified in early journalism textbooks. A cluster of six such books published between 1903 and 1917 were particularly influential. All were written by former or still practicing journalists. Most received favorable reviews by magazines and large newspapers like *The New York Times*. The volumes were Shuman's *Practical Journalism* (1903), Charles G. Ross's *The Writing of News* (1911), Grant M. Hyde's *Newspaper Reporting and Correspondence* (1912), Harry F. Harrington's and Theodore T. Frankenberg's *Essentials in Journalism* (1912), Willard Grosvenor Bleyer's *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (1913), and M. Lyle Spencer's *News Writing* (1917). Five of the books included chapters that defined news, discussed news values, and outlined how to procure a story. Timeliness and emotional appeals also figured prominently in each book's list of attributes for gauging a person's or an event's newsworthiness. Hyde's list was typical: recency or timeliness, distance (proximity), magnitude (impact measured by loss of life or property, prominent names, unusualness, human interest, and personal appeal or applicability to the reader's life). Shuman's text appeared in nine editions between 1903 and 1928. Bleyer's and Hyde's books appeared in five editions each.

Some modifications to the lists were made during the balance of the 20th century. In a revision to his text, Bleyer (1873-1935), for instance, listed timeliness and reader interest as the prime news values. Bleyer further subdivided reader interest into several categories. They included extraordinary events; struggles for supremacy by individuals or nations; romance; mystery; adventure; human interest; and children, animals, and amusements. He wrote that audience interest in the news was proportionate to the reader's degree of familiarity with the event, the event's importance or prominence in the reader's life, and the event's proximity to the reader's home and business. He

argued that the best news was that which had the greatest effect on the largest number or readers.

Over time, others simplified Bleyer's list to six or seven distinct elements. For instance, the 1977 edition of Curtis D. MacDougall's (1903-1985) popular *Interpretative Reporting* reduced the list to timeliness, proximity, prominence, consequence (another term for impact), and human interest. An analysis of 75 journalism textbooks and guidebooks published between 1894 and 2016 suggests that the most common list is proximity, timeliness, prominence, human interest, conflict and consequence/impact, and unusualness. While the components of the news values list remained fairly stable during the past 122 years, there were other, notable reinterpretations. For instance, the same textbook analysis found some news values predate others and perform more functions than earmarking potential stories. The human interest value probably is the oldest and most flexible. Besides signaling news, it also functions as a dividing line between emotional feature stories and objective, fact-based stories.

Legacy Media

Scoring a story for news values also can be affected by reporter and editor culture and ideology, type of medium, size of news organization, application of other news routines, as well as other factors.

Traditional print and broadcast media, depending on their type or size, demonstrate a preference for different news values in their content selection process. Broadcast media prefer clusters of timely news because of the speed and frequency with which they can issue reports, and some research indicates television especially collapses the traditional news values list into audience interest, importance, and visual quality. Small weekly newspapers favor stories high in proximity, while small dailies favor proximity in combination with human interest or timeliness. On the other hand, metropolitan dailies favor stories emphasizing timeliness combined with prominence and conflict.

Similar clusters of news values occur when global news organizations communicate about less developed countries. These distant places rarely receive attention, but when they do, the

emphasis tends to be on hard news such as reports on natural disasters or armed confrontations. Researchers also have found that journalists are less likely to apply professional story selection standards when they report on an event or person closely connected to their own national interests. For instance, news from abroad must deal with more victims—a form of impact news value—before receiving attention. Research also indicates that any country's media demonstrate a preference for stories from other regions that are culturally, geographically, or psychologically proximate.

News value scoring by elite media also can filter down to smaller organizations. This “arterial process” means that the less prestigious news organizations mimic the selection decisions made by their larger broadcast and print counterparts because those organizations have more resources to pursue the news. In this sense, the scoring decision spread by elite media represents a *de facto* news value.

The filtering process can be rapid because prestige media often own press and video services that syndicate stories to smaller organizations as well as communicate what stories will be featured in the elite organization's next broadcast or print edition. The same holds true for the Associated Press and other news agencies. This “top-down” influence on journalists can be unconscious. “Gatekeeper” studies have found that editors responsible for selecting news agency stories for their publications unconsciously picked those stories from topical categories in the same proportion as the wire services offered them.

Finally, journalists from the traditional media generally have little contact with or feedback from readers, viewers, and listeners. Consequently, they strive to produce work that satisfies or that is praised by their immediate peer group. Critics have called such peer groups *monocultures* because news organizations often are staffed predominately by white, male, middle-class workers who share the same ideological outlook.

The influence of the news monoculture is so strong because it creates an unconscious bias for familiar places, cultures, and life histories when journalists write or select stories. Presumably, this socialization effect can be particularly powerful when it is not offset by college-level education *about* journalism. According to a 2013 survey of

the U.S. news industry by Lars Willnat, David Weaver, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit (2017), 92% of all U.S. journalists had a college degree, but only 46% of those degrees were in journalism. Those degrees were held by a workforce that declined from 112,072 journalists in 1982 to 83,370 in 2013. Monocultures also bias news value scoring in another way. Members have a tendency to replicate earlier story selections that incorporate the same news. Those selections may not mirror audience interests.

New Media

At the beginning of the new media era in the late 1990s, “opinion journalism” dominated. It was found online, on 24-hour cable talk shows, and in blogs. It often failed to observe the routines and standards found in mainstream journalism. Not only did opinion journalism threaten traditional standards, but it also tempted mainstream media to rely on gossip and trivia to attract audiences. Watergate journalist Carl Bernstein (1944–) called the result *junk journalism*. The media also produced more stories about how they did their jobs. Some suggest that new media (as well as traditional forms) were being stuffed with opinion rather than news because opinion was unlimited in supply, cheap to produce, and entertaining for audiences. Using “opinion journalism” in such quantities, however, risked eroding the standards for separating news from commentary and confusing readers, listeners, and viewers about the difference. In some cases, these trends overpowered traditional journalistic routines while creating new ones. In spite of the threat from “junk journalism,” journalists have added to the list of news values and modified existing ones. Research has found some news value-like characteristics accurately predict how often articles will be shared on social media. Those “shareworthiness” factors include geographic distance, cultural distance, negativity, positivity, conflict, and human interest. Another study indicates scanning, snacking, and monitoring behaviors better explain story popularity than do “clicks.” Others suggest inclusion, accountability, and accessibility should be added to the values list. Newspapers have demonstrated some flexibility in managing the new environment. When facing competition from 24-hour

cable news services, they deemphasized the timeliness news value. They tended to pursue stories with more proximity value—and greater depth. Newspapers later rejoined the competition for timely news by creating websites that permitted continuous updating of stories. Newspapers today continue to deliver local news to an audience, but how they deliver that news and what they do or do not offer has changed. Personals, stock quotes, comics, and complete results for major sporting events appear on their websites, rather than on their printed pages. These strategies were introduced by a new class of news workers with titles like “competition analyst,” “chief transformation officer,” and “digital content director.”

Some media observers also wonder how stories dependent on local or proximate news values will fare as large media organizations move from an advertising-based business model to a software-based model. During its 2019 merger with New Media Investment Group, corporate parent of the GateHouse newspaper chain, the newspaper chain Gannett pledged to continue focusing on meaningful local news. But corporate layoffs may make it difficult for employees to produce that result.

Randall S. Sumpter

See also Agenda Setting; Bias; Credibility; Diversity in Journalism; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; Employment; Editing, Online and Digital; Ethics; Framing; Gatekeeping; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; Self-Regulation; Sensationalism

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NEWSCASTERS, RADIO

When news breaks, many hear it first on radio. Tens of thousands of New Yorkers learned of the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, when WCBS AM traffic reporter Tom Kaminski, on what had been a routine helicopter flight, described what he had just seen as he flew near the twin towers. Millions of Americans learned that World War II was over when CBS radio anchor Robert Trout announced: “This, ladies and gentlemen, is the end of the Second World War.” This entry provides both a brief history of American radio news and representative profiles of network broadcasters who helped create it.

Origins

In a sense, Guglielmo Marconi, one of the pioneers of broadcasting, can also be considered the medium’s first “newscaster.” In September 1898, he placed wireless equipment on two steamships that were part of a welcoming parade in New York harbor for American Admiral George Dewey and relayed information about the event to *The New York Herald*. It, in turn, printed a story that featured both Marconi’s information and details about the remarkable way in which it had been obtained.

For our purposes, “radio newscaster” means “one who reads scripted news aloud as part of a radio broadcast.” This is to differentiate the newscaster from a reporter who describes an ongoing event on the air (such as NBC’s Graham McNamee describing the return of transatlantic aviator Charles Lindbergh in June 1927 or the stunning eyewitness account by WLS’s Herbert Morrison of the explosion of the German dirigible *Hindenburg* over Lakehurst, New Jersey, in 1937). These were exciting examples of a practice common in the early days of radio. But regularly scheduled radio newscasts, or summaries of the day’s events, were relatively rare until the 1938 broadcast of what would become the first *CBS World News Roundup*, described below in more detail.

A station announcer who often lacked any training as a journalist typically read early station newscasts (and those only in the largest markets). In the 1920s, Harold Arlin of Pittsburgh station KDKA, credited with being the first full-time professional radio announcer in America, might provide news headlines one minute, read a community service announcement the next, then broadcast a prize fight or a football game later in the day.

An important distinction (but one not often made in the early days) existed between radio commentary and news. News reporters made the phone calls, tracked down sources, and presented the facts as they found them, while commentators gave their opinions (one book on radio journalism describes them as “mellifluous posers”).

Radio newscasts, as envisioned by such early practitioners as Edward R. Murrow, would instead strive for an accurate reporting of facts and a minimum of personal opinion. Radio newscasts became essential as world tensions grew toward war in the late 1930s. The radio news equivalent of “The Big Bang” came in the spring of 1938, when CBS broadcast a program featuring live reports from several European cities, ushering in an era of journalists who became among the best known in radio history.

Notable Radio Newscasters

Robert Trout (1909–2000)

Born Robert Albert Blondheim, Bob Trout possessed a baritone voice that retained traces of

his native North Carolina. He can be considered radio’s first real “anchorman” (Trout sometimes called himself an “emcee” or “master of ceremonies”) by virtue of his having been the anchoring voice for a CBS program broadcast on March 13, 1938 (which would evolve into *The CBS World News Roundup*), when Germany annexed Austria. CBS executives decided the event warranted a complicated transatlantic, multipoint live shortwave broadcast. The show included William Shirer in London, Ed Mowrer in Paris, Pierre Huss in Berlin, Edward R. Murrow in Vienna, and Trout, as the anchor in New York City, presented the news of the day. Trout would then pass the aural “baton” to Shirer and the others, and then introduce a newsmaker in Washington, DC, and finally end the show with a summary of the broadcast. It was a program that was both technically remarkable for its time and journalistically influential, creating the template for future radio newscasts, that is, an anchor reading a script, introducing reporters (live or recorded), and stage—managing the broadcast from beginning to end.

Trout began his life’s work by accident, hired as a handyman at a radio station in the Washington, D.C., area. One day the person scheduled to air a newscast failed to show up, and Trout (who adopted his air name from a family friend) was drafted into service, beginning a broadcasting career that would last nearly 70 years.

Trout was called by some “The Iron Man of Radio” for seeming to be on the air whenever something important was taking place, no matter what time of day or night. Indeed, he slept on a cot near the CBS studios for several days toward the end of World War II so he could be on the air with late-breaking developments at a moment’s notice. He also had an excellent ability to ad lib. As *The New York Times* wrote in its obituary, “His tireless ability to hold an audience when nothing was happening amazed President Franklin D. Roosevelt.” (Trout is also credited with coining the phrase “fireside chats” to describe FDR’s famous radio talks.) Toward the end of his life, Trout appeared on National Public Radio (NPR), offering commentary and talking about his historic broadcasts. His papers, including some of his original radio scripts, are preserved at the University of Texas at Austin.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965)

Murrow, born Egbert Roscoe Murrow, was not a radio newscaster in the same sense as Robert Trout. He considered himself first a reporter whose medium happened to be radio, but he is perhaps the best-known American radio broadcaster because of his reporting during World War II.

He majored in speech at Washington State University in Pullman, guided by teacher Ida Lou Anderson, whose method was to have Murrow and his fellow students study a text to extract all its meanings, and then read it aloud while she listened intently, asking questions, and guiding the discussion. (Anderson is also responsible for suggesting to Murrow that he make the dramatic pause in his famous “This—is London” sign-on, thinking it would help the overall pacing and effectiveness of his presentation.)

Murrow became Director of Talks at CBS in 1935 and then Director of European Operations for the network in 1937, moving to London and, as fate would have it, preparing to cover the run-up to the Second World War. His reporting, along with that of the famed “Murrow Boys”—the men (and one woman) he hired to bring the news of the conflict to America—would make him a broadcasting legend.

As a radio personality, Murrow set the standard for on-air authority. He reported the facts as he could ascertain them, but often described, in personal terms, what he saw happening before him. He was a pioneer in the use of actuality (newsmaker voices) and natural sound (ambient noise from an event), at one time even hauling his bulky radio equipment to a London Tube station-turned-air-raid-shelter to let listeners hear the sound of people scurrying to safety. His first-person account of the horrors of the Buchenwald concentration camp (“As we walked out into the courtyard, a man fell dead. Two others, they must have been over 60, were crawling toward the latrine. I saw it, but will not describe it”) is a classic of radio journalism. Murrow sometimes blurred the line between objective reporting and commentary as evidenced in his on-air denunciation of anti-Communist Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1954.

Despite his great success, Murrow was never comfortable on the air. His colleague Richard C.

Hottellet remembers watching Murrow at the microphone. Murrow’s leg pumped nervously as he read his script, and when he had finished, his shirt was soaked through with sweat. Murrow has become for many the patron saint of broadcast journalism, a title he would likely scorn, although Hottelet says Murrow “knew his worth” and used it to his advantage when required. His view was that radio (and later television) should be used to inform, challenge, and stimulate. As he said in a 1958 speech to the Radio and Television News Directors convention: “If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, then I don’t care what you call it—I say it isn’t news.”

Mary Marvin Breckinridge (Patterson) (1905–2002)

Mary Marvin Breckinridge, as she was known when hired by Edward R. Murrow, is noteworthy not only for her reports but also for being a female radio journalist at a time when most women broadcasters were relegated to hosting homemaking programs. Breckinridge reported from several European countries in the months before the Second World War began. Her pieces from Berlin are of particular interest. On the air, she sounded like the upper-class woman she was, with clear diction and an often-amused tone, even while describing unsettling events. In reporting on the official Nazi newspaper in Germany, she said that its motto was “Freedom and Bread” and noted wryly “there is still bread,” a comment that somehow escaped the Nazi censors. Her broadcasting career was short-lived. She resigned from CBS in 1940 to marry diplomat Jefferson Patterson.

Susan Stamberg (1938–) and Bob Edwards (1947–)

Although they were not the first hosts of National Public Radio’s *All Things Considered*, Bob Edwards and Susan Stamberg established the program’s format and put it in the forefront of radio journalism. New York City native Susan Stamberg was named cohost in 1972, becoming the first woman to anchor a national nightly news broadcast in the United States, and bringing her distinctive voice (traces of her New York accent

remain) to what had been a male broadcasting bastion. Stamberg's own style was intimate—listeners could feel as if they were talking to her in a one-on-one conversation. This approach helped erase what had been the dominant style of presenting radio news, what has been described as “the voice of God” (male), presenting information in an authoritative manner. *All Things Considered*, with its mix of both hard news, feature material, and sometimes downright silliness (Stamberg regularly told listeners about her mother-in-law's recipe for cranberry relish), has broadened the scope of radio news and is one of the few news programs that can devote many minutes to one subject. Stamberg is now a special correspondent for NPR.

Bob Edwards had been a radio newscaster at the Mutual Broadcasting System before joining NPR in 1974 and becoming cohost of *All Things Considered* with Stamberg. He became the solo anchor for the new *Morning Edition* in 1979. Edwards is considered an excellent interviewer, exemplifying what has become the signature NPR sound, as described by the Peabody Committee in giving him an award in 1999: “. . . a man who embodies the essence of excellence in radio. His reassuring and authoritative voice is often the first many Americans hear each day. His is a rare radio voice: informed but never smug; intimate but never intrusive; opinionated but never dismissive. Mr. Edwards does not merely talk, he listens.”

After a disagreement with NPR management over the direction of *Morning Edition*, Edwards left the network in 2004 and joined XM Satellite Radio as host of his own program. Edwards and Stamberg, along with the other NPR hosts and news anchors, established an “up-close and personal” style of broadcasting that has influenced commercial as well as public radio newscasts.

Paul Harvey (1918–2009)

Paul Harvey's work extended from the early days of radio newscasts to shortly before his death. He began his career in 1933 at KVOO in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and over the decades, his voice had become one of the most familiar on radio. His *News and Comment* program began airing on the ABC radio network in 1951 and remained a broadcasting staple for more than 50 years.

Harvey's website said “News and Comment” and his feature program “The Rest of the Story” aired on more than 1,200 U.S. radio stations. Although he had worked as one, Harvey deviated from being a straightforward radio newscaster, *per se*. His shows were a mix of news, commentary, and commercials so tightly interwoven, it could be difficult for a listener to discern where one ends and another begins. Harvey's style was at once personal and idiosyncratic. He was considered a master storyteller, talking listeners through the details until he reached the payoff at the end. Harvey was also willing to play with the conventions of radio broadcasting, sometimes seeming ready to end his broadcast, only to return with another bit of information that added to the overall effect.

Lowell Thomas (1892–1981)

Thomas's 50-year broadcasting career began in the earliest days of radio news and ended when journalism was firmly established as part of the medium. He is noteworthy because, unlike many radio newscasters, he was primarily a reporter, having covered, for example, World War I from the frontlines. Thomas, with his avuncular tone, clear writing, and familiar greeting “Good evening, everybody,” became a fixture on radios around the United States. Thomas is credited with anchoring the first experimental television news broadcast in 1930, but radio was his preference. He used it to transport listeners to the exotic places he had visited (like the Khyber Pass and Mandalay) and the fascinating people he had met (such as Lawrence of Arabia and the Dalai Lama of Tibet). Thomas's regular radio appearances ended in 1976 after a remarkable 46-year run.

Conclusion

Despite repeated reports of its impending demise, radio survives and radio news reaches millions each day. The style of radio newscasters has changed significantly over the years—they are no longer expected to be, in the words of radio reporter Richard C. Hottelet, “trombone-voiced” announcers, but have now become much more conversational, as if an acquaintance of yours were telling you about the day's events, rather than declaiming from a stage.

With deregulation of radio, the number of stations providing news is in decline. Many stations no longer have their own news departments, opting instead—if they carry news at all—to use network or syndication services.

Radio is no longer the mass medium it once was because no one network or station can command the millions of listeners who, for example, tuned in back in 1940 to hear Edward R. Murrow from London—there are too many media choices today. But there remains a hunger for news relayed quickly and radio continues to provide that service. Despite media consolidation, economic considerations, and the fact that providing news is no longer a requirement for stations, radio newscasters may be a threatened but are not yet an extinct species.

Sam Litzinger and Michael Freeman

See also ABC News; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Mutual Broadcasting System; National Public Radio; NBC News; Objectivity; Public Radio Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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NEWSPAPER CHAINS, OWNERSHIP OF

The trend toward newspaper chains in the United States emerged in the late 19th century and expanded significantly following World War I. Sidney Kobre, in his 1969 book *Development of*

American Journalism, dates the first U.S. newspaper chain to 1717, when publisher Andrew Bradford's Philadelphia-based *The Mercury* combined with the *New York Gazette*. Benjamin Franklin followed with his successful *Philadelphia Gazette* serving as a financial basis for investment in six other newspapers. Today, many newspaper chains are part of larger companies that include other forms of media, such as Hearst Communications, which also publishes magazines, and WEHCO Media, a regional company in Arkansas that also owns cable television systems.

Newspaper chains generally involve a series of newspapers located in geographically diverse cities and towns that are controlled by a company through some majority stock ownership arrangement, via outright majority shares, such as Gannett Co., Inc., a major newspaper publisher, or control of voting shares, such as through the Ochs-Sulzberger family, owners of *The New York Times*. Changing economics in the newspaper industry led to creation of newspaper chains during the 19th century. Significant capital was required to invest in new mass communications technology, such as steam presses, rotary press linotype machines, and photo engraving. The start-up cost for a newspaper in New York City after the Civil War reached \$1 million. Such an industrial enterprise required wealthy individuals or families to shoulder the expense. Gerald Baldasty, in his 1992 book *Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*, wrote that newspaper publishing in the late 19th century had evolved into a major industrial enterprise that required attention to a set of organizational and financial issues quite foreign to an earlier generation of publishers.

By the 1880s, newspapers had become big businesses. They built major downtown office buildings, employed small armies of journalists and production staff, and made a significant impact in the community by underwriting community events. In this era, a newspaper could be a significant and profitable business and reflected the business sense of other industrial enterprises such as Standard Oil or Union Pacific railroads, which engaged in mergers to attain economies of scale. Likewise, newspapers found that mergers afforded savings on costs of paper and machinery supplies. In this period, news content, such as features and cartoons, was being pooled and sold. An independent newspaper

would have difficulty affording these resources or purchasing materials and content in the quantities of a newspaper chain. This entry discusses the forces that led to the growth of newspaper chains in the United States and the shift to public ownership of newspaper chains in the 1960s. It then discusses several examples of newspaper chains, the challenges facing newspaper chains due to the collapse of print advertising, and ongoing consolidation of newspaper chains.

Forces for Consolidation

The demise of partisan journalism, or papers owned by political parties, made it possible to reduce the number of papers and helped accelerate a consolidation in the newspaper industry after World War I, historian Frank Luther Mott wrote in his seminal 1962 book *American Journalism*. Other factors in driving chain ownership involved a more attractive sales pitch to advertisers, who found it less expensive and more convenient to buy space in one paper than in competing papers. Rising labor costs, the expense of pulp, and restrictions in the Associated Press membership that favored established newspapers were other factors pushing for consolidation.

During World War I, particularly in 1917–1918, the newspaper industry witnessed dramatic consolidation as stronger papers snatched up weaker competitors. Mott said by 1900, some 8 newspaper chains controlled 27 newspapers and some 10% of daily circulation. By the 1920s, some 60 newspaper chains owned more than 300 newspapers, comprising more than one-third of all U.S. daily circulation. Besides cutting production costs, publishers of combined newspapers found they could raise advertising rates, which further enhanced profits.

A broader cultural shift in management of U.S. business, where ownership became separated from control of firms as professional managers began to run companies, also affected the operations of newspaper companies. Historian Alfred Chandler Jr., in his influential 1959 article, “The Beginnings of ‘Big Business’ in American Industry,” described how this managerial phase in capitalism led to creation of large, vertically integrated, centralized, functionally departmentalized industrial organizations that developed a bureaucratic managerial structure. This period of specialization meant

publishers were now operating the entire business, bypassing the era when this task was performed by editors.

As newspapers became part of the U.S. industrial mainstream, publishers began to envision their readers not only as voters but also as consumers. This was a consequence of the rise of commercial advertising as a revenue source for newspapers, an evolution that influenced news content and helped shape the mind-set of a consumer society. As a result, the newspapers produced content that went far beyond the world of politics and voting.

Public Markets

A pivotal moment occurred in the mid-1960s when owners of media companies began listing their shares on stock exchanges, a shift from family ownership to corporate ownership. The trend toward public ownership started in 1963 when *The Wall Street Journal*’s parent company, Dow Jones & Co., went public. This was followed by the Times-Mirror Company in 1964, Gannett Company and *The New York Times* in 1967, Knight Ridder in 1969, and the *Washington Post* in 1971. Some of these families were able to retain control, and therefore preserve editorial quality, through a dual-stock ownership structure, where the family controls the voting shares and public shareholders have nonvoting shares. This arrangement was used by the Bancroft family for Dow Jones, the Graham family for the *Washington Post*, and the Sulzberger family for *The New York Times*, where this dual-stock arrangement still exists. New York University professor Rodney Benson has drawn a distinction between media companies traded on the stock market versus those that are privately held by wealthy individuals or families, which are somewhat insulated from Wall Street pressure to show ever-increasing earnings.

The decision for newspaper companies to open up to public shareholder ownership has been widely criticized as injecting a new level of corporate influence that has led to profit maximization and cost-cutting at the expense of editorial quality. Numerous studies and commentators have expressed concerns that corporate advertisers were not only influencing what was covered but also influencing what newspapers would not

cover. The Hutchins Commission, in its iconic 1947 study *A Free and Responsible Press*, said corporate ownership of news organizations is a powerful force that can weaken the autonomy of individual. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, in the 1988 book *Manufacturing Consent*, an influential media critique, cite conglomerate media ownership as a threat to independent journalism. The quality and depth of news production is a persistent concern. Research by Florida State University professors Deana Rohlinger and Jennifer Proffitt found independently owned newspapers cover controversial ideas more often than their corporate chain-owned counterparts.

Examples of Chain Ownership: Scripps, Hearst, and Gannett

Many historians believe modern newspaper chain ownership in the United States began with E. W. Scripps and his newspapers. Scripps was a contemporary of publisher Joseph Pulitzer, who primarily confined his operations to St. Louis and New York. Scripps, by contrast, looked for opportunities in the growing cities and towns in the Midwest and West.

The Scripps-Howard chain, which led to creation of United Press International, began in 1873 with the founding of *The Detroit News*. E. W. Scripps, his half-sister Ellen, and his brothers then founded *The Penny Press* in Cleveland and began an expansion that led to a chain of some two dozen newspapers by 1913. A steady stream of acquisitions ensued throughout the 1920s and 1930s with the purchase of newspapers in Pittsburgh, New York, Cincinnati, Akron, Memphis, Knoxville, Denver, El Paso, and more; at one point, E. W. Scripps owned 52 newspapers. Through consolidation, the chain settled into ownership of 19 daily newspapers by 1940, including the New York *World-Telegram*. Scripps's management owned 40% or less of the newspapers' stock and in the 1940s began allowing local editors to decide on state and local political matters.

The Hearst media empire began in 1880, when the father of William Randolph Hearst purchased the *San Francisco Daily Examiner*. W. R. Hearst soon expanded into New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Boston. He embarked on

an aggressive expansion in 1917, buying a newspaper a year, and in 1922, he purchased seven newspapers. At the end of 1933, Hearst had 26 daily newspapers, the International News Service, King Features Service, 13 magazines including *Good Housekeeping* and *Harper's Bazaar*, a newsreel company, and an assortment of mines, hotels, and other properties. This empire shrunk by the time of Hearst's death in 1951, but he still controlled about 10% of U.S. daily newspaper circulation.

One of the most influential modern media chains began when Frank E. Gannett acquired partial ownership of the Elmira (N.Y.) *Star-Gazette* in 1906. He soon expanded though New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Illinois. Under the leadership of Al Neuharth, Gannett epitomized the corporate consolidation of major news media during the 1970s and 1980s. Neuharth brought home significant profits for shareholders by raising advertising rates while cutting costs, a business model emulated by other media companies. During Neuharth's 15-year tenure, Gannett's revenues grew to \$3.3 billion, from \$390 million. Neuharth was a significant industry innovator, and in 1982, he launched the only major national daily newspaper to begin publishing after World War II, *USA Today*. This paper's pioneering use of color graphics and photos and brief stories influenced newspaper content. At the same time, Gannett newspapers were criticized for reducing staff and skimping on in-depth coverage of local news.

Gannett merged with New Media Investment Group, the parent company of GateHouse Media, in 2019 to form the nation's largest newspaper chain, with 250 U.S. daily newspapers such as the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Arizona Republic*. It also owns several hundred nondaily publications. Gannett and GateHouse projected a combined \$4.2 billion in revenue for 2019, assuming they were combined that year. Despite these large revenues, Gannett was planning to cut costs to pay off a \$1.8 billion private equity loan that New Media used to help finance the deal.

Collapse of Print Advertising and Ongoing Consolidation

Daily newspaper circulation in the United States peaked in 1984 at 63.3 million before declining

56% to an estimated 28.6 million in 2018, according to the Pew Research Center. Meanwhile, advertising revenue peaked in 2005 at \$49.4 billion, about a decade into the evolution of the commercial Internet. It has since declined 71% to an estimated \$14.3 billion in 2018. The period leading to the 2008 financial crisis was a pivotal era for U.S. newspaper chains, which were shocked by the sudden decline in advertising revenues and looked to outside investors for a rescue. Several of these high-profile acquisitions did not fare well.

The shrinkage of print advertising led to unusual corporate transactions with financiers. One significant example involved bond trader Sam Zell and his 2007 purchase of the Tribune Company. Tribune Co., then-owner of the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Baltimore Sun*, and other newspapers, borrowed an estimated \$8.2 billion to complete Zell's transaction that placed the company in private ownership. Zell was a Wall Street legend, known as the *grave dancer* for his reputation of profiting from distressed companies. One unusual aspect of the Tribune deal was the decision to finance the Zell acquisition by borrowing against the future revenues of employee pension plans. In less than a year, Tribune sought bankruptcy protection due to its extreme debt burden.

Zell's ownership was marked by a major newsroom backlash over his inexperience in running a professional journalism enterprise and his cost-cutting measures that led to hundreds of newsroom layoffs. Other private equity firms and hedge funds purchased newspaper chains in the wake of the Great Recession, including Alden Global Capital, a hedge fund that purchased the parent company of the *Denver Post* and subsequently laid off dozens of reporters there. Alden's stewardship led to an extraordinary newsroom revolt, with the *Denver Post* editorial page harshly criticizing its owner in an April 2018 editorial. The trend of layoffs accelerated at newspapers of all types of ownership with the spread of COVID-19 in the United States beginning in early 2020. The Louisiana *Times-Picayune* announced temporary furloughs of 10% of its 400-person workforce; Poynter Institute, a media think tank, counted about 80 separate instances of newspaper industry layoffs, furloughs, pay cuts, and

suspension or reduction of print publication as of late April 2020.

These examples illustrate the concerns raised by multiple authors who find the crisis facing American newspapers has been accelerated by the for-profit business model that prioritizes profits. Loss of local news coverage is a major concern. College of Charleston professor emeritus Jack Bass has concluded that one feature of modern newspaper chains involves concentrating their holdings in tight geographic groups to reduce production costs. A key goal of such arrangements is for two or more papers to share the same printing plant, thus yielding a major cost savings. Such geographic proximity is attractive to advertisers, who can more easily blanket a region of the country through a chain newspaper group.

Bass said some of these acquisitions led to higher quality journalism—Cox's acquisition of the *Greenville (N.C.) Daily Reflector* in 1996 led to a new computer system and Washington coverage of its congressional delegation, for instance. Other scholars agree that public interest journalism can be produced by some newspapers in commercial ownership. Yet concerns remain amid consistent rounds of layoffs and newspaper closures.

The consolidation continues unabated as of 2020. Penelope Abernathy's 2018 report, *The Expanding News Desert*, notes that 25 companies controlled the fate of nearly one-third of all papers in the United States. Abernathy wrote that roughly half of all newspapers in the country changed ownership over the past 15 years, some multiple times. Family-owned newspapers or small regional chains have been frequent targets of consolidation since 2014.

Chain ownership remains controversial to this day. University of Pennsylvania professor Victor Pickard and scholar Josh Stearns of the Democracy Fund, in a 2011 study on financing community journalism found that efforts to increase profits led to job cuts in the U.S. newspaper industry and closings of newspaper bureaus of various governmental agencies.

Rob Wells

See also Antitrust; Commission on Freedom of the Press; Gannett; Media Conglomerates; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; MediaNews; Tribune Publishing Company

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agreements to share business and operating expenses while maintaining separate news and editorial functions. Known as joint operating agreements, or JOAs, these were intended to connect a “failing” newspaper with a stronger one. In theory, these agreements permit competition in a newspaper market by saving the weaker paper. In practice, some critics argue, JOAs permit additional monopolization of the news product by shutting out other publications.

In 2009, there were 10 JOAs operating in the United States: Albuquerque (*Tribune and News*, this was the first JOA established in 1933); Birmingham (*News and PostHerald*); Charleston, West Virginia (*Gazette and Daily Mail*); Cincinnati (*Enquirer and Post*); Detroit (*Free Press and News*); Fort Wayne, Indiana (*News Sentinel and Journal Gazette*); Las Vegas (*Review-Journal and Sun*); Salt Lake City (*Tribune and Deseret News*); Tucson (*Citizen and Daily Star*); and York, Pennsylvania (*Daily Record and Dispatch*). These JOAs had varying time limits and renewal requirements; for example, the Charleston JOA was set to run through 2036, while the Cincinnati papers' agreement had initially planned to renew automatically every 10 years until 2007, when Gannett, owner of the *Enquirer*, chose not to renew the JOA.

Implementation of JOAs has entailed unintended consequences, according to a University of North Carolina study conducted in 2018, which found that one in five local papers—nearly 1,800—had since 2004 ceased publication, with many of these closures in rural areas. With almost 200 counties in the United States now having no local newspaper, large urban dailies have experienced a similar trend, as publishers have in turn experimented with innovations in an effort to survive, some converting to weeklies or employing layoffs and cutting back on print editions to save expenses. The handful of U.S. cities with newspapers still operating under such an agreement include Fort Wayne, Indiana; York, Pennsylvania; and Detroit, with JOAs in Las Vegas and Salt Lake City not set for renewal.

NEWSPAPER PRESERVATION ACT

The Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970 was passed in 1970 to allow antitrust exemptions for newspapers in the same geographic region with

Origin

The Newspaper Preservation Act was passed in response to a 1969 decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, *Citizen Publishing Co. v. United States* in which the Court invalidated a

JOA between two Tucson newspapers, finding it in violation of antitrust laws. Justice William O. Douglas famously wrote for six members of the Court: “Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not.”

Congress responded less than a year later, after strong lobbying from the newspaper industry, with the Failing Newspaper Act, which eventually became the Newspaper Preservation Act. The law begins with a finding that “it is hereby declared to be the public policy of the United States to preserve the publication of newspapers in any city, community, or metropolitan area where a joint operating arrangement has been heretofore entered into because of economic distress or is hereafter effected” under the act. The act grandfathered existing JOAs (including the Tucson JOA that precipitated the original lawsuit) and set parameters for the creation of new ones. The law also permits the paired newspapers to engage in activities that would otherwise be antitrust violations, such as price fixing, profit pooling, and market control. At the same time, the stated purpose of the act is to foster competing voices in communities where two newspapers may not be commercially viable.

The Justice Department opposed the law, while many newspaper owners—particularly those engaged in current JOAs—supported it. The Hearst newspaper chain sent letters to the Nixon administration and to President Nixon directly, requesting the administration’s support of the act. Several critics have suggested that Nixon’s favorable treatment of the act was a result of a desire for positive press coverage (indeed, the administration reversed its original opposition). The act was signed into law in July 1970, and 22 JOAs were in effect at the time.

The Act in Practice

Under the act, two newspapers may petition the attorney general for permission to create a JOA. The attorney general must determine that one of the newspapers is “failing” in order to grant the JOA. The act defines “failure” broadly, stating that a failing newspaper is one that “regardless of its ownership or affiliations, is in probable danger of financial failure.” The act does not require a newspaper’s status to be evaluated as to ownership or competition. However, there can be no

merger of editorial staffs, and editorial stances must be independently determined (although the meaning of “independently determined” has never been judicially interpreted). And, as noted below, what constitutes a failing newspaper is open to interpretation, with the decision ultimately in the hands of the attorney general.

In *Michigan Citizens for Independent Press v. Thornburgh* (1989), the Supreme Court upheld by a split vote (no opinion was published) the decision of the attorney general to approve a JOA between the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press*. The two papers had engaged in fierce competition and both had been losing money, though the *News* had led the *Free Press* in most competitive measures. An administrative law judge had found that the *Free Press*, the “failing” paper, was not in real danger of failing, and in fact, he did not believe that “reader and advertiser demand in Detroit is so inadequate that the market cannot sustain two profitable papers irrespective of changes in pricing policies.” Therefore, because the *Free Press* was not considered to be failing, the administrative law judge said, the requirements of the act had not been met.

Attorney General Edwin Meese disagreed. He noted that the *Free Press* had suffered a decade’s worth of losses and had no way to reverse that trend, so it was failing, and he granted the JOA. The citizens’ interest group appealed Meese’s decision to the courts. A district court upheld the attorney general’s decision, and the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld the district court’s decision. The appeals court said that while the *Free Press* was not in the traditional “downward spiral” that usually indicates a failing newspaper (decreasing circulation leading to fewer ads leading to even more decreases in circulation), it was on the brink of such a spiral down. The attorney general’s interpretation, the court said, was not unreasonable or capricious, merely different from the administrative law judge’s. And, said the court, Congress gave the burden to the attorney general to determine what constitutes a “failing newspaper.”

The Supreme Court upheld the appeals court’s decision by a split vote without opinion. *The New York Times* editorialized that Meese’s decision was probably the right one under the Newspaper Preservation Act but that the act itself was problematic and should be repealed. According to

The New York Times, the act ignores other, newer sources of competition: “Virtually every major metropolitan area has one or more substantial suburban newspapers that conceivably could gain market share if a faltering big-city newspaper were allowed to die.”

Controversy

Proponents of the act and of JOA arrangements argue that the stated purpose of the act—to maintain several newspaper editorial voices in communities that cannot economically support more than one—was valuable when the act passed and continues to be so. The Newspaper Association of America, in a 2005 brief to the Antitrust Modernization Commission, recommended that the act be retained. The act, according to the association, “preserves and prolongs editorial and reportorial competition between newspapers after the economic basis for commercial competition has disappeared” (Newspaper Association of America, 9). Newspapers in JOAs maintain strong editorial voices and do not appear to become homogeneous in their coverage and content. Online and other news outlets continue to provide serious competition to newspapers, and the act provides sustenance to a newspaper that otherwise would have failed, maintaining an additional editorial stance in the community.

Opponents suggest that newspaper readership continues to decline despite the JOA exemptions to antitrust law, and that the act relies on antiquated ideas of what competition and news sources are. The unclear legal definition of “failing newspaper” results in large news organizations pitted against smaller ones. Some see the act as providing a “soft landing” for competing newspapers that might take advertising and editorial risks they would not take in the absence of the option for a JOA—in other words, knowing that the newspapers can bail each other out means that they need not be as careful with their business decisions. Business columnist Daniel Gross took an even harsher view of the act: “JOAs insulate politically connected and favored industries from the competition that would cause them to change business models or innovate, and permit them to collect diminishing profits while doing nothing to ensure long-term viability” (Gross 2003).

Genelle Belmas

See also Advertising; Antitrust; First Amendment; Media Ownership

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NEWSROOM CULTURE

Newsroom culture refers to the assimilation of unwritten workplace rules and shared assumptions regarding values, beliefs, and practices. Unlike climate, which can vary between organizations and change with each leader, newsroom culture is embedded into the customs and mores of the profession and evolves gradually. Culture is

a sociological feature of all workplaces, a function of human interaction.

What makes newsroom culture significant is its influence on how news is determined and reported. Unlike some fields, journalism lacks explicit definitions to establish professional boundaries or standards boards to enforce norms. Instead, journalists depend on consensus established through peer interactions in newsrooms to define news and resolve matters of practice. Competing television stations carefully scrutinize each other's shows in hope that they stand out, but not by much, so that their similarities affirm common conceptions of news. Journalism is situationally located amid a nexus of individual and organizational factors; the latter is the focus of newsroom culture. Because journalists take culture for granted and rarely detect or acknowledge it, discussion is largely confined to academics studying the sociology of news.

As an organizational-level variable, newsroom culture is both distinct from and interconnected with routines and individual factors. The hierarchy of influences model promulgated by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, which also includes extramedia and sociocultural forces, offers a series of concentric circles that illustrate the systematic factors that shape journalism. Those circles have fuzzy boundaries that are becoming even less distinct as journalism evolves amid profound changes in economics and social media. For example, scholars have identified individual role conceptions such as loyal-facilitator and watchdog that predict how journalists interpret their jobs. Yet such role conceptions are determined at least as much by organizational factors as by individual preferences. Newsroom culture research addresses the constants and variables that help mold news.

Constants

A constant within newsroom culture is the primacy of competition rooted not just in commercialism but also in peer approval. Newsroom morale depends on competition. Television journalists measure their effectiveness by ratings and celebrate the "get," an exclusive interview, or capturing an emotional moment on screen. Long before websites and portable satellite uplinks enabled 24/7 news operations, journalists chased after fast-moving breaking news and strove to get

information at least as quickly as their primary competitors.

If "news" is characterized by "new," breaking news is the epicenter of journalistic practice and identity. Most journalists aspire to create time-consuming reporting that has context and nuance, but they will drop everything to chase after the immediate. The desire to get the story the fastest is driven in part by the first-mover advantage of the marketplace as well as by a vocational ethos. Covering breaking news quickly and comprehensively is a marker of professional achievement, for no journalism organization wants to be perceived as slow or leisurely in its pursuit of time-sensitive information. Whether the organization is a private company or a public or nonprofit entity, getting the story quickly is, for better or for worse, a hallmark of a healthy newsroom culture.

Competition also exists within organizations. U.S. television pay scales encourage an up-or-out career path in which practitioners expect to stay at a station for just a year or 2, build a demo tape, and jump to a larger market, which creates a newsroom culture with shallow geographic roots. Some newspapers pit starting journalists against each other in undesirable beats or less prestigious departments to see who will sink or swim. Such competitions reinforce the other enduring facet of newsroom culture that the story trumps most other considerations. Journalists may debate the ethical ramifications of practices such as hidden cameras and weigh the potential harmful effects of a story, but they ultimately give the story itself preeminence, a thumb on the scales in favor of publication or broadcast. If the story is important, journalists feel little reticence about using stolen or leaked documents so long as they themselves did not commit theft to get the information, and publication would not appreciably threaten national security.

As a reflection of competitive pressure, journalism is defined by the news cycle. Sometimes described as a minute-by-minute taskmaster, the news cycle is more accurately manifest in the daily routines of the broadcast news show, tomorrow's edition of the printed newspaper, or the 4 p.m. website update. These rhythms have marked journalism since the newspaper became a daily in the 1700s and have persisted even as technology has enabled hourly and even faster routines. When a

gunman in 2018 killed five people at the *Capital Gazette* in Maryland, a staff member expressed the determination of colleagues by using Twitter to announce, “We are putting out a damn paper tomorrow.” The defiant note, delivered on an instantaneous social medium, reflected the primacy given to the next edition as an expression of the news cycle as well as a pledge by the newsroom not to be eclipsed on covering its own horrific tragedy.

Another constant in newsroom culture is what scholars have termed *news values*. Different lists, starting with that of Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge in 1965, have been offered and with varying emphasis. Most common is immediacy, reflecting the priority of breaking news. Also frequently mentioned are magnitude, relevance to the audience, and prominence of the people involved. While scholars have delineated these values, they are less likely to be taught than caught, an inculcation that is a product of newsroom culture.

Internal Variables

Newsroom culture can vary with product type: broadcast, print, and digital. Because broadcast is so dependent on the aural and the visual, newsrooms privilege content that can sound or look good on air. Conversely, if a broadcaster trying to match a news story initiated by a print or digital outlet cannot locate suitable sound or visuals, the news station may skip the story. U.S. television news is further divided between over-the-air broadcast news operations ABC, CBS, and NBC and cable news outlets such as CNN and Fox.

While the broadcast outlets ostensibly confine their main shows to news segments provided by professional reporters, cable mixes reported segments with opinion shows. The latter is driven partly by economics, as opinion is cheaper to produce than is original reporting. However, cable also enables newsroom cultures that are different from broadcast and from each other. Similar distinctions can be seen in newspapers in Europe, which have generally cleaved between quality and tabloid operations.

These are differences not just in market segmentation but also in newsrooms. Each pursues stories the other would never touch, and they take

different approaches to the same story based on internal cultures. Some news operations born in the digital era, such as De Correspondent in The Netherlands and ProPublica in the United States, have newsroom cultures less dependent on immediacy and are free to pursue distinctive news stories. Such cultures are still competitive but at a different level, measuring success by fulfilling a mission rather than page views.

Another internal variable is the degree of autonomy granted individuals. Some newsrooms are more centralized than others, with news directors and editors ensuring that programs and publications offer a consistent look and voice. *The New York Times* carries the weight of being one of the world’s largest and most influential newsrooms, and the associated burden of ensuring its report is “Timesean.” *The Economist*, one of the world’s most prestigious news operations, has since its founding in 1843 eschewed author bylines so it can speak as a singular, authoritative voice. That practice yields a newsroom culture that privileges the collective over the individual.

External Variables

Newsrooms are unavoidably shaped by the countries in which they are situated. In nations where freedom of speech is legally protected and socially permitted, newsroom culture can adopt a posture that encourages independence from authority, though not all choose to do so. Such freedom is less possible when limited either by law or custom. Freedom of expression is more likely to be allowed in North America, Oceania, and western and northern Europe.

In authoritarian nations, newsroom culture accepts its duty to publish only official proclamations extolling flawless leaders and their exploits. In the Middle East, some nations that had allowed a measure of expression clamped down after the Arab Spring by shuttering independent media and censoring or blocking websites and social media. A rare exception is Qatar’s Al Jazeera, whose independence is encouraged so long as its critical gaze ignores the host nation. Even in nations where journalists have legal freedoms, if social mores call for deference to authority and sovereigns, newsroom culture is docile.

In nations where the press is more free, the economics of scarcity is a powerful variable affecting newsroom culture, especially in the United States, for two reasons. First, advertising, the source of roughly 50% to 100% of news organization revenues, has fallen precipitously since the start of the 21st century due to secular market changes. Growth in the Internet as a communications tool combined with advancements in adoption and application of big data techniques have allowed companies to shift from broad-reach advertising to personalized messages targeted to micro-niches and individuals. These shifts have been most pronounced in print but are increasingly affecting broadcast television as well. Second, faced with such revenue declines, media companies have been consolidating to gain economies of scales, which translates to layoffs. In some U.S. newsrooms, final corrections and headline writing have been shifted to consolidated editing centers hundreds of miles away, divorcing reporting from editing. In newsrooms that have lost half or more of their employees in just a few years, the grieving for lost coverage is palpable. With fewer people available, some newsrooms have traded depth for speed, preferring stories that can be told quickly to fill the next editions and freshen websites.

The search for new revenue to forestall more layoffs has in some cases prompted newsrooms to drop their church-and-state opposition to business-side involvement. Some have turned to sponsored content that was once condemned as advertorials or have given website space to companies promising to share remnant advertising revenue. The result has been a shift in newsroom culture from absolutism to embracing compromise in the name of necessity.

In other newsrooms, the economics of scarcity have prompted different changes in culture such as cooperation with competitors. Such joint action has occurred not just with former adversaries that through acquisition have become part of the same company but also with contending newsrooms that have decided competition is too expensive. Some have shared state capital bureaus, while others have collaborated on subjects such as climate change. While remaining competitive, sharing resources has blunted rivalries and amended newsroom culture.

Another cultural change fueled by the economic crunch has been, for some, a shift away from click-driven attention metrics dating to the dawn of the Internet age in favor of loyalty metrics designed to grow membership or subscriptions. Not all have embraced such a change in business model, and a number of news organizations have sought to grow subscriber revenue primarily to replace lost advertising income. But in some cases, a shift to a subscriber-based revenue model has reoriented the newsroom culture to spend less time chasing the immediate and more time pursuing topics and coverage that encourages return visits. A shift from attention to loyalty measures may result in far-reaching changes in newsroom culture by lessening the ascendancy of competition and a need-for-speed orientation.

Beyond national and economic factors, a third external element that has altered newsroom culture is social media, at both the individual and the organizational levels. In some cases, journalists are expected to use social media as a marketing tool for the organization and the individual. Those with large social media followings may be considered more employable.

In countries where journalism as a career is tightly controlled, as in France, social media use can be essential for those wishing to break into or remain in the field. Beyond a marketing function, social media can be used as information sources, either as statements from public figures or as eyewitness accounts from citizens. Yet it is when social media are embraced as audience interaction tools that they can have the greatest impact on newsroom culture. Such use is by necessity selective. Journalists are already inundated with seemingly endless email requests for coverage to benefit businesses, advocacy groups, and individuals seeking help with medical bills. Understandably, they tune out if social media are overused for the same pleas. But to the extent that journalists have the inclination and the time to sift the proverbial wheat from the chaff and seek opportunities for meaningful engagement with audiences, social media can change newsroom cultures.

A core element of normative journalism is providing the public's wants as well as needs. By serving as not just the *vox populi* but also as conversation-engagement tools, social media can help journalists detect audience needs and wants.

In turn, that discernment can redirect newsroom culture away from a gatekeeper orientation to one built on engagement.

Conclusion

Newsroom culture is an unarticulated yet powerful influence on news content. Traditionally marked by an emphasis on competition and shared values, culture varies with the primary output (broadcast, print, or digital), the degree of individual autonomy granted, and national tolerance for press freedom. As an enduring state, workplace culture is neither easy nor fast to change, and much of journalistic practice remains static, driven by peer approval and one-way communication from the newsroom to the public. Yet in recent years, economic scarcity and audience considerations through social media and online analytics have affected newsroom culture, and probably permanently so.

Norman P. Lewis

See also Consultants, News; Credibility; Editing, Online and Digital; Editing, Print Media; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; News Values; Objectivity; Plagiarism; Self-Regulation

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NEWSWEEKLY MAGAZINES

Newsweeklies, or weekly news magazines, were a staple of the news ecosystem throughout most of the 20th century, holding a place in the news cycle between daily reporting and the more in-depth analysis and opinion writing of monthly general interest or political opinion magazines. The idea of the newsweekly originated in England in the middle of the 19th century. The format generally summarizes the week's news, sometimes adding analysis or interpretation. The goal was to help busy news consumers understand what was most important by digesting the week's events. The magazines also do their own news gathering and did so increasingly over time.

While news magazines were a dominant cultural force for the second half of the 20th century, particularly in the United States, their relevance faded with the rise of the Internet and cable news networks and a faster news cycle in general. By the beginning of the 21st century, circulation had stagnated, and some venerable titles began to fail.

Although newsweeklies often had distinct points of view, they largely emphasized fact over opinion. This distinguishes them as a category from other weekly magazines that emphasize political essays and opinion, such as *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, or *The Weekly Standard* and those that include cultural reporting and even fiction, such as *The New Yorker*.

By some accounts, Britain's *The Economist* was the first newsweekly magazine, beginning

publication in 1843, insisting despite its format, that it was a weekly newspaper. However, *Time*, founded in the United States in 1923, established the widely recognized template for the weekly news magazine. This entry offers a survey of some of the most well-known U.S. and international newsweeklies.

United States Newsweeklies

North America has long been a center for news-weekly magazines, with the United States being a particularly vital market in the 20th century. Three titles in the United States dominated that market for most of that period.

Time

Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden, two Yale classmates and friends, launched *Time* magazine on March 3, 1923, working out of a New York City office. Both men had previously worked for daily newspapers—Luce for the *Chicago Daily News*, as an assistant to columnist Ben Hecht, and Hadden at the *New York World*, then being run by Joseph Pulitzer's son Ralph. Both worked briefly at the *Baltimore News*, before they came back to New York to start *Time*.

One of their early advisers, Melville Stone, had been the head of the Associated Press and advised the cofounders that news would be in the public domain. This insight was key to the magazine's early editorial practice. Hadden and Luce clipped news articles out of several newspapers from the previous week and rewrote them into concise stories that summarized the news, adding context and history, allowing readers to feel as if they were keeping up with all of the important news of the week even if they weren't able to read a newspaper everyday.

Time's prospectus promised that the magazine would have no editorial page and that it would promote both liberal and conservative views. But while the magazine mostly held to its promise not to establish an opinion section, its point of view about the world, which was largely congruent with Luce's point of view, was quite readily apparent. While Luce was in charge of *Time*, the magazine was conservative, pro-Christian, and advocating a broader international role for

American interests, especially in China, where Luce had been born to Christian missionary parents.

Time stories were written in a deliberately distinctive, breezy style with literary overtones, jazz-age argot, backward syntax, and a slew of foreign words that were unfamiliar to American audience at the time but eventually became a part of the language, such as "tycoon" or "pundit." The writers, led initially by Hadden, also fused words together to create new portmanteaus, such as "cinemactor" or their own staff, which were known as "Timeemployees." People mentioned in *Time* stories received Homeric epithets that described them on each reference, turning them almost into recurring literary characters. New York Yankees baseball player Joe DiMaggio was described as "squirrel-toothed." A dancer was described as being "flutter-footed."

But most distinctive among Hadden's linguistic innovations was the magazine's inverted syntax. In a famous parody of "Timestyle," Wolcott Gibbs, writing in *The New Yorker* in 1936, captured the style well: "Backward ran sentences until reeled the mind," wrote Gibbs.

The earliest incarnation of *Time* relied mostly on facts that had been reported by daily newspapers, but the magazine did have a fact-checking department from its early days. *Time* began publishing color advertising in 1927, and that same year added the iconic red frame to its cover. By the following year, five years after the magazine's founding, circulation neared 300,000 and annual revenues were more than US\$1 million.

Brit Hadden died suddenly of an infection in 1929, and after finagling a stock purchase from Hadden's estate, Luce became *Time's* prime mover for most of the 20th century, and the magazine almost perfectly mirrored his worldview. The magazine's covers often featured portraits of businessmen, and later, after Hadden died, national leaders, diplomats, and generals. As a Christian and a capitalist, Luce disliked communism, but he had a soft spot for authoritarian leaders such as Italy's Benito Mussolini, Spain's Francisco Franco, and especially the Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek.

In 1927, before Hadden's death, *Time* had begun naming a "Man of the Year" (later broadened to Person of the Year). While being named

Man of the Year was a recognition of newsworthiness, more than it was a sign of the magazine's respect for the choice. Adolph Hitler was the 1938 choice, in a year when he conquered much of Europe. Still, the choice of Person of the Year became seen as a validation for many public figures, and some actively sought the prestige of the title.

Time's success led to the launch of other titles under Luce's leadership, notably *Fortune*, a monthly business magazine, and *Life*, which focused on photography. *Time* changed gradually over the second half of the 20th century as other media took over some of the functions of the weekly newsmagazine. Television, and later the Internet, subsumed much of the news summary value of *Time*, and the magazine became more interpretive, trying to explain the world to its readers rather than just summarize what happened.

In 2009 and 2010, *Time's* circulation fell dramatically. In 2017, Time, Inc., the parent company, was purchased by the Meredith Corporation, an Iowa-based magazine publisher, which quickly sought suitors for *Time* and its sister magazines. *Time* was then sold to entrepreneur Marc Benioff, separating it from the other former Time, Inc. titles.

Newsweek

Newsweek began publication on February 17, 1933, under the slightly different title *News-Week*. The magazine was first published by Thomas J. C. Martin, who had been a foreign news editor at *Time*. The magazine was funded by a group of investors including industrialists Ward Cheney, John Hay Whitney, and Paul Mellon. Its initial circulation was about 50,000 copies, far less than *Time's*, and the magazine would largely stay in second place in circulation throughout its existence. In 1937, *News-Week* merged with another weekly magazine, *Today*, and that magazine's editor, Raymond Moley, took over. *Today* had been founded by Vincent Astor and future New York governor W. Averell Harriman. That year, Malcolm Muir became editor in chief and changed the magazine's name to *Newsweek*. While *Newsweek* has consistently lagged behind *Time* in circulation and influence, it has largely

been seen as a less conservative choice for readers who did not like *Time's* politics. *Newsweek* was also the first newsweekly to give its writers individual bylines, in 1966.

Benjamin Crowninshield Bradlee became a foreign correspondent for *Newsweek* in 1954, eventually rising to become the paper's Washington bureau chief. From that position, he helped negotiate the sale of the magazine to the Washington Post Company in 1961. Bradlee was tapped to become managing editor at the *Post* in 1965, eventually rising to be the top editor. Osborn Elliott was named editor of *Newsweek* in 1961 and was responsible for turning it into a real competitor to *Time*.

In 1970, a group of 46 women employees filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). At the time, most in-house *Newsweek* stories were reported by staff members holding the title of researcher. These researchers would then hand off their research files to "reporters" who would write the final story. The women who filed the EEOC complaint noted that *Newsweek* had a policy of hiring women only to be researchers and only rarely as writers. The filing of the complaint coincided with a *Newsweek* cover story about the women's liberation movement, with the headline "Women in Revolt," but that story was written by a freelance writer, since there were no women reporters on staff. The plaintiffs pointed out the irony that they were stifled in their own careers while the head of their parent corporation, the Washington Post Company, was a woman, Katharine Graham. The EEOC decided in favor of the women, who were represented by Eleanor Holmes Norton, who was an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union at the time, and who would go on to become the nonvoting representative for Washington, D.C., in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Newsweek successfully spread to more countries than any other American newsweekly. By the early 20th century, the magazine was publishing at least a dozen international editions, including versions in Japanese, Korean, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish. However, the first decade of the 21st century was a difficult time for the magazine. In 2008 and 2009, citing competition from online news sources, *Newsweek* dropped its subscriber

rate base and raised subscription prices, hoping to attract a more affluent audience. At the same time, the magazine refocused on opinion and analysis. By 2010, however, the magazine had lost money for two consecutive years, and the Washington Post Company put it up for sale. Audio entrepreneur Sidney Harman bought the magazine for US\$1 and the assumption of its debts. At the end of that year, the magazine merged with the online news and opinion publication *The Daily Beast*, and the British American editor Tina Brown took over both publications. Despite a redesign, losses continued to mount and the magazine was discontinued as a print publication at the end of 2012.

The title resumed publication under the ownership of the *International Business Times* in 2014. Although the magazine did briefly regain profitability, a series of controversies including factual errors and the firing of staff for reporting on the magazine's ownership depleted the magazine of much of its credibility among serious journalists.

U.S. News and World Report

This magazine began life as a daily newspaper, the *United States Daily*, which premiered in 1926, edited by journalist David Lawrence. The newspaper switched to weekly publication in 1933, and changed its name to *United States News*, but continued to publish in a newspaper format until 1940. In 1946, Lawrence launched a second weekly news magazine, *World Report*. As their titles indicate, *U.S. News* primarily covered domestic news and *World Report* focused on international news. Lawrence merged the two magazines in 1948, and by the early 1950s, it achieved a circulation of more than half a million. It surpassed one million in 1958 and, by 1973, had passed two million. Although *U.S. News and World Report* has a reputation for being the most politically conservative of the three major U.S. newsweeklies, its stories were the most straightforward and newspaper-like in the 1950s and 1960s. From 1962 until 1984, the magazine was employee owned. Mortimer Zuckerman, a real-estate developer and publisher, bought the magazine in 1984.

Since 1983, *U.S. News and World Report* has been best known for its college and university rankings. The first rankings were an outgrowth of

an earlier recurring feature, a ranking of influential people, called "Who Runs America?" The college and university rankings combined data collected by *U.S. News* with opinion surveys of academic leaders. The rankings have been enormously popular and influential, but also controversial. Colleges and universities often use the rankings in their marketing materials, while at the same time criticizing the methodology used to compile the lists. Complaints include an overemphasis on existing perceptions of prestige, on universities with the largest endowments, and on schools that manipulate their data in order to attain higher rankings. Nevertheless, *U.S. News* has published an annual book series of the rankings and profiles and sells stand-alone access to the rankings on their website. The success of the undergraduate rankings spurred several successor rankings, including lists of best global universities, best graduate and professional schools in several disciplines, best hospitals, and best cars.

In 2011, *U.S. News* stopped publishing a print magazine, and deemphasized news, focusing instead on its more profitable service journalism and ranked lists.

International Newsweeklies

While weekly news magazines have been prominent in the United States, they have a substantial presence in many other countries, with a particularly robust history in Europe.

The Economist

The oldest continuously published newsweekly magazine, *The Economist*, has always referred to itself as a weekly newspaper, despite publishing in a magazine format. James Wilson, a Scottish economist, started the magazine in London in 1843, in part to oppose agricultural tariffs that were under debate at the time, and he led it until 1857. The magazine at first was largely focused on economic and commercial matters and was a consistent advocate for free trade. Walter Bagehot took over as editor in 1861, and while he continued the magazine's coverage of business, he also expanded the coverage of public affairs and solidified *The Economist's* editorial independence. Bagehot also established a tradition that has

remained intact throughout the magazine's history: the anonymity of authors and the uniformity of editorial voice. *Economist* articles only very rarely carry a byline, mostly in cases when a notable person has contributed an opinion article, in certain year-end reports, or to highlight a potential conflict of interest. Otherwise, the magazine reads as if it were written by a single author, in a voice that carries a kind of dry wit and cosmopolitanism. Readers are assumed to have a working knowledge of classical economics, and the magazine writes from a distinctively classical liberal worldview. Despite its strong editorial stance, it is generally respected for its independence, fairness, and rigorous fact-checking.

The Economist only began accepting advertisements in 1888, and circulation remained low, though the publication was both profitable and influential. In the Bagehot era, circulation reached about 4,000 copies, and by the 1920s, when *Time* was launched in the United States, *The Economist's* circulation stood at around 6,000. In 1928, the magazine established a co-ownership structure, evenly split between the Economist Trust and the *Financial News*, later known as the *Financial Times*. Pearson, the parent company of the *Financial Times*, sold its 50% ownership stake in 2015, with the bulk of those shares going to Exor, a holding company owned by the Italian industrialist Agnelli family. The magazine's editor is appointed by a board of trustees and cannot be removed without the board's approval. By 2020, roughly half of the magazine's readership was in the United States, though two thirds of its editorial staff work in London. As of 2020, circulation stood at 1.5 million.

Maclean's

This Canadian magazine began its life as a monthly business magazine in 1905, founded by John Bayne Maclean. Before the end of that year, Maclean had renamed it *The Busy Man's Magazine*. In 1911, since the magazine had trended away from business and toward news and public affairs, Maclean renamed it yet again, this time after himself. Unlike other news magazines, *Maclean's* published monthly until 1917 and also included fiction. In the 1920s, H. Napier Moore, an Englishman, edited the magazine, which

promoted the role of Canada as a part of the British Empire, though his role in running the magazine was soon subsumed under that of W. Arthur Irwin, who turned it into a vehicle for Canadian national pride. In 1945, Irwin officially became editor, and the magazine began to focus on news features, though it maintained an identity as a monthly general interest magazine until 1975, when it became a fortnightly news magazine. In 1978, the magazine became a weekly. Like its United States counterpart *U.S. News, Maclean's* began publishing a university rankings issue in the 1980s. In 1994, Rogers Communications purchased the magazine. Falling print revenues forced the magazine to revert to monthly publication in 2017. In 2019, the magazine was sold to St. Joseph Communications.

Der Spiegel

Der Spiegel (which translates to "The Mirror") is continental Europe's largest weekly news magazine. It occupies a center-left political stance and is recognized particularly for its investigative journalism. The magazine started as a publication of the British occupational administration of West Germany in 1946. The magazine was quickly handed over to German editor Rudolf Augstein, and from January 1947 until his death in November 2002, he maintained control of the magazine. From 1950, Augstein co-owned the magazine with John Jahr, who in 1965 formed the publishing company Gruner + Jahr by merging his shares with Richard Gruner's. Augstein bought out Gruner + Jahr in 1969, and in 1974, he gave half of the stock to employees.

The magazine has had a contentious relationship with almost all of Germany's leaders, both before and after reunification, which some commentators see as an indication of the magazine's independence. In addition to stories that summarize the week's news, *Der Spiegel* publishes lengthy, in-depth investigative stories. In 1962, the magazine published a report on the low state of readiness of the West German armed forces. The minister of defense, Franz Josef Strauß, ordered a raid of the magazine's offices and had several editors, including Augstein, arrested for treason. Other magazines loaned staff to *Der Spiegel* to help them produce the next issue.

Eventually, a court found the magazine not guilty, and Strauß was forced to resign amid a more widespread shakeup in the cabinet of chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The incident was seen as an attack on freedom of the press and led to a change in the political atmosphere of post-war Germany. In 2010, *Der Spiegel* worked with WikiLeaks to publish stories based on documents leaked from the U.S. State Department, in collaboration with *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and other international newspapers. In 2013, *Der Spiegel* worked with Edward Snowden to publish stories about the U.S. National Security Agency's wiretapping of German chancellor Angela Merkel's cell phone.

L'Express

This news magazine, the first in France, debuted in 1953 and was modeled on *Time* and *Der Spiegel*. The magazine generally had a center-left political orientation and opposed war in Algeria. The French government blocked publication of *L'Express* because of a book review by Jean-Paul Sartre, and the magazine had to agree to publish a new edition of the magazine without the article in order to resume publication. In 1964, several *L'Express* journalists left the magazine to start a rival magazine, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, and *L'Express* responded by becoming a less explicitly political publication. Circulation quickly rose from about 150,000 copies to half a million. The magazine has had several owners over the course of its existence, including Altice, headed by French-Israeli billionaire Patrick Drahi, which took over ownership in 2014.

The Week

One of the more recent news magazines, *The Week*, began publishing in the United Kingdom in 1995. It was founded by Jolyon Connell, formerly of the UK's *Sunday Telegraph* newspaper. In 2001, the magazine began publishing a U.S. edition, followed by a short-lived Australian edition that lasted from 2008 to 2012. *The Week* also publishes an edition for children, *The Week Junior*, aimed at 8- to 14-year-olds. *The Week* intends to provide readers with various political viewpoints. In 2016, U.K. circulation topped 200,000 copies,

and U.S. circulation stood at more than half a million.

Tempo

In Indonesia, *Tempo* magazine was founded in 1971, 3 years after General Suharto came to power. Like many other news magazines, *Tempo* deliberately emulated *Time*, including the iconic red frame on the cover. *Tempo* initially supported the regime, hoping to help plan for economic development. But as the government became increasingly oppressive by the mid-1970s, *Tempo* had to find ways to deliver hidden messages that would not upset the system of censorship, licensing, and intimidation that manipulated the Indonesian press, and the magazine became known for its subtle use of language to get these taboo ideas across to readers. The Suharto government banned *Tempo* in 1994, which led to widespread protests and an underground press movement in which former *Tempo* reporters worked with activists to distribute news on the internet. After Suharto was forced from power in 1998, *Tempo* regained its license and began publishing independent news in a more straightforward manner. By 2010, its circulation stood at about 300,000, which is small considering Indonesia's population, but the magazine is influential beyond its circulation numbers.

India

As a populous nation with a robust and often raucous newspaper industry, India has also supported at least a half dozen news magazines at various times. *India Today*, an English-language weekly news magazine is India's most widely circulated magazine of any kind, with a readership that neared eight million in the 2010s. Other notable titles include *Frontline*, *The Week* (unrelated to the British and American newsweekly), *Outlook*, *Tehelka*, and *Shraman Bharti*.

Brazil

At least four news magazines vie for Brazil's huge readership. *Veja*, *CartaCapital*, *época*, and *Istoé* are all titles worth noting. Three of these were founded by the same man, Italo-Brazilian

journalist Mino Carta. He founded *Veja*, Brazil's leading news magazine in 1968, followed by *Istoé*. *CartaCapital* was his latest and is an openly political publication.

Contemporary Issues

The Internet has continued to erode the readership and, perhaps more importantly, the advertising revenue of weekly news magazines, making many of them tenuous business propositions in the 2020s. Most of these magazines have abandoned their original concept of summarizing the week's news in a digestible format, focusing instead on lighter lifestyle or celebrity coverage. Some continue to publish investigative journalism of their own—particularly Germany's *Der Spiegel*—but the immense expense of that kind of reporting makes it difficult for once-venerable titles such as *Time* or *Newsweek* to support ambitious work.

Kevin M. Lerner

See also Business Magazines; Fact-Checking Movement; Hard Versus Soft News; Interpretive Journalism; Investigative Journalism; News Values; Political Reporters; Television Newsmagazines

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NEXSTAR MEDIA GROUP

Nexstar Media Group (1996–present; formerly Nexstar Broadcasting Group) is the largest local television broadcast and digital media company in the United States. As of July 2020, the company, headquartered in Irving, Texas, has 196 full power owned or serviced stations in 114 markets reaching approximately 63% of the U.S. television households. The company employs nearly 13,000 people across the United States and produces more than 250,000 hours of local content per year. The media company focuses on acquisition, development, and operation of television stations and interactive community websites in medium-sized markets in the United States. In 2017, Nexstar Broadcasting Group, Inc. changes its name to Nexstar Media Group, Inc. This entry examines Nexstar Media Group's founding and its connection to deregulation, retransmission fees, and media consolidation.

Perry Sook—Founder

Perry Sook was born in DuBois, Pennsylvania, in 1958. As a teen, he was a DJ at a radio station in Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania. He attended the Scripps College of Communication at Ohio University, where he would call Pittsburgh Pirates games for the college radio station. Sook tried to make a career as a news anchor and weatherman at small station in Clarksburg, West Virginia. He realized he was not meant to be an on-air talent and decided to go into management. He believed

the quickest road to management was through sales, and he landed his first sales job at a small radio station in Kissimmee, Florida. The radio station struggled to pay his sales commissions and Sook unsuccessfully fought for the money owed to him. His frustration over not being paid influences his current philosophy that all his sales representatives must be paid their commissions.

Sook moved on to be the National Sales Manager at KTVT Dallas at the age of 27, moving up to General Manager 2 years later. By the age of 32, he was President and CEO of Seaway Communications, Inc., owner of network affiliated stations in Bangor, Maine, and Wausau, Wisconsin. During this time, Sook began to learn to negotiate and how to acquire television stations. When he was unable to get the Seaway board to agree to his acquisition proposals, he took \$250,000 of his own money, plus a loan from the finance arm of AT&T and bought a Fox affiliate (WDKY) in Lexington, Kentucky, and created Superior Communications. In 1992, he purchased KOCB in Oklahoma City for \$23 million. He would sell Superior Communications to Sinclair Broadcasting for \$63 million in 1996. The next day after the sale, Sook founded Nexstar, starting with the purchase of WYOU-TV in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Early Days—Deregulation

Deregulation in the 1990s led to consolidation of ownership in the local broadcast industry. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 was an overhaul of the telecommunications law established 62 years earlier. The goal of the new legislation was to “let anyone enter any communications business, to let any communications business compete in any market against any other.” The law also opened the door to media acquisitions and mergers that would consolidate the industry into a few major companies. Nexstar began to build an empire by acquiring other companies with groups of stations.

Sook’s vision of the company revolved around localism and away from syndication-heavy programming. He believed the company would be successful if it concentrated on medium-sized markets with a commitment to local news. Sook developed an experienced executive team, recruiting Blake Russell, senior VP of station operations,

COOs Timothy Busch and Brian Jones, and VP/Director of Engineering Richard Stolpe.

The company went public in 2003, after acquiring Quorum Broadcasting for \$230 million in cash, stock, and debt. The purchase of Quorum spread Nexstar’s reach to nine mid-sized markets with 21 stations. The stations ranged from eighth on the Nielsen Designated Market Area, or DMA (Washington, D.C.) to the 196th DMA (San Angelo, Texas).

Retransmission Fees

Sook is credited for creating the first “shared services” agreements among American television stations in 1998. Federal law empowers broadcasters, including corporations that own TV stations such to charge fees to local cable providers for rights to carry or “retransmit their signals.” Sook was looking to find a second revenue stream for local broadcast television. He took action against the disparity between the value broadcasters receive for their content and the high level of viewership of the cable and satellite companies. Nexstar’s original agreements with cable, direct broadcast satellite providers, and telcos were primarily 3- to 4-year contracts with a revenue of \$50 million over the term of the contract. In 2005, Sook was able to leverage and negotiate higher retransmission fees, and 3 years later, Nexstar announced the new fee structure generated \$75 million in revenue. Nexstar’s stance on retransmission fees strengthened the company’s influence and today retransmission fees represent a substantial portion of the local broadcasters’ revenue.

After the purchase of Quorum Broadcasting, Sook began to leverage his station sprawl to convince satellite companies to pay for the stations’ content, but he struggled to persuade the cable companies. Nexstar and Cox Cable began a feud over the retransmission consent agreement. After a nasty year-long battle, including the broadcasting of Sook’s personal phone number, Cox refused to air the stations, leaving viewers without the affiliate programming. Nexstar launched a campaign to persuade cable subscribers, many wanting to see their programming. Finally, Cox agreed to pay for the signals. Retransmission fees are significant portion of revenue for Nexstar. In 2020, Sook stated that Nexstar’s \$2

billion in revenue is the result from the fight to be paid the fees.

Retransmission fees are a key factor to a healthy future for broadcast companies. Kagan, a group within the S&P Global Market Intelligence's TMT unit, projects U.S. TV station owners' retransmission fees from cable, direct broadcast satellite, and telco video operators, and virtual multichannel service providers continued growth and will reach total gross revenue of \$16.26 billion by 2024.

Tribune Purchase

Advocates of media deregulation would argue that the consolidation would lead to more efficient and profitable stations, and critics would argue that the deregulation would lessen minority access to the media and hurt journalistic ethics.

In 2011, Fox Broadcasting dropped Nexstar stations in Evansville and Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Springfield, Missouri, because Sook would not agree to the new affiliation terms. Sook put Nexstar on the market with a billion-dollar price tag, but there were no substantial offers; a year later, Sook took Nexstar off the market.

From 2010 to 2016, Nexstar completed several station acquisitions, purchasing the Grant Group, Newport Television stations, and Landmark-owned KLAS in Las Vegas. Nexstar concluded this binge with a purchase of 71 television stations and digital media properties of Media General, for \$4.6 billion. At the time, Media General was the third largest owner of stations in the nation.

In 2017, Sinclair Broadcasting attempted to buy Tribune for \$3.9 billion but the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reprimanded Sinclair for its conduct during the sale. In 2019, Nexstar Media Group proposed to purchase Tribune Media for \$6.4 billion. The Justice Department and Attorneys General in three states filed a federal complaint against Nexstar and Tribune Media, on the grounds the merger of the two companies would eliminate competition, which would then lead to higher retransmission fees to cable and satellite providers. To satisfy the Justice Department, the deal would require the sale of stations in 13 markets where the consolidation would result in unfair competition. Nexstar agreed

to sell 21 stations in 16 markets, including those required by the Justice Department, complying to FCC ownership restrictions and antitrust complications. In 2019, the FCC approved the sale of Tribune to Nexstar for \$6.4 billion, making Nexstar the largest TV station ownership group in the United States.

The 2019 merger with Tribune made Nexstar the top broadcast affiliate for Fox (43 stations) and CBS (50 stations) as well as the number-two partner for NBC (35 stations) and number three for ABC (30 stations). Nexstar owns stations in 15 of the top 20 television markets and reaches 69 million television households. Nexstar dominates market coverage with stations in 114 markets, with Gray, in second with 95 and Sinclair, in third with 89. Nexstar's ad revenue of \$2.4 billion is ahead of Sinclair's \$1.6 billion. Nexstar has become the dominate corporation in coverage, revenue, and markets. In 2020, Nexstar reported that their 2019 fourth-quarter net revenue was \$1.1 billion, up 37.9% from the same quarter of 2018.

Nexstar owns WGN, a nationwide pay television network. The company also has a 31% share of the Food Network and Cooking Channel. In response to the Tribune sale, Nexstar's rival Sinclair purchased Fox Sports Networks from Disney and became the largest owner or operator of regional sports networks.

After purchasing WGN in the Tribune sale, Nexstar launched a 3-hour, live, primetime newscast, seven nights a week on WGN.

Nexstar forged a deal with the National Football League's Las Vegas Raiders to have exclusive content and broadcast rights of Raiders' pre-season games and other related programing, in May 2020. Their goal is to deliver the broadcasts to the five Nexstar television markets, across three states, to reach more than 9 million television households. TV stations in Los Angeles, Bay Area, Salt Lake City, Honolulu, and Bakersfield are part of the multiyear flagship agreement.

According to Pew Research in 2019, six publicly owned local TV station companies—Tribune, Nexstar, Sinclair, Tegna, Gray, and Scripps—reported their political advertising revenue separately from other types of revenues in their Security and Exchange Commission filings. The companies reported a total of \$1.2 billion in

political advertising for the 2018 election year. The growth of political ad spending will offset the slower broadcast ad growth. Local advertising is an important source of revenue for the companies, and a majority of the revenue comes from area businesses, such as car dealerships and retailers. Because of the size and reach of both Nexstar and Sinclair, they will continue to remain lucrative.

Today, in 2020, Nexstar employs 1,800 salespeople. The goal of the company's sales force is extending their reach into digital content. Nexstar's websites and apps reach 36% of the U.S. Internet audiences, generating 1.1 billion-page views. The company employs 5,500 journalists, 121 local market websites, and 316 local media mobile applications. Utilizing their Publisher Solutions Group, they have created a content management system and audience development platform, to help their newsrooms publish multiplatform content.

In 2019, Nexstar launched HYFN, with offices located in Los Angeles and New York City, as the digital creative arm of the company developing business solutions for clients, with media strategies, data, and multichannel marketing ad placements. They have designed social campaigns for New Balance, TRX Training, and Macy's.

Nexstar Media Group trades on the NASDAQ Global Market under the symbol "NXST." Nexstar stock has grown from \$4.38 a share in the second quarter of 2010 to \$124.99 a share on February 6, 2020.

Dean C. Cummings

See also Media Ownership; Sinclair Broadcast Group

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NIGERIA

Nigeria is one of the oldest nations in Africa to provide mass media to its citizens. Even before the arrival of newspapers, the people used numerous forms of traditional communication to disseminate news, information, and entertainment. During the colonial years (1901–1960), Nigeria became a pioneer for developing technology and structures for broadcasting and film in Africa. Although history and technology have changed the face of mass media in this country, there are a number of key issues surrounding journalism in Nigeria—several of which are discussed in this entry.

Print

Mass media in Nigeria began in 1859 with the publication of the first newspaper, *Iwe Iroyin* (*News Journal*) under the auspices of the Christian Missionary Society. Many other newspapers, both private and government-owned, followed including *The Nigerian Tribune* in 1949, currently the oldest surviving newspaper in the nation. Over the years, government-owned newspapers developed enormous readerships. But most of these papers are now either defunct or rarely appear on newsstands.

The press in Nigeria has faced its fair share of problems and challenges. Many newspaper owners play an influential role in determining editorial policies, sometimes resulting in biased news

coverage. Powerful advertisers have pressured journalists to alter news coverage, and claims of sensationalism and “fake news” abound. But the most damaging term that has been applied to Nigerian media professionals is *brown envelope journalism*—a reference to journalists who take bribes, sometimes accepting money wrapped in brown paper envelopes.

In 2020, there were 146 newspapers in Nigeria; 51 that operated both print and online, and 95 that were online only. Nigerians continue to keep up with print news, either directly or through “free readership,” a practice that began in the 1970s and continues today. What became known as the *Free Readers Club* consists of crowds of people who cannot afford to buy a paper and thus surround newsstands, talking to vendors and purchasers for hours about the news. Newspapers assign reporters to cover their opinions on important national, local, and regional issues.

Film

Films were first shown in Nigeria in the late 1800s in nickelodeon-type devices. They were projected on a screen for the first time in 1903 in the Clover Memorial Hall exhibition in Lagos. In the mid- and late 20th century, films played in cinemas in the big city, but reach was extended with “mobile cinema vans,” which brought movies to small villages without a theater.

The Colonial Film Unit was formed in 1939 to promote the British colonial agenda. Films were produced for and shipped to the various British colonies. In an effort to decentralize this process, the Nigerian Film Unit was established in 1949. The organization stayed under British control until 1965. In 1972, the government nationalized the theaters, resulting in the transfer of hundreds of movie houses to Nigerian control. Although these events occurred during the era of the civil war, the film industry remained relatively free of government oversight.

Between the 1970s and 1990s, film in Nigeria evolved into three industries: the Yoruba film industry, the Hausa film industry, and the Igbo film industry. The Yoruba film captured the spirit of the Yoruba traveling theater and indigenous stories. The Hausa film industry focused on

documentaries. The Igbo film industry, which it did not start as early as the other two, infused dramatic stories with aspects of the Igbo culture.

In the 1990s, the National Film Institute was established to train young people interested in working in the industry. At about the same time, the dawn of the “video film era” occurred when the Nigerian Television Authority began refusing to telecast the films of independent producers in the 1990s. So, producers began distributing their films directly via VHS tapes—signaling the arrival of the Nigerian home video industry—later coined Nollywood in 2002, a reference to the nicknames for the film industries in the United States and India (Hollywood and Bollywood, respectively). Today, Nollywood is currently ranked third behind Hollywood and Bollywood in global film production.

Radio and Television

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) brought radio to Nigeria in 1932. Programming focused on countering anti-European ideas and promoting the British government. The BBC was key in providing propaganda messages during World War II.

The first original broadcast service in Nigeria was the Nigerian Broadcasting Service established in 1950 and overtaken in 1957 by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. The network was based in Lagos with regional stations in Kaduna, Enugu, and Ibadan.

The Ordinance of 1956 provided a way for the regions to own their own broadcasting services; hence, the country witnessed the birth of regional broadcasting stations—the Western Nigerian Broadcasting Service in 1959, the Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Service in 1960, and Radio Kaduna Television in 1962.

After independence, in 1962, the Voice of Nigeria was established with the aim to create national unity in the young nation, although the programs were broadcasted from London. Funding constraints made it necessary for broadcasters to rely on the government, which amounted to opportunities for government interference. In 1979, these regional networks became known as the *Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN)*. Today, the publicly funded FRCN claims to have

the largest radio network in Africa. Government regulation of radio persisted until 1993, when the industry was deregulated and privately owned stations began to appear.

In 2015, there were 265 radio stations in Nigeria—206 privately owned commercial stations, 59 government-run stations. By 2020, the number had risen to approximately 330.

The first television network in all of Africa was Western Nigerian Television (WNTV), established in 1959. WNTV was soon followed by the Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Television in 1960. In 1962, both Radio Kaduna Television station and the federal government-backed Nigerian Television Service were established. The outbreak of the civil war in 1967 resulted in a split in these networks' allegiances. The radio and television stations in Eastern Nigeria supported the Biafrans who wanted to break free from the government, while the other regions supported the Nigerian government.

The civil war officially ended in 1970 and the federal military government established the Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria in 1973. By 1976, the government had taken over all television stations in the country and in 1977 established the Nigerian Television Authority, the only television broadcaster in Nigeria until 1993.

In 1992, the deregulation of the Nigerian broadcast industry brought with it the creation of the National Broadcasting Commission and the Nigerian Communications Commission. This move gave rise to many privately owned stations.

As of 2019, there were more than 30 independent and privately owned television stations in Nigeria.

Internet and Mobile Phone

The UNESCO-sponsored Regional Informatics Networks for Africa project in 1995 was the first attempt to introduce Internet service in Nigeria. By 1996, Link Serve became the first Internet service provider. This created opportunity for digital media—and greater access to the outside world. The introduction of the mobile phone in 2001 further accelerated the growth of digital media use in Nigeria. As of 2020, there were four major mobile phone networks operating in Nigeria, and over 400 licensed Internet service providers. These

services are virtually free from government restrictions, unlike the traditional media.

The Post Express was the first Nigerian newspaper to migrate its contents to the Internet in 1996. Others soon followed. Today, there are more online newspapers than print newspapers in Nigeria. Online newspapers produced by Nigerians in the diaspora have been widely accepted by Nigerians as a credible alternative to traditional media, which are more easily controlled by the government.

The introduction of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter gave rise to the important role of microbloggers. The 2011 election in Nigeria is an example of the influence of this new crop of journalists. To safeguard the electoral process, many young people and civil society activists took to social media to provide updates on the election in their communities. The Nigerian government has attempted to control such online voices through various activities, including blackmail, arrest, unlawful detention, attacks on the websites, and libel suits in the courts. These efforts continued in the ensuing years, resulting in a decline in Internet freedom.

In January 2019, around 24 million Nigerians were active Internet users of three leading social media platforms in the country: WhatsApp, Facebook, and Social/Hootsuite. Twitter and YouTube were close runners-up.

Nigeria has the highest number of Internet users in Africa. In 2018, the Federal Ministry of Communication announced that there were over 160 million mobile phone subscriptions and over 90 million mobile Internet subscriptions. According to the Nigerian Communications Commission, by July 2018, there were 122.7 million active Internet users who often used their cell or mobile phone to access the web, and they were usually young, educated, and urban. The high Internet penetration has provided a platform for digital and social media to thrive in Nigeria, and it has changed the way Nigerians utilize traditional media.

Key Issues in Nigerian Journalism

Journalism in Nigeria has been ongoing for a long time. While some aspects have developed, others may require more attention to maximize their usefulness. In this section, issues surrounding citizens

journalism, developmental journalism, women in journalism, and violence against journalist would be explored.

Citizen Journalism in Nigeria

Citizen journalism is produced when individuals create content, using various forms of technologies, that they then post online. The rate of such development is always tied to access to the Internet and cellular technologies. Today, many Nigerians can access the Internet even in rural communities if only by cell phone—although it is not as fast and efficient as in urban areas.

Citizen journalists have been unrelenting in their efforts to expose corruption in government, and the government has responded. In 2008, Jonathan Elendu became the first Nigerian citizen journalist to be arrested and accused of sponsoring a guerrilla news agency, as well as money laundering and sedition. The mainstream media did not report this arrest and have been reluctant to report others. Instead, such stories could be found at online news sites such as Sahara Reporters (saharareporters.com) and Pointblanknews (pointblanknews.com).

Despite the fact that citizen journalists have little to no formal training or professional editors, their work helps to set the agenda for the traditional Nigerian press.

The 2011 general election was a clear indication of the influence of citizen journalism. Initiatives such as ReclaimNaija, #NigeriaDecides, Vote or Quench, and Project 2011 Swift Count brought Nigerians together to monitor the election process to ensure that it was free and fair.

Development Journalism in Nigeria

Development journalism is a type of reporting that focuses on covering ideas, programs, and activities that center on improving the lives of people and communities. In Western nations, this community-based journalism typically addresses topics such as agriculture, family planning, and rural development.

The concept of development journalism is relatively new, and somewhat different in Nigeria. While development journalism in some societies may focus on scientific research, in Nigeria, it

focuses on activities like the commissioning of basic amenities such as paved roads, rural electricity, a potable water supply, sanitation services, adult education, and rural workforce development. These issues, which often affect disadvantaged members of the community, are generally underreported; and when they are reported, they tend to be published in niche columns, magazines, and journals.

Local communities have little control over reporting about their issues. Reporters typically travel from the cities to cover the occasional rural news story and return to the city. Government oversight, the low pay of journalists, and the costs involved in traveling to rural regions for stories have resulted in a limited amount of development journalism in Nigeria. The establishment of rural media channels in the 1970s and 1980s in communities in the states of Cross River, Kano, Plateau, and Niger was designed to increase coverage of rural activity and facilitate more journalists living in the communities. But journalists tended to remain in urban centers, where there were more, and perhaps more rewarding, opportunities.

Women in Journalism in Nigeria

In Nigeria, journalism is the domain of men. Although women began to enter the profession in the 1950s, they regularly face prejudice, stereotype, conscious bias, discrimination, and gender misrepresentation. Early female journalists primarily wrote about women's and domestic issues, but their roles have expanded. The first female editor of a national newspaper was Doyin Abiola in 1980. Forty years later, a number of women can be found in leadership roles in both print and broadcast journalism organizations.

To celebrate International Women's Day 2020, female reporters and news gatekeepers were honored by This Day Live for their contribution to the growth of journalism in Nigeria. More and more women are in Nigerian journalism schools, but the profession is still dominated by men.

Nonprofit organizations like Nigeria Association of Women Journalists and the Female Reporters' Leadership Programme (FRLP), the Wole Soyinka Center for Investigative Journalism (WSCIJ), and Free Press Unlimited have been making efforts to address gender inequality in the

journalism profession in Nigeria. FRLP was founded in 2017 and has supported and trained over 80 female reporters on reporting skills and tools to help them attain leadership roles in the various media organizations. The coordinator of WSCIJ attested to job demand, stereotypes, incompetence, and gender bias as factors responsible for the low number of women in the industry. In a 2017 survey by the Wole Soyinka Center for Investigative Journalism, among 85 media organizations in Nigeria, a ratio of male to female editors in the newsroom was found to be 9:1. To close this gap, more female journalists need to be trained. Those who participated in the training attested to being assertive in the newsroom and validated the knowledge acquired.

Violence Against Journalists in Nigeria

Violence against journalists is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria—there has been a long history of it from the early days of independence to the present day. The unleashing of security operatives on journalists has become a reoccurring situation. The State Security Service and the State Anti-Robbery Squad have been the major perpetrators of the violence on journalists, which range from arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions, threats, physical and sexual assaults, tortures, and killings. Similarly, some civilians are engaging violence against journalists. There have been instances in which civilians have beaten up journalists, especially while covering protests. In 2017, there were reports of media outlets being invaded by civilians who tried to force the media outlets to broadcast their programs. Human Rights Watch in 2018 reported a trend of repression of freedom of expression and called on the government to stop unlawful detention of journalists. The U.S.-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported that during the 2019 general election, reporters were unable to perform their job in many states due to the threat of violence.

Reporters Without Borders or Reporters sans Frontières (RSF) has called Nigeria one of West Africa's most dangerous countries for journalists. The CPJ has called for the government to protect Nigerian journalists. In 2017, the Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism (PTCIJ)

released “Press Attack Nigeria,” a crowd mapping site designed to document and make public all types of harassment and violence toward journalists. Between 2016 and 2017, RSF registered more than 70 cases of violence against journalists and media outlets. CPJ has documented 11 journalists killed and as many as 13 at one time imprisoned since 1995.

*Philip Auter, Patricia Holmes,
and Prudence Mbah*

See also Africa, Sub-Saharan; Citizen Journalism; Development Journalism; Fake News; Sensationalism; Violence Against Journalists

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NONPROFIT MEDIA

Nonprofit media organizations include those that provide content in a range of formats to serve the informational needs of the public. Nonprofit media include public broadcasting, or public radio and television, which are alternatives to commercial broadcasting. Nonprofit media organizations can also include public access channels, low-power FM stations, educational channels, government channels, and websites operated by nonprofit organizations. Nonprofit media can range from smaller community-based organizations to large-scale institutions such as the Associated Press, which is the nation's largest news wire service.

Distinguishing characteristics for nonprofit media include placing revenue back into the organization, exploring diverse social issues, having strong relationships and connections with the community, relying heavily on volunteers, applying strategies that appeal to listeners and viewers for support, creating partnerships with universities or local sponsors, and creating content to reach diverse audiences. By contrast, commercial

media are privately owned, often by corporations that own multiple media outlets, and make a profit through subscribers and/or advertising.

Nonprofit media typically obtain funding through private and public sources. In the United States, public broadcasting receives federal funding through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). However, almost no nonprofit media in the United States obtain the majority of their funding from the government. Private sources can include grants and donations from corporations, foundations, universities, or individual subscribers. Notable nonprofit media include National Public Radio (NPR), Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), *National Geographic*, Associated Press, Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network, and *Consumer Reports*. This entry discusses the history and revenue of nonprofit media, nonprofit radio and television, and the use of digital media for nonprofit journalism.

History and Revenue

Two historic moments are responsible for the creation of the public broadcasting system in the United States. In the 1930s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to reserve spectrum for noncommercial educational radio broadcast use. On November 7, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 into law. The law highlighted the importance of utilizing media platforms such as television and radio for “instructional, educational, and cultural purposes.” The law created the CPB, whose primary function was to ensure that federal funds were allocated to local public television and radio stations.

In 1970, the CPB established two nonprofit national networks that it continues to fund, NPR for radio and PBS for television. As a measure to ensure that CPB would not control any of the content on public broadcasting, it was forbidden from producing or distributing programs. The Public Broadcasting Act also stipulated that federal funds through the CPB are allocated based on distribution platform (TV or radio) and by a formula that determines how much money goes to stations themselves and how much is available for program producers. Approximately 67% of CPB funds go to television and about 22% to radio.

There are multiple sources of financial support for nonprofit media. For example, the Knight Foundation provided a \$2 million grant to New York City's WNYC in 2008 to create a morning news program. The Open Society Foundation awarded \$1.8 million in grants to NPR in 2010 for state news coverage. According to the FCC, approximately 14% of funding for public broadcasting comes from CPB.

To generate additional revenue, public broadcasters are permitted to sell show-related merchandise such as the licensing of children's show characters. However, public broadcasting is prohibited from marketing any products on air. Donations and subscriptions are also nonprofit media revenue streams. In some cases, individuals can donate funds to help finance a specific journalist's news story idea. Nonprofit media receive tax-deductible donations but they cannot generate funds by promises of profits or return on investments.

Nonprofit Radio

NPR is an American nonprofit membership media organization based in Washington, D.C., and is the largest employer of radio journalists in the United States. The public radio network distributes more than 100 hours of original programming weekly to over 1,000 public radio stations in the United States. NPR's two flagship shows, *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*, are among the most popular radio programs in the country.

Nonprofit radio can also include local news and public affairs programming, community-based stations, and college radio stations. A 2011 FCC report indicated that religious stations account for 42% of noncommercial radio stations. One of the largest Christian radio networks is Moody Radio, which is owned by the Moody Bible Institute.

Major nonprofit radio organizations are often well-staffed but medium to smaller organizations often have minimal staff. The amount of resources provided to major versus smaller organizations impacts the level of news coverage. For example, NPR has an investigative team that works with other field and beat reporters. They have also partnered with independent nonprofit organizations, such as the Center for Public Integrity, to

produce news stories covering topics such as sexual assault on college campuses. In recent years, nonprofit public radio has aimed to increase local news coverage.

Nonprofit Television

Public television focuses on producing educational programming to serve the public. In 1952, 242 television channels were reserved by the FCC for noncommercial educational television programming. In 1953, the first educational TV station to operate on a reserved channel was the University of Houston's KUHT. Other nonprofit television stations air instructional programming (e.g., university telecourses), popular programs (e.g., in-studio concerts), and award-winning poetry readings.

PBS a prominent nonprofit public television program distributor, broadcasts high-quality educational, news, and cultural content. Notable shows have included *Nova*, *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, and *Antique Roadshow*. PBS popularized educational children's programming with *Sesame Street*, which first aired in 1969, and in 1973 broadcast what is considered the first reality TV show in the United States, *An American Family*. PBS also created a wide range of programming topics such as public affairs, arts programming, historical documentaries, and science programming, and in 1972, was the first to establish closed captioning for the hearing impaired. In addition, the public broadcasting station WGBH created one of the most popular and longest-running weekly prime-time drama anthology series in television history, *Masterpiece Theatre*. Nonprofit television media can also include lower-cost public affairs shows on local cable stations. State Public Affairs Networks are also examples of nonprofit television media on local cable.

Nonprofit Media and Digital Era

Nonprofit media have adapted to the digital era. Some longtime nonprofit news organizations have launched news apps, such as the NPR One app that blends content from listeners' local public radio station with national news stories and podcasts. The early 2000s saw the launch of local and regional nonprofit news outlets such as Voice of

San Diego, MinnPost (Minneapolis), and The Texas Tribune. Columbia College's ChicagoTalks, a citywide news website, obtains a majority of its content from Columbia students. Nonprofit news organizations also have sprung up to provide news coverage in specialized sectors such as Kaiser Health News (health), Chalkbeat (education), the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting (foreign news), and the Marshall Project (criminal justice). Other notable nonprofit news organizations include the investigative reporting organizations ProPublica and the Public Herald.

Demand for public interest news coverage remained strong in the 2010s as nonprofit media organizations continued to rapidly grow. Additional revenue streams further supported the growth of nonprofit media. In 2018, NewsMatch, a national matching-gift campaign for nonprofit newsrooms, supported approximately 155 nonprofit newsrooms, all of which were members of the Institute for Nonprofit News. NewsMatch also provides tools, education, and coaching for nonprofit newsrooms to thrive. According to the Institute for Nonprofit News, nonprofit news outlets brought in \$450 million in annual revenues in 2018.

Linda Dam

See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Community Radio; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); National Public Radio; Public Broadcasting Service; Public Funding; Public Service Broadcasting

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NORTH AMERICA

Journalism in North America faced an existential crisis as a result of the rapid drop in advertising revenue that began during the 2008–2009 global recession and continued with the rise of Google and Facebook. This put in doubt the profitable transition of news delivery from print, radio, and television to digital media. The news business had been transformed by advertising from a craft practiced mostly by printers in the 18th century into a big business in the 19th century and one dominated by profit-driven corporations by the late 20th century. The rapid decrease in advertising thus reversed the evolutionary course of journalism from a commodity sold for profit back toward a craft practiced for civic purposes by smaller businesses. Alternatives to the profit-driven model for journalism were sought into the third decade of the 21st century. For example, in 2019 Canada moved to allow charitable donations to nonprofit news media, similar to that enabled in the United States under Section 501(c)(3) of the U.S. tax code, which provided a viable business model for some journalism websites. This entry examines the current status of journalism and reviews its evolution in each of the countries of North America: the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Old and New Media in North America

The trend toward commercialization of news reached its height in the United States, whereas the news ecosystems of Canada and Mexico developed slightly differently as a result of political and cultural factors and were thus less dependent on advertising. Private ownership dominated broadcasting in the United States after it emerged in the 1920s, but Canada adopted a hybrid public-private model and state-controlled broadcasting dominated in Mexico until the 1990s. From its apex just after the millennium, however, the advertising “bubble” began to deflate because of widespread broadband Internet adoption and then burst with the so-called Great Recession. Most advertising fled legacy media such as newspapers and television, which hoped to replace it with digital advertising as they transitioned their operations online. Instead, Google and Facebook

dominated digital advertising, forcing legacy media to downsize rapidly as their revenues fell, leading to a loss of local reporting. In 2018, Canada became the first major world economy to subsidize journalism, funding a C\$50 million (US\$40 million) Local Journalism Initiative for underserved communities, which was followed the next year by a C\$595 million (US\$450 million) bailout of news media over 5 years.

The displacement of old media by new media, which was widely expected at the millennium, had not transpired a quarter century after the introduction of the World Wide Web, leaving journalism in a state of limbo. Online journalism proved unable to find a profitable business model for general news, although niche websites on specialized topics proved sustainable through subscription. Revenues from digital advertising were insufficient to sustain a newsroom of any substance, and online subscription schemes also failed at first to make up for lost legacy revenues. Experimentation continued, however, as the metered paywall introduced by *The New York Times* in 2011, which allowed readers a few free articles every month, was adopted widely in the United States and Canada. The persistence of old media and the inability of online journalism to find a sustainable business model thus made displacement of old media less likely as time passed, with accommodation of new media being the more likely outcome.

Journalism in the United States

The Revolution of 1776 that founded the United States of America saw press freedom enshrined as the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. A resulting libertarian model of the press, however, exposed the perils of unrestrained press freedom during the yellow journalism era at the end of the 19th century and was replaced with a so-called social responsibility model. American journalism proved central to national development first through trade and commerce and then through industrialization, important political and economic reforms, modernization, and finally globalization. It thus proved an exemplar for press systems worldwide and as the watchdog on power needed for democratic rule, as exemplified by the investigative reporting that drove Richard Nixon

to resign the presidency in 1974. Those aspects of journalism were not emulated as widely in other countries, whose rulers feared similar consequences.

American journalism was pivotal to the nation's establishment through revolution, as a vigorous colonial press fomented discontent with British rule, but it subsequently struggled to justify its practices and growing power, maturing through several phases of development. An early "party press" saw journalism focus on politics, with newspapers often founded as party organs. The growth of advertising saw newspapers increasingly abandon overt partisanship in a quest for the mass audience. This for-profit model of the press saw competition dwindle as publications merged or perished in a race for market leadership that usually left only one daily newspaper in a town or city.

Technology continually diminished America's press, as first radio and next television cut into its audiences, then the Internet threatened to extinguish it. Newspapers struggled to compete first with the immediacy brought by radio in the 1920s and then with the images that television added in the 1950s. Publishers responded with technological advances of their own, such as high-quality color printing and satellite transmission, which allowed national dailies to be printed in different parts of the country and even globally. Both were exemplified by *USA Today*, which was founded in 1982 by the Gannett newspaper chain. *USA Today* featured short stories and colorful graphics.

In the 1990s, online journalism, which allowed anyone with a computer and an Internet connection to publish on the World Wide Web, threatened mainstream media. This enabled so-called citizen journalists and bloggers to proliferate online while established news media struggled to adapt to the digital world. By allowing advertisers to reach customers directly online and then through social media such as Facebook, the Internet siphoned off much of the advertising revenue that once supported mainstream journalism. Mainstream media were forced to retrench, mostly by laying off journalists. After several long-publishing dailies folded or went online-only in 2009 and a dozen newspaper companies declared bankruptcy as a result of unsustainable debt, fears grew

that traditional journalism might die out. Newspapers survived after downsizing, however, and the chains all continued to publish under new ownership.

Politics returned to the fore with the 2016 election of Donald Trump to the presidency and the New York Times soon had more than 4 million online subscribers. The COVID-19 pandemic that began in 2020 brought a renewed financial crisis for journalism and revealed deep divisions in American society brought on by a partisanship which had been fanned by right-wing broadcasters and perhaps worsened by an Internet free-for-all. Whatever the news was, it seemed that journalism in America remained at the center of the story, as it had since the nation's founding.

From Politics to Profit

The press in the United States flourished under the freedom paradigm, with 178 weeklies and 24 dailies across the country by the end of the 18th century. The center of growth was New York City, which experienced a rapid population rise due to immigration from Europe. In the mid-19th century, however, costs began to escalate due to technology, and newspaper publishing was transformed into a big business. While it took only \$500 to establish the *New York Herald* in 1835, soon steam-driven presses and growing staffs inflated start-up costs for a daily to \$5,000–10,000 by 1840. Adding the expense of sending news by telegraph made the cost more like \$100,000 by 1850. Newsgathering expenses soared during the Civil War, and by 1870 the cost to start a daily newspaper was estimated at close to \$1 million. Despite this, the increased revenue flowing from advertising made it a booming business in most major cities. New York City alone boasted 19 dailies by the late 19th century in a so-called Golden Age of newspapers. The era of mass society saw cities swell, leading to the rise of mass marketing through department stores, which stimulated sales with advertising.

Cooperative newsgathering began in 1846 when five New York City dailies pooled their resources to cover the Mexican-American War by telegraph. This led to formation of the New York Associated Press, which merged with several rival news agencies in 1900 to form the Associated

Press as a nonprofit cooperative. The AP distributed stories from its member newspapers, and also opened a growing number of national and international bureaus.

Technology also transformed the structure of news writing, which began as a narrative or even chronological account. The telegraph led to stories instead being written in the inverted pyramid form, which was top-heavy with facts in case transmission was interrupted. This had the added benefit of allowing editors to cut stories from the bottom in order to fit on a page without losing the most important information.

In their quest for the widest possible audience, mass circulation dailies began to abandon the partisan politics on which the press in early America had thrived. Journalism became more professional as a result. Originally the province of printers, it evolved into an occupation practiced by reporters and editors. Educational levels of journalists increased and reporters grew in status when given bylines atop their articles. They gained expertise and contacts by increasingly work “beats,” which saw them cover one topic regularly, and they soon began to interrogate sources directly through interviewing. Journalism became a subject of higher education in the late 19th century, being taught first in college English departments before several freestanding journalism schools were established early in the 20th century.

Increasing Professionalism

The fin de siècle yellow journalism practiced by New York City publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst was a low point for American journalism, as their sensational—and often fictional—coverage of an insurgency in Cuba was blamed for starting the 1898 Spanish-American War. This type of discredited journalism in pursuit of profit was soon replaced by a more responsible brand of reporting as exemplified by *The New York Times*, which proved even more profitable. Stressing accuracy, decency, and conservatism, the *Times* attracted a wealthy readership by emphasizing business coverage. This elevated the informational model over the disgraced entertainment model of yellow journalism by relying more on advertisers for revenue than on readers.

The 20th century dawned with a hard-hitting brand of investigative reporting dubbed “muckraking.” Magazines such as *Collier’s Weekly*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *McClure’s Magazine* specializing in deeply researched exposés of social, political, and economic problems. Investigative journalism fueled reform in the Progressive Era of the early 20th century, which saw the first regulation of housing, food and drugs, monopolies, child labor, and working conditions. Muckraking died out in the 1910s, however, as a more conservative era saw readers grow weary of bad news. The demise of muckraking became complete with the outbreak in 1914 of World War I, which the United States joined in 1917.

Commercialization increased during the interwar years as broadcasting networks and newspaper chains grew, along with their political power. A private Commission on Freedom of the Press (also known as the *Hutchins Commission*) called for a more responsible and accountable form of journalism in its 1947 report titled *A Free and Responsible Press*. Newspapers largely rejected its findings and pointed out that the Hutchins Commission was made up almost entirely of academics and included no journalists. The new academic field of mass communication, which grew with postwar state universities, compared the social responsibility model it advocated for with the earlier authoritarian and libertarian models. Together with a Soviet Communist model then practiced in Eastern Bloc countries, these models were codified in the pioneering 1956 book *The Four Theories of the Press*.

Television returned the muckraking tradition with investigative programs such as *See It Now*, which was hosted on CBS by Edward R. Murrow in the 1950s and explored such issues as the exploitation of migrant farm workers. The most influential report by Murrow was on Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, whose communist “witch hunts” Murrow exposed as a fraud. This cast serious doubt on the journalism ethic of objectivity, which McCarthy had exploited in promoting his claims of government infiltration by communists. Instead of simply reporting such claims, reporters increasingly began to investigate their substance in a more subjective “New Journalism” that emerged in the 1960s. Investigative journalism was boosted by programs such as *60*

Minutes, which CBS started in 1968 with the advent of color broadcasting and became the most popular show on television by the mid-1970s. Its success spawned imitators on NBC and CBS, then on the new Fox network, founded in the mid-1980s by Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch.

Television evening news demonstrated the new medium’s power to influence public opinion by regularly broadcasting events such as civil rights protests and the Vietnam War. *CBS Evening News* host Walter Cronkite, who became known as “the most trusted man in America” for his fatherly tone, deemed the war in Vietnam a lost cause in an influential 1968 editorial. His nightly coverage in the early 1970s helped expose the Watergate scandal, which led to Nixon’s 1974 resignation. In 1980, with the advent of satellite transmission, Ted Turner founded the Cable News Network and headquartered it in Atlanta instead of New York or Los Angeles. With the growth of satellite broadcasting came a proliferation of news channels in the 1990s, such as MSNBC and Fox News, with the latter catering to an underserved market by appealing to conservative viewers.

Online Journalism

The introduction of the World Wide Web in the 1990s increased the fragmentation of news audiences, a phenomenon which had begun with radio and accelerated under television. The market for news that newspapers once monopolized now had to be shared four ways. Each new medium that emerged had forced existing media to adapt, but the digitization of news threatened to supplant all others. Under the theory of convergence, digital media were expected by some to replace print media, radio, and television because text, audio, and video could all be transmitted online. The new technology was also supposed to democratize journalism, as it allowed anyone to be a publisher without having to own a printing press or a broadcasting station. Websites such as the Drudge Report sprang up in the 1990s and covered politics in particular without the restraint of traditional news media, for example in reporting the indiscretions of President Bill Clinton. Mainstream journalists also found themselves unusually fact checked, such as when document experts

went online to cast doubt on a *60 Minutes* story in 2004 that claimed President George W. Bush had been AWOL from the Texas Air National Guard during the Vietnam War. Its producer was fired and presenter Dan Rather, who had succeeded Cronkite as host of the *CBS Evening News* in 1981, retired.

While online journalism disrupted old media, it did not replace them, at least not in the short term. As with all forms of media, the Internet proved to have both strengths and limitations, and gradually old media adapted. Online audiences proved elusive, with shorter attention spans that discouraged long-form journalism and encouraged short attention-grabbing items that became known as *click-bait*. The clicks they sought were the basis on which online advertising rates were set, but soon oversupply sent rates ever lower. Google and Facebook dominated online advertising, ironically by often circulating links to stories the mainstream media first reported. That left little to sustain journalism, including digital start-ups that struggled to find a profitable business model for general news. Newspapers soon rethought the wisdom of relying on digital advertising and increasingly began to charge for online access to their content. Again they had adapted to competition for news audiences brought by a new medium. Meanwhile, an alternative online journalism ecosystem was sustained by Section 501(c)(3) of the Income Tax Act, which allowed nonprofit institutions, including news organizations, to receive tax-deductible donations. This helped to fund local news websites such as MinnPost and the Voice of San Diego, as well as investigative reporting by websites such as the Texas Tribune and ProPublica.

Journalism in Canada

Differences in history and culture resulted in journalism evolving slightly differently in Canada than in the United States, with the main points of departure being bilingualism and public broadcasting. Canada was settled by colonists from both England and France, with the province of Quebec speaking mostly French while the rest of the country largely spoke English. The result was parallel cultures often referred to as *the two solitudes*. One important difference between the United States and Canada was in the

enshrinement of press freedom. While the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provided an absolute guarantee, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms enacted in 1982 balanced press freedom against the rights of identifiable groups not to be subjected to hate speech.

The press evolved in Canada much as in the United States, with newspapers serving first as political party organs and then as profit-driven businesses owned by chains, but the French-language press tended to be more overtly partisan. The first English-language chain was founded by printer William Southam, who published several Ontario dailies before expanding in the early 20th century into Western Canada. The Thomson chain was started by former radio salesman Roy Thomson, who began buying small newspapers in Ontario in the 1930s after he discovered how profitable they were. Thomson expanded his newspaper empire not just across Canada but into the United States and Great Britain, where he was named Lord Thomson of Fleet in 1964 after buying newspapers there including *The Scotsman* and *The Sunday Times*.

The Southam and Thomson chains came to so dominate Canadian newspapers that a Royal Commission was called in 1980 after they traded and closed two major dailies, creating new local monopolies for each other. The commission proposed a Canada Newspaper Act that would have placed limits on chain ownership, but none was enacted after a change in government. As a result, Canada has one of the world's highest levels of press ownership concentration. The Southam chain was taken over in the 1990s by Conrad Black, who founded the *National Post* in 1998 as a conservative competitor to Thomson's *The Globe and Mail*, which had published nationally by satellite since the early 1980s. Black sold Southam in 2000 to Canwest Global Communications, which owned the Global Television Network. Despite a warning by the Royal Commission on Newspapers against allowing cross-ownership of newspapers and television stations, which had resulted in a brief ban in the mid-1980s, Canada placed no limits on such ownership, which was prohibited in the United States and limited in other countries.

Prompted by the AOL–Time Warner merger in the United States in January 2000, the

convergence model of multimedia ownership began to sweep the country. Before the year ended, *The Globe and Mail* partnered with CTV, and the French-language chain Quebecor acquired the provincial network TVA. Canadian news media were devastated within a decade by convergence. Canwest Global declared bankruptcy in 2009 due to its unsustainable debt load while *The Globe and Mail* dissolved its partnership with CTV as unworkable the following year. Canwest Global was deconverged when its newspaper and television divisions were auctioned off separately. The former Southam newspapers were acquired by a consortium of U.S. hedge funds despite a limit of 25% on foreign ownership. They renamed the chain Postmedia Network and in 2014 also acquired Sun Media, the country's second-largest chain.

Broadcasting evolved in Canada as a hybrid public-private model under the influence of both its British heritage and its American neighbor. Private radio stations sprang up across the country in the 1920s, initially often owned by newspapers. Public broadcasting was first delegated to the Canadian National Railway before a Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) was formed in 1932 and took over its network of stations. The CRBC was reorganized in 1936 as an arm's-length Crown corporation called the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) modeled after the BBC. The CBC also served as the country's first broadcasting regulator before being replaced in 1958 by a Board of Broadcast Governors, which was later renamed the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. The CBC began a French-language radio service in 1937 and a television network in 1952. Licenses for private television stations were first awarded in 1960, and the following year eight of the new licensees formed the CTV network. Global Television was built into a third national network in the 1970s by Canwest.

In addition to deconverging Canadian media, the 2008–2009 recession reshaped television ownership, as all three private English-language networks were taken over by the country's highly profitable cable companies. The result was a degree of vertical integration between carriage companies and content providers that rivaled the country's stratospheric level of press ownership

concentration. Online journalism, which was touted to flourish under convergence, instead stalled in the absence of laws that allowed tax-deductible donations to nonprofit startups. In 2015, Postmedia merged the newsrooms of its duopoly dailies in four of the country's largest cities, prompting Parliamentary hearings that sat for more than a year. The report, issued in 2017, recommended government financial support for news media, among other measures. A package of Cdn\$595 million (US\$450 million) in subsidies over 5 years was included in the 2019 federal budget to assist print and online journalism in Canada.

Journalism in Mexico

The first printing press in North America was shipped to Mexico City from Spain by bishop Juan de Zumárraga in 1536. The *Gaceta de México* was established as a monthly in 1722 and ran mostly business and society news. The first daily newspaper in Mexico, the *Diario de México*, began publication in 1805, but censorship was imposed under Spanish rule. The press flourished after Mexico achieved independence in 1821, but the largest dailies came under the authoritarian control of generals and ruling elites until late in the 20th century. Newspapers proliferated in the hundreds, especially in Mexico City, but the largest dailies were controlled by oligarchs with close ties to the ruling party, *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI). It dominated Mexican politics in a de facto one-party system from the 1930s through the 1990s and was a regime characterized by institutional corruption. Newspapers depended on government advertising and subsidized newsprint, while journalists received commissions from selling ads and also took government kickbacks. Television was a state-run monopoly under Televisa for almost 50 years. As a result, Mexico suffered under the PRI's domination until the millennium.

A reappraisal of journalism practices began after an army massacre of student protestors in 1968, reporting on which was one-sided in favor of the regime. In 1976, after a purge at the largest progovernment daily *Excelsior* of top editors who proposed a more independent editorial stance, 150 journalists quit in protest. Some founded *Proceso*,

which has been the nation's premier political weekly ever since. Others founded the daily tabloid *Unomásuno* in 1977; several left in 1984 to form *La Jornada*, which became the voice of Mexico's antiregime left. Provincial newspapers also rose to prominence in the 1970s, including as *El Norte* in Monterrey, *El Sur* in Acapulco, and *Siglo 21* in Guadalajara. Younger and more professional, their journalists were forbidden from taking bribes or gifts from government officials. In the place of corruption, however, physical repression against journalists rose sharply, with about 60 Mexican journalists being murdered between 1980 and 1996.

Political liberalization combined with increased competition and professionalization of journalists to create more independent news coverage by the mid-1990s. The broadcasting sector also opened up with the founding in 1993 of TV Azteca as competition for Televisa. Aggressive talk-radio commentators competed for large audiences and advertising revenues. Economic reforms reduced government subsidies for proregime publications. Major news stories like the 1985 Mexico City earthquake and the 1992 Guadalajara gas explosion stimulated public interest in independent reporting. Television coverage, which no longer slavishly supported the PRI, played an important role in reshaping public opinion in favor of the opposition. A series of scandals, the armed insurrection in Chiapas, political assassinations, and the economic shock brought by the peso's devaluation in 1994 contributed to the opposition winning legislative elections in 1997. Political reforms ensured a more permissive environment for independent media, and in the presidential elections of 2000 opposition candidate Vicente Fox defeated the PRI.

Increased political independence for journalists has come at the price of their safety, however. Attacks on the press have accelerated in recent years, with 47 journalists murdered between 2012 and 2018. The human right organization ARTICLE 19 documented 544 attacks against Mexican journalists in 2018, including threats, harassment, intimidation, blocking of access, deprivation of liberty, 72 incidents of censorship, 65 physical attacks, and nine murders, with public officials being the chief perpetrators. It estimated the rate

of impunity for crimes against journalists in Mexico at 99.1%. A protection program for journalists introduced in 2012, which included the use of bodyguards, panic buttons, safehouses, camera systems, and bulletproof vehicles, was largely ineffective. In 2019, the International Federation of Journalists and the Committee to Protect Journalists declared Mexico the most dangerous country in the world for media workers, surpassing war-torn Syria. There were 10 murders of journalists in 2019, mostly by organized crime cartels. As a result, both Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders rated the country's press as not free.

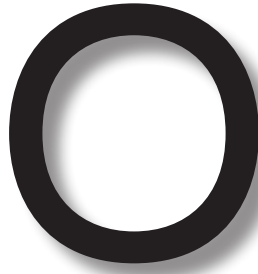
Marc Edge

See also Commission on Freedom of the Press; Internet: Impact on the Media; Muckrakers; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Partisan Press; Yellow Journalism

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OBITUARIES

An obituary (the root of the word is *obit*, Latin for “death”) is a news report of someone’s death, often with a biographical sketch of the deceased. Obituaries typically appear within days or a week after the subject has died. Usually appearing in a newspaper, an obituary not only announces the fact of the individual’s passing but also offers an account of the texture and significance of his or her life. An obituary differs from a death (or funeral) notice, which is a paid announcement of the death and funeral details written by family members and placed in a newspaper by either the family or the funeral home.

Origins

If one includes memorial walls and stones left to honor kings and heroes, the obituary dates back to ancient Egypt. In North America, the first obituaries that would be recognized as such by modern readers appeared in Boston newspapers as early as 1704. These early obituaries tended to be short, more like current death notices. Invention of the rotary press in the mid-19th century allowed newspapers space for more news and short death notices evolved into flowery obituaries.

In some of the newspapers for Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia, for example, longer obituaries began appearing in the 1830s and 1840s, depending on the prominence of the person. These

would often list some of the details of the individual’s life, but they usually gave little family information other than naming a wife and mentioning—but not naming—children, plus brief details about funeral services. True obituaries listing such details as next of kin, cause of death, place of burial, funeral service information, and the deceased’s occupation and activities in civic and cultural groups seem to have first appeared in newspapers between 1875 and 1890, depending on the paper and its coverage area. As obituaries became more commonplace, so did the realization that many individuals had amazing life stories, and the practice of publishing obituaries for every member of at least smaller communities became expected of newspapers. Rather than being a “depressing public service,” obituaries are often among the most frequently and closely read sections of a newspaper.

Most 19th-century obituaries focused on a person’s character. By the 20th century, writers focused more on describing the accomplishments and associations of the deceased and dwelled less on their character. According to historian Nigel Starck (2005),

The obituary art in its first incarnation was practiced by the newsbook compilers of 17th century England . . . It flowered in the 18th century . . . it grew luxuriant, and sometimes ornate, in the 19th century; it became unfashionable and fell into widespread neglect in the 20th. Then, with the appointment of reformist editors, the obituary experienced its own restoration.

He also points out that some people in early America were excluded from the obituary notices, notably “those who were not white, not well off or not powerful. Also typically excluded were women and children.” This began to change in the 20th century as women and minorities took on a greater role in society.

Types and Process

Newspaper obituaries can be divided into two categories: news and feature. The news approach is a traditional news story that includes full name of the deceased, age or birth date, address or hometown, occupation, affiliations, significant accomplishments, survivors, and details of the memorial service. It may also note cause of death, education, military service, honors, and awards. Put another way, the news obituary sums up the life, usually centering on a person’s most noteworthy accomplishments or activities.

Most community newspapers run at least a short item on every death in town. “In community journalism, the writing of obits is one of the most important things we do,” says James A. Raykie Jr., editor of *The Herald* in Sharon, Pennsylvania (quoted in Scanlon, 2003). The paper publishes about 2,000 obituaries a year, most written by a full-time obit writer assisted by other reporters and newsroom assistants on days when local deaths exceed an average of nine. The paper learned just how important obituaries are to readers when a 1988 redesign moved these from the front to the back page; reader complaints prompted the paper to go back to front-page stories. In larger cities, where 50 or more people die daily, newspapers will run an obituary for only a handful.

The famous and infamous usually rate a “feature” obituary; the basic information is fleshed out with personal insights, including anecdotes, descriptions, quotes, and reminiscences. A feature obituary attempts to provide a fuller account of the texture as well as significance of the life of someone who has died. *New Yorker* writer Mark Singer offered this elegant definition of the feature obituary: a “completed cycle of accomplishment or notoriety, concisely wrought” (2002, p. 28). Feature obituaries include more quotations (from

both the subject and others) and more extensive biographies than news obituaries. Interviews with survivors and friends often turn up interesting material. Incidents in the person’s life that are well-known to the public are included in the obituary, but it is the lesser-known events that raise the feature obituary to an art form.

Although feature obituaries are usually limited to prominent people, a new form—dubbed the “common man” (and woman) feature obit—emerged in the 1980s. At the *Philadelphia Daily News*, former investigative reporter Jim Nicholson won numerous awards for his feature obituaries, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors’ first obituary writing award in 1987, for his sensitive portrayals of the lives and deaths of ordinary men and women, in the process earning the nickname “Dr. Death.” In his work, we found out that Marie Byrne smacked her kids for “making the nuns upset” and that she had a “private prayer list with countless people on it.” We learned that John Ciavardone, “skinny as a lead pencil,” cried only once over his terrible war injuries and referred to his friend, Mickey DiSanto, as his seeing-eye dog, his “canine.” The astonishing body of Dr. Death’s work also proves that “news is culture” and that an important role of journalism is to chronicle the achievements, failures, rhythms, and rites of passage of one person’s life.

The Associated Press keeps 1,000 “biographical sketches” of prominent people on hand, frequently updated. *The New York Times* has 1,200 on file. A community newspaper, depending on its size, may have a similar file about prominent people in town. When a well-known person dies, the background, or “B-Matter,” is ready so that all the reporter need write is an obit lead and the funeral arrangements. At many newspapers, obit files are compiled on the most prominent people while still alive, which allows the newspaper to run an obituary promptly and with considerable detail. The practice has led, on rare occasion, to premature obituaries being published mistakenly. Unsubstantiated reports of the death of a prominent person can induce a harried editor, facing tight deadlines or seeking to scoop the competition, to print one of these ready-to-run obituaries. One famous instance of this was for Mark Twain, published in the *New York Journal* in 1897, to

which he commented, “the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated.” (He died in 1910.)

New print reporters are often inducted into the profession by a stint of obituary writing because it stresses the need for accuracy in reporting names and dates and his or her ability to work under pressure—people are always dying on deadline. As Jock Lauterer writes, “It’s a mortal fact lost on many young reporters: The older people become, the more they pay attention to obituaries. And the enduring irony is that many young reporters are required to write ‘obits’” (2006, p. 113). It is a test—of accuracy, humility, enterprise, and journalistic craft—and for many novice journalists a rite of passage. Some beginners consider obituary writing a dull assignment of little importance. “What nonsense. What an opportunity,” says Joseph Galloway, a senior writer for *U.S. News & World Report*, who wrote his share of obituaries when he broke into newspaper work at a small Texas daily.

The obituary has come to be held in such regard that in 1999, the International Association of Obituarists was formed. Along with holding international writers’ conferences, seminars, and workshops, the organization seeks to enhance public and professional appreciation for the art of obituary writing, to generate educational activities related to obituary writing, and to serve as an advocate for the craft. Its educational branch also responds to research requests from scholars in the fields of journalism, history, genealogy, and anthropology. Finally, the association honors distinguished efforts in writing obituaries with a series of awards and an annual recognition program.

Obituaries, more than most items in a newspaper, speak directly to journalism as the “first draft of history.” Obits are as significant to the present community as to posterity, as much about ourselves as about the deceased.

Rex Martin

See also News as Narrative

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OBJECTIVITY

Objectivity, loosely defined in the context of journalism as impartial, detached reporting based on verifiable data, is widely understood to be the goal of many news organizations. Many argue that objectivity is a belief for journalists and the cornerstone of professionalization in liberal media systems. In those contexts, it is often central to journalism training and how journalists situate themselves in their role of mediator between newsmakers and the general public. It can be an effective defense to assure the public that journalists act ethically and for the greater good, rather than for personal motivations or societal elites. Yet, how objectivity is enacted daily by thousands of journalists around the world does not always meet those ideals.

Members of the public sphere, ranging from elites to average citizens, sometimes claim media bias as a way of discrediting journalism. It seems simple to do because while objectivity is a routinized journalistic norm, its tenet of producing value-free news is fundamentally flawed. This is because news personnel are limited by their own ideologies and selected realities.

There are also structural flaws in news organizations and greater inequalities of societal structures that influence the news process. To add to the complication, those in the public criticizing news bias are often motivated by their personal biases. Therefore, achieving total objectivity and the reputation of objectivity in news is nearly impossible. Nevertheless, objectivity continues to dominate journalism because associated with it are professional routines that structure news reporting, inform ethical standards in journalism, and help maintain journalism as a fourth estate and invaluable part of society.

Many working in the news industry acknowledge objectivity is more of a construct than a universal truth. To address its importance and challenges to journalism, this entry further defines objectivity, then discusses how it has evolved in journalism practices in both the United States and around the world, and why it is often criticized but still practiced.

Defining Objectivity

Since objectivity is central to liberal journalism found in places such as the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, it is often associated as a primary definer of professionalism in journalism. Yet, objectivity is not necessarily emphasized in other contexts where professional journalism standards exist. Furthermore, perceptions of objectivity can differ according to geographical location, and other factors such as political ideology, experience, and age. Previous research shows most journalists are aware of objectivity and use its associated norms such as direct quotes, multiple viewpoints, and separating facts and opinions, but also use other approaches such as interpretation and pluralism. Consequently, though objectivity is largely associated with the United States and United Kingdom, it is important to note that objectivity as a professional journalistic norm is common but not always stressed in other contexts.

Several scholars over the years have tried to define objectivity in the news. Some of the first journalism texts from the late 19th and early 20th centuries did not use the term objectivity per se, but emphasized fact-based news reporting.

Objectivity evolved to be loosely defined as impartial, detached reporting based on verifiable data. According to David Mindich, the following values are commonly associated with objective reporting: detachment, nonpartisanship, inverted pyramid style, naïve empiricism, and balance.

Detachment is the process of reporting without emotion or personal opinions. *Nonpartisanship* is presenting both sides of a story. The *inverted pyramid* is a writing style where important facts are reported first. *Naïve empiricism* involves relying on facts in order to report the truth accurately. Finally, *balance* is reporting positions equally without preference to a side.

These objective values have associated benefits and critiques. It's seen as professional to remain distant from the story. But, some question whether it is possible to have complete detachment in reporting and argue that the perspectives of journalists and news organizations influence how facts are reported. Critical scholars note that so-called value free news often reflects a status quo rather than varied perspectives. In particular, marginalized populations are overlooked in the news. Furthermore, when reporting on tragedies and various inequalities, objectivity can fall short of humanity if it fails to convey emotion. Journalists' stoicism has at times been admired as courageous but also critiqued as lacking empathy.

Nonpartisanship plays an important role in informing the public of politics, especially during election time. In the last two decades, however, the partisan press have impacted the entire news industry—decreasing the public's trust in news media and their growing concerns that all news media are somehow biased. The inverted pyramid helps journalists organize the main points of a story, but can unfairly place emphasis on certain points and overlook others.

Naïve empiricism is central to why journalism is still regarded as fundamental to democracies, and important sources can exploit that by spreading false information through use of direct quotes. For instance, during the presidency of Donald Trump many journalists spent considerable time fact checking false statements he made via interviews, tweets, and his rallies. Reporting truth accurately is thus strained. Finally, balance is often simplified to dualism, or telling two sides to a story. This oversimplifies complex issues, and

oftentimes journalists focus more on one particular side of the story.

Despite the commonly understood limitations of objectivity as an abstract concept, it has also developed as a blueprint that simplifies the job for journalists while also protecting news organizations. According to Gaye Tuchman, objectivity can be defined through form, content, and organizational relationships. Firstly, form comprises ritualized routines journalists follow as defense mechanisms against lawsuits and to maintain credibility. Specifically, objectivity routines are presenting conflicting viewpoints, including supporting evidence for claims, direct quotes from sources, and the inverted pyramid. Content production through the objectivity lens is done through constructed realities of what is supposed as journalistic instincts or common sense.

This process is known as *gatekeeping* in journalism and has long been based on what the gatekeeper judges to be newsworthy. There is both high trust and critique in this process. On one hand, training and work experience do qualify journalists to anticipate the level of interest the public may have in a story. On the other hand, this process is not scientific and personal and organizational biases can influence the gatekeeping process. This same subjectively objective process continues through a newsworthiness evaluation process called *news values*.

News values have evolved and differ depending on context, medium, and market, but generally include impact, frequency, negativity, celebrity, timeliness, proximity, familiarity, and human interest. News professionals' evaluations of news on these measures may not reflect the entire scope of society. This is most apparent in newsrooms that lack diversity and consequently differing experiences and viewpoints.

Finally, interorganizational relationships include the situatedness of journalists in relation to influential external players such as politicians or CEOs, but also, the stance of their own news organization. The connections news organizations have with other societal elites can influence the form of objectivity. Journalists must balance building their networks of trust with elites such as politicians while still maintaining professional detachment. The rise of a partisan press in the 21st century via cable and online sources has

blurred the lines between the news industry and society's most elite, especially politicians. Consequences include a decrease of watchdog journalism, politicians' increased hostility toward journalists who they perceive are not politically aligned with them, and limits on journalists' access to politicians if they are perceived to be critical.

Journalism is in constant flux and adapts to changing economic, social, political, and technological advancements in societies. This influences how objectivity is perceived and practiced. However, news organizations that still heavily focus on objective reporting continue to function as elite opinion leaders for gathering and producing news today. The continued importance of traditional news reporting makes objectivity still relevant in journalism.

The Evolution of Objectivity

Documenting the evolution of objectivity has not been a straightforward process. Before being adopted into journalism, objectivity was a well-established norm in science and philosophy. Furthermore, several developments have led to current understandings of objectivity. In England and across Europe, the number of news publications increased significantly in the 18th century, along with the formation of a public sphere interested in politics and culture—inspiring the evolution of both partisan and spectator journalism. Concerned with the growing influence of newspapers, however, the United Kingdom introduced the Stamp Act of 1712, which taxed newspapers (abolished in 1836).

When the pauper press began in the United Kingdom in the early to mid-1800s, publications concentrated on human interest stories that catered to a working class. But, in order to compete financially with the already established press, the pauper press needed to attract advertisers. Advertisers were less inclined to support publications with extreme or partisan views. Advertisers also sought page placement near stories accommodating the upper classes. As a consequence, newspapers became less opinionated and ignored non-elite perspectives.

In the U.S. context, Michael Schudson's work chronicles objectivity over several decades. By the

early 19th century, U.S. newspapers were relatively costly at six cents, produced by a small staff with few reporters, sold by subscription, dominated by advertisements and shipping news, often transparently partisan (even sometimes owned by political parties), did not separate facts and editorials, catered to business and political elites, and had low circulations. However, things changed in 1833 when Benjamin Day founded *The Sun* in New York City. He sold copies for one cent, which widened the audience from mostly elites to a larger working-class population. This started what became known as *the penny press*—similar to the pauper press in the United Kingdom.

The penny press quickly became popular with the public. Others followed suit, such as James Gordon Bennett, who founded *The Herald* in 1835, and Henry J. Raymond and George Jones, who founded *The New York Times* in 1851. The increased competition and audience readership changed newspapers, and in particular began to emphasize a timely newsgathering process. Scoops and circulating information quickly became a priority. Penny publications were sold on the street and included what were deemed as sensationalist news stories on crime and other previously ignored beats.

Schudson's work on how the norm of objectivity formed during the 19th century and early 20th century challenges notions that the invention of technologies such as the telegraph in the 1840s and the establishment of the Associated Press mandated objective reporting. He points to other developments such as steam powered printing presses and paper manufacturing as being critical to aiding the penny press's circulation and success. Indeed, penny publications were often early adopters of technology, which greatly aided their financial success.

Other scholars have also focused on the importance of the penny press and objectivity. Notably, Dan Schiller's work emphasizes the audience in the development of objectivity in the 1800s. He notes that the penny press appropriated a diminishing labor press that sought to bring knowledge to the working class about their rights and systemic injustices. The labor press aimed at empowering lower income earners. The penny press targeted the same emerging working class's interests, but through impartial reporting of facts in

order to increase circulation to a wider audience. Nevertheless, by reporting on issues such as crime, the penny press did continue to challenge societal elites. The evolution of the penny press reflected egalitarian values. Furthermore, it corresponded with scientific theories that promoted neutrality.

During the early 20th century, publications changed to a scientific approach to informational reporting, putting great emphasis on relegating opinions to editorial pages and not taking sides in news copy. However, wartime propaganda and an increase of public relations during and post-World War I impacted journalists and scholars' trust in naïve empiricism. This led to increased awareness of constructed realities of news, and that news and truth were not always interchangeable. It was during this time that scholars also first began to test media effects of propaganda's messages on audiences, with mixed results. To counter these concerns, there was increased use of journalistic routines such as a standardized writing style, source use, verification, news formatting (separating opinion from factual reporting), detachment, and balance.

Mark Brewin has identified four distinct periods of objectivity during the mid to late 20th century. Firstly, after World War II and leading into the 1950s, objectivity was solidified as a moral code for journalists. It was then objectivity became a belief and not just a way of selling more newspapers. There was trust in social institutions and knowledge creation was highly valued. Mainstream news organizations prospered economically and TV was popularized.

This shifted in the 1960s when objectivity was questioned. Many events such as the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and civil rights movements for equality based on race, gender, class, and sexualities challenged the status quo and trust in societal systems. Critics pointed to objectivity as commercially motivated to serve wide audiences and advertisers rather than the noble pursuit of truth. Furthermore, objectivity served to distance journalists away from marginalized groups to align with the elite. This was especially true in terms of who was interviewed and directly quoted in news coverage.

Challenging the status quo meant including non-elite voices and their stories. Schudson describes this shift as Objectivity 2.0. This more

critical form of news reporting provided interpretation for news events and relied on background information rather than episodic facts only. Journalists began to be more critical of politicians during this time. Importantly, Objectivity 2.0 didn't replace the standard norms of objectivity, or Objectivity 1.0, and consequently both continue in news coverage.

In the 1980s, scholars noted that neutral news reporting over some decades diminished passionate public responses that were invoked through partisan news. There was a growing apathetic audience whose trust in the news was diminishing. In response, public journalism in the 1990s called on journalists to take on the role of activist rather than passive spectator.

Finally, the late 1990s began a post-objective era. Emerging digital technologies gave way to news blogs and other online content that weren't necessarily concerned with objectivity. Furthermore, the popularity of partisan cable news channels such as Fox News changed the entire format and content of television news. The goal of the partisan press was to promote specific political viewpoints; nonetheless, because objectivity was so much ingrained in the concept of U.S. journalism, some of these partisan news sources were able to become mainstream through the guise of being objective.

Journalists continue to grapple with changing boundaries around what is considered to be news and the need to compete against popular alternative media. During the 2016 U.S. presidential election, public awareness of mis- and disinformation, commonly called *fake news*, also emerged as a growing threat to journalism and public consumption of news. The popularity of nonobjective news, particularly with conservatives, challenges the validity of objectivity in news and greater public discussions.

Further Challenges of Objectivity

There are several contributing factors that limit the realization of objectivity. Universally, accepted is the understanding that journalists, like all people, have personal biases. Several studies show that personal demographics such as gender, race, education, geographic origin, socioeconomic status, and political ideology influence journalists in

various aspects of their job. This includes story topics covered, sources used, frames emphasized, and professional behavior and status.

At the time journalistic standards developed, men dominated the journalism industry. In Western and colonized societies, racial inequalities also excluded non-white people from fully participating in the news industry. Those from lower socioeconomic statuses, LGBTQ people, and people with disabilities also were excluded from full participation. This has resulted in constructed realities in journalism being primarily from one category of person, rather than representing the entirety of societies.

Furthermore, the social control brought about through objectivity norms limits journalists' ability to challenge the status quo both within news organizations and in the greater society. Those attempting to challenge the status quo are often quickly overpowered by societal elites, such as politicians. Moreover, elites are able to control media narratives to promote their own agendas and discredit dissenting voices. Too often journalists quote powerful elites without challenging their claims. When journalists do challenge elites' claims, they still give a platform to elites. One prominent example in the 21st century is how the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush and the cabinet of Prime Minister Tony Blair in the United Kingdom promoted an invasion of Iraq after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The politicians' messages were prominent in news coverage leading up to the invasion in March 2003, and their justifications for going to war with Iraq were not sufficiently challenged by journalists.

Sandrine Boudana offers responses to four major obstacles in objectivity to illustrate that the challenges are not insurmountable. First, she argues that political attitudes do not have a strong impact on news writing according to research on journalism students, implying that journalists, or at least journalists in training, do have the ability to put aside personal political ideologies for the job. Second, organizational factors that limit an individual's influence can be countered by hiring a more diverse staff with varied perspectives. This would provide more accountability in the newsroom and drive more wide-ranging news content. Third, socially constructed realities can be

expanded if journalists are able to “transcend” their own condition to account for others. Fourth, the problem of language, or shifting connotations of particular words, can be addressed by accepting that objectivity is not neutrality or balance, but rather a “consensus-reaching” process of writing accurately and fairly.

Other scholars have proposed alternatives to objectivity. For instance, media transparency, contextual journalism, and feminist standpoint epistemology have all been suggested additions or even replacements to the current norms driven by objectivity. As the name denotes, transparency promotes the process of journalists disclosing possible conflicts of interest instead of insisting on detachment, which some argue is never fully attained. It also puts responsibility on journalists to explain their decision-making process to the public. Contextual journalism seriously began with Objectivity 2.0 in the mid-20th century when journalists shifted from primarily reporting news events episodically, to providing background and other relevant information in the news coverage. Feminist standpoint epistemology claims that journalists’ knowledge is situated, and so journalists must self-reflect and begin their reporting through voices of the marginalized rather than societal elites.

Journalists and scholars are likely to continue to debate objectivity’s ethical implications and relevance for as long as journalism exists in its current form. However, since the norms of news-gathering and production are based on objectivity, it remains a practical operational tool for journalists to do their jobs—even when they acknowledge objectivity is a flawed concept.

Lindsey Erin Blumell and Lea Hellmueller

See also Bias; Credibility; Framing; Gatekeeping; News Values; Partisan Press; Transparency

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OMBUDSMAN

In the United States, the press is often referred to as *the fourth estate* because, in theory, it acts as a watchdog of government. Yet the press itself needs a watchdog. Scholars have argued that journalism in a democracy remains answerable to media accountability systems. Due to its role in a democracy, the government cannot have the power to hold journalism accountable, so the press must do it for themselves; the media must have a strong sense of self-regulation.

There are numerous protocols and manners through which journalism holds itself accountable: codes of ethics, press councils, trade journals, social media posts, and, most saliently for this entry, ombudsmen. All together, these form media accountability systems, which have the goal of improving the services of media, restoring the credibility of the media in the eyes of the populace, protecting freedom of speech and press, and, lastly, maintaining the journalism profession’s autonomy that it needs to assist in the expansion of democracy. Indeed, the media hold itself accountable through a mix of innumerable practices that signal to actors inside and outside of the profession that the industry deserves credibility and will hold itself accountable. Since the mid-20th century, one of the most visible ways the industry has held itself

responsible is through the employ of ombudsmen or public editors. This entry discusses the history of these positions in American news organizations, their roles, and the elimination of these positions in many newsrooms.

The History of Ombudsmen in the Newsroom

The term ombudsman is believed to have been invented when a Swedish organization argued that the country's government should be required to have on staff an independent investigator dedicated to exploring potential cases of malfeasance; this independent employee would serve at the behest of the public and not the government itself through they would be paid directly by the government. It was not until 1967, when a *New York Times* editorial writer named A. H. Rankin penned a persuasive column, that the idea of an ombudsman in the newsroom was conceptualized. Rankin contended that newsrooms needed to be held accountable and since the public did not have the means to do it themselves, the news organization itself should hire someone to serve as the voice of the public. Only a handful of weeks after Rankin's powerful editorial ran in the *Times*, the editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* in Kentucky hired the first newspaper ombudsman in the United States.

Less than a decade after the first ombudsman started his job in Louisville, newspapers across the United States hired more than three dozen more. The most clear and obvious role of ombudsmen is to act as the representative of the people. The position requires its holder to aim for increased accountability of the newsroom and catalyzation of more transparent and ethical journalistic practice. Ostensibly, ombudsmen accomplish this goal by publishing columns admitting to the news organizations' mistakes, explaining why mistakes happened, and detailing protocols that will be established to avoid making the same mistake again.

By serving as an intermediary between the public and journalists, an ombudsman can interview relevant journalists about newsroom issues and coverage and relay that information to the public in a transparent manner. In a sense, ombudsmen, especially early ones, took on the role of

press critic before recent technological advances allowed the public to criticize news organizations online. Ombudsmen often dedicated columns to uncovering organizational mistakes, mishaps, and violations of journalistic practice. Early research into ombudsmen found that readers believed the most important role of the position was to publicly serve as a media critic and provide transparent coverage to citizens.

The Roles of Ombudsmen

While the main outward role of ombudsmen remains acting as a media critic by advocating publicly on behalf of the reader, there are other more implicit roles to the position. By acting as a conduit to the public, the ombudsman can help a newsroom understand what type of journalism citizens place the value upon. They can communicate with the public in a manner that reporters traditionally do not simply because readers believe the ombudsman is one of them, in a sense. However, ombudsmen also enact a public relations role for a news organization.

One could argue that an ombudsman is the chief public relations executive for a newsroom. This role, as a de facto public relations officer, has been called the *single most important part of the job* because it allows the organization to "give readers a sense that the newspaper cares about them" (Ettema & Glasser, 1987, p. 7). By consistently publishing material concerning what the news organization is supposed to do—and material detailing the positive practices of the organization—the ombudsman position, very clearly, provides the public with a specific idealized image of the news company. Consequently, much past research elucidates that in their position many ombudsmen do take on the role of media critic concerning the individual journalists of an organization, but they seldom do the same for the organization itself; in fact, the position frequently publishes content that highlights the positives done by a news organization. Also, because people in the ombudsman role tend to be journalists themselves, they implicitly favor the institution of journalism and preach its benefits. Hence, they are very clearly advocating on behalf of the organization, the same thing as a public relations professional would do.

Another implicit role of the ombudsman is to work as a quasi-media-literacy teacher. By consistently publishing material that takes readers behind the scenes of how journalists do their jobs, ombudsmen effectively teach the public about the practice of journalism and what are and are not normative procedures. For example, by highlighting in a column when a journalist commits a misstep, the ombudsman is essentially lecturing the public on what the mistake was, why it happened, and what could have prevented it. More specifically, in 2013, the sports network ESPN partnered with PBS's *Frontline* investigative journalism program on a documentary called *League of Denial: The NFL's Concussion Crisis*. ESPN's reporters conducted many of the interviews and much of the research for the program, but, very close to air date, ESPN pulled its brand of the documentary. Soon after, it was learned that the sports network likely did this due to pressure from the National Football League, a partner of ESPN as the sports network broadcasts the NFL's *Monday Night Football*. Through primarily social media, the public—and other journalistic outlets—loudly and consistently criticized ESPN's decision. The network's ombudsman at the time—veteran journalist and former *New York Times* reporter Robert Lipsyte—devoted several columns to explaining to the public what happened, why ESPN did what it did and, most specifically, criticizing the network for violating journalism ethics. These columns effectively taught the public about normative journalism practices and ethics and helped them understand what happened.

Ombudsmen in Today's Media

Since 2010, the number of ombudsmen—or public editors as some news organizations more recently dubbed them—working in newsrooms has fallen dramatically. This seemingly is at odds with recent developments in the industry as the public's trust in journalism is falling and the need for a bond with citizens is stronger than ever. For example, after the discovery in 2003 that reporter Jayson Blair had fabricated numerous stories in *The New York Times*, the newspaper instituted a public editor position as a means of earning trust and credibility with its audience after such a high-profile scandal and breach of normative

journalism practices. *The New York Times* eliminated the position of public editor in May of 2017 even though it still struggles to earn the public's trust due to the Blair scandal and numerous other prominent ethical incidents. Scholars have argued that instead of eliminating the position, ombudsmen should obtain more power within a newsroom, such as the ability to censure or fire employees who do not abide by the norms of the industry. Others have contended that the position should be given to actual citizens on a rotating basis, but that could also defeat the purpose of the ombudsman since a layman could not take on the teacher role effectively.

Most news organizations that have eliminated the position of ombudsman argue that it is no longer needed, as the public no longer needs a voice since it can disseminate its opinions through social media, comments sections, emails, and other digital tools. Effectively, news organizations implicitly argue, these are the new elements of 21st-century media accountability system. However, an ombudsman works within a news organization and can hold employees accountable by essentially forcing them to explain themselves on the record. The ombudsman can theoretically sit outside an editor's office until they speak about a situation. The public cannot accomplish this. An ombudsman who excels at their job can enact all of the different roles of the position—unlike the public—and “they can do it in a way that can both hold journalism accountable to the public, but also effectively defend and describe a journalistic situation that an uninformed reader might not understand” (Ferrucci, 2019, p. 302).

Patrick Ferrucci

See also Ethics; Fourth Estate; Media Criticism; Self-Regulation

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OP-ED PAGE

“Op-ed” is abbreviated from “opposite editorial” due to the tradition of newspapers placing opinion material on the page opposite the editorial page. In a broadsheet newspaper, the editorial section is typically published on one or two pages of the first news section of the newspaper that display the masthead, which includes the title, owner's name, and staff listing of the newspaper. The section also includes between one and four editorials, syndicated and local guest writers, political cartoons, and letters to the editor. While the editorial page usually contains the opinions of the publisher, the op-ed page is reserved for articles by other writers who are often not affiliated with the paper.

Op-ed articles may come from freelance writers, advocacy and industry groups, public relations agencies, and others. Over time, the term

op-ed itself has evolved into an adjective denoting all opinion aspects of newspapers, such that some use the term to mean “opinion/editorial” rather than “opposite editorial.” Some of the most prominent op-ed pages are those of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. This entry first discusses the form and purpose of op-ed essays and the development of the op-ed page in U.S. newspapers. It then looks at the purpose and structure of the op-ed page and challenges facing op-ed editors.

The Essay

The op-ed essay itself is a short essay intending to inform the public about an issue and to indicate some means for its resolution. Many op-ed essays tend to follow one basic structure: lead (around a news hook), thesis (statement of argument—either explicit or implied), argument based on evidence (such as statistics, news, reports from credible organizations, expert quotes, scholarship, history, firsthand experience), a “to be sure” paragraph (in which the author preempts potential critics by acknowledging any flaws in the argument and addresses any obvious counterarguments), and the conclusion (often circling back to the author's lead).

Frank Partsch, who served as editorial page editor of the *Omaha World-Herald* from 1982–2003, argued that the op-ed page has a primary duty to provide opinions not ordinarily found on the editorial page. Secondly, it provides a variety of opinions selected as being, in the editors' judgment, useful to readers. Often, these come from a regular lineup of syndicated columnists—columnists with a following that limit the editors' ability to cut them to make room for more nonregulars.

Vying for the remaining handful of slots on the op-ed page are unsolicited articles, which increased in the 1990s with the wider use of fax machines and e-mail. According to some editors, a rebuttal by a person or institution criticized in an editorial gets top priority. An article by a public official going behind or beyond the news is usually picked up. Editors also look for scholarly analysis of public policy and infrequent pieces in which a regular reader finds a fresh and creative voice and deals authoritatively with an issue worthy of general reader attention.

Development

The American model of journalistic objectivity is a fairly recent development, predated by the partisan press and interspersed with various reactionary movements, such as new journalism (1960–1970s) and public journalism (1990s). During the partisan press era in the United States, news organizations aligned themselves politically and presented news from a specific partisan point of view, without the guise of objectivity. But since roughly the 1940s, mainstream U.S. newspapers have been expected to operate within the norms of the objective model, with news articles not expressing the opinion of the writer or newspaper. The editorial section of the paper is an exception. These pages are the outlets for the editorial board, the publisher-sanctioned mouthpiece of the newspaper, to collectively craft and publish its views on a wide range of topics.

In 1970, *The New York Times* launched the first modern “opposite of the editorial page,” or op-ed page, opening its pages to outside nonjournalist contributors. In that spirit, the *Times* hired a conservative nonjournalist, William Safire, as a regular op-ed columnist. According to Stephen Rosenfeld, former editorial page editor of *The Washington Post*, in doing so, the *Times* was responding to popular calls for the institutions of authority in American society to, in effect, move over and make room for other participants. A growing appreciation of the complexity of issues of public policy made newspapers ready to share different perspectives on those issues.

However, *The New York Times* did not create the first op-ed page. Instead, the idea was conceived of by Herbert Bayard Swope, an editor at the *New York World* newspaper in the 1920s, who used the name “Op. Ed.” The difference from op-ed pages then and now is that Swope did not print unsolicited letters from the general public; instead he rounded up big names to write the letters.

Even so, *The New York Times* is widely credited for developing the archetype of modern op-ed pages in September 1970. By the 1970s, editors tried to distinguish their op-ed pages from others, but most adopted the common practice of devoting most, if not all, of their op-ed pages to outside

voices. The *Chicago Tribune* used its op-ed page in the 1970s to run opinions that countered the *Tribune*’s “staunchly conservative views,” while the *Los Angeles Times* opted for more localized opinions of a less intellectual bent than those found in *The New York Times*. In the early 1980s, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* tried to engage its readers with more local voices by dropping syndicated columnists entirely for a time and recruiting local writers to contribute periodically. The increased use of op-ed pages encouraged the development of political columns in the 1960s and 1970s, and the sense that readers needed help in understanding not only politics, government, and business but also changing lifestyles led to a marked proliferation in types as well as numbers of columns.

By 1980, most newspapers had humorists as well as analysts on their editorial or opposite editorial pages, and some, especially smaller ones that did not have separate business or lifestyle sections, ran advice columns on business and other topics there. A survey conducted during the mid-1970s found that virtually all newspapers used some type of column on their editorial or op-ed pages. Political analysis and political reporting, presented in 93% and 75% of these columns, respectively, were the most popular. Other columns featured humor (63%), business (33%), religion (20%), advice (13%), and gossip (1%).

A 2013 Pew Research Center article reported that over the previous decade, there was a decline in the amount of space newspapers allotted to editorial and op-ed pages. According to the article,

Some papers have tried to compensate by running more editorials and columns online and launching more opinion-driven blogs. Some have shifted away from one of the historic missions of newspapers—influencing public opinion—and instead seek to foment community conversations online. (Enda, 2013)

Until the late 1990s, which saw the rise and proliferation of Internet venues for news and opinion, op-ed pages were one of the few places

in mainstream media where members of the public were provided an opportunity to offer their perspectives and shape public debate. In the 21st century, venues for opinionated public affairs content have proliferated in all forms of media, even those traditionally reserved for *objective* news.

In news magazines, newspapers, television news broadcasts, and Internet news sites, opinion and editorial sections abound. In many instances, they continue to be demarcated as such and cordoned off through section headers or prefaces and disclaimers from the official news sections of those publications and broadcasts. In other cases, the line between news and opinion is less clear. Some scholars argue that with the ability of the average person to become a *citizen journalist* and blog online, singular access to public space through newspaper op-ed sections is rendered less crucial. And so while newspaper op-ed pages still potentially wield power by influencing the sentiments of their readers, they are only one force of opinion in an ever-growing opinion media landscape.

Purpose and Structure

Newspaper op-ed pages can serve as a “forum for the exchange of comment and criticism,” one of the obligations of newspapers listed in the 1947 report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, also known as the Hutchins Commission. Some newspapers may see op-ed pages as a comparatively inexpensive way to look good and attract readers. Some may obtain columnists to keep opposition newspapers from using them. Many look to columnists for information, analysis, and comment concerning national and international affairs they cannot afford to obtain on their own and which are not necessarily available through the basic wire services.

Some newspapers run columnists whose voices support and reinforce the philosophy of the publishers; some run columnists that differ with them politically, philosophically, or both, to provide readers a choice of benchmarks against which to measure their own views. Columnists can help satisfy these goals and perhaps provide incidental

benefits such as provision of ideas for editorials. By the turn of the 21st century, many newspapers had expanded the role of the op-ed page to their editorial pages, sometimes surrendering space normally reserved for the newspaper’s editorials for essays and letters from contributors and readers. Many newspapers that have just one opinion page per edition will construct them more as op-ed pages than as traditional editorial pages.

Smaller, more local newspapers sometimes feature community issue sections in their op-ed pages where members of the paper’s readership can weigh in on topics that affect their local community. At larger papers, letters to the editor are often selected and printed in the op-ed pages on the basis of the authority or notoriety of the writer, but often on the basis of the point of view expressed. Letters to the editor usually range in length from 200 to 500 words and are shorter than op-ed essays.

Corporations have strategically engaged in op-ed campaigns using paid issue advertisements that are printed in the op-ed pages of newspapers, such as the Mobil Oil Corporation’s op-ed campaigns between 1982 and 1986. Other organizations, including universities, have used unpaid essays on op-ed pages as a way of increasing the institution’s visibility. Public figures and academics often attempt to act as public intellectuals by getting their essays or columns published in the pages of well-known newspapers and magazines. In these ways, the op-ed pages may be used by interested parties to try to persuade readers to their point of view and gain recognition. A 2018 research study found that op-eds can change the minds of those who read them. The study’s authors estimate that in a major publication such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, or *USA Today*, “if a successful op-ed is read by about a half-million people, we can expect it changes between 50,000 and 100,000 minds” (Coppock, Ekins, & Kirby, 2018).

In September 2018, *The New York Times* published an anonymous op-ed by a source within the presidential administration of Donald Trump that became a viral sensation. Titled, “I Am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration,” the piece described efforts by White House staffers,

including the author of the op-ed, to thwart Trump's "amorality" and "impulsiveness." The identity of the writer was a secret at the time to all but the *Times* publisher and editors in the newspaper's Opinion section. In late 2019, after resigning from the Trump administration, the same person published a book critical of Trump titled *A Warning*. It was not until October 2020 that the author revealed himself to be Miles Taylor, the former chief of staff at the Department of Homeland Security.

Challenges

Editors note that one challenge of maintaining a distinct op-ed page is generating a steady supply of quality submissions in order to fill the daily page. While prominent pages such as those of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* often ask noteworthy people to write op-eds, many newspapers seem to rely on a combination of volunteer writers from the community and unsolicited contributions. Some newspapers create *contributor boards*, or groups of diverse people from the community, who are asked to occasionally write columns. Some newspapers rely entirely on unsolicited contributions. A few use their op-ed pages for special purposes, such as publishing the submissions of scholastic essay contests or carrying a variety of opinions on specific themes that are of interest to the community.

Men's voices have dominated U.S. newspapers' op-ed pages, while women's voices have been noticeably lacking. Some successful op-ed contributors, in the spirit of increasing diversity of opinion, are training women at universities, foundations, and corporations to write op-ed essays and get them published. The OpEd Project, which has worked to increase commentary from women, said a byline survey conducted in 2011 found some improvement over the preceding 5 years, with more bylined opinion articles written by women, but that these still made up only 20% of op-eds in traditional media.

Some journalists and journalism scholars have noted another challenge facing op-ed editors: keeping the page open to *citizen writers* as opposed to politicians, scholars, newsmakers, public relations specialists, and special interest groups. In a 1994 survey of op-ed editors, researchers found

that the editors often gave preference to submissions from people who were principals in news stories, experts in the topic area discussed, or prominent at the local or national levels. About a third of newspapers in the survey sold space on the page for advertisements, further limiting the space available for essays from *citizen writers* (Ciofalo & Traverso, 1994, p. 54).

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See also Cartoonists, Political; Column-Writing; Editorials; Letters to the Editor

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PACIFICA RADIO

The Pacifica Radio Foundation is the licensee for five listener-supported, noncommercial FM radio stations in the United States. Pacifica also controls the operations of these stations, which include KPFA Berkeley, California (first broadcast 1949); KPFK Los Angeles, California (1959); WBAI New York City (1960); KPFT Houston, Texas (1970); and WPFW Washington, D.C. (1977). Pacifica distributes news, public affairs, and cultural content on its stations and on some 200 broadcast and online content providers. Pacifica also owns the Pacifica Radio Archives, which houses over 100,000 items spanning the period from 1949 to the present day. Pacifica's primary contribution to journalism has been in through programs that document political debates, social justice movements, and cultural change. This entry examines Pacifica Radio's history, expansion, rise as an alternative news source, and its current status.

History of Pacifica Radio

The Pacifica Foundation was established in 1946 by Lewis Hill and a group of fellow pacifists. Imprisoned as a conscientious objector during World War II, Hill worked as a radio announcer after he was released. Hill viewed radio as a technology that could be used to promote dialogue between opposing viewpoints, build human relationships, and encourage the cause of peace. Concerned about the influence of commercial

advertisers, educational and religious institutions, Hill proposed to maintain the Pacifica station's independence by staffing it primarily with volunteers and by financing it entirely through voluntary contributions from listeners. At the time "listener sponsored" KPFA commenced broadcasting in the San Francisco Bay area on the FM band, FM radio had comparatively few listeners, and many radios were not even capable of receiving FM signals.

The content on KPFA consisted primarily of cultural programs and commentary. Some of the personalities associated with KPFA's early years later established themselves as noteworthy cultural figures, including Zen philosopher Alan Watts, New Yorker film critic Pauline Kael, and beat poets Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Allen Ginsburg. Political content was less prominent, though the station drew scrutiny for Hill's commentaries opposing the Korean conflict and the investigations of private citizens by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Pacifica was regularly beset by internal tensions over governance and financial issues, and these may have contributed to the deterioration of Hill's health. Suffering from spinal arthritis, Hill resigned in 1957 and took his own life soon after.

KPFA established a reputation for public affairs programming under the leadership of Elsa Knight Thompson. As one of the few women employed as a journalist by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Thompson had covered World War II and interviewed Holocaust survivors in the aftermath. Between 1957 and the early 1970s, Thompson produced multiple programs exploring civil

liberties, human rights, and armed conflict. Her documentary *Black Friday* was widely distributed in the United States, and Thompson's work influenced the subsequent development of American public broadcasting.

Pacifica established KPFK in Los Angeles in 1959. The following year, the license for New York City's WBAI was donated to the foundation. These acquisitions significantly expanded Pacifica's audience and its exposure to critics. While the views broadcast on Pacifica stations regularly skewed to the political left, including those of the Communist Party, programs also showcased views on the right, including those of the John Birch Society. Leftist content drew attention of federal authorities. Following a broadcast that described rogue operations and racist behavior within the FBI, dozens of Pacifica associates were investigated by the Bureau and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. At same time, the Federal Communications Commission delayed the renewal of Pacifica's station licenses. The controversy subsided after a Pacifica board member confessed to a prior association with the Communist Party and resigned.

Alternative Journalism

Pacifica's reputation for alternative journalism grew in the 1960s. A WBAI reporter was the first U.S. journalist to file stories from communist North Vietnam. All of the stations initiated daily newscasts, and these became the foundation for a national news service. A number of Pacifica reporters from this period were subsequently associated with National Public Radio. In 1972, Pacifica offered expanded coverage of the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions. Pacifica widened distribution of its news and other programs to dozens of U.S. stations when its stations joined the National Federation of Community Broadcasters in 1975.

Pacifica enhanced its reputation for solid and sometimes controversial public affairs coverage in the 1980s. Station-based journalists, including Larry Bensky, Marc Cooper, Tim Frasca, Robert Knight, and Alan Snitow, joined by correspondents from around the world. Prominent coverage included reports from the civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Bensky hosted extensive live coverage, distributed by satellite, of the Iran–Contra

hearings. The broadcasts earned a George Polk Award for Bensky and producer Bill Wax. Pacifica similarly covered the confirmation hearings of controversial Supreme Court nominees Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas. During this period, WBAI reporter Amy Goodman established herself as perhaps Pacifica's most fearless journalist when she faced down armed troops while covering the popular rebellion in East Timor in 1991.

National Reach

Intent on expanding the reach of its national programming, Pacifica leadership took steps to establish a national network for community radio stations in the 1990s. Utilizing the NPR-managed Public Radio Satellite System, Pacifica increased its public affairs and talk offerings. Notable among these were Cooper's *Radio Nation* and *We the People* hosted by California Governor Jerry Brown. Although a network was never fully realized, Pacifica succeeded in setting up its own satellite distribution system on the Ku band in 1997. The system delivered dozens of weekly and daily programs, including the Pacifica Network News (PNN), and *Democracy Now*. Hosted by Goodman, the program featured breaking news, in-depth reports, and interviews with prominent figures across the political spectrum, including President Bill Clinton and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. Goodman also took the program out of the WBAI studios to cover events around the world. Goodman's resolute and sometimes confrontational style earned the respect of critics and news professionals. In the late 1990s, *Democracy Now* commanded an audience of up to a million listeners on more than 70 community radio stations.

Pacifica's expansion halted in 1999, when an internal crisis broke out over the organization's mission and governance. The dispute was manifested in bitter public divisions which pitted the national leadership against station employees, volunteers, and audiences. Staff dismissals, studio occupations, leadership resignations, and street protests followed. The crisis carried on for 2 years and severely hampered operations at all levels. The upheaval resulted in wholesale leadership changes and a complicated restructuring of the governance structure. While these changes were intended to make Pacifica more transparent and

representative, they also resulted in cumbersome and expensive processes. By 2001, PNN was no longer available. *Democracy Now* became an independent production, though it was still funded and promoted by Pacifica. Many PNN reporters moved to *Free Speech Radio News*, which was distributed by Pacifica and to about 100 community radio stations, as well as a few Internet audio streaming services, which were emerging at the time. Pacifica continued to produce and distribute programs for its Ku system.

Pacifica Radio in the 2000s

Since 2001, Pacifica has faced ongoing challenges. It's once dominant position as a source for progressive broadcast content has been challenged by a host of Internet competitors. Correspondingly, the stations' audiences and listener donations have ebbed. Pacifica's finance committee reported an operating deficit of more than \$2 million in 2015, which delayed grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In response to these challenges, Pacifica has attempted to reorganize all of its operations. In 2017, *Los Angeles Weekly* reported that KPFK's audience averaged only 700 listeners in any quarter hour, just a small fraction of other Los Angeles area public radio stations. Two thirds of the WBAI staff was laid off in 2013. Six years later, 10 of the remaining 12 employees were let go, and most of the station's local programming was removed. To maintain its operations, WBAI assumed a \$3.5 million debt. Pacifica no longer funds *Democracy Now*, and it has withdrawn support from the Pacifica Radio Archives, threatening the existence of a seminal collection of historic audio recordings. In 2020, staff at KPFK reported pressure from Pacifica's leadership to reduce hours and salaries or face layoffs. On the programming side, critics charged that Pacifica provides a platform for conspiracy theories concerning the spread of HIV and cancer and the tragedy of 9/11.

Pacifica's founders intended to prove that a radio station could champion principles of artistic and journalistic independence by relying entirely on financial support from the listeners. As long as radio remained largely unchallenged, Pacifica showed that the listener sponsored model could work, at least in major metropolitan areas. Subsequent history has demonstrated that the model is less viable for smaller audiences with less disposable

income. As more media demand direct payment from consumers, Pacifica's approach will be seriously challenged. Pacifica Radio remains significant in the field of broadcast journalism for its diverse, challenging, and sometimes groundbreaking coverage of views and opinions that have often been overlooked in other media channels.

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See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Community Radio; Feminist News Media; Public Radio Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism

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PAKISTAN

With an estimated population of 233 million people as of July 2020, Pakistan is the second largest Muslim-majority country in the world. While over 96% of the population practices Islam, all four provinces, Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Baluchistan, feature remarkable ethnic and cultural diversity. Such diversity contributes to the diversity of opinion and expression when it comes to journalism and media practices in Pakistan, which, geographically, is slightly less than twice the size of California.

With approximately 3,000 privately owned newspapers and over 159 national, foreign news, and current affairs television channels, Pakistani media cater to the needs of citizens across the four provinces of the country. Two provinces, Punjab and Sindh, along with the federal capital, Islamabad, dominate the mass media landscape of the country.

This entry offers a brief overview of media practices in Pakistan, followed by a discussion on the status of its print and electronic media. It discusses the state of journalistic freedom and controversial media laws in Pakistan. It then provides an overview on the role of the Internet and social media as journalistic tools, both for the consumers and producers of news and information.

Origins of Pakistani Journalism

Even though Pakistan gained its freedom in 1947 from the British empire, the country's media history dates back to journalism under British rule in the 1800s. Journalism on the Indian subcontinent during the British rule was polarized between two extremes: one extreme represented a group of journalism practitioners who were proponents of the British rule; while the other side was representative of journalists who were strongly opposed to the colonizers and demanded the region's freedom from the British empire.

This latter extreme gave birth to the resistant role of journalism against oppressors. In other words, with its inception, Pakistan inherited a resistant type of journalism that shaped the country's media practices in later years. Even after getting its freedom from the British empire, the country's journalism continues to maintain the same level of polarization.

Print Media

When Pakistan came into being in 1947, print media was the only source of independent journalism in the country. At the time of partition, four major Muslim-owned newspapers were located in Pakistan. All four newspapers, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Pakistan Times*, *Zamindar*, and *Civil and Military Gazette*, were located in Lahore, which is the provincial capital of Punjab province. This geographical factor paved the way for Punjab to dominate the media landscape of this country in the later years.

In addition, *Dawn*, *The Morning News*, *Jang*, *Anjam*, *Dana Gujarati*, and *Daily Imroze* were among the significant print media organizations that played a primary journalistic role during the formative phase of Pakistan. Among these newspapers, *Dawn*, *Jang*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt* continue to survive

today, despite countless challenges to media freedom in the country. In other words, these three media are among the oldest news organizations in Pakistan that are considered journalistic standards in the country while maintaining their resistant role to the pressure groups. In a country like Pakistan, where state-owned media and yellow journalism practices blur the boundaries between true and false pieces of information, maintaining journalistic standards for any news organization can be a daunting task. *Dawn*, *Jang*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt* continue to maintain their objectivity in these circumstances. All three media organizations are privately owned, maintain journalistic ethics, and are trusted by a vast majority of people in Pakistan as credible news sources to verify the authenticity of a piece of information. In addition, the three news organizations are known for resisting pressure tactics from the country's ruling elites (both military and civilian regimes) to assure that they serve the public rather than serving the ruling elite.

In terms of media ownership, most of these early newspapers were privately owned and operated. This trend of private media ownership among print media organizations continues, despite economic and political challenges to media freedom in Pakistan. By 2020, Pakistan had more than 3,000 newspapers, and all of them were privately owned. It is interesting to note that while the print media is in decline globally, Pakistan is witnessing a steady growth in the number of newspapers. One reason for such a trend is the fact that local, regional, and national newspapers have the ability to cater to the needs of extremely complex and diverse audiences in a country like Pakistan where all four provinces are remarkably diverse on the basis of ethnicity, culture, economic status, education, and political views, to name a few.

Furthermore, since the country's national media is dominated by Punjab and Sindh provinces and may not fully cater to the needs of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, local and regional newspapers offer a better alternative to highlight the issues and plights of their target audiences. These regional newspapers' ability to publish in their readers' local language is another advantage that helps local ownership retain their readership in the communities they function. For example, Baluchistan province, which is historically neglected in national news coverage, is home to at least four native languages, Pashto, Balochi,

Sindhi, and Brahvi. Two regional-language newspapers, *Naweyzawand* and *Qudrat*, serve the needs of their communities by publishing in these languages.

Moreover, securing a license for a newspaper is a much cheaper option than acquiring a license for a private TV channel or a radio station in Pakistan. All these factors add up to the viability of increasing popularity of newspapers in the country at a time when private television channels and the Internet have already captured a significant market.

Electronic Media

Unlike privately owned newspapers, broadcast media (television and radio) in Pakistan remained state-run until late 2000. Both of these mediums have exceptional reach to their audiences all over the country and offer their services in more than 34 regional languages.

Pakistan Television (PTV)

The first television channel in Pakistan was PTV, which started its services in 1964 as a private entity. Nippon Electric Company, a Japanese company, launched this terrestrial television channel on November 26, 1964. Within 6 years of its launch, the channel was nationalized by the government of Pakistan in 1970. Since then, PTV served as the only entertainment and news and current affairs television medium to serve little over 86 million television viewers.

Radio Pakistan

Radio Pakistan, previously known as *Pakistan Broadcasting Service*, is the oldest broadcasting network in the country. It was founded on the same day when Pakistan announced its independence from the British rule on August 14, 1947. In fact, the news about Pakistan's independence was aired on the same radio network. Just like PTV, Radio Pakistan enjoyed exclusive status of being the only state-owned radio network until 2000, which had an unequivocal reach to the remote areas of the country. During the later years, Pakistan government started issuing FM licenses to private media owners.

By 2020, there were about 200 commercial and noncommercial FM radio channels functioning in the country. A majority of the noncommercial FM radio channels operate from universities and other educational institutions in Pakistan.

Since Pakistan is a developing country where the literacy rate is relatively low (59.1%), newspaper readership has been confined to those who had some level of formal education and were able to read and write (Arif, 2020; Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2021). Also, the country's literacy rate varies by region. Pakistan's urban areas have higher literacy rate (74%), as compared to 51% literacy rate for the rural areas. Regardless of the literacy rate, both educated and illiterate audiences could enjoy watching and listening to the electronic media at their own pace of understanding. These circumstances led to the exceptional popularity of PTV and Radio Pakistan in the country.

Until 2002, every dictatorial regime and the short cycles of military-backed civilian rulers enjoyed absolute control over the electronic media. Whenever newspapers challenged or questioned the ruling elites, PTV and Radio Pakistan were there to regain public support and trust in favor of the rulers. This factor gave the country's ruling elite absolute control over the electronic media because there was no worry or competition for the government to deal with. In other words, the electronic media was serving as an organ of the state rather than being an objective and credible journalistic source for the people of Pakistan. Hence, no private ownership for radio and television was allowed until 2002.

State of Media Freedom in Pakistan

In order to better understand journalism and its practices in Pakistan, it is imperative to highlight the politico-cultural context of the country. Soon after gaining independence, Pakistan faced a number of challenges including economic problems, constitutional crises, wars with its neighboring state, India, and the military's desire to run the affairs of the state by undermining civilian rule. Pakistani news media, particularly newspapers, found themselves caught in such challenges while they were still struggling to survive economically and professionally in the newly established country.

Since its inception, Pakistan witnessed three military coups, which span across 33 years of the country's history. Repeated martial laws, dictatorships, and military-backed civilian governments in the country's history targeted journalists and private media organizations to suppress any voices of dissent against the military rule. Journalists were tortured and punished both physically and economically for questioning the military dictators. The media situation did not remarkably improve during the so-called *democratic transitions*. Just like their predecessors (military dictators), civilian rulers also utilized similar tactics to suppress media freedom when and wherever needed.

To contain journalists, both civilian and military rulers amended the Constitution several times. Pakistan adopted its first-ever Constitution on March 23, 1956. According to the Constitution, freedom of speech was considered a fundamental right for Pakistan's citizens. Within 2 years of its promulgation, then-president Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution to suppress the opposition parties and the media who were criticizing the president for violating his Constitutional powers and interfering directly in the political affairs of the state (Arif, 2020; Khan, 2005).

General Ayub Khan, a military dictator who replaced Iskander Mirza, promulgated his version of the Constitution in 1962. The 1962 Constitution gave little-to-no importance to the freedom of speech. On the contrary, the Constitution gave numerous powers to the military dictator who had declared himself the country's president. This second version of the Constitution also did not last long. In 1969, another military dictator, General Yahya Khan, took over the country's reins and suspended the existing Constitution.

The third Constitution, which is still in existence in its amended form, was adopted in 1973. Then-Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto promulgated the Constitution with all the political parties and stakeholders' consultation. For the first time, this Constitution ensured liberties for the freedom of the press, speech, and expression, known as Article 19 of the Constitution.

In 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq declared himself the president of Pakistan after a successful military coup against the prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. General Zia-ul-Haq suspended the 1973 Constitution once again and launched a

severe physical punishment system against any journalist who questioned his authority. General Zia's tenure ended with his death in a military plane crash. The later civilian governments reenacted the 1973 Constitution in the country.

In 1999, another military chief, General Pervez Musharraf, toppled prime minister Nawaz Sharif's government. Soon after taking control of the state, General Musharraf suspended the Constitution and declared a state of emergency. Media organizations and journalists were, once again, banned from questioning his authority. In April 2002, General Musharraf held a nationwide referendum to formalize his position as the president of Pakistan and reinstated the Constitution. In 2002, Pakistan's parliament adopted an extended version of Article 19 of the Constitution, which is known as Article 19A. This article goes beyond the press's freedom and extends the right to information to every citizen of the country.

Also, every time a military dictator took over the country's reins as a result of a coup, they introduced controversial media laws and regulations to suppress journalists and avoid media criticism. One such example of controversial media laws is Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) Ordinance. In 2001, the military ruler, General Musharraf had introduced PEMRA as an executive order. The authority, initially established to regulate and issue licenses to electronic media, started prosecuting news media organizations (private television channels and FM radio stations) whenever they criticized General Musharraf's policies. Pakistani media organizations saw PEMRA's actions in contradiction with the Constitutional provisions of freedom of speech and expression.

Religion in Pakistan remains another pressure group on media. On one hand, Pakistan's ruling elite continues to use religion as an excuse to suppress media freedom by introducing and enacting antiblasphemy laws. On the other hand, Taliban-sympathizers and extremist religious groups are becoming a more significant threat to journalistic freedom in the country. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, when the United States and allied forces launched the war against terrorism in the northern areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, religious extremist groups such as the Taliban emerged as the most

prominent threat to journalists who were covering the war in the region. Just like Afghanistan, Pakistan also witnessed Talibanization in the country. Many journalists covering the war against extremism alongside the borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan were threatened, and in some cases, they were killed by the Taliban. In Pakistan, the Taliban had its media spokesman and maintained media presence by pressuring regional journalists.

While Pakistani media continues to resist all the pressures on freedom of speech and expression, the 2020 World Press Freedom Index from Reporters Without Borders (RSF) ranked Pakistan extremely low (145) out of 180 countries in terms of the degree of freedom available to journalists. RSF also declared Pakistan as one of the most dangerous places on this planet to work as a journalist.

Privatization of Broadcast Media

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the United States changed global media practices, forever. Such was the case with Pakistani media. When the United States and the allies decided to go after terrorists hiding in Afghanistan and the northern areas of Pakistan, the country's federal capital, Islamabad, became the epicenter of global news. Then-military ruler of Pakistan, President General Musharraf, realized that both of the state-run broadcast media, PTV and Radio Pakistan, were not enough to counter the Western media's narrative about Pakistan's alleged involvement in supporting Taliban. The military-backed government was desperate to neutralize this impression about its intelligence agencies' alleged role in supporting the Taliban. In order to do so, Pakistan needed its own voice in the form of independent media, which, in the eyes of the world, would carry more credibility and weight to support the country's narrative rather than the existing state-run media organizations.

Therefore, on March 1, 2002, President Musharraf established the PEMRA via an executive ordinance, instead of seeking formal approval from the parliament. The main objective to establish the PEMRA was to issue licenses for the opening of private television and radio broadcast media in Pakistan on an urgent basis. This development

gave birth to a new era of media privatization in the country. Within a decade of the passing of this Ordinance, Pakistan had little over 90 privately owned television channels, in addition to state-controlled PTV. A majority of these channels were dedicated to 24/7 news and current affairs programs. Furthermore, around 69 foreign satellite television channels were also available in Pakistan to serve approximately 86 million viewers. Such a dramatic change in the electronic media landscape was widely welcomed throughout the country.

Pakistani establishment's strategy to give way to private media ownership (news televisions and FM radio) worked well. The rulers in Pakistan were able to achieve their motive of promoting Pakistan's version of "truth" to the Western world and to its own people via these so-called independent and privately owned electronic media organizations, instead of entirely relying on the state-owned media. Since the state-run PTV and Pakistan Radio have always been under the direct control of the state apparatus and serve the ruling elite's interest, they do not enjoy the reputation of being free and objective both inside and outside of the country. On the contrary, privately owned electronic media in Pakistan enjoy the status of being free from direct control of the establishment. In the wake of 9/11, international audiences paid more attention to what Pakistani private media had to say than what was being aired on state-run PTV and Radio Pakistan. On a side note, the aspects of objectivity and freedom of Pakistan's privately owned TV channels are debatable. The establishment continues to find new ways to exert its control over private media ownership. One such tactic is punishing private news organizations by suspending their advertising revenue if a television channel deviates from the establishment's desired path.

In addition, general public in the country are becoming increasingly obsessed with the opportunity to enjoy watching and listening to their favorite news and current affairs programs on private news networks. However, under such a rapid transformation, PTV and Radio Pakistan have lost their hegemony over Pakistani public, for good. When these private TV channels started to become critical of military rule in Pakistan, the ruling elite started to introduce strict and controversial legislation to regain control of private media in Pakistan.

Controversial Media Laws

Since both the civilian and dictatorial rulers in Pakistan had already learned that they cannot afford a completely free media, which is capable of not only questioning the rulers but also turning the general public in favor of or against a particular matter of national importance, new and stricter journalism and media-related laws and regulations were introduced. In addition, the provisions of freedom of speech and expression in the Constitution of Pakistan were amended to contain journalistic freedom in the country. Furthermore, during the later years, PEMRA, which came into being as a result of an Ordinance in 2002, was given the status of an Act by the Parliament of Pakistan in 2007. Several amendments were introduced in the Act to make PEMRA more powerful in controlling the private media.

While PEMRA was still focused on dealing with private TV channels and FM radio stations, Pakistan started to witness the popularity of the Internet and social media tools such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, to name a few. People had the ability to express their political views via these social media platforms without any repercussions. Therefore, the military-backed government of Imran Khan realized the need to either further amend PEMRA or to introduce an entirely new authority that can control both broadcast media and the Internet effectively. In order to do so, the executive branch on January 26, 2019, gave approval for the creation of Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority (PMRA), which, if passed by the parliament, would replace PEMRA. This authority would enable the government to regulate all kinds of media (including print, broadcast, and the Internet) via one platform, thus, giving absolute control to the authority.

Even though the Constitution of Pakistan guarantees freedom of speech and expression to individuals and the press, several amended provisions in the same Constitution including antiblasphemy laws prohibit individuals and media from expressing their dissent about religion, military, and the heads of the state.

Internet and Mobile Communication Platforms

In the mid-1990s, the Internet was introduced in Pakistan as a purely educational tool and was

mostly housed in universities and other educational institutions. Partly, this was because owning computers and a subscription to the Internet was an expensive commitment at that time. However, over the years, as the cost of computers and smartphones decreased, more people began to subscribe to the Internet. By 2020, Pakistan had approximately 77 million active Internet users. By January of 2020, the Internet penetration rate for the country was at 35%, with 37 million active social media users for the same time frame.

Mobile communication via smartphones is another growing field of information and communication in Pakistan. According to statistics provided by the CIA website, more than 90% of Pakistanis live within areas that have cellphone coverage. By January 2020, there were 164.9 million mobile connections in the country. In other words, 75% of the population of Pakistan are active users of the mobile phones. With smartphones' ability to connect to the world of social media via Internet, these devices offer an extremely powerful mode of communication to the citizens of Pakistan.

When the Internet and mobile phones were launched in Pakistan, no one anticipated that such complex and highly advanced mediums of digital communication would one day become part of citizens' everyday life. Thus, the ruling elites did not pay any special attention to enact laws geared toward regulating the Internet and social media platforms. The Lawyers' Movement of 2007 and 2008 against Musharraf was perhaps the first formal political activism in Pakistan that utilized the Internet and associated social media platforms to express dissent and unhappiness toward the regime. As a result, the civil and military establishments in the country, realizing the full potential of this alternative form of communication, decided to enact laws to control this new medium, which seemed to be far stronger and more efficient than TV and print media combined.

Ironically, while the Internet and social media contributed to loosening the exclusive control of power elites over freedom of speech and information in Pakistan, the same tools are also becoming popular among state actors. There have been several reports that the civil and military establishments have started using social media to promote their narrative via fake or anonymous accounts, such as Twitterbots. Furthermore, the private

television media have also witnessed an influx of “pro-establishment” journalists who are allegedly being implanted by the establishment to control these media organizations internally.

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See also ABP News; Asia, South; Bangladesh; India

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PALEY, WILLIAM S.

William S. Paley (1901–1990) is remembered best as the broadcasting pioneer who bought a struggling, early radio network and developed it into the highly successful communications conglomerate, Columbia Broadcasting System, CBS Inc. Known for his focus on programming and use of on-air talent in building on broadcasting success, Paley's broadcast operation became known for its class as the “Tiffany Network.” For over 50 years, he controlled CBS as president or board chairman of radio and television, film, publishing, recording, and all of the other media-related subsidiaries. He would build and nourish the popular CBS quality brand to appeal to large numbers of radio listeners and, later, television viewers. He is also remembered for his strong support of and appreciation for early broadcast reporting and reporters, including especially the leading luminaries of the field: Edward R. Murrow, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, Howard K. Smith, Fred W. Friendly, Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather, and Don Hewitt. This entry discusses Paley's life and work and his significance in the broadcast industry within and outside of CBS News.

Life and Work

The son of Ukrainian Jewish immigrants, Paley was born in Chicago, Illinois, on September 28, 1901. He began his education at the Western Military Academy in Alton, Illinois, just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Missouri. He studied briefly at the University of Chicago and received a

Bachelor of Science degree from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania in 1922. Upon graduation from the University of Pennsylvania, he went to work for his families' business, a cigar manufacturing company, the Congress Cigar Company of Philadelphia, one his family had developed from a simple Chicago cigar store. He became the vice president and secretary of the family organization and took a special interest in the response the companies' products received from the company's sponsorship of radio programs. He continued experimenting with advertising on early radio. With funds borrowed from his father, he bought the 16-station United Independent Broadcasting Corporation in 1928. He used the purchase of the network for \$400,000 as the basis to build the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Paley took over as president of the company just two days shy of his 27th birthday. In doing so, he formed close relationships with many of the leading, early radio performers including prominent comedians heard over other radio networks, especially NBC. He personally got to know the comedians Jack Benny, Bob Hope, George Burns, and Gracie Allen, as well as talented vocalists including Kate Smith, Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and Frank Sinatra. Paley could be very charming and courted many talents to switch to his network.

Paley developed strategies for increasing profit for the stations in the CBS group while also strongly supporting his network affiliates, including some acquired from other radio companies through a highly creative cost-sharing plan. The so-called "Paley Plan" offered affiliates unsponsored programs free. Also referred to as sustaining shows in the early days of radio, these unsponsored programs offered the chance for considerable sharing of proceeds from commercial offerings, if the stations would only come and join the CBS Network. And many did. This plan proved to be highly beneficial to both the growth of the CBS Network and the financial standing of its individual station affiliates, most of which were situated in U.S. population centers.

Paley was married twice, first to Dorothy Hart Hearst, with whom he had two children, and then to Barbara "Babe" Cushing, with whom he also had two children. Paley and his second wife became notorious for their high society lifestyle in New York. Paley became a collector of

post-Impressionist masterpieces and also, for over a half century, a trustee of the Museum of Modern Art. Paley died of a heart attack on October 26, 1990, at the age of 89 at his home in Manhattan. Cronkite said that with Paley's death the pioneer era in broadcast history died and he credited him for understanding the need to give broadcast news "a liberty to perform without commercial or political interference."

Paley as a Broadcast Manager

Some of the biographical works about Paley, including Sally Bedell Smith's *In All His Glory: William S. Paley, the Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle* (1990), are critical of Paley and the reputation he built for himself—as well as his treatment of the talented team of lieutenants he employed. Smith maintained for example that Paley had turned over much of his network's control to the advertising agencies during his World War II military service, at least initially while he was supervising the Office of War Information in the Mediterranean, and then later while serving as deputy chief of the American military's Psychological Warfare Division. But most other books about Paley and his communications empire credit his foresight in taking over control of the production side of broadcasting, wresting control from sponsors, theatrical producers, and advertising agencies. During the blacklist era of the 1940s and 1950s, when individuals who were or were suspected to be linked to the Communist Party were forced out of jobs, the CBS network instituted an in-house questionnaire addressing this topic, among other things.

Paley later maintained that the use of a company questionnaire was geared toward addressing attempts at blackmail, potential false accusations, and influence by outsiders, all of which ironically acknowledged the influence of the organizations behind the broadcast industry's blacklist. Generally, Paley's talent as a broadcast manager credited his ability to identify and employ talented people, to connect with them personally, and also an ability to somehow graft his own personal charm and first-class approach to network operations so that they were almost indistinguishable. In terms of his use and occasional alleged overuse of some of his talented assistants, Paley undoubtedly benefited from having an experienced and very capable

operational manager, Frank Stanton, overseeing many of his broadcast operations, including many of the details for which CBS became known.

Stanton, who joined Paley and CBS after completing his doctorate at Ohio State University in 1935, assisted initially in the area of audience ratings and then later acted as an intermediary and spokesperson for Paley when things occasionally got tough. He was named network president in 1946 while Paley remained as chairman. He defended Paley and CBS, for example, when the network was taken to task by some government officials for a series of programs in 1954 on *See It Now* attacking Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, who had made unsubstantiated public accusations of political disloyalty against numerous people. Tired of such controversy, Paley canceled Murrow's *See It Now* series 4 years later in 1958. As the news division developed, the CBS network again faced criticism for Murrow's handling of some full-form, highly focused news documentaries, including "Harvest of Shame," about the plight of migratory laborers. After Murrow left CBS to join the administration of President John F. Kennedy in 1961, CBS continued in the tradition he had established. Nonetheless, Cronkite, who became anchor of the CBS evening newscast in 1962, faced occasional challenges from within the network, as when he was told to cut part of a report about Watergate.

In most of the written accounts of his life and work, Paley is credited for having supported excellence in news broadcasting by investing in talent development, including the hiring and advancement of TV's leading news figures Murrow and Cronkite. In news broadcasting, just as in his support for popular entertainment programming over CBS Radio, many of the early connections and strategies Paley used in the medium radio carried over into television and broadcast journalism. The label the "Tiffany Network" that was applied to CBS during the Paley years reflected the high regard his organization gained for its quality programming and also for its people, many of whom were recruited directly—and personally—by Paley.

With respect to Paley's contributions to broadcast news during the early era of radio development, he is applauded for endorsing the establishment of *CBS World News Roundup*, a daily program focusing on reports by a select group of specialized and knowledgeable foreign

correspondents under the direction of Murrow and CBS News Director Paul White. With Paley's endorsement, Murrow always liked to say that he was hiring correspondents not for the way they sounded "on-the-air" but rather for the knowledge they had and could widely draw upon from their diverse background and experience in terms of the stories they reported. As a result, Murrow oversaw the work of many individuals who would become household names, both as broadcasters and a few as distinguished authors and scholars. In addition to Seavreid, Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith, they included William L. Shirer, David Schoenbrun, H.V. Kaltenborn, Winston Burdett, Raymond Gram Swing, Larry LeSueur, and Robert Trout.

As television developed and CBS continued to make significant inroads as a highly regarded broadcast news leader, some of its programs and properties began to provide large returns on investment. As a result, competing networks attempted to replicate that success.

Among the most successful news shows at CBS was *60 Minutes*, which began under Hewitt as producer with hosts Mike Wallace and Harry Reasoner and became recognized almost immediately for quality journalism with well-sourced and hard-hitting investigative reporting on a par with print counterparts including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. As in the earlier years of radio, Paley was occasionally found having to respond to tough reporting and lawsuits that questioned the means and methods of reporting on some tough subjects. By about 10 years before Paley died in 1990, *60 Minutes* was rated the number one program out of a little more than 100 shows on television. Without question, the initiative and strong level of support Paley had provided CBS News offered a model for success few could claim.

Michael D. Murray

See also Blacklisting; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Television Commentary; Documentaries; Media Ownership; Talk and News Radio

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PANAPRESS

To understand the history and mission of the Pan African News Agency (PANA also referred to as *PANAPRESS*), it is necessary to return to the 1970s when independent African nations began to question the inadequate and negative coverage that the Western news media gave them, and how the one-way flow of information, ownership, and management patterns favored Europe and the United States to their disadvantage. This information imbalance was first addressed in the late 1970s when Senegalese-born Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow became UNESCO's director general (1974–1987). Under M'Bow's watch, UNESCO commissioned a report, *Many Voices One World*, also known as the *MacBride report*, to explore the issue and to determine possible initiatives. It was out of this report that the Organization of African Unity on July 20, 1979, with African ministers of information created the PANA with Dakar, Senegal as its headquarters. From here, PANA originally aimed to change Africa's depiction to a more favorable one for audiences inside and outside of the continent.

From the time of its inception, PANA has undergone a plethora of growing pains brought on by government controls, antiquated technology, and financial difficulties for the nonpayment

of fees by participating member nations. In 1993, a new head came on board with the determination to modernize PANA by focusing on editorial independence and privatization by restructuring editorial policies. This new direction paid off since contemporary democratic movements fueled by a "third wave" of democracy were simultaneously taking shape throughout sub-Saharan Africa. These new policies hoped to consolidate its editorial independence in order to boost its credibility and prepare it to embark on an aggressive marketing of its products and its capacity and position as the premier source of reliable information on Africa and to make its editorial products more accessible to media in Africa.

According to findings published in 1995 by the African Studies Center and the University of Pennsylvania, these new developments within PANA came in

the wake of the commencement of a recovery plan which involves setting up new structures to propel the agency towards privatization by 1996. The restructuring had three main objectives: (1) Consolidate PANA's editorial independence in order to boost its credibility and prepare it to embark on an aggressive marketing of its products in its capacity and position as the premier source of reliable information on Africa; (2) Make its editorial products more accessible to media in Africa and in other continents through the operation of its own satellite telecommunication network (VSAT) covering the entire continent and 75 other countries in Europe, America, the Arab world and Asia; and (3) Open its share capital to private investors up to a 60-per-cent ceiling. Two years after the beginning of the implementation of the recovery plan, the Pan-African News Agency has gone through major changes not only in terms of its editorial activities but also with regards to the collection and transmission of news.

Today, it exploits a series of intranet, Internet and extranet networks and over 5 million users have access to its production every month.

In 2019, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa ran a story on their website suggesting that PANA was fueled by African investors interested in providing efficient means of communication for

their audiences. The initial capital behind the endeavor allowed for editorial and financial autonomy, which in turn built the organization's credibility on international levels. PANA provides news about a plethora of topics covering agriculture, the economy, renewable energy, gender, health, sciences, technology, politics, health, sports, environment, entertainment, crime, the African Union, and the 2019/2000 pandemic. The newsroom also provides a weekly review of the African press.

PANA currently diffuses several daily news casts which can fully meet any demands in terms of news on Africa: economy, technology, politics, gender, health, sports, environment, and culture. The newsroom also provides a weekly review of the African press, in English, French, Arabic, and Portuguese.

PANA was essentially created to project the image of a continent that is on the winning side. The editorial team The Central Newsroom, based in the agency's headquarters in Dakar, ensures the development and coordination of a network of correspondents throughout the continent. Managed by professionals, this symbol of African unity and solidarity contributes in taking up the challenge of ensuring high quality news coverage of the continent and its key areas of interest.

Polly E. Bugros McLean

See also Africa, North; Africa, Sub-Saharan

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PARODY OF NEWS

The parody of print and broadcast news involves the employment of a variety of print, televisual, and filmic representations of journalism and journalists for comedic and often satirical purposes.

Closely related to the literary traditions of satire and lampoon, news parodies frequently combine humorous content with biting criticisms of the shortcomings of the media business.

Traditionally, a piece can be considered parody when it draws upon an existing, commonly “serious” work for comical or critical effect. While parody is closely related to satire, the two terms are not interchangeable. The primary purpose of parody is typically humor. Satire, while often containing elements of humor, does not have to be funny. Satire is more concerned with presenting the faults and failings of some entity or situation with the objective of shaming or ridiculing the target into change. The roots of parody stretch back to ancient Greece, with Aristophanes often credited as the father of parody for his lampooning of the playwrights Euripides and Aeschylus in *The Frogs*.

The parody of news can focus on news content (the actual stories), news format and conventions, or a combination of the two. A particular parody may address the serious news of the day in a comedic or parodic format, retain the traditional structure of “legitimate” news while parodying the content, or lampoon both the format and the content simultaneously. Parodies of news can be found across a wide range of media, including print, television, film, and the Internet. This entry discusses notable parodies in a variety of media and concludes by looking at how the proliferation of media platforms has affected news parody.

Notable Print Parodies

National Lampoon's Sunday Newspaper Parody, first published in 1978 and rereleased as a paperback book in 2004, was originally published in a traditional newspaper (broadsheet) format as *The Dacron (Ohio) Republican-Democrat*—proudly proclaiming itself “One of America's Newspapers!”—and extended the parody beyond article content into advertisements, the Sunday magazine section, comics, and movie listings. (“Living Play Things,” for example, sells “Ohio's Freshest Pets.” Their sale on Teacup Dobermans and Mexican Chili Dogs includes, free with any purchase, a mud-breathing Southern American Muck Puppy. The ad is a sidebar to the articles, but just as much a part of the joke.) *The Sunday Newspaper Parody*

published only one issue and can still be found in book format.

Perhaps the most famous of all parody newspapers is *The Weekly World News*, which at its zenith, enjoyed a circulation of over a million per issue. When the paper began in 1979, it maintained that the articles printed within were true and legitimate. By 2007, when it ceased production, no such pretense remained. *The Weekly World News* existed as a parody of supermarket tabloid newspapers, often printing articles concerning Loch Ness Monster sightings, alien encounters, giant mutant animals, and the mysterious “Bat Boy”—a half-human, half-bat creature that has engaged in a variety of offenses, including stealing an automobile, endorsing Al Gore during the 2000 presidential elections, and campaigning for a gubernatorial seat.

First published in 1988 at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, *The Onion* is a free newspaper which publishes wildly fictitious articles in a very traditional tabloid newspaper layout. The parody of conventional newspapers extends to nearly every section of the publication, from headlines to article content, polls to editorials, horoscopes to advice columns. *The Onion*’s international website, launched in 1996, significantly increased the circulation and national attention of the publication.

In 2008, *The Onion* boasted over 5 million unique page hits per month; by 2019, that figure had risen to 6.87 million per month. *The Onion* also publishes compilations of its articles in compendium volumes including *The Onion Ad nauseam* (2002). On occasion, the traditional format of *The Onion* has led the unsuspecting to believe articles published by the paper are true. In 2002, the *Beijing Evening News* cited as factual an *Onion* article detailing Congress’s threat to move to another city if Washington, D.C., failed to install a retractable dome on the Capitol building. In 2004, MSNBC commentator Deborah Norville cited an *Onion* article proclaiming that over half of American exercise is televised.

In 2007 launched The Onion News Network, a website dedicated to producing the same *The Onion*–style parody news stories in video format. *The Onion* spawned dozens of similar parody websites, including The Hard Times and ClickHole; in 2018, *The Washington Post* mistakenly

used a ClickHole story as a citation in a real news story. Although it was eventually edited out, the original version still lives in infamy on several websites.

Notable Television and Film Parodies

The *Benny Hill Show* (1969–1989) aired “News at Ten” (1971), a spoof of British ITV network’s nightly newscast. A dozen years later, French television producers Roland Topor and Henri Xhonneux’s *Téléchat* (1983) lampooned news broadcasts using hand puppets of a cat and an ostrich. *Not Necessarily the News* (1982–1990) was an American version of Britain’s *Not the Nine O’Clock News* (1979–1982). Both programs made extensive use of reediting actual news footage with new voiceovers to create parody stories. In particular, *Not Necessarily the News* on Home Box Office often repackaged interview responses from political figures with new questions from the cast to create comic and fictional interview segments—most famously with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the wife of then–Vice President Dan Quayle.

The British BBC2 network produced an adaptation of the radio program *On the Hour* for television in 1994. Titled *The Day Today*, the series combined a traditional news magazine format with fictional parody content, skewering not only the overly serious nature of news anchors and field reporters, but the technological gimmickry of news broadcasts. Regularly, the program featured incredibly complicated computerized lead-ins and credit sequences.

Saturday Night Live’s “Weekend Update” segment has been a mainstay sketch of the comedy program since the show first aired in 1975. While 36 different comedians have anchored the news commentary desk, the format has not much changed in the segment’s 44-year run. “Weekend Update” typically takes actual events and pairs them with comedic commentary from the anchors in a parody of evening news broadcasts. The segment usually involves guest commentary, editorials, or other special spoofs based on current news items.

Prominent television news anchors have often been spoofed, and in multiple venues, from the bumbling news anchorman, Kent Brockman on

The Simpsons (1989–), to *Sesame Street*'s (1969–) two “Grouch news” anchormen, Dan Rather-Not and Walter Cranky. Comedian Will Ferrell took the image of the traditional broadcast news anchorman to ridiculous proportions in the 2004 film *Anchorman: The Legend of Ron Burgundy*, lampooning not only the stuffy and dowdy seriousness of television news anchors, but interstation news team rivalries, local journalists' coverage of local media events, and the celebrity that comes with leading a television news team.

Both *The Daily Show* (1996–) and *The Colbert Report* (2005–2014) on the Comedy Central cable channel operated within traditional formats—the news magazine and the cable political pundit program, respectively. Jon Stewart, host of *The Daily Show* from 1999 to 2015, repeatedly referred to his program as “a fake news show,” despite the fact that studies indicated many viewers under 30 used *The Daily Show* as a primary news source. Both programs presented actual (though edited) news stories, then provided comedic/parodic commentary about the stories.

The Colbert Report was modeled on cable network pundit Bill O'Reilly's *The O'Reilly Factor* (1996–2017) and was more of a direct parody of both the format and the content of that program. *The Daily Show*, which Trevor Noah began hosting in 2015, features news packages from “Senior Correspondents,” editorials, and interviews with celebrities and political figures. Its coverage of the Iraq War (titled “Mess O'Potamia”) and presidential elections in 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 (“Indecision 2004,” “Indecision 2008,” and “Democalypse 2012;” the 2016 election was so jarring as to not have been given a clever name) have earned the program multiple Emmy and Peabody Awards. *The Daily Show* also spun off several correspondents into programs on other networks: *Important Things With Demetri Martin* (2009–2010) and *The Opposition With Jordan Klepper* (2017–2018) were eventually canceled; *Patriot Act With Hasan Minhaj* (2018–), *Last Week Tonight With John Oliver* (2014–), and *Full Frontal With Samantha Bee* (2016–) continued to air as of 2020.

The intent of the best news parodies is to critique some of the genre's most recognizable features—its serious nature, its predictable and familiar formats, and its reliance upon the myth of

photographic truth. In essence, the best of the news parodies are those that take the news industry seriously as they poke fun at it.

Evolution of News Parody

News parody has evolved along with the growth and diversification of media platforms. The media landscape that germinated programs such as *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* was vastly different than *Not Necessarily the News* had access to in 1982. *Last Week Tonight With John Oliver* has had particular success in blending serious reporting with late night comedy in a way few could have imagined three decades earlier. Despite the news parody options on broadcast and basic cable, Oliver's show has thrived on Home Box Office, a pay channel. *Patriot Act With Hasan Minhaj* has found its own success on Netflix.

It is tough to overstate the impact of the Internet on the distribution and consumption by audiences. *The Onion*'s readership exploded upon the launch of its website; even defunct parody outlets such as *The Weekly World News* and *Not Necessarily the News* are kept alive through Internet niches dedicated specifically to those entities. With the increase in access to immediate information the Internet brings comes an increase in access to (and for) those who would poke fun at that information. *The Daily Show* currently maintains a website containing an archive of every episode of the program for free streaming download; *The Onion*'s website allows users to search a collection of almost two decade's worth of articles.

Christopher Bell

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Hoaxes; Infotainment; Satire of News

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PARTICIPATORY JOURNALISM

The term *participatory journalism* describes the phenomenon of audience involvement in the making and disseminating of news within the context of professional news organizations. Around the turn of the 21st century, new online journalistic initiatives popped up that included participation of the audience. Discussion platforms were launched where the audience could give their opinion, such as the BBC web page Have Your Say. News organizations created platforms that allowed news consumers to upload their own material, such as CNN's iReport and the Spanish newspaper *El País's* Yo, Periodista, or provide inside information, such as British newspaper *The Guardian's* Guardian Witness and Dutch public broadcaster NOS's NOS Ooggetuige (NOS Eyewitness). Projects were initiated where audience members could publish stories about events in their local communities, such as on the Dutch news portal Dichtbij.nl, owned by the Telegraaf Media Group. Some of these initiatives were short lived while others turned out to be more viable. What they have in common is that *lay* people who are not professional journalists play a role in the observation, selection, production, and distribution of newsworthy information. All of these developments were driven by digital technologies.

Participatory journalism is sometimes used interchangeably or as synonym with civic journalism and with citizen journalism, although scholars have drawn distinctions among the terms. In a 2003 report, Shayne Bowman and Chris Willis described

participatory journalism as a bottom-up emerging phenomenon with an active role of the audience in the process of news gathering and dissemination in order to provide the information required in a democracy. The bottom-up phenomenon distinguishes participatory journalism from civic journalism, which Bowman and Willis described as a journalistic movement in which the news organization actively engages with its audience in order to contribute to citizenship. Joyce Nip (2006) drew a clear line between participatory journalism and citizen journalism on the basis of the absence (citizen journalism) or presence (participatory journalism) of professional news organizations in the production and dissemination of information.

This entry first addresses why participatory journalism raises fundamental questions about the relationship between journalism and the audience. Next, it describes how participatory journalism is perceived by academic scholars, by professional journalists, and by news audience members in their participatory role; from each of these perspectives, the influence of participatory journalism on news content is elaborated. Finally, the impact of participatory journalism on the journalistic field is discussed.

Participatory Journalism and the Promise of Technology

The rise of the Internet and the gradual digitization of communication processes and products provided the necessary context for a phenomenon like participatory journalism to develop. Digital technologies opened up possibilities for the audience to engage in the making and disseminating of news: Using digital and mobile devices, anyone can take photos or record audio or video of events. Digital technology, therefore, holds the potential to solve the paradox of journalism expected to be the eyes and ears of the world to monitor all potential newsworthy events even though journalists cannot be in all places at all times.

In spite of its fundamental aim to represent individuals, groups, and organizations in society, journalism is inherently confronted with its limitations. Research has overwhelmingly shown that journalism does *not*—could not—represent all groups and organizations in society in an equal or

representative way. Including the audience in recording what is of public interest and importance provides journalism with the possibility to better fulfill its essential function in a democratic society, that is, providing a representative record of reportable events. But with these possibilities arose a new paradox that soon was recognized by professional journalists: Including the audience to improve journalism entails handing over control to *amateurs*. Academic researchers of journalism have observed and analyzed these developments from the beginning of the 21st century.

Scholarly Debate on Participatory Journalism

The early studies on participatory journalism, by and large, were hopeful about participatory journalism's potential to engage the audience in the making and disseminating of news. Scholars saw this as an opportunity for journalism to live up to its professional ideology that calls for full and open access to truthful and important information of public interest and public importance. This optimism was fueled by normative notions on the conditionality of representative journalism in democracies. But when the first empirical studies appeared, it soon became apparent that expectations were not met: Journalists appeared to respond in defensive or reluctant ways, while the audience remained largely indifferent. Merel Borger and colleagues (2013) concluded that scholars appeared disappointed: with the professional journalism's obduracy; with the apparently economic (rather than democratic) motives to facilitate participatory journalism; and with news users' passivity. Two ideological incompatible perspectives seemed to obstruct maturation of participatory journalism: the sociology of the journalistic profession, with its emphasis on boundary maintenance, *versus* the audience affordances of digital technology.

Professional Journalists' Expectations of Participatory Journalism

The main question that was put forward in early academic thinking on participatory journalism was how professional journalists envisioned participatory journalism and what possibilities they

saw for amateurs to partake in journalistic activities. Some professional journalists appeared to step forward as innovators and facilitators of participatory journalism, arguing that traditional journalism was excluding audiences and thus in need of innovation. Other journalists were more reluctant to give the audience control over journalistic content, preferring audience participants to remain in a subordinate position. That is a position where the public assists professional journalists in finding the appropriate information and sources and is regarded as representatives of public opinion and commercial interests. Professional journalists thus negotiated between resistance and renewal; comparing participatory journalism in several European countries, they appeared to use legitimacy claims referring to expertise, duty, and autonomy in order to distinguish their own work from that of nonprofessional journalists.

Academic studies on participatory journalism in the first decade of the 21st century focused on the tensions between professional journalists and audience and show how, on the one hand, journalism was criticized for its conservative and exclusive practices, while on the other hand, it was esteemed as a professional institute and exclusive skill. In the second decade of the 21st century, a gradual evolution in the attitude of professional journalists toward participation of lay people was witnessed.

The onset of academic studies on participatory journalism was overwhelmingly situated within a Western context. From 2010 on, also non-Western studies were published, mainly situated in Arab or African countries. These studies demonstrate how, in situations where mainstream professional journalism operates under government restrictions of uprising or civil war, alternative forms of journalism arose that involved the audience gathering and sharing information that otherwise would not have been made public. These various contexts provide examples of shared information-producing communities. This more optimistic view on the possibilities of participatory journalism was also reported in Western studies of news platforms that focus on a particular small community or neighborhood. In such *hyperlocal* platforms, anyone—citizens, bloggers, local reporters alike—is *in the know* of what is reportable to a similar extent.

Such contexts appear to be more fruitful for developing adaptive organizations of news information producers that influence each other and redefine the aims, standards, and ideology of journalism.

Audience Expectations of Participatory Journalism

Academic knowledge about the motives, expectations, and experiences of *lay* people with participatory journalism is less developed as compared to the role of professional journalists and limited by the fact that studies took place almost exclusively within a Western context. That said, audience studies of participatory journalism suggest confirmation of the strength of *old* media use habits. Generally, audiences appreciated the idea that participatory journalism exists but showed less enthusiasm for active participation. Where it did occur, participation showed different practices than were called for by professional journalism's ideology of providing information of public interest and importance. Instead of producing news for the common good, the onset of participatory journalism mainly showed lay people producing news of a personal character and expressing their own opinion. Instead of participating for democratic reasons, as scholars and media observers hoped for, many appeared to participate to have *fun* and be creative.

Individual and personal motives particularly blossomed in the context of hyperlocal news websites, where the audience has a relatively large span of control over journalistic productions. Circumstances are favorable to express individual and personal experiences and opinions or to generate positive attention for one's own company, civil organization, or professional association on websites such as the *Wijkkrant* (*neighborhood newspaper*) found in some Dutch cities, where local participants run and fill a digital newsmagazine on locally relevant topics, varying from shops and parks to regulations and personal impressions. In such contexts, the boundary between journalism on the one side and marketing, advertising, or public relations on the other is thin; therefore, such practices have not posed a serious challenge to the dominant journalistic professional ideology.

However, since around 2010, the desire to contribute to a better overall information environment

has proven to be a recurrent motive for lay people to become engaged in journalism, specifically in established journalistic organizations with a high reputation. In these contexts, participants receive little autonomy and almost no control over content and function merely in the role of sources of experience who can contribute by providing information or insight from their particular point of view in society. In other words, some participatory journalists take part in journalistic activities as upgraded sources, exactly to the limited degree of autonomy granted by the professional news organizations. The motivations and experiences of participatory journalists appeared to be varied and context related but largely remained regulated within the context of professional journalism.

News Content Produced in Participatory Journalistic Contexts

Discussion of participatory journalism's content was almost absent from the initial studies on participatory journalism. Beginning in 2010, questions were cautiously raised about the impact that practices of participatory journalism could or might have on news content. Studies investigating the degree to which information from *participatory* sources was incorporated in professionally produced news were revealing: The vast majority of news items did not show or attract user interactivity. Traditional sources are still generally relied upon in routine news practices; only in extraordinary situations such as disaster coverage are information networks and user-generated content actively invited. Participatory journalistic content shows a movement toward a more subjective reporting style, soft topics, personal experience, and firsthand witnessing. Such covering of more informal relations and more soft news topics, in turn, generates more reader interactivity.

A 2019 study by Borger and colleagues found that in participatory journalistic environments that provide more freedom and encourage participation, participants move away from conventional journalistic understandings of objectivity and diversity. Academic researchers interpret this movement as boundary work: Participatory journalism challenges the boundaries of journalism, as it invites both rethinking as well as reinforcement of the conventions of traditional quality

journalism. Following the concept of public quality in popular journalism introduced by Irene Costera Meijer (2001), news that is produced in a participatory context represents public value in that it more often shows emotionality and experience rather than rationality; is based on proximity and involvement rather than detachment; and covers the private sphere and everyday life rather than or in addition to merely the public sphere and politics.

Impact of Participatory Journalism on Journalism

Since the impact of digital technology on communication became clear, throughout the world scholars, journalism practitioners, and participants have sought ways to materialize audience participation within the context of professional news organizations. Academic journalism scholars, professional journalists, and audience participants have each made their own version of participatory journalism that overlaps only in part with the others. These versions express different ideas and practices of what is *good* journalism and what is or should be journalism's function in democratic societies. Participatory journalism, in other words, is not a homogeneous phenomenon.

Especially in the Western context, participatory journalism often is not a part of what is seen as *real* journalism, both from the perspective of journalism practitioners and of participants alike. Following this consolidated conceptualization of journalism, the skill of professional journalists is acquired accumulatively by years of education and work experience in established journalistic organizations. Permitted their acquired skill, professional journalists select and present news in its proper form. The contributions of participants in the audience are merely complementary to this *real* professional journalism. Yet, this conceptualization is not pervasive or static.

In spite of the persistence of traditional conceptualizations of good journalism, participatory practices have developed in at least three types of contexts. First, in non-Western contexts where democracy is challenged, information-sharing communities as alternative channels of representative and relevant information pop up. Second, participatory journalism can develop in hyperlocal

contexts, where individual audience members establish their own criteria for what is relevant news: *softer*, more subjective news. Third, in situations of disaster or crisis, it is more likely for adaptive organizations of information producers to develop. For instance, during the COVID-19 outbreak in 2020, a Dutch public broadcasting organization (BNN-VARA) launched *Frontberichten* (*Frontline messages*) as an initiative to collect, select, and broadcast vlogs with COVID stories from health workers in hospitals.

In all of these settings, *professional* and participatory journalists negotiate what journalism should look like, what its goals are, and how it should be practiced. Digital media affordances will continue to arise from new technologies and applications, allowing participant journalists to merge with professional journalists and together renegotiate the function of journalism in society: A journalism that is very likely to express an increased degree of subjectivity and personal particularity, at the cost of a general journalistic claim on objectivity and public validity; in short, a journalism that is *closer* to both makers and users rather than farther away, and wherein makers and users are closer to each other rather than farther away, increasingly fulfilling roles as mediators of their communities (Anderson, 1983). To conclude, participatory journalism has not yet, as envisioned by scholars around the turn of the century, been established as a dominant journalistic value and practice; but by small scale steps, benefitting from at present unforeseeable technical and societal opportunities, it is due to change the face of journalism in other, more piercing ways.

Anita van Hoof and José Sanders

See also Audiences; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Hyperlocal Journalism; User-Created Content

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PARTISAN PRESS

The term *partisan press* refers to journalism practiced within a political sphere, as opposed to a more independent profession. Partisan journalism

is connected with democracy, a form of government that has contested political leadership. It is not found in single-party or dictatorial states. In the United States, the partisan press era began after the Revolutionary War and lasted until the Civil War. During that period of time, the majority of American journalists worked for newspapers with definite political leanings, and many newspapers were started by the parties themselves. After the Civil War, the American press gradually moved away from its partisan roots and became more independent, although newspapers retained an editorial page where partisan perspectives remained on display. This entry first discusses the partisan press era in colonial America and the early United States and its decline by the end of the 19th century. It then looks at present-day partisan news media in the United States and Europe.

Partisan Press in Colonial America and Early United States

In the colonial period, Benjamin Franklin played a key role in the distribution of newspapers. As first postmaster of Philadelphia and then of all of the colonies, Franklin provided some newspapers with reduced postage for circulation in the colonies. Franklin eventually decided to let all newspapers be dispersed by the postal system for a very small fee. By the time of the revolution, newspapers in the North American colonies were divided between those that were loyal to the British government (Tories) and those who supported independence (Patriots). Very few newspapers were independent at this time.

When the Continental Congress began to convene, it turned to editors to record what transpired. In turn, editors shared this information with the public. Later, President George Washington signed the Post Office Act of 1792, providing for delivery of a newspaper for one cent of postage up to 100 miles and one and a half cents for more than 100 miles. The postal subsidy helped enhance paper circulation both in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

The heyday of the American partisan press came in the half century from 1783 until 1833. This period is when news editors received significant patronage from political parties, often via government printing contracts. Editors often

turned to parties for financial resources in order to start and maintain a newspaper. In return, the editors would endorse the political party's candidates and provide commentary favorable to its principles and positions on the issues of the day. The journalists' main job was to develop and motivate the party base. In turn, parties supported editors by asking their members to subscribe to those newspapers. This arrangement gave an editor, who also served as printer, writer, and business manager, a level of prestige and influence in society, and political patronage was critical to the newspaper's long-term financial stability.

During President Thomas Jefferson's administration, Samuel Harrison Smith, founder and editor of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, D.C., received thousands of dollars each year from the State Department for publishing its official documents. Smith's favorable treatment was because of his loyalty to both Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican Party and eventually landed him a cabinet post, secretary of the treasury. Similarly, Philip Freneau launched the *National Gazette* and Benjamin Bache the *Aurora* as newspapers that opposed John Adams and the Federalists. Jefferson, who favored a weak centralized government, was a major supporter of the *Gazette* and often edited the newspaper for Freneau. On the other side of the spectrum, John Fenno published the pro-Federalist *Gazette of the United States* and William Cobbett, closely aligned with Alexander Hamilton, who favored a powerful federal government, edited *Porcupine's Gazette*.

In the first decade of the partisan press in the United States, newspapers had to survive the Sedition Act of 1798, passed by Congress during the presidency of John Adams, a Federalist. The law was part of two congressional bills that attempted to squelch printed sentiment for France, which was in the midst of a revolution. It also was an attempt to silence the journalistic supporters of Jefferson, then the vice president and a friend of France. Jefferson financed several Democratic-Republican newspapers, while rival Hamilton did the same for Federalist journals.

The Sedition Act was supported by Hamilton-leaning papers and opposed by Jefferson-leaning organs. The bill criminalized seditious libel. If convicted of criticizing the federal government, a journalist could face 2 years in jail and a fine of

up to \$2,000. The Federalists claimed they were trying to rid the nation of false and malicious news. Republicans countered that the law made it illegal to write about political issues. They argued the law made it impossible for citizens to obtain information and opinion that would help them make rational decisions at the ballot box.

Several Democratic-Republican editors, many of them directly linked to Jefferson, were prosecuted under the Sedition Act, but Jefferson, after narrowly defeating Adams in the election of 1800, let the renewable law expire. Jefferson believed written criticism of the government did not necessarily lead to revolution and that the press could serve as a check on the abuse of power. The weakness of such hyperpolitical journalism is that there rarely was any moderate ground for readers to consider. The rhetoric was vitriolic and often more about the man than the ideas or principles behind a particular political issue.

The partisan press era coincided with extensive growth in American journalism. In 1783, the newly independent nation had only 35 newspapers. In those days, it was not unusual for those newspapers to be shared several times, especially in taverns, creating a large but unaccounted for secondary circulation. Fifty years later, the United States had 1,200 newspapers. The nonadvertising content of the partisan press era was primarily political news, interpretation, and stories about key politicians. This included editorials that urged readers to support candidates from the newspaper's party. The newspapers of that era also included lively and even abusive rhetoric slung at political opponents. Those personal attacks could be vicious, and they were often entertaining. During the election season, newspapers prominently displayed the names of a party's ticket, starting at the national level and working down through state and local races. Editors also printed speeches of major national and state political leaders as well as significant government documents, including sessions of state legislatures and governors' decrees. In the first half century of American journalism, most editors exchanged their newspapers with other editors because of a break in postage costs for printed material. This led to the cutting and pasting practice whereby smaller rural or town newspapers borrowed from the larger newspapers in urban centers.

The concept of having a press representing multiple political parties derived from the Enlightenment, particularly the political philosophy of John Locke and Thomas Paine. Locke believed that individuals should have the right to speak and write freely and that government should not interfere with public discourse. Locke, who was hopeful about human potential, also held that an open exchange of ideas would lead to political harmony—that it would unite rather than divide. Paine's writings, both pamphlets and broadsides published during the Revolution, were highly influential. Paine was a republican who wanted the Americans to break free from the political bounds of Great Britain, from the tyranny of the monarchy. That Paine wrote passionate pleas of independence was an active example of free expression. By having the temerity to urge Americans to break away from London, Paine was making the case of open and independent discourse and freedom of the press.

The ideas of Locke and Paine were filtered through the Founding Fathers, especially James Madison. His understanding of individual rights was expressed best in the First Amendment, which guarantees no interference from Congress regarding freedom of the press—that right to publish as one pleases. This meant that there would be no official newspaper of the federal government. Not having an official government journal was parallel to the idea of not having a single state religion.

The first 50 years of partisan journalism in the United States coincided with the first two party systems in the United States. First came the contest between the Democratic-Republicans and Federalists, followed by the battle between Democrats and Whigs. Editors, many of them politicians themselves, lined up on each side of these political divides and interpreted events of the day within the ideology of a particular party. Politicians frequently owned newspapers, and editors sometimes became politicians. Alexander Hamilton printed the pro-Federalist *Gazette of the United States*. In addition to their political experiences, Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams also were known as printers.

With the formation of the Whig and Democratic parties in the 1820s, editors continued to be major political players. No politician in the first

75 years of the nation's history was more reliant upon partisan editors than President Andrew Jackson, who bestowed federal jobs on at least 40 journalists during his administration. In the middle of the 19th century, Henry J. Raymond served in the New York legislature before founding *The New York Times*, and *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley would run for president after the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln owned a newspaper, a German-language organ that supported the Republicans.

During the Nullification Crisis of 1831–1833, partisan journalists had a major role in framing the issue and were bitterly opposed to one another, especially in South Carolina. In the Palmetto State, the newspapers did not necessarily align as Whig versus Democratic. Rather, the battle was over protectionism against free trade. On the side of protective tariffs for American goods were the so-called Unionists. On the other side, favoring free international trade was the Nullification Party. The latter believed South Carolina had the right as a state to opt out of federal laws that were not in its vested interest. Hence, federal laws could be nullified at the state level. Newspapers on both sides of this divide fashioned the arguments for their side and rallied their followers to vote accordingly.

The *Charleston Mercury* claimed the tariffs in effect enslaved South Carolinians to a policy that went against their economic interests, particularly because the tariffs had an adverse effect on the state's main commodity, cotton. If the federal government would not provide tariff relief, then it was the right of South Carolina to ignore the federal law. The pro-nullification editors often argued that their side in the tariff crisis had a precedent: The Revolution of 1776. Like the Patriots, the Nullification Party members said they faced a tyrannical oppressor and therefore had a right to interpose a state's right to void a federal law.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the partisan press in the United States helped stoke the political convulsions that led to the Civil War. Editors were not aligned in simple camps in either the North or the South. The parties began to splinter apart, and candidates representing four different parties ran for president in 1860. In the South, newspapers were not all

supportive of conservative, pro-secession Democrats. There were old-line Whigs who preferred some sort of compromise, and in the upper South, there were those who thought the Union was indivisible. In the North, the Republicans were split between moderates and radicals, while the Democrats were split between loyal Unionists and conservatives who preferred peace to a bloody war that pivoted on abolition. The partisan press of the antebellum and Civil War period tended to conserve the views of these factions.

The political-oriented newspapers of the era were now joined by the advocacy press. The leading advocacy group of this era was the abolitionist press, led by such editors as William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and Gamaliel Bailey. In this period, partisan editors, both Democratic and Whig-Republican, considered the abolitionist press to be too radical, too fanatical, and too politically naive, and argued that abolitionism was a disease that would deepen the nation's sectional divide and make civil war all but inevitable. At this time, the partisan press was the mainstream press of the nation, and its reaction to the abolitionist editors tended to be critical. Few partisan editors in the antebellum condemned mob violence against abolitionist journalists, such as the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois, in 1837. At least until 1860, this was due in no small part to the fact that both major parties had to have some support from the opposition to win national elections.

Decline of the American Partisan Press

The American partisan press began to die out in part because of the power of the telegraph, which could churn out vast sums of information over long distances. It became more important to get the facts out first, and lots of them, as the United States grew internally and became more influential globally. News, not political interpretation, became the centerpiece of the journalistic enterprise. Increased emphasis on news in the latter half of the 19th century was coupled to an expansion in the size of newspapers from four to eight to 16 pages.

Publishers also began to move away from the partisan business model, as advertising became

the new economic engine for newspapers and magazines. Likewise, the press in the United States became more industrial and could crank out more and more copies of a newspaper because of improvements in the printing press, which meant readership increased dramatically. Hand in hand with that was the rise of literacy and the universal common school movement. In the last few decades of the 19th century, sensationalism took the place of partisan politics as the salient feature of American newspapers. There was a political dimension to the sensationalism—often toward progressivism—and yet the emphasis was on information for an increasingly urban and industrial population. Readers wanted unfiltered news to navigate their everyday lives. Politics still mattered, but not as much as accidents, crime, health issues, and train schedules.

Partisan Media in the 21st Century

Outside of the United States, there is a somewhat different understanding of the press. For example, in Great Britain, the practice has long been that newspapers have definite political stripes and that such identity has an effect on the entire newspaper. Such is also the case in French journalism, where readers tend to be loyal to newspapers based on their political leanings. This is not to say the European models do not give readers information that helps them surveil their everyday environments. Rather, that model takes it as a given that the editorial leadership matters the most.

Partisanship subsided by the mid-20th century in U.S. news media, though it continued in political magazines such as *The Nation* on the left and the *National Review* on the right. It began to make a return in the late 20th century with the proliferation of conservative talk radio shows and the launch of Fox News on the right, followed later by the formation of partisan websites on both the left and right as well as a move toward left-leaning programming on MSNBC.

David W. Bulla

See also Fox News; Media Ownership; MSNBC; Muckrakers; Sensationalism; Yellow Journalism

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PATRIOT ACT

The USA PATRIOT Act (full name: Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001) was a law passed overwhelmingly by Congress on October 24, 2001. Two days later, President George W. Bush signed the act into law creating legislation that gave sweeping new powers to government to collect information that could thwart potential terrorist attacks against the United States.

In 1996, President Bill Clinton asked Congress to give law enforcement expanded wiretap authority and increased access to personal records in terrorism cases. This request occurred shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing in April 1995. Congress refused, citing concerns that loosening surveillance rules would be unconstitutional. However, in the wake of the horrific attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, Congress was ready to act. The Bush administration drafted legislation to expand powers of government to investigate and detain suspected terrorists and to increase the powers of law enforcement. Different House and Senate draft bills were merged into a compromise

bill that greatly expanded the ability of law enforcement to seek information in the course of federal investigations against acts of terrorism, both foreign and domestic.

Additional powers given to law enforcement included:

The use of surveillance and roving wiretaps for computer and terrorist crimes, for money laundering, immigration, and other potential criminal areas. Roving wiretaps occur when a court grants surveillance warrants without naming either the communication carrier and/or other third parties involved in the operation.

The ability to subpoena telephone subscribers' credit cards or bank account numbers to prevent money laundering.

The use of trap-and-trace devices, which can record source and destinations of calls made to and from a particular telephone.

In addition, law enforcement was not required to show probable cause to initiate surveillance under the act but only certify that the information sought was likely to be relevant to a criminal investigation. The law also made changes to the way the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court operated, specifically removing the previous requirement that the government certify in its application that the "purpose of the surveillance was to collect foreign intelligence information." Finally, the act ended the statute of limitations for certain terror-related crimes.

The new law was aimed at improving homeland security by providing law enforcement with expanded tools to track terrorists. However, many of the controversial requirements of the PATRIOT Act were slated to expire in 2005 unless Congress and the president chose to renew them.

Many civil liberties organizations expressed deep concern about the law and the potential for law enforcement to abridge civil and privacy rights of Americans. The American Civil Liberties Union complained that the act made it easier for government to spy on ordinary citizens because law enforcement now had authority to monitor phone and email communication, collect bank and credit card records, and track activities on the Internet. Others complained that the act eliminated checks and balances that previously gave the courts the opportunity to ensure that law enforcement powers were not abused.

One section of the act that was particularly concerning to civil liberties organizations was Section 215. This section of the act modified part of the previously enacted Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. The language of Section 215 allows for the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act court to approve orders to collect “tangible things” that could be relevant to a government investigation. The list of what could be included as “tangible things” was broad and included books, records, papers, and documents. These provisions have been interpreted to permit the bulk collection of “telephony metadata” (mass collection of call log information without personal identification). Thus, if an issue with a particular number is raised and that number is attributed to a U.S. resident, that information could be passed to the FBI, which then could use publicly available information to connect the number with the subscriber information. It is this bulk collection of data under Section 215 that critics claim violates individual rights since “tangible things” could mean anything from driver’s license records to Internet browsing patterns. Section 215 has been reviewed and renewed by Congress since 2006, and the Supreme Court has ruled that phone records are not considered privileged information for purposes of the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. On March 15, 2020, Section 215 expired due to its sunset clause after lawmakers failed to reach an agreement on a broader set of reforms to Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.

Despite growing concerns about the implications for Americans’ civil liberties, Congress has reauthorized most sections of the law several times since 2005. But sections of the law have met with legal challenges. In the case *Doe v. Mukasey*, a federal judge ruled in 2004 that parts of the law violated fundamental constitutional safeguards by allowing federal agencies to gather information about U.S. citizens secretly under national security letters without court approval. Congress modified sections of the law and made many of the provisions that were originally temporary permanent in May 2006. But the following year, the same court ruled that the new version of the act gave federal investigators powers to spy on individuals that were unconstitutionally broad. The federal government appealed the lower court decision and the Second Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the

lower court ruling and said that the “gag orders” imposed on recipients of national security letters were a violation of First Amendment rights.

In 2010, the U.S. Supreme Court took up the question of whether monitoring some terrorist activities violated the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. While the Court upheld the constitutionality of the “material support” statute that criminalizes support for any foreign terrorist organization designated by the U.S. secretary of state, the Court also noted that other aspects of the law remain untested and may not be constitutional.

In 2013, Edward Snowden, a former government contractor, released documents that revealed that the federal government was using Section 215 as justification to collect phone records on virtually all U.S. phone customers. These leaks put Section 215 at the center of a renewed controversy and led to a series of investigations related to programs that the government uses to collect information related to foreign and domestic terrorism. While Snowden has been called both a hero and a traitor, the documents leak brought into focus the fact that the PATRIOT Act has made it possible for the government to develop large-scale data collection programs.

The USA PATRIOT Act was passed quickly and with little debate. The Senate bill closely resembled the language put forward by the attorney general, while in the House a more moderate compromise bill was rejected and replaced with legislation that closely followed the Senate bill. The Bush administration lobbied hard for passage and implied that Congressional members who did not support the bill could be blamed for further terrorist attacks, if they were to occur.

In 2004, speaking before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, FBI Director Robert Mueller claimed that the PATRIOT Act had been beneficial in the war on terrorism and that many counterterrorism successes were the direct result of provisions of the law. The presidential administrations of Barack Obama and Donald Trump also supported the PATRIOT Act. In 2019, the Trump administration called upon Congress to renew Section 215 of the act indefinitely, saying that future technological innovations will emerge to make the act more useful over time. But according to the American Civil Liberties Union, despite the widespread use of tens of thousands of

national security letters between 2003 and 2006, only one resulted in a terror-related conviction. Congress adopted some reforms to the law in the USA Freedom Act of 2015, which curtailed data collection.

Although modified several times over the years, the PATRIOT Act continues to provide federal law enforcement and intelligence gathering agencies tools to collect information to identify and fight potential terrorist activities in the United States. The Department of Justice has claimed that the act allows federal agents to follow sophisticated terrorists trained to evade detection and to conduct investigations without tipping off terrorists. The law also facilitates information sharing and cooperation among government agencies, increases penalties for those who commit terrorist crimes, and updates the law to use new technologies. Critics of the law complain that it tramples on Americans' constitutional rights, collects data on citizens without their knowledge, and is excessively costly without providing the benefits it was intended to provide.

Fritz Messere

See also Secrecy and Leaks; Terrorism, Coverage of; War and Military Journalism

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PAYWALLS

Paywalls result from the need of news organizations to generate revenue streams from audience subscriptions. Since the arrival of digital media,

news organizations have faced an accelerated loss in advertising sales while Internet aggregators such as Google and Facebook have taken up an increasing share of advertising revenues (combined an estimated 80% share of digital advertising). Therefore, paywalls and strategies for getting people to pay for news subscriptions have become increasingly paramount for news organizations. This entry examines how paywalls work, the importance of studying paywalls and their impacts, and some notable successes and failures of paywalls.

The Operation of Paywalls

Setting up a paywall means that news organizations build a digital payment system that requires their audience to pay for subscriptions in order to access the content. Those who chose not to pay will have limited or no access to the digital content published by news providers. In Australia, the largest two print newspaper groups, News Corp Australia and Fairfax Media, have started experimenting paywall models since 2011. As of May 2015, 87 of the top 100 newspapers in the United States have implemented a paywall to their news website. In Europe, around two thirds of major news organizations have implemented paywalls to their digital platforms, as reported in 2017. Although the implementation of paywalls has been long and widespread, the audience market still has room for embracing paywall. In the 2020 Digital News Report, researchers collected data from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Norway. Only 7%, 20%, and 42% of users, respectively, self-reported having paid subscription to access online news content in 2019.

To ease audiences into paying for news subscriptions, many organizations have adopted “soft” paywalls to their content. In contrast to hard paywalls that block the entire content offering for people who do not subscribe, a soft paywall allows news audiences to access some content for free and ask them to pay for subscriptions for other content. Generally, soft paywalls fall into two categories: the freemium model and the metered model.

News organizations that employ the freemium model provide two types of content: free content open to the public and premium content for their

paid users. Examples of this model can be seen in Politico.com and The Chronicle of Higher Education. They both provide general news in their coverage domain (politics and higher education) for free. However, Politico.com provides a paid “Pro” version. Subscribers of Politico Pro can have access to legislative and regulatory trackers, customize their news feed, and request clarification from or chat with journalists from Politico.com about specific news stories. Premium content on The Chronicle of Higher Education offers in-depth coverage and analysis of the policy changes or university issues. Its subscribers can also access data and analysis on the latest enrollment trends and student demographics.

The second category of soft paywalls is the metered model. This subscription model allows users to have free access to five articles a month or free content for 2 weeks, and once a user hits the meter number, they have to pay for subscriptions to access more content. For example, Corriere della Sera, an Italian news outlet, offers 20 free articles each month. After reaching the threshold, people will be asked to pay for €9.99 per month to continue access to the content.

Importance of Studying Paywall

From the economics perspective, the markets for information goods and media content are often multisided, organized, and coordinated by digital platforms. In some sense, print news organizations that rely on advertising sales are early forms of platforms that orchestrated multisided markets. Today, news outlets are facing a more complicated form of digital multisided market. To fully understand the importance of studying paywall, one must understand the characteristics of digital multisided markets.

First, paywalls can influence both subscription revenue and advertising sales. The market of news, especially in a digitally based environment, is primarily affected by network effects. If a paywall is successful, the increasing number of subscribers will attract more advertisers, and it has been found that circulation or subscription revenue is positively related to advertising sales.

Second, pricing strategies for paywalls are important, yet it is hard for news organizations to charge a relatively high price. Given that digital

technology takes little to reproduce and distribute materials, the traditional distribution costs for content providers are negligible. Moreover, search costs, tracking costs, and verification costs will likely also drop significantly and probably approach zero in the digital economy. Such drastic declines in costs provide opportunities for content providers to lower their prices, and they are more willing to offer content for free to attract audiences and advertisers.

Since there is little room for price competition for paywalls, news organizations that employ paywalls tend to focus on the quality competition. When users can freely access many digital products and services, paid subscriptions must emphasize how they create and deliver unique value for their subscribers by improving the quality of their news products and services.

Paywall Failures and Successes

Earlier research has documented the failures of implementing paywalls. Some scholarship has examined paywall models in eight countries and found that paywalls were softening as newspapers struggled to attract digital subscribers. Other scholars in the United States also reviewed documented 69 newspapers that decided to drop their paywalls.

Despite these challenges, scholars also found factors that lead to online paywalls’ success for news outlets. Scholars found that perceptions of exclusivity, the proximity of location, and a strong connection with the local community lead to paywall success for a regional newspaper in Norway. This newspaper illustrated higher digital subscription income after the paywall was implemented. Researchers also suggested other factors of getting people to pay for news subscriptions, including news habits, attachment to the local community, desire to maintain and promote one’s social identity, and willingness to support news organizations in financial crisis.

Impacts of Paywall

The first and most direct impact of the paywall is its association with decreased page views and user engagement. With other free alternative content available, people may choose to view other free

content instead of paying for a subscription. The loss in page views and users also reduces audiences' engagement with the digital content and their time spent on digital news platforms. In the United States, local newspapers have taken the most substantial hit and reported drastic drops in website traffic after setting up a paywall (e.g., *Columbia Tribune*). Some national and international news outlets also experienced a considerable decline in page view and withdrew their paywalls (e.g., *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Dallas Morning News*, *The Sun*). However, it is essential to note that the negative impact on page views varies across topics. News providers with extensive coverage on business, economics, sports, and social news are more resilient toward decreasing page views. Research also found that to mitigate the negative impact on page views by the paywall, a 1% increase in business news coverage is about 1.4 times more effective than adding the same proportion of social news coverage. In addition, news organizations with a more liberal view and niche content area are also found to be less affected by paywalls.

Secondly, as paywalls cause news organizations to lose audiences, concerns are raised for paywalls' detriment to the press's civic function. The decrease in page views and readership challenges and weakens news organizations' democratic functions in informing the public, monitoring the power mounts in society, and providing a public sphere for open debate and discussion. In this sense, setting up a paywall can hinder journalism and its democratic tasks in representing and benefiting the public. However, paywall scholars also argue this harm is trivial as other news outlets offer similar content for free. In some instances, news organizations also drop paywalls to keep the public informed. For example, as an act of their mission to inform the public, several news organizations (e.g., *The Seattle Times*) offered free access to their coronavirus coverage during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

The third most significant effect of the paywall is its "spillover effect" on print readership and subscription revenue. The spillover effect indicates the positive impact of print readership and print subscription and circulation revenue after implementing a paywall. When news organizations offer free digital access with print newspapers,

news consumers could perceive the print subscription to be more valuable to purchase. In addition, when audiences use digital versions and print versions of news as substitutes, the increased price of paywall could motivate people to purchase the print version that is relatively less expensive and of higher value. Thus, the implementation of paywall also contributes significantly to saving the print revenue and slowing print readership decrease. The empirical evidence of the spillover effect can be seen in research about *The New York Times*, where researchers suggest an overall positive influence of paywall amounting to 29.3% of total circulation and 23.31% of print subscription revenue (Pattabhiramaiah et al., 2019).

Another crucial impact of paywall lies in its sway on the content strategies of news organizations. Since the underlying assumption of the paywall is that audiences are willing to pay for news content that is valuable to them, what content is "valuable" and can be charged by a price vary across news organizations. For example, some news outlets offer opinion sections for free, while other news organizations put editorials behind the paywall. It is also generally accepted that hard news and premium content such as finance and politics are more suitable to put behind the paywall. To make the content more "paywall-worthy," news organizations also endeavor to produce quality journalism and encourage reporters to employ exclusive sources and materials in their coverage. The impact of the paywall on journalism gatekeeping and news values are argued to be neglectable, yet further studies need to be done to test this assumption. As of free content, news organizations tend to offer general interest news for free because people can easily find free alternatives elsewhere. Also, news organizations are more likely to use wired stories and syndicates on their digital platform for free due to the fear of losing users, website traffic, and potential advertisers to their competitors by putting up paywalls.

Also, it has long been argued and illustrated that the revenue directedly generated by paywall is not substantial enough to cover news organizations' loss in digital advertising and print circulation revenue. Some scholars hence challenge the capability of paywalls being a sustainable business model for news organizations both in the short term and in the long run. However, in recent years,

studies have shown that there is a positive relationship between people's entertainment spending and paying for news subscriptions on digital platforms. Such positive association suggests the market conditioning for paying for digital media content, meaning that the public are getting used to pay for digital media content whether is streaming video or news stories.

Chen Weiyue

See also Advertising; Internet
Impact on the Media

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PEACE JOURNALISM

Peace journalism, according to its advocates, is a way to report on conflict without increasing the conflict itself. This sounds simple, but its application would surely change the nature of journalism because of a reporter's orientation to conflict as news. Therefore, perhaps the easiest way to understand peace journalism is to examine it in opposition to the prevailing ways of covering war and conflict. (Some authors even refer to typical journalism as “war” journalism because of the journalistic practice of framing conflict in terms of trying to discover who is winning and who is losing.) A criticism of peace journalism is that it expects journalists not only to take sides but also to advocate for peaceful resolutions of conflicts.

The ideas promoted by peace journalism's advocates are best understood in contrast to journalism as it has been traditionally practiced. Advocates for peace journalism admit that the phrase itself suggests that they are advocating peace. Instead, they say that they hope to “give peace a chance” by ensuring that nonviolent responses to conflict also are covered by journalists (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, xxi). For example, one “How to do it” list on the web begins: Avoid portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties

contesting one goal (xxi). The logical outcome is for one to win and the other to lose. Peace journalists, instead, would separate the two parties into many smaller groups, thereby opening creative potential for a range of outcomes.

Opposing Side-Taking

Peace journalism uses conflict analysis and transformation to achieve fairness and accuracy in reporting. As suggested here, traditional journalism seeks to present opposing sides to a problem; the peace journalist hopes to encourage the understanding of multiple positions to each potential conflict. Peace journalism advocates explain that journalism as it has been practiced in the United States encourages the taking of sides even when that is unnecessary. Because of this craft tradition, reporters who cover war are blind to anything except a polarized presentation of the news. In turn, this polarized approach accelerates conflict.

Practical tips and suggestions for changing the way a reporter covers conflict are included in a textbook written by British former war correspondents Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. As they present the material, among the first steps in analyzing conflicts is a process they call “mapping the conflict.” Pointing out the effects of language choices of winning and losing, they offer simple lessons in empathy—discovering common ground and common visions for the future and looking beyond slogans and positions to identify opportunities for dialogue.

Lynch and McGoldrick use modern examples to help explain how peace journalism has defused or could defuse conflicts. A useful example is the centuries of conflict between Britain and Ireland. As they note, stopping the fighting does not bring harmony nor does it mean that all disagreements have been resolved.

Many of the tips for reporters who would follow peace journalism’s processes are framed in ways to “avoid” certain patterns of speech that can lead to the escalation of violence. Examples are the avoidance of the following: assessing the merits of a violent action in terms of policy; letting parties define themselves by quoting a leader’s demands or positions; asking about what divides the parties; only reporting violence and describing the horrors; assigning blame and highlighting the fears and grievances of one party; and most importantly,

using victimizing language such as “destitute,” “defenseless,” or “pathetic.” Other language to avoid is the imprecise use of emotive words (“genocide,” “decimated,” “massacre”), adjectives such as “vicious” or “brutal,” and labels such as “terrorist,” “extremist,” or “fanatic.” Indeed, if the authors of *Peace Journalism* have their way, journalists will need to change more than their language—they will need to become more analytical and their editors must let them.

Opponents of peace journalism say that it is an (unwelcome) shift from objectivity and offer other important analyses, as well. Canadian researcher Robert Hackett has attempted to analyze the production of news and its complexities in relation to the concept of peace journalism. He carefully sets forth the arguments of both the peace-journalist advocates and their critics, with the arguments of the latter including that the peace journalism movement fails to take into account the effects of the actual dynamics of news production.

One Antiwar Correspondent

A reading of some of the advocates against war adds to an understanding of the defusing process. One of the most interesting—and least self-righteous—is a collection of war reporting by Martha Gellhorn called *The Face of War*. Even though it covers wars from 1937 through recent conflicts, it offers surprisingly modern views. The overall tone is antiwar or perhaps pro-human, as well as deeply humane.

Gellhorn, who reported the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s through the Vietnam War 30 years later, has been more known for being the third wife of Ernest Hemingway than for her writing. However, new critical attention may shift the understanding of her international importance. Her pieces are personal and are not as dated as much war correspondence because she does not write about military tactics. Caroline Moorehead, author of *Gellhorn: A Twentieth Century Life*, says the correspondent was most interested in describing the effects of war on ordinary people.

Peace Advocacy as History

Nineteenth century press historians have compiled studies of peace advocacy and the press, and it suggests that much journalism at the time was a form of advocacy and that many publications were

often strident in their activism. Indeed, access to different peace approaches can be found in archival copies of peace journals such as the *Messenger of Peace* and the *Herald of Peace*. Often romanticized or considered quaint, these Quaker advocates for reform were courageous in the face of taunting and in the possibility of physical danger.

Scholars of diplomatic and military history have dominated the field of possibilities for peace history, yet many opportunities for future research by journalism historians exist. Like the frames available to war correspondents, the military historians have not found the peace press provocative or compelling enough, according to journalism historian Nancy Roberts. But peace societies at their inception saw the need for publications to cover the issues which were left out of popular publications. Hence, much of the information about the peace press must be gathered by reading peace periodicals themselves.

Roberts outlines a sampler of peace advocacy publications available at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Included are publications that date from 1828. For current topical information, information and articles are available from the website of the interfaith peace organization Fellowship of Reconciliation USA (FORUSA). Historian Merle Curti has written of earlier peace periodicals that their study is important because they usually contain the annual reports and addresses which earlier were circulated in tract form. Additionally, a tradition of antiwar journalism and an important archive of antiwar newspapers exist, but they are separate from the peace journalism phenomenon. Both historical studies of peace publications and further analyses of the peace journalism phenomenon are needed to better understand these challenges to the practice of journalism.

Jean Ann Colbert

See also Alternative News Media; Civic Journalism; Development Journalism; Media Criticism; News Values; Newsroom Culture; Social Movements and Journalism; Terrorism, Coverage of; War and Military Journalism

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PENNY PRESS

Urbanization, industrialization, immigration, and massive population growth fueled the emergence of the penny press in the United States during the 19th century. With its emphasis on news of interest to non-elites, the penny press redefined news as the unusual, the bizarre, and the sensational. The penny press contributed to changes that would define American journalism for more than 100

years. It stimulated an interest in current affairs and reading among American citizens. It also produced some of the most legendary editors and reporters in the history of American journalism: James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley, and Henry Raymond, to name perhaps the three most prominent.

While most penny papers have long since folded, a few still remain in publication today. Those include *The New York Times*, *Boston Herald*, *Baltimore Sun*, *The Times-Picayune* in New Orleans, *Savannah Morning News*, and *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. This entry discusses the origins of the penny press, factors in its popularity, and its key characteristics.

The penny press ushered in the age of the mass society and mass media that met the information needs and goals of the public and led to an age of “democratic reading,” according to historian Isabelle Lehuu (2000, p. 36). Its seeds would not fully blossom until the end of the 19th century, and it was a form that would never take root outside of urban centers, but the penny press would make news of a type available to all takers.

Some, such as journalism historian John Nerone, argue that the penny press was not a revolution in journalism practice but a mutation. In Nerone’s view, the changes in journalistic practice represented by the penny press are more “responses to changes in specific environments rather than discoveries of fundamental human truths (e.g., the people want news, not opinions) or new principles (e.g., political independence)” (Nerone, 1987, p. 377). In other words, he argues the change in newspaper practices was a response to a change in the social environment. Whether revolution or evolution, the penny press represented a shift in both definitions and practices of journalism.

Origins

The penny press began with the first issue of the *New York Sun*, which appeared on September 3, 1833. Editor Benjamin Day declared in his opening editorial that the paper would provide “ALL THE NEWS OF THE DAY” at a price—1 cent—that anyone could afford. Standard newspapers, which typically cost six cents, were out of the reach of the average working person. Day hit on a

gold mine. Within 2 months, the paper had a circulation of 2,000. In 1836, the paper claimed to have a circulation greater than that of 11 of its more elite six-cent competitors. Five years after its founding, in 1838, the paper claimed to have a circulation of 30,000.

Day was not the first to experiment with this new newspaper formula. Penny newspapers, and even magazines, were already publishing in England by the early 1830s. In the United States, as early as 1826, some newspapers were already expanding their definition of news to include the topics the penny press thrived on. One example is the *Boston Transcript*. In late July 1830, Editor Lynde M. Walter and his partners brought out the *Transcript* as a penny paper. He had to suspend it after 3 days, however, to have more time to build up advertising and subscriptions. The suspension lasted about a month. By the end of August, the paper was back on the streets. It was not a typical penny paper, however, for its subject matter was more literary. Walter ran the paper until his death in 1842, at which time his sister, Cornelia Wells Walter, formerly the paper’s theater critic, took over the editorship. She ran the paper until 1847 and was one of the first women to edit a major city daily.

The *Sun* was published from September 1833 until 1950. The paper’s slogan was, “It Shines For All.” The paper focused on publishing news that would interest ordinary people—suicides, deaths, crimes, and divorces, and it defined reporting as storytelling. This *Sun* demonstrated that a newspaper could succeed on individual sales and advertising instead of high-priced subscriptions, which was the more common marketing strategy most journals used. Day’s objective was to publish a paper that provided news at a price anyone could afford. Another of Day’s innovations, borrowed from England, was street sales of individual copies by newsboys. The *Sun* began publishing during an economic downturn, but it was an immediate success, proving Day’s formula and price were appropriate for an urban audience.

Besides its low price and tabloid size, penny newspapers differed in some ways from the more typical staid political press in its offerings. Rather than publishing long political harangues from editors who were tightly knit into political party structures, penny newspapers covered sports,

crime, sex, society, gossip, and religion on the local, national, and international levels. They appealed to emotions and were rather moralistic in their coverage, in that they focused on stories taught moral lessons while avoiding those that were shameful or immoral.

Human interest stories with an emphasis on crime news were another hallmark of the penny press. Covering crime news was an important component in the development of another penny press innovation: reporters. The elite press relied on in-house editorials and correspondence, some paid and some not, from outsiders for content. Penny newspapers produced in-house content as well, but its different definition of news required men to go out to courts or police stations and gather news directly from the source rather than waiting for it to come to them in their offices.

Factors in Popularity

Several factors contributed to the rise of the penny press. First was the massive growth in the U.S. population during the early 19th century, fueled largely by immigrants who flocked to American cities, particularly those in the northeast such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. In his opening editorial in 1851, Henry Raymond, editor of *The New York Times*, wrote that the city's growing population was one factor in the decision to start another daily newspaper in the city. Literacy rates were on the rise as well. These two factors produced an ever-expanding audience for news. Another vitally important factor was the development of the steam press, which allowed for huge numbers of copies to be printed. While the older hand presses might be able to strike off 350 papers a day, steam presses could produce up to 4,000 pages in an hour.

This was a period, too, of democratization in the United States. After traveling in the United States in 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about how engaged with their democracy Americans were. He reported that they always had their noses in a newspaper and that they were always joining associations. Contemporary historians have made similar observations. Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin have written that American citizens in the 19th century were highly engaged with public life, that they paid close attention,

and that they had a deep and broad understanding of the day's issues. The working poor may not have been interested in the same issues as the political and business elites, but they were interested in what was happening in their communities, and that interest helped build an audience for the penny newspaper. Some have even seen the rapid growth and expansion of the cheap press as a product of American individualism and independence.

Key Characteristics

New York City became the center of operation for this new kind of newspaper. Before long, Bennett's *New York Herald* and Greeley's *New-York Tribune* would follow. About a decade later, Raymond and George Jones would found *The New York Times* as a penny paper. Journalists in other cities followed suit and established penny newspapers in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, Richmond, Baltimore, and even Savannah, Georgia, during the 1850s.

These newspapers were highly competitive. In 1838 and 1839, Bennett, for example, established a pigeon express between Washington and Baltimore and a pony express between Washington and New York. He made arrangements with other editors to attach news bulletins to pigeons and fly them off to New York. Even when the telegraph came online a few years later, the pigeon coop remained atop the *Herald* building. The *Herald's* competitors despaired of ever competing with that paper's speedy acquisition of news, and one, the *Journal of Commerce*, eventually gave up and created a cooperative agreement with the *Herald* that would become instrumental in the creation of the Associated Press.

The *Herald* also was important in developing American war reporting. It was the only New York newspaper to send a correspondent to cover the Mexican-American War, and the paper made extensive use of the telegraph to provide the latest news as fast as possible. During the American Civil War, the paper maintained a corps of war correspondents and even opened a Southern desk. The paper's correspondents went to great lengths, including using couriers, to ensure news got back to the New York office in less than 36 hours.

These newspapers marked a radical change in the nature and definition of news. The newspaper was established as a democratic, capitalist institution with ownership firmly in the hands of individuals. While these newspapers focused on sensational topics, they were not entirely disconnected from politics. Their editors were heavily involved in politics, and that would not change, though politics was not the be-all and end-all concern of their newspapers. Their political activities, however, were of their own choosing and not, like the 19th century political press, determined by party leaders. The two different forms of journalism competed side-by-side.

The penny press is sometimes credited with introducing the concept of objectivity into news, but while some stories might have been treated objectively, objectivity was not truly a value of the penny press. One has only to look at a story like the Great Moon Hoax to realize that. The Great Moon Hoax was a serialized story published in 1835 by the *Sun*, probably to help circulation grow. The stories maintained that astronomers had developed an extraordinary new telescope that had allowed them to discover life on the moon, and they detailed the nature of that life, including men with bat-like wings and a biped beaver that lived in huts and were seemingly acquainted with the domestic use of fire. The story was attributed to a work allegedly published in the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* by Sir John Herschel. Readers may have heard of the journal, because it had, in fact, existed. However, at the time of the Moan Hoax, the journal had been defunct for some 2 years. The article was actually the brainchild of *Sun* reporter Richard Adams Locke.

Both readers and, and other newspapers fell for the hoax readers and other newspapers. The *Herald* had been out of commission for about a month due to a fire at its offices. When it came back into print, Bennett wrote an article casting doubt on the story. Locke denied the story was a hoax. The story made Locke enormously famous and brought in many new readers for the *Sun*.

The penny press also served an important function in spreading information so that all Americans could participate in their democracy. Circulations of these newspapers were orders of magnitude larger than their political or religious

brethren. *The New York Tribune*, for example, achieved a circulation of more than 200,000, at a time when the average newspaper would have a circulation of maybe 1,000 to 2,000. While penny papers had greater political independence than the partisan press, they carried political content that would have helped immigrants understand more about American politics and encouraged them to get engaged with the political system of their new country. The rise of the penny press, which resulted in the creation of a mass press, helped to diversify those who embraced and were embraced by the moniker "American."

Debra van Tuyl

See also Emotion in Journalism; Hoaxes; Objectivity; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers

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PENTAGON PAPERS

The "Pentagon Papers" is the name commonly used to refer to the *Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force*, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Defense in

1967. *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post* began publishing portions of the report in 1971, which led to the first-ever federal injunction to stop a publication when the administration of President Richard Nixon claimed publication constituted a threat to national security. In a 6–3 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court found that the government had not met the “heavy burden” of proof required in cases where the government wants to restrain speech prior to publication. This entry first discusses the report, its publication, and the government efforts to stop publication. It then looks at the Supreme Court ruling allowing publication of the report and some of the results of the publication.

The Report

U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara requested a historical analysis of the Vietnam War and created a Vietnam Study Task Force in 1967. Three dozen analysts were involved, from academia, the federal government, and the military. The report was completed early in 1969, when McNamara was no longer Secretary of Defense, so the report was delivered to his successor Clark Clifford. The final report was more than 3,000 pages and was classified “Top Secret.” In addition to the original analysis, there were thousands of pages of government documents appended.

Though characterized as simply a “history,” a lot of the information in the Pentagon Papers was unknown to most Americans, and a good deal of it was at least embarrassing, if not subversive. The Pentagon Papers made it clear that multiple American presidents had been lying about U.S. involvement in Vietnam and that U.S. involvement there had started long before the 1960s. The report disclosed the extent of U.S. involvement in South Vietnamese politics. President Ngo Dinh Diem served from 1955–1963 and the report asserted that he would never have become president were it not for U.S. support. Diem was assassinated in 1963 as part of a coup, and the Pentagon Papers asserted that the U.S. was complicit. Perhaps the greatest revelation was that Vietnam was being used primarily as a way to “contain China.” Contrary to public statements by the administration, the Pentagon Papers secretly suggested that escalation of the war effort was

necessary if the United States was to have any hope for victory. Publicly, President Lyndon Johnson had emphatically stated that there would be no escalation and that it was not necessary.

Releasing the Pentagon Papers to the Public

In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg approached the *New York Times* to ask whether the paper might be willing to publicize the contents of the report. Ellsberg, a senior research associate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Center for International Studies, had worked for the RAND Corporation and served as an assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, John McNaughton. As such, Ellsberg had access to the report and made an unauthorized copy, as he opposed the war and hoped that a disclosure might spur the United States to withdraw.

After multiple internal discussions at the *Times* over the legalities of publishing a stolen government document, the paper finally decided the importance of releasing the information outweighed the risk and began publishing excerpts in serial form on June 13, 1971. The next day, U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell asked the *Times* to voluntarily cease publication on the premise that national security was at stake. The *Times* declined, so the Nixon administration requested and was given an injunction from the federal district court in New York. Mitchell asserted that the *Times* was in violation Section 793 of the Espionage Act, which made it a crime to have unauthorized possession of information related to national defense that could harm the United States or advantage any of its enemies.

Frustrated that the *New York Times* had been forced to cease publication, Ellsberg turned to other publications, including the *Washington Post*, which began serial publication of the contents on June 18. U.S. Assistant Attorney General William Rehnquist immediately sought an injunction from the D.C. federal district court, but the request was rejected. An appeal to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals was also rejected. Within the course of 2 weeks, 20 different newspapers had published a portion of the report. With two federal circuits in disagreement over such an important matter, the case was ripe for Supreme Court review.

Prior Restraint Precedent

The Pentagon Papers case was not the first time the Supreme Court had to consider whether the government could prohibit publication, rather than subsequently punish speech. For free expression proponents, prior restraint is far more pernicious than subsequent punishment because of the impact on the marketplace of ideas. Ideas that never make it to the marketplace never get the chance to be evaluated, which is essential for the marketplace to properly function.

In 1931, the Supreme Court decided *Near v. Minnesota*. Jay Near was a publisher who ran afoul of a state law that prohibited newspapers from publishing “malicious, scandalous or defamatory” content. Near made anti-Semitic attacks on government officials and made allegations that they were involved in criminal activity. The state of Minnesota issued an injunction against Near under a state law regulating public nuisances. Near’s publication was likened to “houses of prostitution” and “noxious weeds.” Minnesota courts upheld his conviction, but by a 5–4 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that prior restraint was unconstitutional *in this case* but left the door open for prior restraint in areas including national security, obscenity, inciting violence, or overthrowing the government.

Supreme Court Case

The Supreme Court agreed to hear the Pentagon Papers case on June 26, 1971, less than 2 weeks after the first article appeared in the *Times*. Such immediate response is highly irregular for the Supreme Court. Even more unusual, it was only 4 days later, on June 30, 1971, that the Supreme Court rendered its verdict.

In *New York Times Co. v. United States*, the Court ruled 6–3 that the government had not met the “heavy presumption against” prior restraint. Despite the vote, the court issued a *per curiam* opinion, in which no justice is listed as having written the majority opinion, because there was no majority in agreement with the reasons for their votes. In fact, each justice in the case wrote his own opinion, which is not the norm.

The entire substance of the Court’s decision came in just two quotes, taken from earlier

Supreme Court rulings: “Any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity,” taken from a 1963 decision in *Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan*, and, “The Government ‘thus carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the imposition of such a restraint’” from a 1971 ruling, *Organization for a Better Austin v. Keefe*.

The Pentagon Papers case is thought by many scholars to be the most significant prior restraint case ever heard by the Supreme Court. Although the case was decided in favor of the publications, it can hardly be interpreted as an unequivocal win for free expression. Saying that the government did not meet its heavy burden leaves the door open in the future for prior restraint to be deemed constitutional. In no way did the Court’s ruling discourage future suits.

Several First Amendment scholars point out the fact that the government was successful in temporarily restraining publication. If publication of the Pentagon Papers did, in fact, hasten the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, delaying that withdrawal by weeks or even days was a matter of life or death for soldiers who died in the final days of U.S. involvement.

Since 1971

In 1972 the *New York Times* was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for publication of the Pentagon Papers, as well as for the paper’s legal battle to defend the right to publish. In 1973, Ellsberg and an accomplice, Anthony Russo, were tried for theft and dissemination of classified documents under the Espionage Act of 1917. The judge dismissed all the charges. Though parts of the report became public in 1971, it was not until 2011 that the entire *Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force* was officially declassified.

Many commentators have drawn parallels between Ellsberg and Edward Snowden, who released thousands of classified documents in 2013. Snowden himself has said he was inspired by a documentary on Ellsberg that he watched when debating whether to leak the National Security Agency documents, which Ellsberg has called the most significant leak in U.S. history. Snowden

had been working for a government contractor doing work for the National Security Agency and became frustrated at what he considered to be excessive privacy violations in the gathering of security data. Snowden attempted to raise his concerns but was frustrated that his supervisors ignored his complaints.

Snowden went to Hong Kong in May 2013 and released thousands of files to journalists in the United Kingdom and United States in June. The publicity that surrounded the release of the information cannot be overstated. Debate raged over the balance between personal privacy and national security. Previously thought only to gather data about suspects, the National Security Agency was revealed to have collected personal information about U.S. citizens who were not suspected of any crimes, which caused criticism of an agency that had operated virtually unrestrained since the attacks of September 11, 2001.

The U.S. government charged Snowden with two counts of violating the Espionage Act and revoked his passport. Snowden left Hong Kong for Russia, intended as an intermediate stop to another country. Four Western Hemisphere countries offered him asylum, but Snowden might have been arrested in transit, so he remained in Russia.

Dom Caristi

See also Censorship; First Amendment; New York Times, The; Prior Restraint; Secrecy and Leaks; Supreme Court and Journalism; Washington Post, The

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PHOTO AGENCIES

Photo agencies (a category of companies known by several different titles) provide photographs for commercial users including news media, both print and broadcast. Such companies usually make, collect or archive, and distribute photographs for a fee, either on a subscription or on a per photo basis, the price depending on the use of the image. Many photo agencies use their own photographers and distribute images shot by others (including smaller photo services and independent photographers). In recent years, declining media use and consolidation has changed the face of the business.

Origins

While magazines and newspapers long used their own staff photographers, what would become the professional news and photo service developed in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. The work of such famous Civil War photographers as Mathew Brady had appeared widely, though often without the photographer's knowledge, let alone permission. In 1895, photographer George Bain began his Bain News Service, one of the earliest firms aimed at the burgeoning print

media demand for pictures that had been created by development of the halftone printing process. Other companies soon followed. Underwood & Underwood was formed in 1901, and both Keystone View Company and Culver Pictures appeared about the same time. Later entries included United Newspictures (later Acme) and International News Photos (part of the news agency), both of which were set up in 1915. Wide World Photos followed in 1919, established by *The New York Times*, and the Associated Press began its AP Photos subsidiary in 1927 (it later would take over the Wide World operation, an early example of the consolidation to come).

Until the 1920s, photographs used in newspapers and magazines were either taken locally or had to be shipped, creating a real deadline problem beyond New York City and other major markets. The only distribution means were by messenger within the city, or by mail outside. There was no effective way for daily newspapers to publish timely photographs of events taking place beyond their immediate local market. It often took several days to a week to get photographs sent from one side of the country to the other. Technology changed that in the mid-1920s.

The wirephoto process—a variation of facsimile technology—was invented as “telephotography” by telephone carrier AT&T in 1924. The new process allowed photographs to be transmitted through the telephone network, anywhere in the country, though it required the use of an expensive and bulky wirephoto machine at both the source and receiving end. The original photograph was placed inside the sender’s machine and scanned line by line to translate the image into electrical impulses. These impulses were then sent by telephone line to the receiver where the impulses were translated back into a developed image on photographic paper.

AT&T offered its first commercial service in 1926 (though it would end in 1933 for lack of sufficient income to cover its costs). Early wirephoto machines were large, expensive, and all too often unreliable. The resulting wirephotos were usually of low definition (far less clarity than any original photo—they were often described as “muddy”) and could be further degraded by occasional problems with telephone line transmission. Further, sending one often took more than an hour, and the

sender had no idea if a recognizable image would be received at the other end. Thanks to this complex and pricy process, it took more than a decade for the process to be widely adopted.

AP began its wirephoto service in 1935 with links to 47 newspapers in 25 states. The first AP wirephoto showed an airplane crash in rural New York. United Press Telephoto appeared in the next year. The two news agency photo operations quickly dominated the business for newspapers as they focused on the latest news events. As the technology became easier to use, wirephotos became the dominant form of long-distance photo distribution for newspapers well into the mid-1970s.

By then, building on constantly improving photographic and printing technology, AP instituted its Laserphoto system. This sent images to subscribers far more quickly than the old wirephoto equipment and with much higher image resolution. AP updated this system in 1989 so that full color images could be transmitted in just seconds. These images were displayed on computer monitors and distributed in digital form. The result was newspaper and magazine pictures of much higher quality and the more common use of color photographs. Eventually, the news agency-owned photo operation would garner 30 Pulitzer Prizes for its news photographs. By the mid-2000s, they were distributing a thousand photos a day and had accumulated an archive of some 11 million images.

A Changing Business

Starting in the mid-1930s, and doubtless encouraged by the appearance of a growing number of photo-based weekly and monthly magazines as well as improving camera technology, a second wave of photo agencies began to appear. They combined current news photos with a growing photo archive of material, dubbed picture libraries, or (later) image banks. One of the first was Black Star, formed in 1935 by three refugees from Nazi Germany, one of whom brought some 5,000 photos from his Berlin photo agency. Black Star worked closely with the new *Life* magazine when it appeared starting in November 1936 and sometimes accounted for more than 40% of the weekly magazine’s images. Otto Bettmann (1903–1998) established his Bettmann Archive in 1936, which

soon stressed historical photos. And in 1938, Edward Hulton created the Hulton Picture Library. All of these firms—and the earlier photo agencies—were active on the battlefronts and the home fronts of World War II.

The Magnum agency first appeared in 1947 when photojournalists Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, George Rodger, and David “Chim” Seymour formed it to distribute their photographs while protecting their image ownership rights. Initially based in Paris and New York and later adding offices in London and Tokyo, Magnum differed from other agencies in two ways. It was created as a cooperative venture in which the staff (which included co-founders Maria Eisner and Rita Vandivert) would support rather than direct the photographers. And copyright to their photos would be retained by the photographers, not by the magazines that published them.

Hubert Henrotte, Hughes Vassal, and Raymond Depardon established the Gamma agency in 1967, and the Sygma agency was created in 1973. But by now, the picture magazines on which so many agencies had long thrived were disappearing—*Life*, for example, had ceased its weekly publication the year before. As media clients dwindled, photo agencies were forced to broaden their business model to serve a wider variety of clients. Many branched out to serve commercial needs such as providing photos for use in company annual reports, brochures, or other business and industrial applications.

Consolidation

With the rise of the Internet came both a new way to market photos—placing masses of them online for easy perusal by potential customers (sort of a cyber-catalog)—and a continuing decline in traditional media photo markets. Photo agencies increasingly centered their marketing toward non-media business users. Web software could also be used to help seek out and fine those illegally placing copyright-protected photos on their own websites.

As with the companies they serve, major consolidation of photo agencies began in the 1980s, accelerating in the years to follow. For example,

Kraus purchased the Bettmann Archive in 1981. Three years later, Kraus took over the United Press International collection (which included the Acme and Pacific & Atlantic agency archives as well). Kraus, in turn was taken over by Corbis in 1995 (the agency formed in 1989 by Bill Gates of Microsoft). Corbis also purchased Sygma in mid-1999. The Getty Images archive was put up for sale at the end of 2007—and was expected to sell for something close to \$1.5 billion, an indicator of both the number of photos involved and the broad commercial value of these growing archives.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Associated Press; Photo Editors; Photo Magazines; Photography; Photojournalists; United Press International

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PHOTO EDITORS

Photo editors represent the visual elite, a select group of news professionals that make very important decisions concerning what is visually newsworthy. They are the professionals responsible for determining what images we see in the news because their creative and intuitive visual sense affords them the knowledge and expertise to tell a story visually. This visual sense encompasses photo editors' keen understanding of the aesthetic value of a photo balanced with the expression of ideas necessary to communicate vital information the public needs to know about. Good photo editors become who they are because they have visual sense balanced with an ethical responsibility concerning photojournalism. For that reason, photo editors are gatekeepers regarding what is visual news. They help frame the pictures in our heads.

In recent decades, a new media ecology has emerged that has shifted the way people consume media. The result is that digital media and emerging technologies have accelerated news delivery and transformed the production of news beyond traditional practices, and content is available for consumption through a variety of media outlets and platforms. Photo editors no longer solely consider photographic stories for print and also consider the power of storytelling through the Internet, social media, mobile devices, and other digital technologies. Yet, the photo editor's job continues to be their natural ability to sift through endless streams of images quickly and spot visual potential to tell a story for presentation in all media formats. Ultimately, photo editors are driven by the belief that photos serve as society's collective visual memory. For that reason, photo editors have a responsibility to make ethical choices on how best to communicate to the public about events, people, and places because photos serve as "visual proof" that something happened, a person existed, an achievement was earned, or a disaster occurred.

Creating Visual News

The study of the social construction of reality has long provided the lens to understand how people

interpret and make sense of society and culture and the conceptual backdrop for many seminal studies in news-making. Rooted in the social sciences, the social construction of visual news and thus the larger theoretical context of the social construction of news is reliant on individuals in their specific roles and responsibilities involving the establishing of norms, values, judgments, and so forth, that often function as central and rote choices regarding what is real, suggesting that the profession and its practice is, itself, a social construction with specific reference to constructing reality. As such, photo editors are integral to the social construction of news, especially visual news and what passes for the social construction of reality. This process is reliant on communicative events interpreted by various news professionals and reinforced with others in a social structure where shared meaning takes place through everyday routines and interaction with others. The process traditionally starts with a photographer's keen eye capturing a portion of reality guided by aesthetic conventions such as camera angle, depth of field, shutter speed, and subject matter. Photo editors then work with photographers or scan wire services to select the photos to best accompany the day's news. Photo editors also make decisions with assigning news editors, page designers, and news editors about the design and layout of pages as well as the presentation of photos that include photo placement, display issues, and so on, which together help a reader better understand a news story. These decisions, albeit subjective, become objective through the internalization of the social structure within the newsroom and thus contribute to the social construction of visual news.

Media Effects Research

A wealth of literature in mass communication (e.g., political communication, advertising, news, health communication, and environmental communication) has established that visual agenda setting, visual gatekeeping, visual framing, and visual priming do influence receivers of information as well as how audiences respond to and process news messages. Additionally, those in power or powerful positions (e.g., politicians, corporations, public relations, lobbyists) influence

public opinion and public policy through their access to news coverage, resulting in news content reflecting their goals. Moreover, research has examined positive and negative imagery as a messaging strategy, although results on the persuasive effect vary depending on the media content (e.g., advertising, health, advocacy, politics) and on image features such as sad, scary, happy, front-facing, size, or color versus black-and-white, to name a few. Evidence also supports that keywords (e.g., headlines, captions, hashtags) accompanied by visuals may function together to communicate information or express an implied meaning contradictory to the intended message. Taken together, these literature streams show how news professionals, including photo editors, present a viewpoint or prevailing ideology reinforced by corporations, politicians, and economic interests because they have control over the means of production on how content is organized, the style in which it is presented, and the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of a story compared to others, and thus may influence public perceptions and opinions on the issues.

Agenda-setting research shows that the news media do not tell us what to think, but they do tell the public what to think about by establishing the importance of some topics more so than others and, consequently, transfer the salience of items on the news media's agenda to the public's agenda. Visual agenda setting further supports that visual elements function much like the text of a news story in establishing the news media's agenda. Whereas the news media sets an agenda by telling us what issues are important, photo editors make decisions about what news is visually newsworthy. This consists of making decisions on the number of photos to accompany a news story, size of photo(s), placement on the page, as well as if a photo should be displayed in color or black and white. While multiple gatekeepers have direct authority over the editorial functions of the news including story selection and assigning reporters to news stories, photo editors largely are the gatekeepers of visual news. Trained to understand ideas conveyed through images, they shape the decisions regarding what is visual news by assigning photojournalists to stories and ultimately photo selection. They decide to select one photo over another that best communicates the story

being told and filter out photos considered irrelevant to the news story, as well as select only those photos they think best represent the story at hand. Thus, by virtue of their position or education and photographic experience, photo editors exercise much power or influence over others. They decide what is visually newsworthy and thus are the gatekeepers of visual news.

While agenda-setting research found, as noted earlier, that the news media do not tell us what to think, framing literature supports that the news media influence the way we think about the news by transferring the salience of attributes to a prominent place in our minds. News professionals make conscious decisions that aid in socially constructing the news by actively applying framing to visual and verbal attributes of a news story. Photo editors use framing to present a particular viewpoint through the structure of content as well as employ stylistic and narrative features to influence individual perceptions and opinions about the issues. In this regard, they hold much power over how reality is shaped in the news by calling attention to information with contextual cues and attributes such as use of keywords, clever catchphrases, metaphors, concepts, visuals, and colors, as well as by following a particular design and format for organizing content. Framing also has the potential, however, to misrepresent or oversimplify the facts by emphasizing or excluding details and thereby disseminate misinformation about the issues.

Related to agenda setting and framing is priming, which repeats the use of contextual cues and attributes to frame a point of view and thus primes audiences' attitudes on a particular topic or related issues. For example, visible racial cues in political ads have been shown to heighten racial schemas and prime viewer attitudes on race. In another example, visual cues such as images of the rainforest, landscapes of mountains or glacial cascades, flora and fauna, or symbolic images of flowers and fruits as well as keywords such as fresh, clean, natural, green, and healthy primes readers that news stories are about nature or the outdoors.

The New Media Ecology

Through the wealth of digital media available, the news is accessible 24/7. As a result, how people

consume and exchange news has changed. Emerging technologies have created opportunities for amateur photographers to bear witness to events others might not see, and when given the opportunity, they too create strong visual stories that are equally important as those of professionals. However, technology also allows anyone with a mobile device or digital camera to capture or produce news of any kind instantly, fact or fiction. Yet even before digital technology, there were concerns that news professionals staged photographs or used darkroom manipulation to alter or enhance photos. In response to growing concerns that came about with the rise of digital photography, newsrooms addressed misconduct by implementing stringent ethical standards in which no manipulation was tolerated for hard news photos (e.g., factual, breaking news stories, and sports), though some retouching was allowed for soft news photos (e.g., human interest stories, arts and entertainment, leisure, travel).

In the past, constructing and executing the form and design of news content took great effort. Now, however, the broader impact of technology for everyone is that pockets of society use the Internet and social media to disseminate all sorts of news, real or fake, and on equal ground with industry professionals. The same virtual environment available to news professionals to produce the news also affords individuals with state-of-the-art tools and platforms that bring people together around divisive content, enabling the spread of fake news using highly charged imagery and powerful rhetoric that encourage acceptance of the content as truthful. Although the use of certain embellishments has become acceptable when it comes to the news, the burden is still on news professionals, including photo editors, to present news that remains accurate and informative. Thus, the basic premise of journalism still holds despite challenges brought about by this changing media ecology. And while technology may have transformed the production of news, the pressure is on photo editors to use their position as agents of news to make sense of the information and discern fact from fiction. This changing media ecology empowers photo editors with more choices both in presentation and distribution of content as well as how to engage and interact with the audience, and as a result, they are charting a

new path to storytelling that enriches society's understanding about a variety of newsworthy issues. Today, as in the past, photo editors look to photojournalism in some capacity to validate what is observed and communicate to the public what needs to be seen. They are tasked with making decisions that visually shape reality for us.

Michelle I. Seelig

See also Agenda Setting; Design and Layout, Magazines; Design and Layout, Newspaper; Framing; Gatekeeping; Photojournalists; Visual Journalism

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PHOTO MAGAZINES

Photo magazines are a type of illustrated periodical popular in media markets around the globe. While characterized by a substantial proportion of photographic illustration, photo magazines generally address issues of a broader, general appeal, emphasizing news and current events. Published weekly (or, less commonly, monthly), their journalistic functions were to (1) visually portray people and events, (2) summarize and contextualize developments beyond daily newspaper coverage, (3) entertain readers by presenting the new and unexpected, and (4) serve as a platform for photojournalists. Despite the fact that photo magazines have lost considerable impact in the age of television and the Internet, where visuals are omnipresent, for years they contributed substantially to the creation of collective memories.

Characteristics

Given that almost every title displayed at an average newsstand includes illustration, the mere fact that a periodical includes photographs is not sufficient to qualify it as a photo magazine. Photo magazines share the following characteristics: They appeal to general audiences rather than special interests; the news they contain covers many topics rather than focusing on particular fields; and they contain a mixture of information and entertainment that revolves around current events more than on business, professional issues, or entertainment.

This excludes several types of magazines—those on photography itself, most consumer

magazines lacking a “news” component, and the vast field of underground and lifestyle magazines that usually do not aim at a larger audience. But any suggested typology of periodicals falls short of providing clear-cut classifications in the face of an endless diversity of magazines available. The social and journalistic relevance of photo magazines peaked in the mid-20th century, with titles such as *Life* and *Look* in the United States; *Weekly Illustrated* and *Picture Post* in Britain; *Vu* and *Paris-Match* in France; and *Münchener Illustrierte* and *Berliner Illustrierte* in Germany.

From a global perspective, the American *Life* magazine, founded in 1936, encompasses most features associated with photo magazines. *Life* set out to tell a story in pictures or at least to provide pictures to explain what happens in the text. A “reader” needed only the ability and willingness to see, assess, and make sense not only of what was written but also of what was shown. The first prospectus for *Life*, titled *Dime* (after its intended price) and distributed in June 1936, highlighted the famous quote which became programmatic for the new magazine and can speak for photojournals in general:

To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things—machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man’s work—his paintings, towers, and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind the walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women that men love and many children; to see and take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed. . . . Thus, to see, and to be shown, is now the will and new expectancy of half mankind. To see, and to show, is the mission now undertaken by a new kind of publication, The Show-Book of the World. (quoted in Smith)

Early criticism assumed an audience at the mercy of the persuasive power of the picture. Critics speculated that by relying too strongly on pictures, the danger of superficial information, fake statements, and readers’ misinformation might increase. Similar allegations continued in discussions about these magazines for years.

Yet despite their strong visual focus with photographs, photo magazines have always been more than mere storybooks. Their journalism could only succeed with texts indicating the content, the context, and often the meaning of what could be seen. Photo magazines also included longer sections with fiction, background reports based on elaborate texts, cartoons and other forms of visualization, and an extensive share of advertising (which in some cases was designed to simulate editorial content). Other sections included letters to the editor, fashion, or gossip. Special emphasis was placed on the cover that was on display at newsstands and served to give the publication added prestige. Like a window display promoting new items, the cover needed to arouse interest to convince the potential reader to buy the magazine: Considering the particular role of illustrations for photo magazines, readers expect outstanding visuals rather than bold headlines or lengthy previews.

Development

Although *Life* is sometimes called the first photo magazine, the tradition reaches further back in history. Until the end of the 19th century, illustrations in magazines could only be reproduced by using wood or other engraving techniques. This changed dramatically at the beginning of the 20th century as photography became increasingly available thanks to the halftone printing process and improved presses. The fascination of photographs that seemed to promise an unbiased view of reality boosted public interest in magazines, creating an audience growing more accustomed to visual impressions of world events.

The role of photo magazines in journalism grew dramatically between the two world wars. The power of the image on the page was undeniable, and many early American general-circulation magazines such as *Harper's Weekly*, *The Nation*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Leslie's*, or *McClure's*, whose main focus was coverage of current events, added pictures to broaden their appeal.

The true photo magazine first appeared in Germany with the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*Berlin Illustrated Times*, *BIZ*) and its many imitators. For the first time, a publication moved pictures to the center of editorial considerations. Kurt Korff,

editor-in chief from 1918 to 1933, argued, "the *BIZ* adopted the editorial principle that all events should be presented in pictures with an eye to the visual dramatic, excluding everything that is visually uninteresting." The *BIZ* expressed a sort of iconographic shift emphasizing "news to see" over "news to read." Famous press photographers such as Erich Salomon, Martin Munkacsy, Felix H. Man, Tim Gidal, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Otto Umbehr, André Kertész, Yva, or Sasha Stone produced photo essays consisting of five or more pictures that provided the dynamics of an event or issue and that would "tell the story" with a minimum of explanatory text.

An important prerequisite for the photo magazine lay in such new technical equipment as small portable cameras, interchangeable lenses, and roll film that replaced heavy and expensive plates. A new generation of photojournalists used these devices to develop a new style of reporting. Unusual perspectives and multiple exposures, or photomontage, were a few of the techniques employed to present pictures with the greatest impact. The development of photo agencies to distribute pictures made visuals globally available and emphasized the selection of appropriate photos as the most important newsroom routine in magazine journalism.

The large-size, rotary-printed, and newspaper-like illustrated photo magazines that were so popular in interwar Germany did not find an early equivalent in the American market, which lacked the battle for public opinion present in the streets of Weimar and demanded a fast and cheap medium. U.S. photo agencies continued to offer expressive or funny single pictures with short captions. But this situation changed dramatically when Time, Inc. launched *Life* in November 1936. The magazine's history reveals the vision of publisher Henry Luce had roots the "American Dream," and during the 1930s *Life* offered an idealized representation of everyday life in America. It is widely acknowledged that Luce took the *BIZ* as a model when creating *Life*—an assertion supported by the most important member of the editorial team—Kurt Korff, the former editor of *BIZ*. Though *Life* built upon an existing formula, it proved an instant success when the first issue sold out in 4 hours.

Several competitors soon tried to copy the success of *Life*, including *Ken* with its deeply

anti-Fascist editorial position; *Focus*, which adopted the muckraker approach; a “National Picture Monthly” called *Click*; or *Friday*, founded in 1940, which proved its anti-Fascist position with articles on anti-Semitism in America. Several other magazines predominantly relied on the photograph as the main carrier of their messages. *Peek*’s first cover in January 1938 showed a person peeping through a keyhole, reinforcing the promise of the magazine’s subtitle, “A Look at Life”; *Picture* traded under the name of “The Photographic Digest” supplementing its photo stories with numbers to suggest a sequence to the viewer. These and other titles exploited the increasing number of picture agencies, public relations outlets, and promotional photos available.

Another publication soon exerted a more formative influence due to its broad appeal. The biweekly *Look*, founded in 1937 by Gardner Cowles, was originally not seen as a “respectable” magazine and was categorized as “barbershop literature” by its critics. Along with its more serious companion publication *Life* (which did not exist when the plans for *Look* were drawn up based on Gallup audience research), it shared the idea of telling stories through pictures. In contrast to the explicitly political orientation of *Life*, *Look*’s editors, as stated in the first issue, “hunted for their unusual picture stories in the basic and important fields of screen, medicine, foreign lands, adventure, sports, inventions, crime, personalities, sociology, self-improvement, religion, beauty, movies, and the stage.” When the publisher’s wife Fleur Cowles, the later editor of *Flair* magazine, joined *Look* as an associate editor, the magazine transformed and gained a broader appeal to both men and women by emphasizing the female perspective on issues.

Life soon earned a great deal of prestige with its extensive war coverage, particularly with close-up shots taken under perilous conditions to obtain the most realistic portrayal of men in combat. Until the magazine ceased weekly publication in 1972, *Life* continued its coverage of armed conflicts in the postwar era as well as the nation’s political, social, and cultural changes in the 1950s and 1960s. With the end of *Life*, the “golden age” of photo magazines closed as the 1970s saw many similar magazines disappearing in different countries of the world. The motion of television had replaced the printed still image as a prime

conveyor of visuals for the collective memory. Although photo magazines are still available, their impact has declined even further with the emergence of online communication, which has opened up a seemingly endless and easily accessible universe of photographic documents.

Global Development

The success of photo magazines was a global phenomenon. The examples below will elaborate on four national trends regarding selected magazines in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. Rather than being representative, the sample suggests particular approaches to the diversity of editorial concepts.

Germany

Among the early BIZ competitors, *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* (*Munich Illustrated Press*, MIP, 1924) led in modern magazine journalism. Its success was closely tied to Stefan Lorant, its editor, who considered the magazine a vehicle for his personal expressions and interests in the social and political environment. His appreciation of photography shows in the extraordinary salaries he paid his photographers. A third news magazine was the leftist *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (*Worker’s Illustrated Times*, AIZ, 1925), now famous for its photomontages created by former Dada artist John Heartfield. A small staff around communist activist Willi Münzenberg aspired to publish a “true medium of the masses” using “worker photographs” as an instrument in the class struggle. For that purpose, the AIZ also employed photo essays, often covering the world of industry labor, which allowed German workers to have a glimpse into working conditions in other countries. One of the AIZ’s most celebrated achievements in the visual storytelling medium was when it dedicated two complete issues to the daily life and living conditions of one Russian family and one German family earning their living with factory and construction work.

During the 20th century, the German term *Magazin* (rather than its English counterpart) referred to a book-sized (approximately 7 by 9 inches), illustrated monthly periodical with up to 200 pages dedicated to entertainment and social

and cultural life. These publications ranged from the more sophisticated type of *Magazin* in the “feuilleton” style to the “spicy” type that attracted attention with its risqué and sometimes-explicit photographs. The *Magazin* era peaked in the late 1920s when almost every publisher offered one, and the interested reader could choose among 10 or more. All claimed to present interesting insight into arts, science, sport, and crime and were profusely illustrated with the growing number of photographs supplied by photo agencies in and around Berlin. Although “education through entertainment” remained one of the guiding principles of most *Magazin* publications, the sensationalist approach to content usually prevailed. With minor exceptions, the German *Magazin* was obsessed with the depiction of beautiful women. Most of the subjects were found among movie stars who served as projections for readers’ individual dreams and collective desires.

The American *Look*, distributed in Germany during the Allied occupation, laid the foundation for a magazine genre that was later called the *Illustrierten* (pictorials) in Germany. The term usually refers to the small group of general-circulation illustrated weekly photo magazines focusing on simplified news, glimpses into the private lives of film stars and royalty, and serial romantic novels. This orientation toward triviality (and, later, sexuality and nudism) was called the *4-S-Line* (*sex, sentiment, sensation, sadism*) by observers and made the “*Illustrierte*” a matter of public discussion, with critics and politicians accusing the publishers of stultifying their audience.

Between 1946 and 1948, the four most influential photo magazines of postwar Germany first appeared: *Neue Illustrierte* (*New Magazine*) in September 1946; *Revue* in November 1946; *Quick* in April 1948; and finally *Stern* (*Star*) in August 1948. They all claimed to cover current events, but throughout the 1950s, their content remained mostly apolitical and they may better be described as glamour magazines. Audience research suggested that during any given week in the 1950s, between 70 and 80% of adult Germans picked up at least one of these magazines.

France

In the late 1920s, photography became an important feature of the large-sized and lavishly

printed *L'Illustration* (*The Illustration*, 1843). A national flagship publication, the magazine produced occasional special issues of seasonal topics and important events (such as the Paris World Fair in 1938) while regular issues covered the universe of bourgeois interest in high culture. Reproductions were carried out with high diligence, thus making old issues of *L'Illustration* an aesthetic highlight in photojournalism.

The news magazine *Vu* (founded in 1928) developed a visual language unique in the 1930s while reminiscent of the *AIZ* style. Art director Alexander Liberman used photomontage to create some of the most memorable covers in magazine history. The first issue was launched with the editorial statement “In motion like a good movie.” Some of the photo reporters working for *Vu* in the early days were the most brilliant documentarists of their age—among others Man Ray, Brassai, Germaine Krull, and one of the cofounders of the legendary Magnum picture agency, Robert Capa, whose famous photograph of a dying soldier in the Spanish Civil War was first published in *Vu*. By mid-1940, when Germany occupied much of France, 633 issues of *Vu* had appeared. Although it was always devoted to current events, its significance lies in its editorial design. *Vu* was the first major photo journal with high circulation that adopted a modern layout as suggested by constructivist or surrealist approaches, the so-called new typography. Thus, it is one of the rare examples of an avant-garde photo journal successful in the mass market. Design was based on the dynamics of pictures, their emotional intensity generated for instance by close-ups or extreme perspectives, and sometimes even contradictory motifs.

Compared to other titles on the market, *Match*, which first appeared in 1938, looked rather conservative. Indeed French press magnate Jean Prouvost wanted nothing more than to replicate the success of *Life* by imitating the American model as closely as possible, from layout to content. In pre-war France, the magazine expanded its circulation from 80,000 to 1.4 million in less than 2 years. Its relaunch in 1949 as *Paris Match* followed the same pattern as the German and American markets, with print-runs peaking in the late 1950s followed by a sharp decline with the diffusion of television in France. *Match*, however, survived by adapting to the changing media landscape by focusing on in-depth articles instead of fresh news.

Moreover, stunning and artful color photographs replaced cheap-looking snapshots, one reason that *Match* remains one of the most important French news magazines.

United Kingdom

Despite its long-standing journalistic tradition, the British media market did not exert a substantial influence on the development of photo magazines. With the *London Illustrated News*, founded in the early 19th century, the major news magazine still maintained the tradition of engraved illustrations even in the early 20th century when photography became popular in other nations. Moreover, it had turned into a rather apolitical source following the general appeasement position of the British press toward Germany as suggested by the British government in the late 1930s. A major photojournal emerged in 1938 when former *MIP* editor Lorant, who had left Nazi Germany after being imprisoned under Adolf Hitler, became the driving force behind the British *Picture Post*. Publisher Edward Hulton supported this strong voice against Fascism in general and Nazi Germany in particular. Despite the initial hesitation of advertisers, Hulton sold the first edition of 250,000 copies within minutes.

Although Lorant never officially edited *Picture Post*, his influence on the photo magazine and hence on British photo journalism was substantial. His contract with the magazine was based on sales figures, so he benefited from the tremendous success of *Picture Post*, which had reached a circulation of 1.35 million copies after only 4 months. Before that, Lorant had designed *Lilliput* magazine (1937), a pocket-sized photo magazine that followed the model of the German “Magazin” in size and scope, and another publication that copied the *BIZ* model called *Weekly Illustrated*, published by Odhams Press in London in 1934. Records indicate that publisher Henry Luce and photographer Margaret Bourke-White took a complete set of this magazine as a specimen to New York when they began conceptualizing *Life*. Although Lorant may have arrived in the United States too late to exert an immediate and personal influence, his impact on the emergence of *Life*’s journalism through *Weekly Illustrated* and, later, the wide acknowledgment of *Picture Post*, is certainly evident.

Soviet Union

In the postrevolutionary Russia of the 1920s, the new government soon realized that magazines could play a key role in both teaching people to read and encouraging support of communism. The mechanical character of photography was associated with modernity, and its reproducibility suggested democracy. The nation’s first photojournal was called *Ogonyok* (*Little Flame*, 1923), and the relevance it gave to photographs of current events is demonstrated by the fact that its editor, Mikhail Koltsov, also edited the influential photo magazine *Sovetskoe Foto* (*Soviet Foto*, 1926). More importantly, Koltsov became part of the editorial board when the famous writer Maxim Gorky initiated *SSSR na strojke* (*USSR in Construction*), published between 1930 and 1941 in four different languages (Russian, English, German, and French; a Spanish edition was added later). It served as a prototype for photo magazines worldwide. Sponsored by the state, *SSSR na strojke* was intended both to charm communist leaders and gain friends for the Soviet Union abroad. The editorial statement in the first issue emphasized that photography should be the main editorial tool to depict the construction work going on in the USSR, because pictures conveyed more than even brilliant text. The table of contents, which named the photographers and the art director but not the text authors, underscored this approach.

From a contemporary perspective, *USSR in Construction* is notable for the participation of leading Soviet artists as freelancers for the production of particular issues, among them Alexander Rodchenko, Nicolai Troshin, and El Lissitzky, who in 1932 was the first designer to be credited on the masthead for artistic composition. The workflow differed substantially from other photojournals, since the editors did not use existing photographs from their archive or provided by picture agencies. Instead, an author created a scenario for the general topic, and the art director transformed this scenario into a sketch that included the nature of pictures he wanted to incorporate. In the case of Lissitzky, he personally advised the photographers how to take the pictures and how the montages should be arranged. Later, the photos were printed in toned rotogravure and often used a large page size (12 by 17 inches), leporello folds, and die-cuts to create

highly impressive visuals. The use of strong diagonal lines in layout to evoke movement, together with contrasting close-ups and long shots, created an overall impression that was cinematic in the tradition of the films of Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein and the documentarist approach of French *Vu*. Interestingly, the launch of *USSR in Construction* was paralleled by a similar initiative by Henry Luce in the United States, *Fortune*, a monthly magazine focusing on the economy. Just like its Russian counterpart, *Fortune* highlighted the industrial culture of the nation and promoted business enterprises. In contrast to *USSR in Construction*, *Fortune* typography was conventional and was employed functionally and without superfluous decoration; only the cover served as a showcase for the avant-garde.

Photo Magazines in the Contemporary Marketplace

In the early 21st century, the traditional type of photo magazine that appeals to a general audience plays only a minor role in the media market. Indeed, the American photo magazines such as *Life* and *Look* survived the 1950s with a clear orientation toward the middle-class reader, promoting shared values and a “good life.” By 1970, however, six of the nine most prominent mass magazines had ceased publication.

Instead, the second half of the 20th century saw the rise of the special interest magazine that remains popular today, as proved by a brief glimpse at any newsstand. An attempt to revitalize *Life* as an editorial supplement of major newspapers in October 2004 was abandoned by March 2007, as the relaunch did not meet expectations in terms of advertising revenue.

The same trend appeared in Europe where the golden age of photojournals ended with the decreasing appreciation for photography amid the rise of television. Emergence of newer communication technologies such as the Internet made visuals of any form and kind ubiquitously and simultaneously available to both media professionals and the public. The industrialization of photo production and distribution leaves little room for the comprehensive photo magazine with mass appeal. Instead, globalization of media production has changed the field of special interest magazines as

well: International publishing houses produce content for outlets in different countries and sell advertising space to multinational enterprises. This is possible despite many differences in the cultural background of regions, as media consumers often display similar motives for media use. Their demands focus on a limited set of needs that can sometimes be met by content that has universal appeal, such as home-stories of Hollywood actors, reports of disasters, or war coverage. Thus, regionally tailored but universally produced special interest magazines have replaced the photo magazine as the latter lost its role as provider of collective memories to the moving images of the television age.

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See also Design and Layout, Magazines Newsweekly Magazines; Photography; Photojournalists

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PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography is a media technology and form of communication. Since its inception nearly 200 years ago in 1826, photography has played a key role in shaping our awareness of history, creating national, social, and individual identities and effecting commonly held societal norms, ideological beliefs, commercial interests, and cultural values that are central to our way of life. This entry provides a general overview of photography in relationship to culture and society. In addition to examining the histories of analog and digital photography, this entry examines the picture press, documentary work, camera work, fine art photography, and street photography.

Defining Photography

Photography is a form of technology as well as a mode of communication which creates the illusion of reality through the control of the physical properties of light. A picture is created when light, directed through the lens of a camera or smartphone, strikes a receptive surface, be it film or a digital sensor, located at the back of the device. Sociologically and psychologically, photography conditions us to visualize and understand the world around us through the pictures we make and see—images that inform, persuade, entertain, or in other ways heighten the sense of what it means to be human. Today, however, photography no longer belongs to an elite group of skilled craftspeople, artisans, or scientists. In an age of automation and digital technology, photography is faster, easier, and far less expensive than any other time in history. It is often argued that anyone with a cell phone and a Facebook account can now be a photographer. In fact, the iPhone has become the

most popular camera used to post pictures on Flickr, a popular photo-sharing website.

Near the end of the 20th century, the shift from chemical-based analog processes to digitalization has disrupted the complex landscape of visual practices, routines, rituals, norms, and attitudes associated with photography. In 2017, for example, researchers estimated more than 1.3 trillion digital photographs were produced worldwide. Two decades earlier, however, only 80 billion pictures were taken. Each day, nearly 75% of all pictures taken are created using camera phones. Therefore, the shift toward making pictures with cellphones democratized how history is recorded. Studies indicate continuous growth in the smartphone market along with increased interest from the general public about how to make better pictures. In 2018, for example, the smartphone market was worth more than \$500 billion compared to the sale of digital cameras, which was \$18 billion in 2017.

As a form of visual and human expression, photography is not a monolithic enterprise that is limited to a single area such as in the fine arts, photojournalism, or the hard sciences such as medicine, forensics, or astronomy. Rather, photography inhabits our lives as a perceptual lens on the world—one which filters reality through technologies designed to satiate memory and our desire for and accounting of what we experience. Further, photography has, for most of its history, been one associated with the illusion of objectivity, which are validated in society by such adages as a “picture is worth a thousand words,” “the mirror of reality,” or “the camera never lies.” Any verisimilitude photography may have earned before the 1990s has been threatened by the ease in which pictures can be digitally manipulated today.

History

Photography derives from two Greek words *phōtos* and *graphé*, meaning to write with light or “light writing.” Although the term photography appears in writing as early as 1832, many scholars attribute Sir John Herschel (1792–1871), with popularizing the term in 1839.

After French inventor and lithographer Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765–1833) created the “first” photograph or sun picture using a custom-made

camera obscura in 1826, photography experienced a lengthy period of innovation and experimentation. The optical phenomenon of the camera obscura refers to a light-tight enclosure with a small opening or aperture on one side. Light rays pass through the opening and are reversed to form an image on the opposite side of the enclosure. The principle of the camera obscura, which means dark room in Italian, was well known to ancient Chinese philosophers as well as Aristotle (384–322 BCE), who wrote about the phenomena. For Nicéphore Niépce, however, his method of dipping a “well-polished” pewter plate in bitumen of Judea after an 8-hr exposure was not sustainable. However, the race for permanently fixing the effects of light onto film through chemical processes continued. Much like the trials experienced by scientists creating early digital images on video tape in 1960s, ownership of the earliest photographic processes cannot be attributed to a single inventor. For instance, in 1839, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) developed a method for permanently “fixing” a photographic image using hyposulfate as a fixing agent. But it was Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851), a well-known painter and set designer, who refined Niépce’s original process in the late 1830s by inventing a new camera as well as a unique method for producing one-of-a-kind photograph he named the daguerreotype. Daguerre’s method produced an extremely clear photographic image made on a highly polished sheet of silver of copper, treated with iodine gas, and processed in mercury vapors. In January 1839, the inventor presented his camera, developing techniques, and a number of daguerreotypes to the French Academy of Sciences hoping to secure financial support for a practical and reliable method of producing photographs.

After the daguerreotype made its way to America, photography studios and “photo factories” opened in cities across the country. By the early 1840s, daguerreotypes had become popular with American politicians, celebrities, as well as the average citizen. For example, there were at least 130 known photographic portraits of Abraham Lincoln made between 1846 and his assassination in April 1865 using a variety of techniques including daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, ferrotypes, as well as collodion, albumen, and carte-de-visite

prints. Furthermore, in the decades following the invention of the daguerreotype, new innovations in lens quality, camera size, image processing methods, as well as the transition from single images to multiple copies from one negative guaranteed photography’s success as both a scientific and artistic medium. The daguerreotype, which marked a milestone in photographic history as portraits, became popular among politicians, celebrities, and the growing middle class soon gave way to other innovations. The new medium changed how people recorded life—picturing births, weddings, and funerals became commonplace. Photographs brought news of wars, exotic cultures on far-off continents, modernization, and industrialization.

During the Civil War, Mathew Brady (1822–1896), often referred to as the father of photojournalism, had a team of 20 photographers including, most notably, Timothy O’Sullivan (1840–1882) and Alexander Gardner (1821–1882), which provided the public with a firsthand glimpse of the horrors of war for the first time in American history. From floor to ceiling, Brady’s New York City gallery was filled with images showing the aftermath of conflicts at Gettysburg and Antietam as well as of pictures depicting various military regiments and units. Brady, however, was not the first war photographer. Historians credit the first combat photographs to those taken by an Austro-Hungarian photographer, Carol Szathmari (1812–1887) in 1853. A few years later, British photographer Roger Fenton (1819–1869) photographed the Crimean War in 1855. Nevertheless, Brady and his collaborators inspired generations of photojournalists. In the middle to late 19th century manufacturers of photographic equipment invented lighter cameras, a variety of new formats, faster and more sensitive films, better lenses, as well as safer and more standardized methods for developing film and photographic prints. From 1839 to 1852 changed as new styles, advances in technology, and the need for different types of pictures arose such as geographical survey work, photojournalism, criminology, and the fine arts.

For example, aesthetics borrowed from painting were often applied to photographic practice through a movement described as pictorialism, which manipulated and combined images to evoke emotions by focusing more on tone and

beauty rather than on accurately depict a scene. In some ways, pictorialism was a stylistic movement that can be compared with how images can be digitally altered on social media. Such aesthetic influences, however, only partially reflect photography's impact on society during the late 19th century. As photography became normalized as a form of representation, photographers no longer limited themselves to photographing landscapes, buildings, or events to merely inform the public. As photography grew in popularity and with major advances in technologies, people photographers began to explore new directions for the medium.

Camera Culture

By the 1860s, studios or picture factories capable of producing as many as a thousand portraits a day opened across the country. In 1879, the last known professionally made daguerreotype was made while advances in camera technology and processing techniques supported burgeoning amateur interests as well as the professional marketplace. Experimentation was central to many of the challenges facing photography early on. Using the newer wet-plate collodion process in 1877, Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) made history with his stop-motion photographs of people and animals. During his career, Muybridge, a pioneer in animal locomotion photography, produced more than 100,000 images. In 1878, Muybridge gained international acclaim by settling a bet for his patron, railroad tycoon Leland Stanford. With a dozen cameras spaced evenly on a horse track, Muybridge captured the gait of one of Stanford's horse in mid-stride to prove a theory that the animal's hooves come completely off the ground during a trot. Throughout the 1870s, a number of important new photographic innovations replaced slower, more complex and less stable techniques. For example, the invention of the gelatin process in 1873 by Richard Leach Maddox (1816–1902) freed photographers from having to develop images on location using dangerous chemicals and cumbersome equipment. Within just a few years, the traditional wet plate technique was replaced by gelatin emulsion process, which greatly increased the quality of the image, the speed or sensitivity of the plate, and allowed photographers to store

unexposed plates until they were needed. At the same time, along with processing techniques, the camera itself improved with the invention of a focusing bellows on the lens as well as the addition of a mechanical shutter. Ultimately, cameras were made smaller, more portable, and could be handheld. Furthermore, the stereographic camera, which rendered a scene in 3-D as well as use of flash powder for freezing action, was introduced.

By 1888, photography radically changed drastically with the introduction of George Eastman's reloadable camera using roll film. Considered one of the most significant advances in the history of photography, Eastman's Kodak #1 camera made photography affordable for millions of Americans. Eastman (1854–1952) was a former bank clerk who founded the Eastman Kodak Company with Henry Strong (1838–1919) on September 4, 1888. The company produced small handheld cameras that were preloaded with 100 exposures and shipped directly to the consumer for \$25. After finishing a roll of "snapshots," the customer returned the camera to the factory in New York, where the photographs were developed and shipped back with the ready-to-use reloaded camera. For more than 120 years, Kodak was a leading innovator in cameras and film. In 1977, while the company controlled nearly 90% of the film market in America, one of its engineers, Steve Sasson, invented first digital camera. Unfortunately, executives failed to realize the value of Sasson's invention as Kodak eventually declared bankruptcy in 2012.

The Picture Press

The publication of photographs in newspapers and magazines began in the 1840s but was not fully realized until a screening process, the halftone, was invented decades later. Illustrated magazines in Europe and later America such as the *Illustrated London News*, France's *L'Illustration*, and the *Illustrirte Zeitung* in Germany paved the way for American magazines, notably *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1855 and *Harper's Weekly* in 1857, respectively. However, reproducing photographs in print publications before the invention of the halftone was limited to artist woodcuts and wood engravings. In 1880, the first halftone photograph appeared in print.

The halftone photograph, originally invented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1852, is a screening process, which converts a continuous tone photographs into an array of dots making reproduction possible. Photography's ability to capture the likeness of well-known personalities or depicting the news of the day brought the world closer to home through what became known as the picture press in America. At the same time, beyond photojournalism, other areas of photography emerged such as in immigration control, police forensics, dentistry, medicine, and advertising.

Technology has always play an important role in photography. From the 1830s through the early 1900s, making pictures was a slow, cumbersome, and highly technical process involving bulky large format cameras, long exposure times, and danger chemical agents in developing images. However, after the introduction of the Kodak #1 and other devices in the 1880s for simplifying photography, technologies improved dramatically.

In photojournalism, many news organizations adopted cameras such as the Graflex Speed Graphic. Introduced in 1912, the Graflex utilized a focal plane shutter, which could make pictures up to 1/1000th of a second, which was useful for covering sports and breaking news events. At the same time in Germany, Oskar Barnack (1879–1936) designed the portable Leica 35 mm camera, which led to the standardization of the 24-by-36 mm photographic format. Rangefinders and Single Lens Reflex cameras eventually replaced the larger format Speed Graflex in photojournalism because they were smaller, faster, and easier to use. Rangefinders such as the Leica measure in the focal distance between the subject and the film plane using a split screen. The single-lens reflex, however, allows the photographer to focus directly through a viewfinder using a series of mirrors placed over the shutter. Japanese manufactures, Nikon and Canon cameras introduced both types of cameras to the world beginning in the 1930s, which coincides with what is known as the Golden Age of photojournalism. This period primarily is associated with photojournalists such as Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004), associated with the photography cooperative Magnum. In addition, Magnum, which was founded to represent the interests of photographers, was often underpaid in the publishing industry began in Paris in 1947 and includes Cartier-Bresson, Robert Capa (1913–1954), George Rodger (1908–1995), William Vandivert (1912–1989), and David “Chim” Seymour

(1911–1956). In photojournalism, Cartier-Bresson's idea of the “decisive moment” inspired photojournalists to consider how images should be composed based on the precise timing of the exposure as opposed to “setting up” or “staging” photographs. At the same time, photojournalists such as Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898–1995) and Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) were among the first photographers to be hired at *LIFE* magazine in 1936. More than 10 million high-quality photographs were printed in the magazine from 1936 until last year of publication in 2000. Furthermore, some of world's most important photographers such as Larry Burrows (1926–1971), W. Eugene Smith (1918–1978), and Annie Leibovitz (1949–) were featured in the magazine. Essentially, *LIFE* magazine and its competitor *Look* set the standard for photojournalism in America for more than five decades. After 2000, Time Inc. continued to use the Life brand for special issues. Life returned to scheduled issues as a newspaper supplement from 2004 to 2007. The website life.com was at the time managed as a joint venture with Getty Images, and on January 30, 2012, the URL began featuring photos channel on Time.com. The publisher, now the Meredith Corporation, has issued special editions on notable occasions, such as a Bob Dylan edition on his winning the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2016, and “Life” Explores: The Roaring '20s in 2020.

Doing Documentary Work

Throughout most of the 20th century, photography was perceived by the general public as a reliable and truthful representation of people, objects, and events, which sometimes affected social change in profound ways. For example, Jacob Riis (1849–1914), while working as a police reporter for the New York *Tribune*, documented life in New York City's ghettos. Riis's book *How the Other Half Lives* is a gritty exposé criticizing the treatment of the city's immigrant population living in squalid conditions. In addition, Lewis Hine (1874–1940) documented the plight of child laborers in the United States and advocated for reforms. As a sociologist, educator, and photographer, Hines documented children working under dangerous conditions across the Eastern United States. Between 1904 and 1917, Hines documented children working in textile mills and mines as part of a campaign by the National Child Labor Committee to promote child labor laws.

Hines's photography led, in a significant way, to legislation designed to protect the young from harmful working conditions.

This type of social and civic-minded photography differs from the fine arts, landscapes, portraiture, or even some forms of photojournalism pictures because it functions as a long form visual narrative, which is based on a singular theme over a period of time. For example, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Farm Security Administration hired photographers to document life in America as part of U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal program. Under the direction of Roy Stryker (1893–1975), photographers such as Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), known for her iconic "Migrant Mother" photograph (1936), and Gordon Parks's (1912–2006) picture of the "Government Charwoman" (1942) contributed to the Farm Security Administration's efforts to improve living conditions for the poor, especially farmers, sharecroppers, and migrant workers. Other photographs made by Farm Security Administration photographers have become symbolic of life during the Great Depression such as Walker Evan's (1903–1975) "Roadside Stand" (1936), Arthur Rothstein's (1915–1985) "Dustbowl" (1936), and John Vashon's (1914–1975) color pictures of the working class, all of which helped to edify the general public's understanding of complex social issues.

Camera Works

While documentarians helped record reality in his or her own ways and photojournalist visual reported the news of the moment, others worked to redefine photography as a genuine art form in its own right. For example, Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), a successful art dealer, gallery owner, photographer, and publicist, founded the Photo-Secession group in 1902 to distinguish the field from what he considered to rampant amateurism early on in photography. Stieglitz introduced his quarterly publication, *Camera Works*, in 1901 to unify a new way of thinking about photography within the modern art world. Photographers such as Clarence H. White (1871–1925), Gertrude Kasabier (1852–1934), Edward Steichen (1879–1973), and Alvin Langdon Colvin (1882–1966) all contributed significantly to advancing the public awareness of the power of photography as an art. Over time, the Photo-Secession movement evolved

to include an emphasis on producing technically clean or "pure" photographs known as the *straight photography* movement. Embodied in the work of photographers such as Paul Strand (1890–1976), Edward Weston (1886–1958), and Ansel Adams (1902–1984), straight photography places a priority on precision and detail.

Fringe and Fine Art Photography

Around this same period, an antithesis of straight photography emerged and can be characterized by photographic montage, collage, solar prints, and angular shapes. During this time, surrealist photographers such as Man Ray (1890–1976) created images for many leading fashion magazines, which defied the prevailing aesthetic conventions of the picture press. Man Ray's work, however, is just one example of how innovations in photography emboldened others in the fine arts, portraiture, and fashion photography such as Diane Arbus (1923–1971), Richard Avedon (1923–2004), Irving Penn (1917–2009), Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), Duane Michals (1932–), and Helmut Newton (1920–2004).

Street Photography

For most of his life, Eugène Atget (1857–1927) photographed the streets of Paris, particularly its architecture at the end of the 19th century. As a subset of photojournalism, street photography is an artistic genre typically practiced independently of formal sponsor such as a newspaper or having major financial organizational support. Essentially, street photographers are casual observers using cameras to make candid pictures of people as they go about their lives without his or her subject knowing it. Although they did not consider themselves street photographers, Alfred Stieglitz, mentioned earlier, and Berenice Abbott (1898–1991) for instance, began their careers photographing, street scenes, as well as urban landscapes. What defines street photography can often be a matter of opinion, but it often features the primary elements of mundane everyday life, such as people on the streets going about their own business in social settings. Furthermore, many street photographers who started out as photojournalists such as André Kertész (1894–1985) and Brassai (1899–1984) approached subjects with artistic as well as journalistic sensibilities. During the 1960s, Garry

Winogrand (1928–1984) epitomized the genre of street photography by capturing “slices of life” that might not be otherwise noticed by others.

Digital Photography

The history of the digital camera can be traced back to the development of video tape recording in the 1960s and later expanded upon for use in space exploration and government surveillance systems. It was the U.S. space program that utilized digital imagery early enhancing images transmitted back to Earth from unmanned probes. A decade later, Kodak, Canon, and RCA investigated the possibility of converting light into digital photographs, which culminated in Sasson’s invention of the first digital camera in the 1970s.

Photojournalism proved to be an early adopter of digital technologies since its methods were shown to be more efficient in terms of meeting newspaper deadlines. In 1979, *National Geographic* photographer Emory Kristof (1942–) was the first to use an electronic camera while photographing life at the bottom of the ocean in a miniature submarine. Kristof worked closely with television engineers at RCA to develop what is considered the first use of a charge coupled device in photojournalism.

Digital photographs do not capture light precisely the same way film does. The digital camera, unlike analog processes, converts the electromagnetic spectrum into binary code that is expressed as 0s and 1s. Photographs made with a digital camera are basically electronic snapshots scanning a scene onto a matrix of photoreceptor cells in the back of the device. A digital camera samples and maps what is seen as a grid of pixels or picture elements. Each pixel is assigned a tonal value (black, white, shades of gray, or color), which is represented in binary code (0s and 1s). The binary digits (“bits”) for each pixel are stored in a sequence by a computer and often reduced to a mathematical representation (compressed). The bits are then interpreted and read by the computer to produce an analog version for display or printing.

Concluding Thoughts

In the 21st century, most photographs and videos are made with cameras embedded in the cell phone

technology itself such as with the Samsung Galaxy or Apple’s iPhone. Camera phone technology is significantly different from the analog film camera, its progenitor. For instance, camera phones utilize semiconductor image sensors and telecommunication abilities that are maximized for data storage. The impact of the camera phone on traditional and stand-alone digital photography has been tremendous. For example, after more than 80 years, Olympus, which was an early pioneer in digital photography sold off its interests in June 2020 citing increased competition from smartphone manufacturers. In the 21st century, the market for standalone cameras has decreased by nearly 85%.

For nearly 200 years, photography influenced culture and society around the world. From the first black-and-white image made in 1826 by Joseph Nicéphore Niépce to the billions of selfies posted on social media today, photography is a technology that changes the way people communicate, establish identities, sell products as well as peddle ideologies. As a culture we tend to think of major events in terms of memorable and iconic images such as the picture made by Joseph Rosenthal (1911–2006) of U.S. marines raising the American flag on Iwo Jima during World War II or Nick Ut’s (1951–) picture of Vietnamese child running escaping the bombing of her village. When we think of the recent worldwide COVID-19 pandemic, our minds are full of pictures made by amateurs and professionals of people wearing masks or the dead being removed from hospital on gurneys. Scholars believe, photography has made us more aware of our common humanity and it will continue so, even as the devices and methods we use change with newer technologies.

Dennis Joseph Dunleavy

See also Photo Agencies; Photo Editors; Photo Magazines; Photojournalism, Ethics of; Photojournalists

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PHOTOJOURNALISM, ETHICS OF

“Photojournalism” refers to visual reporting: deciding what to photograph and when, recording the images, choosing which photos to share with the world, and preparing those images for use. “Ethics” refers to what is morally *right* to do,

what humans *should* do. So “photojournalism ethics” refers to morally right conduct in visual reporting.

Determining what conduct is morally right in photojournalism—or any pursuit—involves reflection and analysis, which can be based on ideas from moral philosophy, ethical decision-making frameworks, or on the purest expressions of religious traditions, most of which emphasize honesty and benevolence. Principals of photojournalism ethics—as stated in news outlet and professional organization codes of ethics, as well as in photojournalism textbooks and scholarly volumes—generally encourage visual journalists to be truth-tellers who avoid harming others. Lapses of ethical conduct in photojournalism frequently involve manipulation of image content, depictions of violence or tragedy, and invasion of privacy.

Complicating the choices photojournalists and editors must make in these areas is the idea that “the camera never lies.” Because photography involves light bouncing off an object, entering the camera’s lens, and leaving a mark on a light-sensitive surface—with less human intervention than other types of image creation, such as painting—it often has been viewed as factual. By the late 1800s, photography had come to be seen as “a substitute for eye witnessing,” writes Queens University art history Professor Joan M. Schwartz. This notion extended “the authority of visual truth from the realm of actual experience to the verisimilitude of photographic realism” (Schwartz, 2000, p. 11). It was photography, for example, that established how horses gallop. In a series of photographs in 1878, Eadweard Muybridge demonstrated that horses are briefly airborne, with their legs bent toward the center of their bodies—showing that hundreds of years of paintings of horses splayed-leg in mid-gallop were inaccurate.

Almost from the beginning, however, photographs were manipulated, sometimes to overcome technical constraints. Nineteenth-century portrait photographers limited to black-and-white reproduction sometimes tinted images with paint to make them more life-like and attractive to customers. Landscape photographers sometimes combined the sky from one negative and the land from another to compensate for a limitation of 19th-century photo emulsions—the chemical coatings that react with light—that made them

more sensitive to blues and purples than other colors and tended to overexpose skies. In other cases, however, early photographers manipulated photos with the intent to deceive. During the 1860s, William H. Mumler of Boston made “spirit photographs”—including one for former First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln—that purported to show not only the subject of a portrait but also the spirit of a dead loved one. He was arrested in New York and tried on charges of fraud and larceny. Mumler was acquitted, however—largely, some historians have argued, because the defense produced as witnesses customers so eager to contact lost loved ones that they were pleased with their spirit photos.

Around this time, other photographers covering war were producing what are sometimes considered to be the first photojournalistic images. Although the resulting photographs often were hailed as important in bringing the reality of war to the public, some appear to have been staged. Some scholars believe Crimean War photographer Roger Fenton, for example, moved cannonballs in one photo from a ditch to the middle of a road, where their presence made for better composition. There is evidence that U.S. Civil War photographers such as Alexander Gardner and Mathew Brady, or their associates, posed or added figures for some images.

Photojournalism and Content Manipulation

Modern photojournalism ethics standards reject such manipulation, whether it comes before the image is produced or after, on the grounds that altering image content is a form of deceit. The code of ethics of the U.S.-based National Press Photographers Association warns photojournalists not to “intentionally contribute to, alter, or seek to alter or influence events.” Violations of such standards tend to draw widespread criticism. For example, the World Press Photo competition disqualified 2015 first-place award-winner Giovanni Troilo after it learned he had placed a remote-controlled flash for one of the images in a series, called *The Dark Heart of Europe*, about Charleroi, Belgium. The flash let him illuminate the interior of the car, where his cousin was having sex, and photograph it from a distance. Critics

said he had staged the photo; Troilo said his goal was “to show voyeurism through voyeurism.”

Substantially altering the content of an image *after* it is produced is also widely considered unethical. Most news organizations allow very limited changes, such as routine cropping to remove extraneous outer portions or making minor adjustments to color or grayscale that will let the image reproduce properly in print or online. Removing elements within a journalistic image, however, is generally forbidden, though it was possible even in an analog world. For example, John Paul Filo’s Pulitzer Prize–winning photo of teenager Mary Ann Vecchio kneeling by the body of Jeffrey Miller, one of four Kent State University students killed by national guardsmen in 1970, initially featured a pole behind Vecchio’s head. Sometime in the early 1970s, an unknown technician airbrushed out the pole, apparently to improve the composition, and the altered image appeared in several U.S. magazines in the 1970s and 1980s. Ironically, that manipulation appears to have escaped widespread notice until the mid-1990s, after the launch of Adobe Photoshop. Although earlier professional-grade image scanning systems led to some infamous cases of photo alteration—*National Geographic* moved the pyramids of Giza, Egypt, to fit its vertical cover in 1982 and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* removed a Diet Coke can from a photo of a Pulitzer Prize celebration in 1989—the availability of Photoshop produced numerous instances of manipulation that resulted in photojournalists being punished.

In 2003, the *Los Angeles Times* fired photographer Brian Walski, who was covering the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, after his dramatic front-page image of a British soldier and Iraqi civilians was found to have been digitally created from two less perfect images. In 2006, Reuters ended its relationship with freelancer Adnan Hajj and changed photo selection procedures after bloggers raised questions about whether Hajj used Photoshop to add smoke to an image of Israeli airstrikes on Beirut, a charge he denied. The same year, the *Charlotte Observer* in North Carolina fired Patrick Schneider after he changed the color in the background of a photo to make it more dramatic—3 years after being suspended for altering an image entered in the North Carolina Press Photographers Association’s competition. In 2007, *Toledo*

(Ohio) *Blade* staff photographer Allan Detrich resigned as the newspaper began an investigation that found he had submitted 79 manipulated photos in a single 14-week period. In 2014, the Associated Press announced it would no longer work with Pulitzer Prize–winning photojournalist Narciso Contreras after he confessed that he had digitally edited out a video camera in an image of a fighter in Syria. Manipulation was such a concern that the World Press Photo competition disqualified 8% of its finalists’ images in 2014, 22% in 2015, and 16% in 2016 for violated rules on post-production alteration.

Manipulation standards can be confusing, however, because many newsrooms allow “photo illustrations,” which *The New York Times’s* Guidelines on Integrity, define as photographs “used to serve the same purposes as a commissioned drawing or painting—as an illustration of an idea or situation or as a demonstration of how a device works, etc.” News organizations that use photo illustrations often require a “photo illustration” credit line and keep such images out of breaking news sections, where they have sometimes caused confusion. In 1994, for example, *New York Newsday* combined images of Olympic figure skaters Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding on its cover, giving some readers the impression that Harding, whose associates had clubbed Kerrigan at the U.S. Figure Skating Championships, was skating with her rival. Although editors placed the words “composite illustration” on the image, they were widely criticized. The same year, *Time* magazine faced charges of racism after it digitally darkened the face of ex-football star O. J. Simpson, who was facing murder charges, in a cover photo illustration.

Confusion can also stem from different photo-alteration standards in different cultures. U.S. publications that used an image by *El Pais* photographer Pablo Torres Guerrero of the aftermath of the 2004 Madrid train station bombing that killed 190 people generally cropped the image so that body parts weren’t in the frame. Several UK newspapers, both tabloid and more serious, digitally eliminated the body parts or drastically recolored them until they receded into the background.

Photojournalism and Images of Violence and Tragedy

While photomanipulation is often portrayed as a clear violation of photojournalism ethics, another frequently problematic area—visual coverage of violence and tragedy—offers more gray areas. Journalists are faced with a choice when they encounter images such as photojournalist Nilüfer Demir's 2015 photos of the lifeless body of 3-year-old Syrian refugee Aylan Kurdi or 17-year-old Darnella Frazier's 2020 citizen video of George Floyd, a Black Minneapolis man who died while his neck was pinned down for more than 8 minutes by police officer Derek Chauvin, who was subsequently convicted of Floyd's murder. Should they show the images so that society can be inspired to address injustice and act with compassion? Or should they withhold the images out of respect for the dignity of the victims or concern for the potential harm to families? Industry and professional group standards may not offer much help. Although the National Press Photographers Association code says that photojournalists should "give special consideration to vulnerable subjects and compassion to victims of crime or tragedy," a 2006 study of 47 U.S. media outlet and professional group ethics codes showed that although most discussed images—generally focusing on photomanipulation—only nine addressed images of violence and tragedy.

Three factors are worth consideration related to visual coverage of violence and tragedy. First, it can be useful to separate choices about *producing* images, which must be made quickly by photographers in the field, from choices about *using* them, which are made by editors with time to reflect. As witnesses to events, photojournalists should, in most cases, work to preserve images of violence or tragedy, though retired New Orleans *Times-Picayune* photographer Ted Jackson has written of moments after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 when he thought rescuing people was more important than taking pictures.

Second, how frequently a troubling image is used is often relevant. Is the photograph or video shown as part of initial news reports to inform the public? Is it being used later, during a trial or protest linked to the original event, to remind readers or viewers of the cause? Or is the image no longer

providing new information but merely filling the news media's near-insatiable need for images? Overusing an image of violence or tragedy can rob it of its power to shock or inspire action, writer Susan Sontag argued in *On Photography*. But repeatedly insensitively using an image of violence or tragedy can also have an opposite, traumatizing effect on victims, their family and friends, and others. Kathie Scobee Fulgham, daughter of Dick Scobee, the commander of the space shuttle *Challenger's* final mission, recalled that after the craft exploded on live television in 1986, she and her family, "couldn't turn on the television for weeks afterward, because we were afraid we would see the gruesome spectacle of the Challenger coming apart a mile up in the sky. My father died a hundred times a day on televisions all across the country" (Fulgham, n.d., para. 5). Political science professor Melanye Price made a related point in a *New York Times* op-ed about the 2020 George Floyd video. She argued that while videos of victims of police brutality can generate needed outrage, "Black death has long been treated as a spectacle" so it may not be ethical to "repeatedly show and share what are essentially snuff films with African-American protagonists." Scholars Renita Coleman and Thomas May write that journalists should show images of atrocities and use them more than once. But they should avoid reusing images of violence and tragedy to "the point of being used more as a logo than as information—a slide graphic over the anchor's shoulder, for example" (Coleman & May, 2004, p. 287).

Third, what is the context of the use of the image? Using an image of violence or tragedy in a way that strips personhood from an individual is ethically problematic. One way that sometimes happens is when Western media show images of victims of violence or tragedy from faraway locations, particularly the global South, without naming them or providing adequate context. An example is Kevin Carter's 1993 photograph of a starving child in Sudan being stalked by a vulture as she tried to crawl toward a feeding station. After the photograph was published in *The New York Times*, hundreds of people called the newspaper to ask whether the child survived. *Times* editors did not know; after Carter made the image, he said, he shooed the bird away and watched the girl resume her struggle, rather than

intervene. The photograph won a 1994 Pulitzer Prize, but a few months later, a troubled Carter committed suicide.

Similar concerns have arisen around images that show people the moment before they meet certain death. The *New York Post* was criticized, for example, in 2012 to devoting its front page to a photograph of Ki-Suck Han, a 58-year-old Queens man about to be fatally crushed by an oncoming subway train. The *Post* freelance photographer who captured the image, R. Umar Abbasi, said that he reacted in a split second, taking the image to set off his flash to alert the train's driver. *Times* journalist David Carr wrote that the *Post*, which, had time to reflect on the image, milked the death "for maximum commercial effect" and could have warned readers to watch themselves on subway platforms in more honorable ways.

Photojournalism and Privacy

Although U.S. state privacy laws generally hold that there is no *legal* expectation of privacy in public places, photojournalists and editors who use photography often must think about the *ethical* implications to subjects' privacy of making and publishing images. In 1964, for example, the *Daily Times Democrat* newspaper in Cullman, Alabama, published on the front page a photo of a woman whose skirt blew up as she was leaving a county fair fun house with her children, exposing her underwear. She sued and won an invasion-of-privacy lawsuit, *Daily Times Democrat v. Flora Bell Graham*, with the Supreme Court of Alabama ruling that she had not forfeited her "right to be protected from an indecent and vulgar intrusion" merely because misfortune overtook her in public. That lawsuit might have been avoided had journalists considered the ethics of publishing the photograph, which seems to have caused the woman significant embarrassment but offered little or no truth-telling value. Many celebrity photos made by the most aggressive of paparazzi might lack similar value.

In some instances, however, showing the private or intimate has contributed to truth telling, as in the case of the 1972 photo often called *Accidental Napalm Attack*. That image, made by Associated Press photographer Huynh Cong "Nick" Ut

near Trang Bang, Vietnam, showed Phan Thị Kim Phúc, then 9 years of age, screaming and running down a road naked, having torn off her clothing after napalm hit her back and arm. Rejected at first because of the nudity, the image went on to win a Pulitzer Prize and became a symbol of the atrocities of war inflicted on civilians.

Susan Keith

See also Ethics; Photo Editors; Photography; Photojournalists

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PHOTOJOURNALISTS

From world capitals to small towns and in between, photojournalists since the beginnings of photography in the 19th century have visually provided information, inspiration, entertainment, and—above all—timely and meaningful news. In 1862, Alexander Gardner (1821–1882) photographed the dead horse of a Confederate colonel during the American Civil War. A century later, Gordon Parks (1912–2006) depicted, close up, the sweat-covered face of prizefighter Muhammad Ali. And in 1994, Mary Ellen Mark (1940–2015) photographed Ku Klux Klan members as, in darkness, they raised a wooden cross before burning it. Photojournalists, John Szarkowski of the Museum of Modern Art wrote, “give us the look and the smell of events that we did not witness” (1999, p. 142). The content of these images, historian Michael Carlebach has said, is “as varied as journalism itself” (1992, p. 2). From wars and disasters to breaking political news to photo stories about how people live their lives, photojournalists document the commonplace and the surprising.

Photojournalists once lugged bulky cameras that relied on glass negatives. Tripods steadied cameras that required long exposures. With equipment advances, photojournalists used steadily smaller cameras and better film. By the 1920s and 1930s—well before the advent of television and the Internet with a constant flow of pictures—newspapers and photo magazines demanded more photographs to accompany written stories as the public appetite for images grew. By the early 21st century, when visual images saturate the world, digital cameras allow for speedy transfer to websites and mobile apps where pictures—still or

moving, black and white or color—combine with sounds in slide shows about current events. Transformation in the delivery platforms of images continues to provoke tumult with the practices and the economics of photojournalism globally. Audiences rapidly shift in the ways that they consume and share the work of photojournalists. Regardless of the technology, century, or continent, however, the discerning eyes and minds of photojournalists around the world distill the essence of the news into visual forms, and the images work in concert with captions and stories.

This entry examines photojournalism’s development and definition, its overlap with other types of photography, and its status in a digital era. This entry also introduces several well-known photojournalists.

Development

In the late 18th- and early 19th centuries, inventors developed what would become the bones of modern-day photojournalism. Although not yet called by that name, photojournalism started as odd shots of destruction from fires and wars.

During the Mexican War in the mid-1840s, photographers made pictures that could be considered forerunners of photojournalism. A decade later, to counter negative newspaper coverage of the Crimean War along the Black Sea, photographers documented scenes in a favorable way for the British government. Distinctive among propagandists was Roger Fenton (1819–1869) of the Photographic Society of London. Focusing less on the ravages of war and more on well-attired British soldiers, Fenton made 360 glass-plate images. His most famous picture, titled “The Valley of the Shadow of Death,” showed cannonballs arrayed on the embattled Crimean earth (see Figure 1).

Half of a world away and in the next decade, a team headed by Mathew Brady (ca. 1823–1896) documented the U.S. Civil War. As with the best photojournalists, Brady and his photographers recognized the event’s significance. But their images could not be shown in newspapers or magazines because there was no way to convert the photographs into anything a printing press could manage. Instead, the photos inspired illustrations. For example, three separate Brady photographs were merged to form a *Harper’s Weekly*



Figure 1 Roger Fenton's famous photograph, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," shot in 1855 during the Crimean War

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-2322. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>. Roger Fenton, photographer

illustration of Confederate bodies strewn across a field (Figure 2).

In that era of early photographic technology without artificial lighting, images required long exposures. By the 1880s in New York, social reformer Jacob Riis (1849–1914) benefited from a new invention—flash powder—that he used to illuminate the squalor of tenement houses packed with families, filth, and the choking smoke of coal stoves. Another reformer, sociologist Lewis Hine (1874–1940), later would help to establish photojournalistic documentation of societal problems.

A key breakthrough occurred in 1880 with the invention of the halftone method of converting photographic gradations of gray into dots or lines that a printing machine could stamp onto paper. Yet it took 40 years for photojournalism's full flowering. Innovative newspapers and pictorial magazines with higher quality paper and ink—such as *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, *New York Daily Graphic*, *Picture Post*, *Paris Match*, and by the 1930s *Fortune* and *Life*—took advantage of photographs. This was especially true in Europe and the Soviet Union, where the visual movement known as *constructionism* emphasized unusual angles and juxtaposition. Pictorials in German newspapers and magazines flourished in the 1920s



Figure 2 Wood engraving published in the July 23, 1864, issue of *Harper's Weekly*. In the magazine's explanation underneath the image, the editors give a detailed explanation of the composition, explaining that it is based on two Mathew Brady photos—one of General Meade with his staff and one of General Burnside with his.

Source: Civil war photographs, 1861–1865, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZ62-70355. Retrieved from <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>

as lightweight cameras—the Ermanox and the Leica—came into use. Photographers such as Germany's Erich Salomon (1886–1944) took spontaneous, candid pictures with handheld cameras that used available light. In 1927, the Associated Press began a photo service to provide illustrations to newspapers and magazines.

During the depression of the 1930s, the U.S. government established the Farm Security Administration's photography unit to document the suffering. Although the agency's aim was propagandistic, photographers such as Marion Post Wolcott (1910–1990), Walker Evans (1903–1975), and Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985) established conventions of focusing on intimate human stories. For decades, photojournalists would further refine this approach.

Photojournalism

Indicative of the development of the practice, the term *photojournalism* came into use in the late 1930s. Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898–1995) in 1938 referred to *photojournalism*, saying that although it was new in the United States, it had taken hold in Europe. Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004)

helped codify its concepts. He suggested, with a 1952 book of words and pictures, that photojournalists should capture “the decisive moment.” Magnum Photos photographers did their best to document action, not posed instances, without a flash. Cartier-Bresson had founded Magnum Photos photo agency with Robert Capa (1913–1954), David Seymour (1911–1956), George Rodger (1908–1995), and Bill Vandivert (1912–1989). Other photo agencies—Black Star, Sygma, Gamma, and the news agencies, United Press, and the Associated Press—provided photojournalists with steady work and supplied images for periodicals worldwide.

The 1940s marked the growing importance of photojournalists whose images of World War II filled magazines and newspapers. In 1943, the first Pulitzer Prize in the category of photography was awarded. Milton Brooks (1901–1956) of *The Detroit News* won for his picture of Ford autoworkers on strike as they attacked another worker crossing a picket line. (Notably, as the nuances of photojournalism changed so did the Pulitzer Prizes—by 1968, the single category had been divided in two: “breaking news” and “feature photography.”) In 1944, another major photojournalism contest began, now known as *Pictures of the Year International*. By 1945, a College Photographer of the Year contest started. In 1946, a number of newspaper and newsreel photographers from throughout the United States formed the National Press Photographers Association. They wanted to elevate their status as professionals making a critical contribution. In 1949, Clifton Edom (1907–1991), with former Farm Security Administration photo director Roy Stryker (1893–1975) and photographer Russell Lee (1903–1986), initiated the Missouri Photo Workshop whose goal was to “show truth with a camera.”

Volumes have been written about war photojournalists, especially those from World War II through Vietnam. Counted among the legends are Larry Burrows (1926–1971), Donald McCullin (1935–), Eddie Adams (1933–2004), and Catherine Leroy (1945–2006). To list their names evokes iconic images such as the execution

of a Vietcong soldier or a grimacing U.S. Marine crawling to rescue a wounded buddy.

Blurring of Lines

As curator of photography at New York’s Museum of Modern Art, Edward Steichen (1879–1973) in 1955 staged an exhibit called *The Family of Man*; its pictures revealed the blurring of boundaries across documentary, photojournalism, and fine art photography. In the 1950s and 1960s, photographers such as Robert Frank (1924–2019) and Diane Arbus (1923–1971) paid attention to people and places that photojournalists sometimes had ignored: roadside jukebox music joints, mental institutions, carnivals, living rooms, or backyards of ordinary folks. The ordinary became extraordinary with “new” journalism, reportage that considered everyday people as significant as the elite. Innovators such as Richard Avedon (1923–2004), Bruce Davidson (1933–), Danny Lyon (1942–), and Eugene Richards (1944–) offered new ways of photographing relationships between institutions and people affected by them. Under the “big tent” of photojournalism gathered social reformers, documentarians, “shooters” of news that was “hard,” “breaking,” or “spot,” and those who spent weeks, months, or years with their subjects. And a profession long dominated by men increasingly accepted women.

Photojournalists of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s documented social change throughout the world. This included the Civil Rights movement. Memorable images came from Charles Moore (1931–2010), who photographed Birmingham police dogs attacking a Civil Rights protester; Moneta Sleet Jr. (1926–1996), who won the Pulitzer Prize for Feature Photography for his photograph of Coretta Scott King at the funeral of her husband in 1968; Flip Schulke (1930–2008), who documented Martin Luther King Jr. leading the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965; and Bill Eppridge (1938–2013) whose “Kitchen Pieta” showed busboy Juan Romero trying to comfort Robert F. Kennedy after the presidential candidate had been shot in 1968. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, *National Geographic* photographers such as Michael “Nick”

Nichols (1952–), David Doubilet (1946–), and Frans Lanting (1951–) drew attention to imperiled environmental conditions across the globe, including the loss of habitat for animals such as gorillas.

Digital visual advances of the 21st century heavily have influenced the practices of photojournalism that moves with lightning speed via the Internet. An iPhone video image of a white policeman killing an African American man George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 2020, helped to prompt protests globally, spurring a flood of related journalistic images. Photojournalists can circulate instantaneously their work that highlights not only everyday life but the extremes of life in the forms of war, poverty, immigration, and refugees fleeing perils. For *La Jornada*, a Matamoros, Mexico, newspaper, Julia Le Duc in 2019 photographed the drowned bodies of a Salvadoran father and his 23-month-old daughter along the Rio Grande after the current swept them away to death as they tried to migrate to the Texas border of the United States. That Associated Press image went out via Twitter, too: The toddler, with one arm around her father's neck, had her head tucked inside his shirt.

The list of notable photojournalists working globally is extensive. This includes Argentine photographer Walter Astrada (1974–) who uses his photographs to highlight violence against women across the globe. With his award-winning project *Undesired*, Astrada explores the impact of sex-selective abortion in India; in Guatemala, he examines femicide, and in the Democratic Republic of Congo, he documents rape as a weapon of war. Astrada traveled to Norway to investigate how women can be the targets of violence, even in one of the world's safest countries.

In Iran, Fatemeh Behboudi (1985–) is an Iranian documentary photographer and photojournalist. She worked for agencies such as Iranian Quran News Agency and Mehr News Agency before becoming a freelance photojournalist. In 2014, when she was only 28 years of age, Pictures of the Year International awarded her first place in the Feature Picture Story category for “Mothers of Patience.” This project, featured on *The New York Times* “Lens” blog, documented the

mothers of Iranian soldiers who went missing during the 1980–1988 war between Iraq and Iran. The photographs depicted these mothers, who dreamed that their sons would one day return home. Japanese photography curator Yumi Goto selected Behboudi for inclusion among 34 photographers worldwide featured by *Time* magazine in 2017, describing her as “one of the most important photographers.” In Bangladesh, Shahidul Alam (1955–) is representative of photojournalists fighting for human rights. In his case, he has been imprisoned and tortured for his visual activism critical of governmental repression. In 2003, he became the first person of color to chair the prestigious jury of the World Press Photo awards.

A Digital Visual Future for Now

For close to 175 years, photojournalists visually defined the answers to such questions as What is news? What and how could something be photographed? Emblematic of stretching the boundaries of this, Don Bartletti (1947–) of the *Los Angeles Times* rode dangerously atop freight trains to follow Latin American children escaping to *El Norte*, the United States. The youngsters wanted to rendezvous with their parents who had left them behind to seek a better life. Bartletti's images won a 2003 Pulitzer Prize “for his memorable portrayal.”

The essence of photography, Cartier-Bresson wrote, “is to hold one's breath when all faculties converge in the face of a fleeing reality . . . it is putting one's head, one's eye, and one's heart on the same axis” (1999, p. 16). Photojournalists have done this for years. Regardless of technological changes, they likely will do this for many years to come—recording and circulating the visual news.

Some Noteworthy Photojournalists

Names of photojournalists fill the annals of the Pulitzer Prize, Picture of the Year International, and other photography awards. Greatly truncating the field of journalists known as *shooters*, this short biographical listing includes a few of the

founding practitioners along with some contemporary innovators.

Margaret Bourke-White

Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) was born in New York City and introduced to photography at Columbia University. She graduated from Cornell in 1927 and worked as an industrial photographer in Cleveland. In 1929, she joined Henry Luce's new *Fortune* magazine. She later became one of *Life*'s first photographers, and her evocative image of the Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River appeared in 1936 on the magazine's first cover. In 1937, with her husband Erskine Caldwell, she published *You Have Seen Their Faces*, documenting rural Southern sharecroppers. During World War II, she became the first woman accredited as a U.S. military photographer. In 1948, she photographed nonviolence advocate Mahatma Gandhi hours before his assassination in India. She worked with *Life* until the 1950s but was hindered by Parkinson's disease. The 1971 obituary of her in *The New York Times* quoted her as saying about photography: "Saturate yourself with your subject and the camera will all but take you by the hand."

Robert Capa

Born Endre Ern Friedmann, Capa (1913–1954) became famous during one war and died during another. His photographs of the Spanish Civil War and World War II were graphic and engaging. One image from Spain depicted a soldier at the moment of impact of the gunshot that killed him. In 1947, Capa helped to establish one of the most powerful photo agencies, Magnum, but his entry to professional photography was that of a trickster's ruse—he chose the name Robert Capa because it sounded like Hollywood director Frank Capra. His girlfriend Gerda Taro, herself a photographer, got him work by telling people he was a well-regarded photographer, though he was a Jewish Hungarian immigrant to France with little experience. There he found a home with other photographers, and with them established styles that were soon considered staples of photojournalism. He famously photographed Allied soldiers storming the beach at Normandy on D-Day on June 6,

1944, for *Life*. A decade later, while photographing the Indochina War, he stepped on a landmine and was killed.

Henri Cartier-Bresson

Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004) is considered by many as the "father of photojournalism." His love of photography had begun in adolescence with a Brownie camera. He harbored an early interest in painting and drawing and studied both at Cambridge. Eventually, he spent a year photographing in Africa where he contracted blackwater fever. The Gallery Julien Levy in New York in 1932 first displayed his work, and the same year the French magazine *Vu* published his photos. In 1940, the Germans imprisoned him as he had served in the French Army Film and Photo Unit. He escaped to photograph the German occupation of Paris in 1940 and later its 1944 liberation. In 1947, he joined four photographers to form the Magnum Photos photo agency. He disliked "arranged" or cropped photographs and favored candid photography. His notion of capturing "the decisive moment" remains at the core of photojournalism.

Chien-Chi Chang

Chien-Chi Chang (1961–) was born in a Taiwanese farming village. He has focused his career on ties that bind humans—literally and figuratively, from incarceration to marriage. In *The Chain*, Chang presents pairs of mentally ill inmates bound by chains. *I do I do I do* displays the elaborate marriage customs in Taiwan, while *Double Happiness* documents arranged marriages between Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women. Educated at Soochow University in Taiwan, he received a master's degree in education from Indiana University in 1990. He worked for the *Seattle Times* from 1991 to 1993 and for a year at *The Baltimore Sun* before he joined Magnum Photos in 1995. Chang's distinctiveness has earned him awards that include the National Press Photographers Association's 1998 Magazine Photographer of the Year.

Alfred Eisenstaedt

Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898–1995) was one of the first four *Life* magazine photographers employed

by publisher Henry Luce in 1936. Eisenstaedt's more than 80 covers for *Life* brought him international prominence. Though only 5 feet, 4 inches in height, he was a metaphorical giant among photojournalists. After working as a belt and button salesman, he started as a freelancer in post-World War I Germany. Possibly his most famous image was that of a kiss on V-J day in New York's Times Square. In the exhilaration of news that World War II was over, he followed a sailor in uniform kissing women of all ages and sizes. In one instant, the sailor embraced and kissed a nurse in a white uniform, her back swayed in an arch. Until the year he died, he photographed around the world. In 2000, the Digital Journalist website declared him "Photographer of the Century."

Arthur Fellig, "Weegee"

Weegee (1899–1968) and his direct flash lit up the noir of New York City nights—whether it was a homicide victim on the pavement or a starlet attending the theater. In 1938, he was the only licensed photographer in the city with a portable police band radio. His tenacious radio listening and his speed to crime scenes led to his being nicknamed after the Ouija board game. ("Weegee" was considered the phonetic spelling of "Ouija.") He seemed to have a preternatural ability to be wherever death, in all of its brutal forms, occurred. His lens not only captured violence but the paradoxical: One night he photographed two high society women awash in fur and glittery jewelry as they passed without notice by a ragged homeless woman staring at them. He titled the photo "The Critic." Weegee branched into fashion photography and film. He was such an icon that the movie *The Public Eye* portrayed him. Another film, *The Naked City*, referenced his photo book of the same name. He left a legacy of the archetypal, charismatic, city-toughened photojournalist.

Donna Ferrato

Donna Ferrato (1949–) studied sociology and photography at the San Francisco Art Institute and then she began her career hoping to capture images of love. But she witnessed domestic violence at a photoshoot and then focused on the men, women, and children affected by physical

and emotional abuse in families. In one of her well-known photographs, a young boy points a blaming finger at his father as police search and arrest the man. Ferrato's work led her to activism, and in 1985 she was given a W. Eugene Smith Foundation grant. After photographing for a 10-year period, in 1991, she produced *Living With the Enemy*. That same year she received a Robert F. Kennedy Award for a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story. Shifting her attention, she published *Amore* and *Love and Lust*, books that tell love stories in Italy and the United States. Her clients have included *Time*, *People*, and *The New York Times Magazine*.

Carol Guzy

Born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Carol Guzy (1956–) studied nursing at North Hampton County Community College. She discovered her love of photography when she attended the Art Institute of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. After working at the *Miami Herald* from 1980 to 1988, she moved to *The Washington Post*. Guzy has won four photography Pulitzer Prizes: the first for coverage of mudslides in Colombia; second, for images from the U.S. military intervention in Haiti; third, for work in Kosovo; and fourth, for earthquake pictures from Haiti. Guzy has received eight White House Press Photographers Association's Photographer of the Year honors, three National Press Photographers Association Photographer of the Year awards, and the Leica Medal of Excellence.

Josef Koudelka

Born in Moravia, Josef Koudelka (1938–) worked as an aeronautical engineer before he became a professional photographer in the 1960s. As a freelancer, he captured theater life throughout Europe. In Prague, in 1968, he photographed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Fearing retribution, Koudelka submitted his photographs as "Prague Photographer" or "P.P.," not revealing his identity. As an anonymous photographer, he was awarded the Overseas Press Club's Robert Capa Gold Medal. In 1984, he disclosed that he was "P.P." In exile, he had left Czechoslovakia in 1970 and moved to England, where he lived for a decade. In 1971, he joined Magnum Photos. His

book *Gypsies* was published in 1975 and *Exiles* appeared in 1988. His photographs have appeared in such magazines as *Camera* and *Look*.

Dorothea Lange

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965) was stricken with polio at age seven, resulting in a lifelong limp and, according to her, empathy for those who suffer. In a career that helped to form the essence of documentary photography, she demonstrated how sensitivity is revealed visually. As a college student in New York, she visited portrait photographer Arnold Genthe who nurtured her interests by giving her a camera. Eventually, she headed to San Francisco to open her own studio. After collaborating on a project with economist Paul Taylor, she married him. As a photographer with the Farm Security Administration during the 1930s, she created two of her most famous examples of documentary journalism from the Great Depression. In “White Angel Bread Line,” she depicted hungry men waiting in line for bread. In perhaps the most defining picture of that era, she photographed an exhausted migrant mother with her two children. She won a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1941 and soon after that photographed Japanese Americans in World War II internment camps. She worked for *Life* in the mid-1950s, by which time she had become recognized as a foremost photographer whose work was exhibited in art museums as well as published in newspapers and magazines.

Peter Magubane

Peter Magubane (1932–) spent much of his career covering apartheid violence in South Africa. He was born near Johannesburg and became interested in photography as a child. In 1955, he began photography assignments with *Drum* magazine, a political forum for Black people across Africa. He was arrested for the first time in 1956 for photographing protests against government policies of racial segregation. He continued to capture the violence on film for three decades. Magubane was beaten, jailed, and once banned from using his camera for 5 years. His photographs helped put the international spotlight on the bloodshed of

two key incidents: the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Susan Meiselas

Born in Baltimore, MD, Susan Meiselas (1948–) earned degrees from Sarah Lawrence College in 1970 and Harvard in 1971. She taught photography in cooperation with the South Carolina and Mississippi Arts Commissions. Her book *Carnival Strippers*, published in 1976, documented New England traveling shows. That same year, Meiselas joined Magnum Photos. Her photography has illuminated life in Central America, including the Nicaraguan revolution of the 1970s. She spent more than a decade covering El Salvador and was coeditor of *El Salvador: Work of Thirty Photographers*. In 1992, she was awarded the prestigious MacArthur Fellowship.

James Nachtwey

James Nachtwey (1948–) has captured images of famine in Somalia, AIDS in Africa, and wars throughout the world, including Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Rwanda. Nachtwey uses the camera as a translator to bring viewers into the world he photographs. Born in Massachusetts, Nachtwey studied art history and political science at Dartmouth and graduated in 1970. He was a member of Magnum Photos from 1986 to 2001. After that, he helped to found VII Photo Agency. He has worked with *Time* since 1984. He has won the prestigious Magazine Photographer of the Year seven times. Of his work, he has said his photographs testify about things that “should not be forgotten and must not be repeated.”

Gordon Parks

Parks (1912–2006) extended the field of documentary photography with topics ranging from poverty to women’s fashion. Born in Fort Scott, Kansas, as Gordon Roger Alexander Buchanan Parks, he was the youngest of 15 children and held a variety of jobs, including busboy and semi-pro basketball player, before becoming a photographer. He bought his first camera after seeing the work of the Farm Security Administration’s photography project, which he joined in 1942. That

year he took perhaps his most famous photo, “American Gothic,” of Ella Watson, a Black cleaning woman in Washington, D.C., in front of an American flag. He became *Life*’s first African American photographer in 1949. In addition to photojournalism, Parks gained fame as a writer, composer, and filmmaker.

Sebastiao Salgado

Sebastiao Salgado (1944–) records undetected or underdetected stories on an international scale. Born in Aimorés, Brazil, he earned an economics master’s degree from the University of São Paulo. After completing a PhD in economics at the University of Paris in 1971, he worked for 2 years for the International Coffee Organization. In his first large project, he documented starvation in Africa for the World Council of Churches in 1973. He then became a freelance photographer with Sygma in 1974 and the Gamma Agency, 1975 to 1979. His 1986 photograph of workers in the Serra Pelada Goldmine in Brazil won acclaim as he pictured a worker resembling someone on a crucifix. Salgado was a member of Magnum Photos for 15 years until 1994 when he launched his own agency, Amazonas Images.

W. Eugene Smith

W. Eugene Smith (1918–1978) created the language of the photojournalistic essay. With stories such as ones about a country doctor and a Mexican village, Smith taught photojournalists ways to use still images to construct powerful narratives with precise visual syntax. His legacy continues through the W. Eugene Smith Fund to promote “humanistic photography.” Smith fought with editors and publishers over image control. His sensitivity allowed him to craft potent pictures, such as his “Tomoko Uemura in Her Bath.” Depicting the effects of mercury poisoning from industrial pollution in Japan, the image was published in *Life* magazine in 1972. It shows a mother bathing her deformed daughter and is considered one of the most significant examples of 20th-century photojournalism.

Huynh Cong (Nick) Ut

Huynh Cong (Nick) Ut (1951–) started photographing the Vietnam War in his native country

at age 15. Ut had become a photographer by developing Associated Press (AP) negatives and teaching himself to take pictures. He earned fame for his Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph “The Terror of War,” which showed a young girl running down a road after being burned by napalm. After photographing the fall of Saigon in 1975, Ut left Vietnam. He worked in Tokyo for Associated Press and then went to Los Angeles, where he was a senior AP photographer until he retired in 2017.

Berkley Hudson

See also Images, Ownership of; Photo Agencies; Photo Editors; Photography

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PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is often described as one of the most serious ethical violations in journalism. It is so widely presumed to be self-evidently wrong that most ethics codes and textbooks, if they address the subject at all, dispatch it in a terse, finger-wagging prohibition such as “never plagiarize.” A study of 10 years of journalistic plagiarism showed that 57% of offenders lost their jobs through resignation or dismissal. Although universally condemned, plagiarism is not uniformly defined or understood. Journalists debate whether visuals and ideas can be plagiarized while concurring that words can be. However, there is no standard for how many words, consecutively or cumulatively, constitute plagiarism. Neither is there agreement over severity. Some ambiguity is due to situational factors, as some subjects allow for distinctive phrases while others are more formulaic, with little room for originality. Some types of communication, such as parody or memes, require imitation. Also, social media are rapid dissemination tools that recirculate material too fast for attribution to keep pace. Therefore, plagiarism cannot be defined in absolute terms but must be considered contextually. This entry further discusses the definition of plagiarism, issues with defining plagiarism and explaining why it matters in journalism, and how ideas about plagiarism among U.S. journalists developed along with the country’s news industry.

Definition

Plagiarism can be defined in just five words: reusing original material without attribution. Embedded in that concise description, however, are a number of contentious issues that are not mere disagreements or matters of opinion. Rather, these are substantial if often unarticulated matters that, whenever a significant incident of journalistic plagiarism surfaces, contribute to an undertow of uncertainty over exactly what plagiarism is and why it matters.

Implicit in the first word of the definition, reusing, is the commonly held belief that plagiarism involves passing off someone else’s work as one’s own, a requirement found in many descriptions of plagiarism, and not just in journalism. This approach has two benefits. First, it guards against applying the definition to instances in which a forgotten memory resurfaces in a way that the author mistakenly believes is original, or what psychologists call cryptomnesia. Second, it tacitly makes originality the default, which counteracts the derivative nature of journalism. That said, the passing-off requirement is troublesome. Most plagiarism involves a desire not to claim someone else’s work but to minimize its origins.

Plagiarism commonly occurs when a journalist seeks to “match” a story produced by another news organization. The journalism organization may desire to downplay or hide the origin to avoid acknowledging that the story is not original, especially if the originator is a competitor. Hiding origins is why broadcasters commonly reduce attribution to one purposefully ambiguous word, “reportedly.” Even some prestigious digital news organizations tend to be frugal with hyperlinks and infrequently use a phrase like “as first reported by.” Such practices result from a desire not to claim ownership of another’s material but to avoid calling attention to it.

The passing-off requirement is also problematic because it creates a loophole for perceived intent. Often an individual accused of plagiarism will employ a defense of “I did not mean to,” as in, “I did not mean to take that material and claim it as my own.” Such a defense is frequently true. It may be that attribution was honestly overlooked in the writing or editing process or, as noted, the actual desire was to conceal origins. However, intent is definitionally irrelevant. If expected attribution is omitted, perceiving whether the cause is due to forethought or negligence does not determine whether plagiarism has occurred. Intent may factor into sanction decisions, but its use as a definitional element can confine plagiarism to only the most unforgivable manifestations.

Advocates of passing-off as a definitional requirement are not without justification, for intent is suggested by the word’s etymology. “Plagiarism” is derived from the Latin word for “kidnapping” and thus carries connotations of literary theft. In turn, theft implies intent to take someone

else's possession. However, theft as a metaphor does not align with journalistic plagiarism. Theft involves depriving a person of a possession, such as a car or a book. When material is plagiarized, the publisher has not lost custody of the intellectual property. Duplication may result in the original publisher losing a detectable if small monetary value if the copyist diverts readers or viewers that might otherwise have looked at the original version and thus appropriates some measure of online advertising revenue. But what has been taken is a portion of the revenue that might have been associated with the material, not possession of the material itself. Instead of theft, a more accurate metaphor for plagiarism is counterfeiting, the making of an unauthorized copy.

The second word of the definition, original, is challenging for journalism. Malcolm Gladwell, a former *Washington Post* reporter who became a best-selling author, has noted that journalism is reluctant to acknowledge that it is inherently derivative, dependent on the work of others. National news organizations rely on local ones as uncredited tip services just as perennially short-staffed broadcasters rely on other local news organizations for story ideas and sources. Generally, journalists believe that material derived exclusively should be credited while less singular sources are exempt. Thus, if a president says something new in a one-on-one interview with a reporter, it should be attributed to that news organization while no credit is required if the statement is spoken in a more open setting. However, an exclusively obtained fact can become common knowledge quickly through repetition on social media or broadcast, and expectations of attribution can fade in minutes.

Equally vexing is the third word, material. Plagiarism usually involves words, although no discipline has quantified the number of repeated words or sentences required. In principle, plagiarism could be just a single word, such as a distinctive catchphrase like "boohyah" used by the late ESPN broadcaster Stuart Scott, although in practice plagiarism conventionally requires at least a substantial portion of a paragraph. Idea plagiarism is rare, but only because few acknowledge it. A national survey showed that three-fourths of U.S. journalists approve reusing someone else's idea and retracing the same steps so long as fresh interviews are done. A rare

example of idea plagiarism being met with disapproval involved a news photographer who was fired for creating a studio image of candy that an editor thought too closely resembled someone else's photo. No known cases have surfaced that involve other visual arts, such as video, graphic design, or charts. Instead, almost all plagiarism accusations involve words.

The last two words in the definition, without attribution, create disagreement because journalists rarely delineate when material should be attributed. For example, some local news organizations routinely claim ownership of Associated Press (AP) material after changing a few words, without attributing the wire service. Sports reporters sometimes rely on "quote packages" compiled by team publicists without acknowledging to audiences they did not hear the words spoken. An internal investigation into plagiarism accusations against *Detroit Free Press* sports columnist and best-selling author Mitch Albom in 2005 found sports writers routinely treated quotations published by any news organization as free for reuse, without crediting the original source. News organizations customarily print opinion pieces by public figures they know were actually written by a publicist without divulging the true origin to audiences. Some local television stations use portions of videotape segments prepared by public relations agencies without signaling the source. Journalists are unsure how to attribute material reused from their own publications. In general, journalism minimizes attribution.

Consequences

Journalists differ on whether plagiarism requires malicious intent, which materials require attribution, and even precisely why plagiarism is wrong. Because journalists struggle to define plagiarism, they sometimes allow the chosen sanction to determine whether plagiarism has occurred. One study showed that journalists were statistically more likely to use the word "plagiarism" to describe a journalist's actions if that journalist was sanctioned or left the job. In instances in which the offending journalist stayed employed, news organizations tended to employ euphemisms such as "closely reflected the phrasing" or "inappropriately duplicated wording" without calling it plagiarism. Such definitional malleability betrays the

bind borne by journalists who assert plagiarism is among the most serious of ethical offenses. If plagiarism is presumed in principle to be that serious, but a specific offense is deemed to be too inconsequential to warrant sanctions, journalists reclassify the copying as something other than plagiarism to maintain consistency.

The correlation between definition and sanction attests to a fundamental issue: Journalists are habitually unclear about why plagiarism is so wrong. Euphemisms regarding duplication stem from the unarticulated presumption that plagiarism is a failure to adequately paraphrase. The belief that paraphrasing is the sovereign remedy for plagiarism allows journalism to hide its derivative nature, and reusing material is tacitly allowed so long as it does not mirror the original too obviously. Such a belief implies that plagiarism is wrong because the material was insufficiently reworded. Other reasons editors offer for why plagiarism is wrong include that it is a “breach of trust” with readers and viewers or that it is a violation of accuracy standards, although if the original material was vetted for accuracy, copying would not render it inaccurate. Such confusion occurs because journalists frequently lump together plagiarism with fabrication, even though they are very different.

The lack of journalistic clarity about plagiarism notably surfaced in a 2019 case involving former *New York Times* editor Jill Abramson in her book, *Merchants of Truth*. A Vice News reporter, Michael C. Moynihan, used Twitter on February 6, 2019, to call attention to numerous factual errors and plagiarism. The accusations drew wide attention, including television appearances and a *New York Times* story. Abramson expressed dismay at the omitted attribution and promised to correct it, though she took umbrage at the accusation that she had tried to hide sourcing when the book offered a 70-page notes section. Beyond the ironies involving the author’s lofty status and the book title, the attention given the Abramson ordeal let slip journalism’s complicated relationship with plagiarism. As the book title suggests, truth is journalism’s ultimate obligation. Yet it was not the assertions of inaccuracies that drew attention to the Abramson case but the allegations of plagiarism. Even in reporting on the episode, *The New York Times* on February 7, 2019, focused on

plagiarism in its headline and first paragraph and did not mention factual issues until the 10th paragraph.

Plagiarism is wrong, but whether it is among the most egregious of journalistic offenses is less clear. No one argues that plagiarism is acceptable. By omitting attribution, journalists deprive audiences of some of the information they need to evaluate what they are hearing or reading. In the same way that audiences should be told whether quoted statements were derived from spontaneous oral interviews or cautiously written emails, they deserve to know the sources of information journalists deliver. On the other hand, it is difficult to argue that plagiarism is more serious than substantial inaccuracies.

History

The outsized importance ascribed to plagiarism, as well as the unspoken belief among many journalists that it is a crime against peers, draws in part from its historical association with the evolution of authorship. Early American newspapers liberally copied from European periodicals and from one another, although often crediting their sources. Plagiarism did not become an issue until the mid-1800s, after newspapers became major commercial ventures that fought for scoops and promoted the value of their individual writers to differentiate themselves from competitors, at a time when all sizable U.S. cities had multiple newspapers. As appearance of originality created market value, newspapers had a financial incentive to minimize attribution, camouflage copying through paraphrasing, and steal if necessary. Pinching was so rampant that in the late 1800s, a Chicago newspaper set a trap by publishing a story with a fictional proclamation in an obscure language that, read backwards, declared: “The McMullens will steal this for sure.” They did, and the plagiarism was exposed. In the 20th century, as professional standards were applied to the craft of journalism, plagiarism became unacceptable, though not eliminated. *Time* magazine began in 1923 by rewriting stories clipped from unattributed newspapers before adding its own correspondents. Even in the 1970s, a cadre of newspaper columnists across the nation regularly sent copies of their published writings to each other with the

understanding that they were free to reuse without credit. Foreign correspondents cribbed from local papers into the 1980s. But generally, these were notable exceptions to plagiarism prohibitions.

Although journalistic plagiarism is an ethical rather than a legal matter, one lawsuit has come before the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1918. The AP complained that a rival news organization, William Randolph Hearst's International News Service, was filching AP copy and distributing it as its own. The court ruled that a news organization could not claim property rights simply by being the first to report on an event. Instead, the court ruled that the AP was a victim of unfair business practices because International News Service was "endeavoring to reap where it has not sown." The justices concluded that using a competitor's story as a tip to independently produce a new version was acceptable, but systematically rewriting someone else's work was misappropriation. The decision did not use the word plagiarism and its practical effect was to establish a relatively high bar for when copying became illegal. Still, the ruling established the quasi-property value of journalism and affirmed the prevailing idea that plagiarism was wrong.

Norman P. Lewis

See also Copyright; Credibility; Deception; Ethics; Video News Releases

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PODCASTING

Podcasts have become one of the most popular mediums in 21st century journalism. Podcasts combine the immediate, aural qualities of radio with the accessibility and mobility that technology allows via the internet, smartphones, and mobile devices. They are also relatively inexpensive to create and disseminate—and easy to listen to, too.

Typically, podcasts are episodic series of narrated digital audio files (commonly MP3s) that a listener can download to a personal device or just play from a website or app. The term *podcast* is widely believed to originate from the combination of "iPod," where podcasts were first played in their infancy, and "broadcast." Although some challenge that origin story and argue that "podcast" may actually stem from the notion of "portable-on-demand" casting.

Nevertheless, podcasting—both the production and the listening—have gained immense popularity in the United States and abroad. There are more than 1.5 million podcasts of all shapes, sizes, and subject matter. People listen to podcasts for news, opinions, entertainment, interviews, sports, the arts, beauty advice, shopping and cooking tips, serialized fiction, nonfiction, and more. Even as

millions of people are listening, those numbers are only increasing.

This entry examines the history of podcasts, famous podcasts, where to find podcasts, the do-it-yourself ethic that continues to guide their production, and their ongoing growth and relationship to advertising.

History of Podcasts

The medium of podcasting originates from another popular form of communication—blogging. Podcasting builds off blogging and adds audio and sometimes video files that can be played on a computer or a mobile media device.

The term *podcasting* was brought to popular attention by BBC journalist and newspaper columnist Ben Hammersley. In February 2004, he wrote an article for *The Guardian* about a new form of automatically downloaded audio programs, and he pondered, “But what to call it? Audioblogging? Podcasting? GuerrillaMedia?”

The *New Oxford American Dictionary* added “podcast” in 2005 and made “podcast” that year’s word of the year. When the respected reference asked Hammersley where he found the word, he said he just made it up to fill space for the article.

Louisville, Kentucky, resident Dannie Gregoire is also given credit for creating the term. He used the term *podcasting* in a September 2004 ListServ message to describe the automatic download and synchronization of audio content. Gregoire has since registered several “podcast”-related domains, such as podcast.net.

Also in 2004, Adam Curry, former MTV video disc jockey, created a show, “The Daily Source Code,” which is credited as one of the first podcasts ever. To distribute his show, Curry used the technology of “Really Simple Syndication,” or the RSS feed, which American software developer Dave Winer helped create. There was a precedent: In October 2003, Canadian actor and filmmaker Matt Schichter created a weekly interview show called *The BackStage Pass* that was broadcast online and has also been credited as being one of the first podcasts.

A podcast series often features one or more recurring hosts leading a discussion about a particular topic or current event. Content can vary

widely in subject matter and perspective and can range from meticulously scripted to completely improvised. Joe Rogan, a comedian and actor who hosts “The Joe Rogan Experience,” has created one of the most popular podcasts in the world. While his interviews with celebrities, comedians, authors, and sports figures seem improvised and off the cuff, Rogan and his team purportedly do a fair amount of preparation and research beforehand.

Podcasts often combine complex and creative sound production with thematic issues ranging from scientific research, arts and entertainment, and the environment to journalism that delves deep into a crime or offers a snapshot of someone’s life experience.

Podcasts rely on social media and frequent posts to update audiences on new episodes. However, as Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann argue in their book, *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution*, podcasts are not merely dependent on social media to get the word out about new content. They are “a new form of social media in and of itself,” because of the high level of audience interaction and engagement. Podcasters have been known to go back and revise or edit previous episodes based on listener feedback.

Many podcast series are housed at an associated website with links and show notes, transcripts, artwork, community discussions, and more.

Famous Podcasts

In 2014, radio journalist Sarah Koenig began hosting and coproducing a podcast series titled “Serial.” Season 1 investigated the mysterious 1999 murder of Korean American student Hae Min Lee in Baltimore County, Maryland. “Serial” gained a popular following, with more than 68 million downloads by February 2015, according to CBS News, and more than 80 million downloads by February 2016, according to *The Washington Post*. “Serial” won a prestigious Peabody Award in April 2015 for its long-form nonfiction storytelling and for bringing podcasts into the mainstream. It was the first podcast to win a Peabody.

Stand-up comedian Marc Maron, who previously did a radio show on Air America, started “WTF With Marc Maron” in September 2009. He generally records his interviews in his Los

Angeles home garage. Maron has featured many well-known guests on his podcast, including Robin Williams, Ben Stiller, Sean Penn, Chris Rock, Janeane Garofalo, Sarah Silverman, and Bruce Springsteen. In June 2015, Maron interviewed President Barack Obama in his garage, as secret service personnel stood by and observed. It was the first time a sitting U.S. president appeared as an interview guest on a podcast.

Many podcasts are also radio shows, including “The Daily” by The New York Times; “Radiolab,” hosted by Jad Abumrad and Robert Krulwich; “Snap Judgment,” hosted by Glynn Washington; and “This American Life,” hosted and created by Ira Glass.

“Radiolab” is known for its innovative mixing of sounds, voices, speech editing, storytelling, and science.

A November 2019 episode of “This American Life,” titled “The Out Crowd,” examined firsthand the effects of President Donald Trump’s “Remain in Mexico” asylum policy. The episode won the 2020 Pulitzer Prize for audio reporting, becoming the first podcast to win that prestigious (and new) journalism prize.

Some other popular podcasts include National Public Radio’s “Code Switch”; “Food 4 Thot,” featuring LGBTQ writers and issues; the CBC’s “Personal Best,” a comedic self-improvement program hosted by Rob Norman and Andrew Norton; “Dirty John” by the Los Angeles Times; “Decoder Ring” by Slate; and “Home Cooking” with Samin Nosrat and Hrishikesh Hirway.

It is not that difficult to create a podcast. Therefore, a significant number of celebrities, journalists, and pundits have produced their own podcasts. Part of the beauty is the accessibility and the fact that nearly anyone can do it.

“Call Her Daddy”—a popular 20-something sex, dating, and comedy podcast—had a very public spat and breakup in spring 2020 between its two hosts, and only one, Alexandra Cooper, emerged as host of the show. (After several months, former co-host Sofia Franklyn launched her own podcast, “Sofia with an F.”)

While there was plenty of drama and public finger-pointing to go around, the incident also highlighted struggles that podcasts are facing, especially over money, equity, and who owns the content.

Podcast journalist Nick Quah produces a weekly newsletter on the podcast industry called *Hot Pod*. He also hosts his own podcast called *Servant of Pod*, which covers the podcast universe. Quah has identified a major split between independent, grassroots podcasts and those owned or controlled by large, corporate entities such as Spotify, SiriusXM, iHeartMedia, and Warner Bros.

As the larger companies purchase smaller podcast outfits and consolidate their holdings, a fight and debate rages over who owns the intellectual property of the podcasts. Is it the podcasters themselves, or the companies that have made big, splashy deals with the “talent” to control the content?

Where to Find Podcasts

In the early days of podcasts (early to mid-2000s), Apple’s iTunes served as home base for many of the new and established podcasts. The podcasts would also find an anchor on the internet, with individual websites providing links to past and present episodes, as well as notes on the host, the guests, events, and previous and upcoming shows.

While the landscape changes almost daily, a handful of companies have emerged as the go-to sources for podcasts: Spotify, Stitcher, SoundCloud, SiriusXM, iHeartRadio, Pandora, and Castbox. Of course, Apple Podcasts still plays a significant role.

Many podcasts also have a video presence; often, it is just the podcast videotaped and replayed, but in some cases, the hosts venture on more elaborate adventures. YouTube is typically the site where the video version of a podcast can be viewed and heard.

A Strong DIY Ethic

At its heart, podcasting stems from a strong do-it-yourself ethic. So the equipment necessary to create a podcast is usually not that complicated or expensive. A potential podcaster needs a computer and a USB microphone. Some examples of popular, yet inexpensive mics include Samson Q2U, Audio-Technica ATR-2100 or ATR-4750, Blue Yeti Nano, and MXL 990.

Other essential podcasting tools include a mic stand or two, headphones, and a soundproof room to record in.

Recording and editing software are also necessary to produce podcasts. Most of the software is available for free or at low cost, at least at the introductory level. Programs include Audacity, Adobe Audition, GarageBand, Recordit, WireTap Studio, and Apple Logic Pro X. For those with professional recording and music experience, ProTools is considered the industry standard for musicians, producers, and engineers.

Last but not least, podcasters usually utilize a podcast host to store MP3s and other files. Some examples are Blubrry, BuzzSprout, Captivate, Libsyn, Omny Studio, PodBean, Simplecast, and Whooshkaa.

Growing Audiences and Advertising

Listenership has been trending upwards since 2010. In 2010, approximately 70 million Americans 12 and older listened to podcasts, according to Edison Research. In 2020, about 155 million Americans 12 and older had listened to podcasts, representing about 55% of the U.S. population, according to “The Infinite Dial,” a national survey published by Edison Research and Triton Digital. Monthly podcast listening was at 37% of the U.S. population in 2020, according to the survey.

While podcasts are recognized for their mobility, listening to them at home has been on the rise, particularly in times of economic hardship and pandemic. There has been significant growth in smart speakers in U.S. households, with 27% of the population (76 million people) owning the devices in 2020, compared to 7% in 2017.

Advertising dollars continue to flow into podcasts, and spending has also been trending higher. In 2019, advertisers spent \$708.1 million on podcasts, according to eMarketer, a market research company that follows digital marketing and media. Advertisers were expected to spend \$782 million in podcast ads in 2020, and jump nearly 45% to spend \$1.13 billion in 2021.

The future of podcasting looks bright, but the specifics are still somewhat uncertain. Journalism schools across the country are now offering courses on creating and understanding podcasts. While podcasting remains a fertile source for independent journalism, interviews, and storytelling, large companies continue to purchase smaller entities and consolidate. Television shows with large or dedicated fan bases, media conglomerates like

Disney, and even retail stores like Trader Joe’s feature their own spinoff podcasts.

Meanwhile, the traditional forms of media continue to look toward reinvention in the form of podcasting. The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, NPR, BBC, and ESPN are nabbing talent from the podcasting universe and ensconcing them—along with generous resources—into their online audio divisions.

Established journalistic and media boards, such as Pulitzer and Peabody, are recognizing podcasts with awards. While other media are experiencing worrisome declines in audience, revenue and investment, podcasts continue to enjoy an upward trajectory.

Richard Chang

See also Audio Journalism; Blogs and Bloggers; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Digital Distribution; Internet: Impact on the Media; Mobile Journalism; National Public Radio; Talk and News Radio

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POLITICAL REPORTERS

This entry focuses on political reporters in mainstream news organizations in the United States. For the purposes of this entry, three attributes

define the political reporter of the professional mainstream: delivering news and analysis with the next election always in mind; offering fact-based information with the stated purpose to inform, not persuade; and striving for independence despite financial pressures and the lure of taking sides in a polarized country.

The reasons journalists pursue politics as a specialty are as varied as their backgrounds. Some are attracted by the rich narratives of elections; others relish the role of political watchdogs. Some are drawn by the policy debate. Others seek to rub shoulders with the powerful or hope to reform a system they see as tilted to the privileged. Regardless of their motives, this group of journalists specializing in politics has played a critical role in American democracy, and their reach has extended to all forms of media. Since the 1960s, these journalists have grown in influence and attracted controversy as they have performed the role of what communications scholar Philip Seib called the “essential referee.”

Political reporters constitute one subset of the many journalists who cover public affairs, including those who monitor city halls, school boards, statehouses, Congress, and the White House. Political columnists and other opinion journalists constitute another subset, although they sometimes overlap with reporters who provide “analysis.”

Newspapers framed the political discourse of the 19th century and, joined by national news magazines, dominated political journalism through the mid-20th century. Starting in the 1950s and for the next four decades, the broadcast television networks framed national politics in the United States. Since the 1990s, cable news and the Internet have ushered in a more chaotic media environment. Each epoch has created new types of political reporters.

For example, broadcast television introduced the news anchor, a prominent figure encompassing the roles of editor, reporter, and commentator. At the national level, news anchors have played important roles in political journalism, presiding over national party conventions and election nights and moderating presidential debates. Many of these anchors first gained prominence as political reporters, starting with the most celebrated of them, Walter Cronkite (1916–2009). This entry discusses the origins of political reporting in the

United States, the move toward objectivity and the increased influence of political reporters over the 20th century, changes in political reporting resulting from new forms of media, and the rise of the fact-checking model of political journalism. The entry concludes with a discussion of some prominent U.S. political reporters since the mid-20th century.

Origins

The entanglement of American journalism and politics dawned with the republic. By the first truly contested presidential election of 1800, partisan newspapers provided the political discourse between the burgeoning parties—Federalists (Hamiltonians) versus Republicans (Jeffersonians). The partisan press peaked in the 19th century when Andrew Jackson won office through the creation of a network of partisan newspapers that survived off party advertising and government contracts.

These journalists would be more familiar today as political operatives or hosts of political talk shows. But the early partisan press was also part of the democratization of the young country’s politics, a path of upward mobility by artisans and immigrants who manned the presses. Not until the early 20th century would the new profession of journalism draw from the nation’s educated elite, and even today political journalism remains a route for strivers to climb the social ladder.

The importance of partisan journalists began to fade in the late-19th century with urbanization and media commercialization. Newspaper editors replaced their loyalty to the party with allegiance to advertisers and the large circulations they demanded. Journalists were still connected to politics, but the seeds were sown for the pursuit of a goal that would mark the political reporter in the next century. They sought to be independent political voices, not party mouthpieces.

Three of the most famous “independent” journalists of the second half of the 19th century—Horace Greeley (1811–1872), Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951)—were political power brokers who held elective office during their careers. Greeley and Hearst had ambitions for the White House. As late as 1920, both major party nominees, Democrat James M. Cox (1870–1957) and

Republican Warren G. Harding (1865–1923), were Ohio newspapermen. Since that election, however, rising professional standards of independent journalism have argued against such direct political involvement.

Objectivity and Influence

Starting in the 1920s, the “objective” school of journalism arose with the growing professionalism of the craft. The goal was to separate opinion from fact-based news, and political journalists adopted distinct job descriptions. Columnists wrote commentary and reporters chronicled the words and actions of politicians. The reporters were bounded by the objective goals of balance and impartiality, which often translated into deference to authority. Campaign reporters rarely ventured beyond accounts of the candidates’ speeches and travels, and they turned a blind eye to the candidates’ personal lives.

This passive role of the political reporter was transformed by several factors, starting in the 1960s. Social upheaval over the Vietnam War gave reporters a new license to question authority. The journalistic exposé of the Watergate scandal also supercharged the adversarial role of the reporter. The era also witnessed changes in electoral politics that enhanced the influence of the new breed of better educated political reporters. Party organizations withered as direct primaries and television advertising gave politicians direct access to voters, bypassing party leaders. Money flooded into the process to pay for the advertising. The new politics created subspecialties in reporting beats to cover media advertising and to follow the money. News organizations increasingly used public opinion polls to track campaigns.

In the vacuum left by party leaders, political reporters became gatekeepers. Increasingly, reporters decided whether candidates met “expectations”—frequently set by the reporters themselves—in the outcomes of primaries or televised debates. Whether a candidate’s gaffe became a crippling mistake rested with reporters.

The journalistic form also changed. Theodore H. White (1915–1986) reshaped the campaign narrative with his *Making of the President 1960*, the first in a series of books by White and his imitators, who created a new genre. No longer

would coverage center on chronicling a campaign; instead, the campaign unfolded as a dramatic story, told from the inside. The genre would bring new attention to the character of the politicians.

The change in the role and prominence of political reporters was classically captured by *Rolling Stone* writer Timothy Crouse (1947–) in his 1973 book, *Boys on the Bus*. Crouse portrayed the press corps as a traveling band of mostly male reporters from the big newspapers, news magazines, and television networks, who rated the winners and losers. He coined the term “pack journalism”—referring to the tendency of reporters to produce homogenous coverage. Most barriers to women in the political press had fallen by the mid-1980s, but the problem of pack journalism remains.

The 1980s witnessed growing scrutiny by reporters of the personal behavior of politicians. In 1987, reporters exposed an extramarital affair of the Democratic presidential frontrunner, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, which led to him ending his campaign for the 1988 presidential election. In the same period, political scholars, who had long discounted the role of journalists in shaping elections, began to attribute significant influence to journalists as framers of elections. But scholars also criticized the political reporters for being too focused on the “horse race.”

The rising influence of political reporters was fueled by television. The broadcast networks introduced political reporters who would soon achieve fame surpassing that of some candidates. Network correspondents engaged in reporting that was interpretative (*instant analysis*), distinctly mediated (*sound bites*), and highly visual. The three networks lavished money on the coverage by employing expensive and mobile technologies and building sophisticated political units. The correspondent’s *voice-over* came to dominate the story.

As political changes reshaped journalism, so journalism transformed politics into an activity increasingly governed by media. Satellite technology drew candidates out of the auditorium to picturesque backdrops and staged events by making live coverage possible from virtually anywhere. Media strategies became central to campaigns.

New Media

The mid-1990s ushered in technological changes that not only transformed the news media at large but had profound effects on political journalists. A more fragmented, financially unstable, and polarized media system emerged. Sometimes called the “digital age,” it has introduced new important players, weakened the role of the reporter gatekeepers, and by the end of the 2010s, produced a president who threatened fact-based journalism.

By the late 20th century the label “new media” was applied to Internet entities, but change was occurring in other media as well. AM radio, then virtually moribund, was revived in the late 1980s as caustic conservatives such as Rush Limbaugh (1951–2021) turned talk radio into a new communication genre. Talk radio also offered burgeoning cable news a model for panel shows featuring rowdy debate.

Former Atlanta radio talk jock Sean Hannity (1961–) thrived as a major conservative and partisan voice on Fox News. Although liberal talk radio never produced large audiences, liberal voices prospered on cable television, including MSNBC’s Rachel Maddow (1973–). Neither Hannity nor Maddow pretended to be objective reporters, but the distinction is often lost on the public, if for no other reason than frequent guests on their shows, and others like them, are print political reporters who provide commentary. Becoming a cable “talking head” has provided a new lucrative sideline for political reporters.

Cable television entered the media content business in the late 1970s, first in entertainment, then in news. CNN and C-SPAN launched in the 1980s and were joined by MSNBC and Fox News in the mid-1990s. The rise of Fox was an important development.

While declaring itself “fair and balanced,” Fox attracted conservatives who viewed it as an alternative to what they perceived as the liberal slant of the broadcast networks and public broadcasting. Studies by the nonpartisan Pew Research Center since 2000 have shown a steady rise in the polarization of media choices. Conservatives rely overwhelmingly on Fox and other conservative media. Liberals and moderates have displayed somewhat more diverse choices in MSNBC, CNN,

NPR, and newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

Entertainment programs joined in this political mix, as candidates sought alternative venues that sidestepped the political reporters. The 1992 presidential campaign saw Bill Clinton play his saxophone on the *Arsenio Hall* show. Comedians such as Jon Stewart (1962–), host of *The Daily Show* from 1999 to 2015, took to quizzing politicians along with the reporters.

As cable siphoned entertainment and news audiences in the 1990s, the broadcast networks retreated from political coverage, cutting staffs and folding political units. The networks remain important, but the political media world shifted toward cable television. The watershed of this trend came in 2008 when for the first time cable news audiences exceeded the broadcasters’ viewership for the political conventions and election night. In the same period, other mainstays of the political press corps, the large metropolitan newspapers and the national news magazines, climbed off the bus as newsrooms shrank. In 2008, *Newsweek* published its last behind-the-scenes campaign book, a fixture in coverage for decades.

The culprit behind the retreat of the metro dailies and the news magazines was the rise of the Internet, which undercut the advertising lifeblood of the print media. The online revolution that began in the mid-1990s had a global impact, but for political journalists, the changes were as profound as when television arrived on the scene 40 years earlier. Political reporters found a new virtual campaign to cover.

The Virtual Trail

Editor and Publisher magazine declared 2000 “The Year of the Internet,” and similar proclamations would echo for the next four presidential election cycles as each cycle witnessed a new technological innovation with its own discrete impact on political reporters. In 2000, websites emerged as a new platform for both campaigns and news organizations, including new journalism entities. The conservative *Drudge Report* rose as an important aggregator of political news, and Internet-only political magazines, such as *Salon* on the left, came on the scene.

Bloggers, short for publishers of weblogs, took the stage in 2004 as highly partisan players who not only debated each other but often aimed their criticism at the mainstream political press. Indeed, bloggers helped topple a prominent political reporter during the 2004 campaign, CBS anchor Dan Rather (1931–). Conservative bloggers helped to discredit documents that Rather's *60 Minutes* team had used in a report questioning President George W. Bush's service during the Vietnam War. Rather retired from CBS in the ensuing flap.

Social media platforms launched in the first decade of the 21st century quickly became important features of political campaigns, particularly Facebook and YouTube. Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign demonstrated how Facebook could bypass reporters to reach millions of voters directly. YouTube made an already highly visual politics even more so. It also demonstrated the cross-platform flow of news in the new media system. Video shot by a television network's young producer (an *embed*) on the campaign plane or pictures of a candidate on a rope line by an unpaid, activist "citizen journalist" could almost instantly be uploaded to YouTube and if sensational enough, be replayed on cable news. The reverse—colorful video originating on cable and replayed on YouTube—was also true.

No social media innovation changed the political reporter's day-to-day routine more than Twitter, which by the 2012 presidential cycle had been fully adopted not only by reporters but by the entire political class. In effect, it became a political wire service and the primary channel for politicians to communicate with reporters. It also provided political journalists with an avenue to build their own brands with a steady stream of *tweets* breaking news or reporting trivia from the trail. Critics argued that the platform exacerbated the old problem of pack journalism and offered reporters a skewed version of reality because of the unrepresentative nature of the Twitter audience.

By the 2020 election cycle, reporters once accustomed to the leisurely deadlines of morning newspapers or evening news shows were tasked with filing breaking stories to their organization's websites, tweeting or posting to a blog, and possibly shooting video with a smartphone. The political media was no longer segmented between

old and new media but had formed one media ecosystem with information flowing seamlessly across platforms.

One entry to the political game, launched in 2007, was Washington, D.C.-based Politico. The political news website carried out its motto of "win the morning" by scooping the competition even on the most minor of matters. While most of the digital media organizations then arising had a left or right slant, Politico played it straight with traditional political journalism aimed at niche audiences. The subsidiary of Allbritton Communications grew into a limited circulation print newspaper in Washington, an online magazine, a high-dollar policy-oriented subscription service, and a European edition.

The Internet had many effects on political journalism, including allowing all reporters to tap information once reserved for the elite media. Polling data became easily accessible on online venues such as RealClearPolitics. One effect of this democratization was to fuel the horse race story. The Internet also supercharged a journalistic specialty—"fact checking"—that dated to the late 1980s when there was a spike in misleading television advertising.

Fact Checking

Newspapers introduced the "ad watch" and television news tried "truth squading" the ads in the 1990s, but it wasn't until 2004 that the nonpartisan FactCheck.org, employing political reporters, showed how the capacity and interactivity of the Internet could provide a fact-checking platform. By the 2008 cycle, other fact checkers joined in, including *The Washington Post's* Fact Checker team that awarded "Pinocchios" and PolitiFact that employed a "truth-o-meter" graphic. PolitiFact won a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the 2008 campaign, the first time the prize was awarded to a web-based organization. While fact checking won plaudits for fulfilling the watchdog role, it also stoked the adversarial approach of political journalists.

Few of the fact checkers foresaw how they would be drawn into a historic clash with President Donald J. Trump, who during his campaign and after his election in 2016 used hyperbole and falsehoods daily to attack his political opponents

and the media. News organizations dropped niceties such as avoiding the word “lie” in describing the president’s messages. In 2019, CNN aired an hour-long documentary entitled “All the President’s Lies.” At the end of that year, the Post’s Fact Checker cataloged more than 15,000 false or misleading statements by Trump.

Trump is not the first politician to attack the press as part of a political strategy. Many date modern conservatism’s media critique to November 13, 1969, when then–Vice President Spiro Agnew used a speech in Des Moines, Iowa, to attack the broadcast networks for critical coverage of the Nixon administration, including the instant analysis and other interpretative techniques broadcasters were then introducing. Trump is also not the first demagogue to make the news media an unwitting accomplice in spreading a false appeal. In the 1950s, media-savvy Senator Joseph R. McCarthy used the unquestioning wire services as the conduit of his “red-baiting” charges that ultimately were proved false.

In the 2016 campaign, Trump used his reality television skills to dominate television coverage during the Republican primaries with sensational appeals. His unorthodox use of Twitter to air outrageous charges is often attributed to his desire to energize his supporters. But that analysis ignores its potency as a media strategy. As of 2019, only slightly more than a fifth of Americans used Twitter, while it had already become a required tool for every political reporter. One study during the 2016 campaign estimated Trump drew so much television coverage that it was the equivalent of \$2 billion worth of paid advertising. The increase in circulation of newspapers such as *The New York Times* was dubbed the “Trump bump.”

As welcome as the stimulus might be to a financially fragile industry, many journalists acknowledged that Trump’s incessant attacks on “fake news” and his labeling of political reporters as “enemies of the people” have taken a toll on the profession’s credibility. And, in responding to Trump, traditional journalists worried that reporters were resorting unwittingly to their partisan origins of two centuries ago.

The lasting impact of the Trump era remains to be fully understood. Most professional journalists who cover politics remain committed to the ideal of the independent arbiter that arose in the last half of the 20th century. Yet political reporters in

the new era are more embroiled in the political debate and called upon to defend fact-based journalism when their influence is diminished in a much-changed media environment. Never has the political reporter’s role as the essential referee been less appreciated and more necessary.

Examples of Prominent Political Reporters

R. W. “Johnny” Apple Jr. (1934–2006)

Apple set the standard of the influential political reporter in his more than four decades with *The New York Times*. The son of an Akron, OH, businessman and educated in the Ivy League, Apple was the model of the brash and aggressive reporter. He is credited with first recognizing the importance of the Iowa precinct caucuses that propelled Jimmy Carter to the White House in 1976. In the ensuing three decades, Apple, known for his front-page analysis stories and fascination with the unfolding campaign, set the example for a generation of influential *Times* political reporters. Peter Baker (1967–), chief White House correspondent for the *Times* as of 2021, has continued to deliver big analysis pieces for the newspaper. Unlike Apple who rarely appeared on television, Baker frequently appears on NBC, PBS, MSNBC, and CNN.

David S. Broder (1929–2011)

Broder, who covered 13 presidential elections starting in 1960, was arguably the most respected political reporter of a generation. Growing up in a Chicago suburb, Broder combined graduate study in political science with a boyhood love of newspapers to land at *The Washington Post* in 1966 after quitting *The New York Times*. Over the next 40 years, Broder helped build the *Post*’s political coverage to rival that of the *Times*.

A reporter who also wrote a column, Broder hewed to a centrist approach. He inspired reporters to critique the mechanics of politics and to use shoe-leather reporting as well as polling to explain voter behavior. He won a Pulitzer Prize in 1973 and authored or coauthored eight books, including his 1987 *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How News Is Made*. A Broder protégé, Dan Balz (1946–), chief correspondent for the *Post* covering national politics, the presidency, and

Congress as of 2021, has followed in his footsteps as a highly respected reporter and columnist.

Elizabeth Brenner Drew (1935–)

Drew led a cohort of women who entered the ranks of political journalism in the 1960s. A Cincinnati native and Wellesley College graduate, Drew became a prolific magazine reporter, book writer, and television commentator. For almost 20 years starting in 1973, Drew wrote *The New Yorker's* “Letter From Washington” dispatches from a capital she portrayed as increasingly dominated by the corruption of money.

In a 1983 book, *Politics and Money: The Road to Corruption*, Drew presciently recognized the flow into politics of unregulated large donations of “soft money,” a term she popularized. Drew, who in 2015 published a new edition of her 1975 book *Washington Journal: Reporting Watergate and Richard Nixon's Downfall*, continued to write op-eds during the Trump impeachment.

Jack W. Germond (1928–2013)

Germond and his partner for a quarter century, Jules Witcover (1927–), wrote a column for the *Baltimore Sun* that relied more on reporting than opinion and coauthored a series of books on presidential campaigns from 1980 to 1992. Growing up in a middle-class Boston family, Germond used the GI Bill to pay for journalism education at the University of Missouri, followed by several decades in newspaper jobs. But television talk shows made the bald and rotund Germond the most unlikely of media stars, starting with the *McLaughlin Group* in 1981 and later on CNN and public broadcasting. The irascible, irreverent, and liberal Germond crystallized the caricature of the political road warrior, which he described in his 1999 autobiography, *Fat Man in a Middle Seat*. Germond said he only appeared on the fractious McLaughlin show for the money, but he was a forerunner of print journalists who found a wider audience on talk television.

Jeff Greenfield (1943–)

Greenfield, a commentator for PBS's *Newshour* and a columnist for *Politico Magazine*, is an example of the political analysts who act as

independent political sages. The son of a New York lawyer, Greenfield is a graduate of Yale Law School who began his career as a Democratic consultant. Starting in 1983, he was the lead analyst for ABC News before moving to CNN in 1998 and then CBS in 2007. Known for his grasp of history, Greenfield gave CNN gravitas during the turbulent 2000 and 2004 elections. Writing widely on politics and media, he authored or coauthored 11 books, including the 2001 *Oh, Waiter, One Order of Crow: Inside the Strangest Presidential Election Finish in American History*.

John F. Harris (1963–)

Harris took traditional political journalism to the web, helping to create the digital media company, Politico, in 2007. Harris got the journalism bug in college in Minnesota and landed a *Washington Post* internship in 1985, where he stayed for 21 years, rising to national political editor. Harris and *Post* reporter Jim VandeHei (1971–) hatched the idea of using the dexterity of the Internet to aim political news at the niche audiences of Washington insiders and political junkies.

With the deep pockets of Allbritton Communications Inc., Harris, editor-in-chief, and VandeHei, executive editor, pushed their newsroom in the pursuit of scoops that with some aggressive promotion set tongues wagging. In 2019, Harris stepped down as top editor to write a weekly column, including one soul-searching missive on whether he and his colleagues suffered from a “centrist bias” that caused them to underestimate the more extreme politicians, including Trump.

Gwen Ifill (1955–2016)

Moderator of PBS's *Washington Week* and coanchor of *The NewsHour*, Ifill was a testament to the upward mobility of political journalism. The daughter of a poor Black immigrant preacher in New York, Ifill built a career as a political reporter following the path of her white male predecessors. She came up through newspapers—from the city beat for the *Baltimore Sun* to the White House for *The New York Times*—and then to NBC News. In 1999, she pierced racial and gender ceilings to enliven and revitalize *Washington Week*, an

institution of political journalism for almost 40 years. In 2019, the U.S. Postal service commemorated Ifill with a Forever Stamp.

Brooks Jackson (1941–)

As a reporter for the Associated Press and *The Wall Street Journal*, Jackson pioneered the “money and politics” beat in the 1980s. The product of small-town Indiana, he arrived in Washington for the AP to help cover Watergate. In 1988, Jackson authored a respected book on campaign finance, *Honest Graft: Big Money in the American Political System*. He moved to television at CNN and in the 1992 election developed systematic truth testing of campaign messages. He took the approach to the Internet in 2004 to help found FactCheck.org, where he remained director emeritus as of 2021.

James C. Lehrer (1934–2020)

Lehrer, former executive editor and anchor of PBS’s *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, was the quintessential journalist as a referee, moderating 12 presidential debates and helping establish public broadcasting’s role in political journalism. Born in Wichita, KS, Lehrer got his start in Texas newspapers. Beginning with the coverage of the Watergate hearings on public television, Lehrer teamed with Robert MacNeil (1931–) to make the *NewsHour* the premier public affairs television show. Lehrer’s evenhanded and unflappable style made him the choice of both sides of the partisan divide for his unique role in presidential debates. He moderated his last presidential debate in 2012 but remained on the Board of Directors of the Commission on Presidential Debates until his death at 85 years of age.

“Cokie” Roberts (1943–2019)

An analyst for National Public Radio and ABC News, Roberts helped establish NPR as a player in political news in the 1980s and became one of the most prominent women political journalists. A New Orleans native-born Mary Martha Corinne Morrison Claiborne Boggs, Roberts grew up in a politically prominent Washington family, and she brought her insider knowledge to NPR in

1978 as a congressional correspondent. With Linda Wertheimer (1943–) and Nina Totenberg (1944–), she formed a trio of women reporters who elevated NPR’s Washington reporting. While keeping her NPR job, Roberts became a panelist on ABC’s *This Week With David Brinkley* in 1988 and coanchor of the Sunday talk show from 1996 to 2002.

Timothy J. Russert Jr. (1950–2008)

Russert was the moderator of NBC News’s *Meet the Press* and was considered political journalism’s chief inquisitor. A blue-collar kid from Buffalo, Russert, a lawyer, entered journalism from New York Democratic politics. In 1984, Russert landed a job as an assistant to the president of NBC News and worked his way up to Washington Bureau chief for the network, and then moderator of the 60-year-old Sunday talk show *Meet the Press* in 1991. Russert took the show to dominance with a new format centered on him interrogating the powerful and frequently confronting guests with their impolitic past comments. Some observers have likened the program to a presidential primary test for White House hopefuls, a tradition carried on by the successor host Chuck Todd (1972–), also an aggressive interviewer.

Judy Woodruff (1946–)

Woodruff, anchor and managing editor of PBS’s *NewsHour* and one of the most recognized faces in political journalism, started her career as a “weather girl” for an Atlanta television station in 1969. The daughter of a soldier, she was the first in her family to attend college, Duke University. In the mid-1970s, Woodruff, then in NBC’s Atlanta Bureau, followed Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter to the White House for NBC. She continued covering the White House during the early years of the administration of President Ronald Reagan before leaving to work for a decade at PBS. In 1993, Woodruff moved to CNN, and for the next 12 years, she helped turn *Inside Politics* into one of the most watched cable news political shows.

Albert L. May

See also Anchors, Television; Blogs and Bloggers; Civic Journalism; Column-Writing; Congress and Journalism; Editors, Roles and Responsibilities; Election Coverage; Government, Federal, U.S.; Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of; Publishers

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POLLS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion represents the collective views of all private individuals in a society. As democracies purport to serve the public's interest, governments, media, and public officials often feel it necessary to heed public opinion. However, since the views of the people are privately held, we need a means to measure them. This is the function of polls and surveys. Thus, journalists and media often report on polls to contrast public opinion with the views of public figures.

This entry discusses polls, their development and application, and how they apply to the practice of journalists. The entry also discusses public opinion, particularly its formation, effects, and complicated relationship with polling. Modern polling and the study of public opinion have their roots in horse-race polling. In early horse-race polls, newspapers attempted to measure who may win an upcoming election. This practice remains common two decades into the 21st century.

Unlike early polls, scholarship focusing on public opinion did not gain widespread traction until the mid-20th century. The concept of collective public opinion may date back to Renaissance or even Greco-Roman thought. Yet, modern public opinion scholarship is rooted in the work of 20th-century scholars such as theorist Jürgen Habermas (1929–), political scientists V. O. Key (1908–1963) and Philip Converse (1928–2014), and journalist and communication scholar Walter Lippmann (1889–1974). It was these individuals who helped to popularize the concept of public opinion and its subsequent measurement via polls and surveys.

Polls

The earliest polls in the United States date back to the early 19th century. In these early polls, newspapers would conduct an ad hoc survey of their readers regarding their preferred candidate in an election. These pioneering polls suffered from many forms of error that would not be rectified until the mid-20th century. However, these early polls are not so fundamentally different from their modern counterparts.

Polls consist of a series of rigid questions, often a set of fixed possible answers asked of a small subset of the public. This small subset is what is known as a *sample*, which, if taken correctly, can accurately represent the opinions of the public. Typical questions in a poll may ask those responding to detail their opinions on critical current events, public figures, candidates for public office, personal demographics, and more. Individuals who design and field polls are known as *pollsters*. Pollsters typically design polls to be quick and straightforward. The goal is to measure public opinion quickly and efficiently. Surveys are functionally identical in many ways to polls but are not associated with gathering public opinion quickly and are often more exhaustive in their lines of questioning. Thus, surveys are often time-consuming and expensive. Polls, due to their brief nature, can be fielded more quickly and more frequently. As such, polls are more commonly created and fielded. Thus, politicians, citizens, and journalists often reference polls as evidence of up-to-date measures of public opinion.

Polling Error

Early polls and many modern “junk” polls suffer from errors. Indeed, even the most seasoned pollsters can fall victim to different forms of error if not careful. In the case of polls and surveys, error denotes a mistake in measurement, which results in the findings of a poll being unrepresentative of actual public opinion. Since polls do not ask every member of the population their questions and receive responses, there is always a fraction of difference between real public opinion and a poll’s measures of it. This margin of error is commonly represented by a plus or minus of a certain percentage when reporting the results of a poll. For example, a CNN poll in July 2014 found that Barack Obama led Mitt Romney 53%–44% in the race for U.S. president, plus or minus 3%. This means that the poll may be off by 3% in any direction. Obama’s public support was, therefore, likely anywhere between 56% and 50%. Such a margin of error when taking a sample for a poll is unavoidable. However, journalists, citizens, and politicians frequently fail to take the margin of

error into account when discussing who is winning in a poll.

As a rule of thumb, if candidates are within two margins of error of each other, we cannot be sure who is winning. In the case of the Obama poll, he was more than six points ahead, so it seemed assured that Obama was winning. However, said poll was measuring the popular vote not the electoral college responsible for choosing a president. Given the half dozen times a popular vote winner did not reach the White House—as in 2000 and 2016—polls are not a guaranteed prediction. Nonetheless, there are more insidious forms of error beyond the margins to keep watch for in polling: sampling error and measurement error.

Sampling error encompasses both coverage and nonresponse error. It occurs when the population being polled is not adequately represented in a sample. Pollsters typically choose a sample frame for a population, which is a list of people that may be possibly interviewed for the poll. For example, if attempting to poll American public opinion, a pollster may acquire a list of all home phone numbers in the United States. Ideally, a sample is random, so said pollster may choose phone numbers from the list at random or even dial numbers at random. However, what about Americans who do not have a landline-based phone number? Those citizens will be excluded from the poll’s sample, thus creating a biased one. This sample bias is a form of coverage error, wherein the sample fails to cover the population fully.

Nonresponse error is closely related to coverage error. Nonresponse error occurs when individuals who are invited to participate in a survey or poll fail or refuse to do so. For example, an individual may be contacted via phone or email to participate in a poll. If they fail to respond, the resulting poll will not measure the views of that individual and those like them. This can lead polls to be biased against certain groups. For example, phone-based polls often struggle to contact poor individuals without home phones and those with only cell phones. If not accounted for, this can frequently lead polls in the United States to be biased against Democrats, who are often younger and of lower income.

Measurement error occurs when the questions asked of individuals are not valid and reliable measures of public opinion. In other words, measurement error rises when items in a poll fail to measure the concept being asked about or result in inconsistent responses. Several common issues must be taken into account when considering measurement error. First, confusing question wordings can result in unpredictable responses. If two individuals cannot interpret the same question identically, then the question is unreliable. Second, inadequate response options can result in biased or inaccurate responses. If the pollster does not provide the full range of necessary response options to a question, individuals may select another they do not align with or fail to answer the question at all. Third, question ordering may affect the validity of responses. If a prior question cues individuals to respond to others differently, such as by asking about feminism before a question about a woman candidate, then the answers may not represent genuine public opinion. Fourth and finally, social desirability bias can distort responses to questions. Social desirability bias occurs when an individual answers an item not according to their views, but according to the views they expect others want them to have. Examples of desirability altering poll results are common in cases of candidates perceived as especially socially desirable or undesirable. This is often the case for minority candidates who are considered socially desirable and whose support is therefore overestimated. This is thought to have happened with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, who lost the 1982 California governor's race despite polls before the election showing he was ahead. The opposite is frequently true for candidates seen as socially undesirable, such as Donald Trump, whose support was frequently underestimated in 2016. Pollsters can minimize social desirability bias through proper question wording, but some levels may always be present. It is vital to take into consideration the potential for social desirability bias and other forms of measurement error when reporting on poll results.

Junk and Push Polls

The best polls attempt to minimize all sorts of error, while those that do not are referred to as

junk polls. These “junk” polls frequently are made purely for profit, discarding any attempt to measure public opinion in return for a minimal cost “poll.” Even worse, some polls may intentionally be designed to bias responses and portray public opinion in a certain way. These are push polls, known as such because they attempt to push views on citizens. These “junk” and push polls dilute the water of the higher quality polls around them, reducing public trust in polling and by extension those who use polls as a measure of public opinion. While polls that minimize sources of error can be quality representations of public opinion, the market for “junk” and push polls is vast in the modern political and media markets.

Public Opinion

Without public opinion, polls would have nothing to measure. Public opinion itself is the collective result of the views, opinions, and beliefs of a society. However, the “real” world is so vast, it is impossible for a single human to witness all of its events. Thus, the facts portrayed to the public—often by the news—help citizens to build an imagined conception of the “real” world. This conception, then, yields the foundation of public opinion. A critical point of research and scholarship lies in the investigation of public opinion formation. Why is it that citizens hold the views they do? When do they change?

Socialization and Genetics

Political socialization is a complex process, yet it yields much of every citizen's political views and values. Socialization occurs as citizens grow up and interact with family, friends, teachers, mentors, public officials, and others. Through childhood and early adulthood, individuals internalize the views of those around them and their reactions to those views. This occurs both as individuals acquire information about the world and are encouraged to follow those in their environment. Thus, by the time many citizens enter their 30s, their political opinions and beliefs tend to be more rigid and are the clear product of their previous environments. For example, not only do children tend to share views with their parents but those born around the time of specific events such as the

Great Depression or the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, tend to share particular opinions and beliefs. From there on, anytime an individual is asked or polled about a view, their response will be made relative to the beliefs they internalized during their socialization.

The environment is not the sole dictator of opinions, however. Many scholars have identified genetics as playing a key role in certain political attitudes. While an individual's environment during socialization may strongly influence political beliefs, the pathways by which socialization acts are determined by genetics. For example, there is strong evidence that conservatives tend to have stronger physiological responses to threats than liberals. Such evidence portrays the physical and neurological elements to public opinion that are often ignored. Certainly, genetics does not wholly determine the beliefs and opinions of citizens. However, genetics and socialization together form the foundation of public opinion and most responses to polls.

Media Effects

While socialization and genetics produce the basis of public opinion, what makes public opinion malleable are those pieces of information that change over time. Perhaps one of the most critical factors in altering public opinion are media effects, or the effects journalists have through their reporting on the public. There are two central avenues through which news coverage alters public opinion: agenda setting and framing.

Propaganda scholars of the early 20th century were deeply worried by the prospect that mass media could alter public opinion. They feared that the political views of millions would bend to the will of a handful of powerful elites. As of 2020, there is scant evidence that a liberal can be transformed into a conservative through information alone or vice versa. Yet while the political beliefs of citizens cannot be fundamentally altered with a bit of information, information distributed through the mass media can profoundly alter what beliefs and opinions sit at the forefront of their minds.

Agenda setting is the one-to-one correspondence between what issues the news covers and what the public thinks is important. Known as the

public agenda, the priority list of issues for government redress is one facet of public opinion. The public agenda is where media and journalists demonstrate their most potent effects on public opinion. For example, if the news is covering a tumbling stock market frequently, then citizens are likely to name the economy as an important or even the most pressing problem in politics. Pioneered in research by Maxwell McCombs (1938–) and Donald Shaw (1936–), agenda setting is the most prominent effect news—and journalists by extension—can have on public opinion. Polls in the United States show that repeated coverage of an issue by the press can lead vast swaths of Americans to name said issue as the most important in the country. This is a finding replicated in countries around the world. Thus, even if a news story cannot always persuade an audience to its side, the topics journalists choose to cover, how often they cover them, and their prominence can all affect the larger structure of public opinion.

Research into agenda setting has found it has maintained its effectiveness in the digital age. News spotted anywhere from Facebook to forums can alter the agenda of the public. What has changed is the proportion of the people most news stories reach. In the mid-late 20th century, during the age of broadcast journalism, most Americans learned about the day's events through the nightly broadcast news or a local morning newspaper. Even when they did not read or see either, friends or family often passed on the most important stories. This flow of information led to a consensus-building effect. Since most Americans heard the same news from one of a handful of broadcast news sources, the public agenda was considerably consistent. However, competition in the media market has grown with the addition of cable and online news. The resulting abundance of news and information has diminished the consensus-building effect of mass media on the public agenda. Nonetheless, agenda setting remains a critical effect media has on the public.

Public opinion is also influenced by the way information is framed. Framing refers to the way in which the media tell a story by highlighting certain aspects over others. The way a story is framed can lead people to change their opinion on an issue or to temporarily prioritize certain considerations over others. For example, when a story

about a Ku Klux Klan rally in a city is described as a civil liberties issue including references to free speech, the public is more favorable of allowing the event to take place. On the other hand, when the same Ku Klux Klan rally is described in terms of concern for public order and safety, then the public is far less supportive. In other words, describing the same event by highlighting different considerations can lead to significant variation in public opinion about that issue.

Another form of framing studied by Shanto Iyengar highlights the importance of context in framing effects. When a story about poverty, for example, is framed in an “episodic” way, where individual instances and specific events are highlighted, people tend to attribute responsibility for poverty to the individual. Conversely, when a story about poverty is framed in a “thematic” way, where a general context is provided with more in-depth detail, then people are more likely to attribute responsibility to society or the government. While framing effects are well established, some research also finds that allowing subjects to deliberate on the issue will reduce framing effects. Additionally, framing effects are often moderated by other important considerations such as party identification.

Campaigns and Elections

Fundamentally, the goal of a political campaign is to alter public opinion in favor of a candidate or ballot initiative. Politicians and political action committees spend exorbitant amounts of money attempting to change the views and behaviors of the public. They buy ad space in newspapers, on television, and online. Major ad agencies and celebrities are brought to bear to move public opinion by percentage points in the single digits. An election can be won or lost on a single vote, after all. Elections are often characterized by campaigns pushing for public opinion change, news coverage of those pushes, news coverage of polls as a measure of success or failure for those pushes, and then the cycle repeats. Amid these news cycles, the ability of campaigns and news coverage of them to affect public opinion is contingent on two main factors.

First, the number of undecided voters represents the potential impact a campaign can have on

citizens. Partisans and decided voters are not likely to change their views of candidates, and thus are unlikely to be swayed by campaigns or the coverage of them. The more undecided voters there are, the more opportunities campaigns and journalists have to affect the outcome of an election through altering public opinion. Since there are more undecided voters in the earlier days of an election, campaigns and coverage have a more significant net effect on the views of citizens early on.

As the election advances, more citizens become decided. Thus, there is less room for movement in all but the most extreme of circumstances. Of course, polls can influence voters in conjunction with campaigns. Citizens are less likely to support losing campaigns, and polls are our only way of measuring public support. Thus, appearing to be winning in polls is vital for candidates and draws attention to the news when polls are released.

Despite this, early polls are often inaccurate. Since pollsters and journalists rarely include the candidate preferences of undecided voters, poll results often favor candidates with existing support but underestimate those who have stronger campaign operations. For example, in 2008, John McCain was polling far ahead of Obama in the summer before the presidential election. Yet by election day in November, Obama won by a large margin, an outcome predicted by polls in the days just prior to the election. Both of Obama’s presidential campaigns were notoriously efficient and effective in altering public opinion and encouraging turnout.

Also important is the balance of resources between opposing campaigns. Two campaigns with similar but vast fiscal and human resources will marshal far higher persuasive power yet will largely cancel each other out. This is often why, despite enormous amounts of advertising and campaign events, horse-race polls often appear so static. Moreover, more resources mean a campaign is more likely to garner free press by appearing in unsolicited news stories. Resources means that campaigns can also field their own private polls to focus their resources better and preempt any polls that may appear in the press. While the balance of resources may not outright determine an election victory, it is heavily associated with public opinion change, garnering news coverage, and ultimately success on election night.

Media, campaigns, and the public have a complicated, deeply entwined, and often tenuous relationship. Campaigns may exercise their resources independently, buying advertising and canvassing neighborhoods for votes. However, garnering media attention is often critical for increasing the potency of their resources. Media usually like covering elections both because it garners exceptional public attention and it aids in the industry's legitimacy to act as a democratic watchdog. Citizens rely on the media to cover campaigns efficiently when the average voter has little time or information with which to make informed decisions about an election. This triadic relationship is deeply entrenched, but not without its mistrust. Voters are often skeptical of campaigns and media, campaigns often embellish to increase their persuasiveness, and media must balance reporting what campaigns offer them with fact-checking.

Effects on Public Policy

For proponents of democratic superiority, public opinion should ideally dictate public policy in a democracy, representatives acting as translators from public opinion to public policy. Of course, real politics and policy are not so ideal. Public opinion does not always dictate public policy, but there are times when it does. It is in these cases where journalists can have definite, albeit indirect effect on public policy. After all, if the media can alter public opinion and public opinion can dictate policy, then media have an impact on policy.

The primary means through which public opinion and media dictate policy is elections. Elections are the lynchpin of accountability for most modern democracies. As issues and positions gain coverage and importance through an election, expectations are placed on the future winner to fulfill their promises. What promises are made are frequently dictated by media coverage—via agenda setting—and that coverage often focuses on polls as a measure of public opinion on issues. Consequently, elections often dictate the public policy that those who are elected ultimately work to implement.

The second means through which public opinion and media dictate policy is social pressure. Even removed from an election, coverage of an issue and polls portraying public dissatisfaction

can place immense pressure on public officials to make appropriate policy changes. If a government is failing to address a natural disaster, for example, media coverage and public opinion will often coalesce around the issue as coverage intensifies. The solution for officials is to enact a policy to resolve the issue, in this case perhaps providing aid and resources to survivors.

Despite these mechanisms for public and journalistic influence on public policy, there remains some debate on how effective the public and media are in affecting public policy. Many scholars compare polls showing specific policy “moods” or the general public’s ideology and compare that with the types and prevailing ideology of policies passed by the government. What constitutes a good correspondence between public opinion and policy is debatable. Many studies place the similarity between public opinion and policy at 50%–60%. However, one restriction on polls is their inability to measure those who don’t answer a question or frequently respond with “don’t know.” As such, this similarity may be moderately inflated.

One deeply unresolved point of debate is the continually unclear relationship between political elites, public opinion, and the news. Who is really in charge, and thus ultimately dictating public policy? Do elites dictate the news through their actions, effectively controlling public opinion? Or does that public dictate the activities of elites by being represented in polls in the news? Evidence points to the causal arrow being deeply contextual and often multidirectional. In other words, sometimes elites dictate what the media cover and the views of the public, sometimes it’s the opposite, and maybe more often it is both. Nonetheless, there remains a mass of evidence that public opinion, media coverage, and public policy share a deeply entwined relationship.

Polls and Public Opinion in Practice Today

Polls remain our default means of measuring public opinion, and public opinion remains a critical concept in the functioning of modern democracies. Polls and surveys are as vulnerable to different forms of error as ever, even if pollsters are more aware of such issues. We still rely almost

wholly on polls to measure public opinion, even if the wider public is often blind to errors until a poll proves wrong.

Despite shifts in technology, the effects of news and media on public opinion remain sound if more elaborate. Scholars of journalism and political science expend as much effort as ever attempting to understand the complex interplay between measuring and dictating public opinion. After all, the coverage of polls can and does alter the very public opinion the poll means to measure. Investigations are also focusing more heavily on the effects of the Internet or “new” media on public opinion, the steady move to Internet-based polling, newer sampling techniques now that fewer people have landline phone service, and clarifying any long-standing confusion over just what exactly changes public opinion.

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See also Access to Media; Agenda Setting; Credibility; Election Coverage, U.S.; Framing; News Diffusion; Press and Government Relations

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POSITIVE FIRST AMENDMENT

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees five basic freedoms: (1) religion, (2) speech, (3) press, and the right to (4) assemble and to (5) petition the government for a redress of grievances. Those who advocate for a positive, or progressive, First Amendment are particularly interested in how the First Amendment affects media law and policy. A positive First Amendment approach insists that the government should have a more active role in promoting a better speech environment for citizens so that a healthier democracy can flourish. This entry first distinguishes between the positive and negative approaches to the First Amendment. It then discusses the positive First Amendment approach in practice, how the negative approach has generally prevailed in court rulings on the news media, and the application of the positive approach to media reform.

Undergirding the vision of a positive First Amendment is the belief that media should represent a diversity of voices and viewpoints—and that government, backed by the First Amendment, should mandate access and create infrastructure that allows for multiple voices. From this view, the First Amendment permits the government to enact policies that ensure public access to important information and to media systems. The view, in other words, holds that the First Amendment imposes obligations on media in addition to protecting media from government censorship.

The contrary view, grounded in what is commonly referred to as *negative freedom or liberties*, holds that the First Amendment exists primarily to

restrain government action, not to promote it. This view holds that the Bill of Rights, of which the First Amendment is a part, is at core an antiauthoritarian document that protects citizens, and media, from government infringement or interference. In other words, this view contends that the First Amendment's purpose is to ensure that citizens, and media, have the right to express ideas openly without consequence or censorship from the government.

First Amendment scholar Ruth Walden once characterized the differences between the two views in terms of the questions they ask about the government's role in promoting or regulating speech. A positive First Amendment approach asks: What do we want the First Amendment to accomplish? Whereas an approach grounded in negative freedom asks: What do we want the First Amendment to prevent? Phrased differently, media scholar Victor Pickard has explained that negative freedom or liberties prioritize freedom *from* government intrusion, while a positive First Amendment approach prioritizes positive liberties such as freedom *for* or *to* a diverse media system. Most media law and policy in the United States traditionally has exemplified the negative freedom approach. But not always.

Positive First Amendment in Practice

Advocates of a positive First Amendment approach point to examples of progressive media policy in practice as well as court decisions that have seemingly defended positive rights. Pickard, for example, highlights the postal system as a classic example of the government building out a communication infrastructure or network and guaranteeing public access. Believing that Americans should have access to reliable and diverse information, the founders of the U.S. government significantly subsidized the development of the postal system and privileged the postal system's educational function rather than its ability to make a profit.

In terms of court decisions, one example of language supporting positive rights appeared in the 1945 U.S. Supreme Court case *Associated Press v. United States*. In that case, the news service the Associated Press argued that the First Amendment guaranteed the organization certain

exemptions to federal antitrust law. The Supreme Court rejected the argument, however. "It would be strange indeed," Justice Hugo L. Black wrote in the majority opinion, "if the grave concern for freedom of the press which prompted adoption of the First Amendment should be read as a command that the government was without power to protect that freedom." The ruling said that the First Amendment "rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public." The Associated Press's business practices that were at issue in the case put newspapers without the news service at a competitive disadvantage. "Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests," Black wrote.

Perhaps the prime example of the Supreme Court championing a positive rights approach was its 1969 decision in *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC*. In the *Red Lion* case, the Supreme Court upheld what was known as the *fairness doctrine*. The doctrine, which was generated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the 1940s, stipulated that broadcasters (on terrestrial radio and over-the-air television) had a responsibility to provide coverage of important public issues that arose in their communities and to ensure in their coverage that they fairly represented all significant viewpoints on those issues. A related aspect of the fairness doctrine stipulated that when a broadcaster aired what amounted to a personal attack on an individual or group, the broadcaster also needed to notify the target of the attack and offer free time for the target to reply.

Ruling that the fairness doctrine and its accompanying provisions "enhance, rather than abridge, the freedoms of speech and press," the Supreme Court upheld the fairness doctrine against a broadcaster who challenged it on First Amendment grounds in *Red Lion*. In the decision written by Justice Byron R. White, the Court ruled that it "is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount. It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market." White

wrote that the public has a right to “receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences” and that one of the goals of the First Amendment is to produce “an informed public capable of conducting its own affairs.” The fairness doctrine, the Court concluded, was consistent with that goal.

The Prevailing Negative Freedom Approach

Importantly, though, the Court acknowledged that its approach to broadcasters in *Red Lion* was different from its approach to print media generally—and that characteristics of the media forms justified the different First Amendment standards. Terrestrial radio and over-the-air television reach listeners and viewers by traveling on frequencies using the electromagnetic spectrum, which is a finite resource. The First Amendment right to broadcast thus isn’t comparable to “the right of every individual to speak, write, or publish,” the ruling in *Red Lion* noted, and the government (in the form of the FCC) consequently had the right to regulate the broadcast industry in ways such as assigning frequencies to stations and regulating content through mechanisms such as the fairness doctrine. The FCC later stopped enforcing the fairness doctrine in the late 1980s in the midst of a deregulatory push from the agency, however.

The Supreme Court has generally rejected extending the positive rights approach to other media contexts. The opposite view, holding that the First Amendment exists primarily to restrain government action against private speakers, is what has prevailed. Indeed, Pickard has referred to the American media system as *corporate libertarianism*, where the negative rights of media corporations are favored over the positive rights of consumers. A chief example to demonstrate the point is the Supreme Court’s 1974 decision in *Miami Herald Publishing Company v. Tornillo*, where the Court ruled that the First Amendment did not give the government the right to force a newspaper to publish the views or ideas of a citizen. The Court said that the choice of content to go into a newspaper, including decisions about how to cover public issues and public officials,

amounts to decisions that must be made by newspaper editors, not the government. “A responsible press is an undoubtedly desirable goal, but press responsibility is not mandated by the Constitution,” the Court concluded.

Positive First Amendment and Media Reform

Advocates who push for reform of the U.S. media system argue that, as in *Red Lion*, the First Amendment should be viewed as a means for the government to create opportunities for speech and press freedoms. These advocates maintain that a more positive or progressive First Amendment recognizes that concentrated corporate media power—which defines the U.S. media system, with a small number of corporations controlling a large percentage of the content the media audiences consume—is harmful for democratic deliberation. While it is justifiable to protect against an oppressive government that censors opinions it finds disagreeable, positive First Amendment advocates argue that the lack of diversity and opportunities in the U.S. media system is likewise worrisome and should be addressed.

Scholars such as Pickard have proposed that the United States should encourage government efforts to support public service journalism, through mechanisms such as subsidies for an expanded public media system, tax incentives for media institutions struggling financially to transition into nonprofit status, and using public infrastructure to support producing local news content in communities. Others have suggested that embrace of a positive First Amendment would allow for some government regulation of social media platforms to ensure they promote healthy dialogue rather than facilitate the spread of misinformation.

In the 2017 decision *Packingham v. North Carolina*, the U.S. Supreme Court recognized the essential role the internet and social media platforms play in providing a modern-day public square. In striking down a state law that made it a crime for a registered sex offender simply to access a commercial social networking site, such as Facebook, the Supreme Court reflected a positive First Amendment approach as it articulated

why the law barring such access violated the First Amendment. “A fundamental principle of the First Amendment is that all persons have access to places where they can speak and listen, and then, after reflection, speak and listen once more,” Justice Anthony M. Kennedy wrote in the majority opinion. “By prohibiting sex offenders from using [social media] websites, North Carolina with one broad stroke bars access to what for many are the principal sources for knowing current events, checking ads for employment, speaking and listening in the modern public square, and otherwise exploring the vast realms of human thought and knowledge.”

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See also Censorship; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Access to Media; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; Supreme Court and Journalism

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POVERTY, COVERAGE OF

As poverty became a clearly recognized problem during the 20th century, journalists sought to describe and cover the problem, shedding light on its causes as well as those groups working to alleviate its impact. Coverage of poverty involves politics and economics but also sociology and crime, among other topics.

Definition

A challenge in covering poverty issues is the lack of consensus about defining what poverty is at any given time or place. Typically, poverty is related to economics and low-income levels. Many countries have a government-set “poverty line,” a baseline amount of total family income, and any family or household making less than this income is considered to be living “below the poverty line.”

However, there is agreement that poverty is also defined by cultural perceptions and, as Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen suggests, includes deprivation of political, economic, and social rights resulting in and exaggerated by public shame. Added to this conundrum is that the poor are often socially ostracized. The United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index adds life expectancy and education level to its dimensions of poverty.

Regardless of exact definition, the poverty line is a standard that shifts over time and place. The ways in which this line shifts and the criteria for the shifts are continuously at issue. More specifically, there is considerable argument about whether or not the criteria and shifts should automatically respond to the shifts in community living standards. In the United States, the federal poverty line as of late 2007 had not shifted (except for inflation) in four decades and has been considerably criticized.

Criticism of Coverage

There are many criticisms of media coverage of poverty, in both the United States and elsewhere. Rarely is poverty covered without strong sub-themes of race or gender. Although the majority of

people living in poverty in America are white (45% in 2007), most Americans believe that the poor are dominated by Blacks (although they only accounted for 24% in 2007) or Hispanics (in reality representing only 24% in 2007), in part as news coverage of the poor often highlights these groups. A 2007 Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) study of poverty reporting found that in a study of three major U.S. networks (CBS, NBC, and ABC), the racial representation of the 76 poor sources quoted (out of a total of 191 quoted sources) in the 58 aired stories were non-Latino whites, 39%; African Americans, 38%; and Latinos, 12%. While these percentages alone may not lead to misguided perceptions of the poor in the United States, the percentage of non-poor sources may have helped to exaggerate the stereotypes (whites, 79%; African Americans, 18%; Latinos, 0%).

The most frequent stories about poverty in many countries are focused on that suffered elsewhere with little coverage of their own, unless prompted by an event, political campaign, or crime statistics. A recurring criticism of mainstream news media coverage of poverty is that their reports create distance between those living in poverty and those not, by portraying those who are poor as intrinsically different. An example of this type of coverage includes stories highlighting drug use, alcoholism, or criminal activity of the poor. It is argued that this portrayed difference from the middle class perpetuates a feeling of either indifference about poverty or acceptance that poverty is undefeatable, that, as stated in Matthew 26:11 of the Bible (*For you always have the poor with you*) and as Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) titled its 2007 poverty report, it “will always be with us.”

The lack of poverty coverage in broadcast news is often attributed to advertisers’ distaste for depressing news stories surrounding product advertisements. Journalists often refer to the producers’ distaste for stories without a happy conclusion as discouraging more stories about poverty.

Elections

Stories about poverty or the poor tend to increase during political campaigns. However, the stories

often focus on politicians’ motives behind poverty policy proposals. Very few discuss the broader issues surrounding poverty and its causes such as income gaps, education, health care, social services, stereotypes, social stigmas, or welfare. There is also debate over the “deserving poor” (those who are working) and “undeserving poor” (those seen as unwilling to work), an issue that seldom enters news coverage. Furthermore, few news pieces, whether print or broadcast, use real individuals living in poverty as sources—and thus the public is often unaware of the human side of poverty.

Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards is credited with highlighting the issue of poverty in the 2008 presidential election. Although he lost his attempt to gain the Democratic nomination, his devotion to poverty elimination pressured his competitors Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to focus their proposed policies on poverty. Edwards conducted a “poverty tour,” on which he took major U.S. daily newspaper editors or reporters to eight states along a three-day, 1,800-mile route, and visited factories, farms, health care clinics, and schools to talk to the country’s poorest inhabitants. As a result, each of those newspapers and the three weekly news magazines all published articles on poverty in America.

Natural Disasters

As with political campaigns, coverage of poverty is typically heightened after a major event, such as a natural disaster, or a social trend such as crime. Even so, while these events draw attention to the issues of poverty, they usually focus more on the actual events. When concern about the events passes, poverty discussions rarely remain in the news media. For example, during and immediately following Hurricane Katrina, which wiped out parts of New Orleans in 2005, poverty was frequently in the news as it related to the thousands seen as being left behind in the storm’s floodwaters, but as concern began to recede, poverty coverage dropped off again. This drop in poverty coverage took place despite the media’s renewed vow (first made after the 1992 Los Angeles riots) to increase their poverty coverage. Syracuse University reported in 2006 that its public opinion survey (of the same year) concluded that after

national news media increased poverty coverage following Hurricane Katrina, 52% of Americans polled felt that national income inequality was “a serious problem.” Despite this, poverty again fell off the national news agenda not long after.

Poverty and Crime

Poverty coverage also enters the news media after an act of crime. A series of riots in Los Angeles in 1992 received national attention and led journalists to vow to increase their coverage of poverty. Despite the promise, such coverage declined shortly after the riots. Often reports of crime revive poverty coverage in the news, though usually only because the crime involves those living in poverty. Once the crime news is reported, the underlying issue of poverty is often left untouched. For example, during a spike of violent attacks (over 140) on homeless people in 2007 across the United States, news media frequently focused their reports on the criminal actions, rather than the more complex issues of the underlying poverty that led to the crimes. Journalists argue this is because events and actions are much easier and less controversial to report than broader social or economic trends. Indeed, often the most thorough coverage of poverty appears in book-length analyses rather than in the periodical press.

Poverty Elsewhere

Most American coverage of poverty relates to those living in Third World countries. These reports typically are linked to stories of disease or famine—or immigration. Often the reports are heavily larded with government statistics more than stories from those living in such conditions. Such reports are often cited as increasing the emotional distance between those viewing or reading the report (and not living in poverty) and those actually existing in poverty. Evidence for such criticism is the frequency with which images and reports of Third World poverty are recalled in the minds of the U.S. public before images and reports of poverty closer to home.

The most common reports of Third World poverty are produced by nonprofit organizations, some religiously based, in an effort to raise awareness and increase sponsorship (through donations)

of a child or family living in poverty in a foreign country, typically Africa. During these reports, while statistics are heavily used, there is usually a significant effort to show the human side of poverty and develop an emotional connection. However, there is still a clear element of distance (geographical and cultural) involved.

Print Media Coverage

Articles about poverty increase during presidential election periods. Compared to 2004, the number of articles about poverty during the 2008 campaign more than doubled. More specifically, there were just over a thousand poverty news stories in American newspapers and news wires in 2004, and some 2,600 in 2008. During nonelection times, print media have increasingly included discussion of poverty in political pieces. However, criticisms of such pieces argue that the stories rarely quote the poor or tell their stories and that reporters in general are more concerned with the politicians’ motives or policy issues, do not offer causes or solutions to poverty, and continue to perpetuate a feeling of distance between the non-poor and the “other.”

Book-length journalistic pieces are often written on poverty and occasionally top bestseller lists. The popularity of books dealing with American poverty reinforces public opinion data finding that the public does indeed consider poverty a significant issue. For example, Barbara Ehrenreich’s *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting by in America* (2001) remained on *The New York Times* bestseller list for 2 years.

Electronic Media Coverage

Broadcast news reports rarely include stories about the poor. As with print, the numbers of reports increase during election periods, after natural disasters or crimes, and during the Christmas and Thanksgiving holidays. However, these reports rarely include discussion with poor individuals, focusing instead on experts or charity workers. The stories rarely address policy issues surrounding poverty or possible solutions; of those, it is even rarer that the poor offer the opinions. The majority of poverty stories, if the poor are included, portray general suffering. An

exception to this was two NBC stories (2005, 2006) during which residents of the Lower Ninth Ward in New Orleans shared their thoughts on the Hurricane Katrina recovery process.

Some attribute the lack of actual poor sources quoted in poverty coverage to the fact that the public/media relations firms do not represent the poor. The experts' corporate communications agents and resources foster the oversaturation of nonpoor expert sources.

Poverty stories are continually criticized for including overtones which perpetuate the "deserving"/"undeserving" poor dichotomy through the use of language such as "working poor" (with the criticism that these words imply that the nonworking poor are undeserving of sympathy or assistance). Frequently, stories about the poor highlight the elderly and veterans.

From September 2003 to October 2006, the three major U.S. news networks aired fewer than 60 stories about the poor or poverty (despite a 2005 U.S. Census reporting that 37 million Americans were living below the federal poverty line). Most of the stories rarely showed the poor, but rather relied more heavily on sources other than those living in poverty. Of the poor shown in the reports, African Americans were overrepresented compared to their proportion of American poor (38% shown/24% actual). Women were slightly underrepresented as poverty sources compared to the percentage of poor (46% shown/57% actual).

Often the more in-depth coverage of poverty airs on special programming. For example, PBS aired Roger Weisberg's documentary "Waging a Living" in 2006 as a part of its POV series, and ABC's 20/20 aired a special report "Waiting on the World to Change" in 2007.

Discussion of poverty is most often found online, primarily on nonprofit organizations' websites rather than those of major news outlets.

The Future

Many organizations recognize the absence of what they consider adequate and accurate coverage of poverty by journalists, and they have subsequently developed workshops to increase such coverage. An example is the partnership between

the Inter Press Service, an international news agency, and the UNDP. The goal of these workshops is to affect governmental policy through media generated awareness and pressure.

The Harry Chapin Media Awards (formerly World Hunger Media Awards) are presented to journalists who cover poverty, inequality, and development in newspapers, periodicals, radio, television, film, book, and photojournalism. Nikon is the exclusive sponsor of the awards ceremony and event.

These initiatives are meant to improve the quality of poverty coverage and race and gender representation of sources. Despite these programs, media watchdog reports, and other news media research organizations calling attention to the weaknesses in poverty coverage, doubts remain that any dramatic improvements in coverage will be realized in the near future.

Heather Gilbert

See also Literary Journalism; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Criminal Justice and Journalism; Immigration, Coverage of; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

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PRESIDENTIAL FAMILIES, COVERAGE OF

Media coverage of presidential families fulfils a variety of journalistic and political communication needs. It responds to the public's thirst for insight into the human side of White House life, providing numerous opportunities for feature material that amuses as well as informs readers and viewers. It also speaks to the personal qualities of the president, displaying to what degree the nation's leader exhibits characteristics of exemplarity family life. Consequently, political concerns undergird this ever-present media spotlight. Are the president's family relationships as presented to the public a help or hindrance to the success of the incumbent's administration? Presidential communication is designed to picture them positively, whereas media coverage is concerned with questions of news judgment that often involve conflict and controversy.

The role of the president's spouse traditionally has engendered media attention. Although neither elected nor salaried, and not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, the spouse increasingly has functioned as an arm of the presidency during the past century. To date spouses have been female and referred to as first ladies, but this is likely to change in the years ahead as women and gay candidates run for the nation's highest office. In terms of White House organizational charts, the spouse operates from the taxpayer-supported Office of the First Lady, which is outranked only by the Office of the Vice President and the Oval Office of the President.

This entry examines the importance of presidential family coverage in the United States, its early history, and some of the trends that have defined presidential family coverage in the 20th to 21st centuries.

Importance of Media Attention

While the White House budget does not contain a separate line item for the support of the Office of the First Lady, it constitutes a significant operation that has charge of the spouse's schedule, social engagements, and official duties assisting

the president. In that capacity, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in 1993 that the president's spouse can be constructed as a "federal officer or employee." Spousal activities therefore merit attention from journalists keeping watchful eyes on presidential administrations. In practice, media coverage of spouses has served as a benchmark that denotes appropriate spheres for wives and mothers in general. In line with changing societal expectations for women, first ladies have been depicted as national role models, judged for their expertise on fashion, entertaining and commitment to good causes, as well as their usefulness to their husbands and personal political skill. In a highly visible role as an advisor to President Bill Clinton, who was elected in 1992 and 1996, his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, gained experience that led to her own election to the U. S. Senate in 2000. She subsequently made history in 2016 when Democrats chose her as the first woman to be nominated by a major political party to run for president. Although she won the popular vote, she was defeated in the electoral college by Republican Donald J. Trump.

Unlike spouses, presidential children, in common with other presidential relatives, do not necessarily play a key role in White House coverage, although their position makes them newsworthy, particularly if they violate social norms. Generally, minor children receive little attention as they attend school and engage in age-appropriate pursuits. Grown children and presidential siblings fall under media scrutiny depending on how close they are to the administration. If they occupy key positions in the White House, as was the case with Ivanka Trump and her husband, Jared Kushner, both of whom were named unpaid senior advisors to President Trump, they receive as much, or more, media coverage than that given top officials. Underlying media interest in dealing with grown children and other presidential relatives is the question of their influence on actions taken by the chief executive.

Family relationships always have interested journalists as part of the story of the presidency. White House history offers several examples of family dynasties, dating back to the second President, John Adams, who was elected in 1796, followed by his son, John Quincy Adams, in 1824. Benjamin Harrison, who won election in 1888,

was the grandson of William Henry Harrison elected in 1840. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who served as president from 1933 to 1945, was the fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, who became president in 1901. His niece, Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the most path-breaking first ladies, was Franklin's wife. In the 21st century, George W. Bush became president in 2001, little more than a decade after his father, George Herbert Walker Bush, was elected in 1988.

Early Coverage

In the first days of the United States, partisan newspapers used spouses as surrogates for attacks on their husbands. Rather than criticize President George Washington for allegedly behaving like a monarch, opposition editors berated his wife, Martha, for riding in a resplendent coach suitable for a queen. John Adams was accused of being dominated by his wife, Abigail. Enemies of President Thomas Jefferson, a widower, falsely claimed Dolley Madison, who sometimes served as Jefferson's hostess, had been his mistress to advance the prospects of her husband, James Madison. He followed Jefferson as president in 1809.

During the 19th century, some presidential wives avoided public attention on grounds of ill health. An exception was the high-spirited Julia Gardiner Tyler, who eloped with President John Tyler in 1844 after the death of his invalid wife, Letitia. Friendly with a journalist for the *New York Herald*, a leader of the new penny press that focused on human interest material, Julia delighted in reports calling her the "Lovely Lady Presidentress" and praising her social gatherings. By contrast, Jane Pierce, wife of President Franklin Pierce, stayed out of sight mourning the death of her son in 1852.

As printing technology advanced, publications used engravings and photographs to picture presidential families. When President James Buchanan, a bachelor elected in 1856, designated his niece, Harriet Lane, as his hostess, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* called her *first lady* in an initial use of the term. It soon became a synonym for wives of presidents who received increasing press attention, positive or negative. Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of Abraham Lincoln, generated unfavorable notice from publications that criticized

her extensive entertainment and efforts to redecorate the White House in the midst of the nation's Civil War.

After the war ended, enterprising women journalists established themselves as feature writers in Washington largely by focusing on presidential families. They lavished attention on the gala wedding of Nellie Grant, the daughter of President Ulysses S. Grant and his wife, Julie. When Lucy Hayes, the pious wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes, who followed Grant in 1877, declined to serve alcoholic beverages in the White House, the press nicknamed her "Lemonade Lucy," but generally commended her stand on temperance, one of the day's political issues.

Not surprisingly, the private White House marriage of President Grover Cleveland to his ward, Frances Folsom, who at 21 years of age was 28 years younger than Cleveland, drew massive press attention in 1886. Unscrupulous reporters tried to spy on the couple with binoculars as they honeymooned. Speculation on the couple's marriage eventually forced the youthful bride to authorize release of a letter politely refuting charges that her husband had mistreated her. Her diplomatic skill helped Cleveland surmount accusations of irregularities in his personal life, including an admission that he might have fathered a child out of wedlock years earlier.

With the advent of mass-circulation national publications like *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* aimed at women readers in the late 19th century, presidential families received idealized treatment as role models of American life. Pictures of presidential wives and children became predictable features of both magazines and newspaper women's pages. To accommodate the press, Caroline Harrison, the wife of President Benjamin Harrison, who defeated Cleveland in 1888, handed out publicity photographs of the Harrison grandchild, "Baby McKee," making him the most photographed child in the United States at the time.

Twentieth-Century Trends

The family of Theodore Roosevelt, who became president in 1901 following the assassination of William McKinley, recognized the growing importance of the Washington press corps and its thirst for news from the White House. President

Roosevelt instituted regular press briefings, while his wife, Edith, determined to stay aloof from journalists herself, hired the first White House social secretary. Her duties included facilitating coverage of the Roosevelt family with its six lively children. Alice Roosevelt, the oldest, refused to conform to expectations, capturing attention by smoking in public, then considered shocking for a respectable woman, and driving an open car. Asked about her antics, President Roosevelt amused the public by replying that he could run the country or control Alice, but that he could not do both.

As motion pictures and radio gained audiences, presidential families became popular subjects. When Warren G. Harding was elected president in 1920, his wife, Florence, posed for movie newsreels. Her successor, Grace Coolidge invited stars of stage, screen and radio to visit the White House, linking her taciturn husband, President Calvin Coolidge, to the 20th-century world of media that his successors and their families increasingly occupied.

The presidential couple with the longest stay in the White House, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, who lived there from 1933 until 1945, took charge of their own media coverage. Both used the radio along with frequent press contacts to personally communicate with the public. Unlike her aunt Edith, Eleanor Roosevelt did not cut herself off from journalists, but set up White House press conferences for women reporters only. Overcoming fear that being first lady would confine her to social activities, Eleanor shattered precedent and continued her own career as a paid writer, broadcaster, and lecturer, which she had launched before Franklin Roosevelt's election as president in 1932. She advocated for the administration and earned money that she donated to charity.

Tirelessly traveling throughout the United States during the years of the Great Depression in the 1930s and then over the globe to visit troops during World War II, Eleanor Roosevelt gained headlines as no president's wife had done before her. Her syndicated newspaper column, "My Day," billed as a diary of her activities, offered her own report on White House life, picturing her husband at the dinner table and referring to her five children and their families. As a journalist herself, she wrote for women's magazines and published

books while first lady, urging women to be more involved in civic life.

After Eleanor Roosevelt's tenure, women reporters looked to first ladies as reliable sources of news, even if they had to strain to find stories about them. Roosevelt's immediate successor, Bess Truman, wife of President Harry S. Truman, disliked being a public figure and turned over some duties to her daughter, Margaret. Bess was followed by Mamie Eisenhower, who said she had "only one career and his name is Ike," referring to President Eisenhower. Journalists portrayed both women as representatives of Middle American family life.

Projection of Spousal Projects

The election of John F. Kennedy as president in 1960 propelled his wife, Jacqueline, into media stardom. His victory was credited in large measure to his mastery of television, which included projection of the large, photogenic Kennedy clan headed by his father, former ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy. The first president's wife to have an assistant formally known as a *press secretary*, Jackie, as she was affectionately known, fascinated the press with her taste in fashion and cultural affairs. Via color television, then a new phenomenon, she conducted a tour of the White House in 1962 to showcase her historic restoration of the mansion's furnishings.

After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, the dignified young widow, pictured with her small children, Carolyn and John, attracted worldwide news coverage. The media spotlight fell on John Kennedy's brother, Robert, who served as attorney general in the Kennedy administration. He became a leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination before himself being assassinated in 1968.

In the footsteps of Jackie Kennedy, presidential wives, aided by press staffs, took on projects, usually noncontroversial, that displayed interests beyond social events. Lady Bird Johnson, wife of Lyndon Johnson, who succeeded Kennedy as president, championed the environment. Her activities, which included limiting highway billboards and planting wild flowers, were trivialized under the name of "beautification," since it was not considered appropriate for first ladies to be involved in

serious issues. President Richard Nixon's wife, Pat, tried to promote voluntarism. Her efforts floundered as reporters found her hesitant to speak out for fear of hurting her husband and the Nixon administration bogged down in the Watergate political scandal.

Betty Ford, whose husband, Gerald Ford, became president after Nixon resigned in 1974, won media acclaim for frank discussion of breast cancer. Her views on changing sexual mores hit a different note. When a television interviewer wanted to know how she would react if her teenage daughter, Susan, had an affair, Ford said she would not be surprised and called for open parent-child communication. Critics accused her of condoning immorality, but a later newspaper poll indicated a majority of Americans were not upset by her answer.

After the election of President Jimmy Carter in 1976, his wife, Rosalynn, who acted as his confidential advisor, emphasized the need for improved mental health legislation. She complained that her efforts received virtually no coverage, perhaps because by that period newspapers had eliminated women's pages in favor of style sections oriented to entertainment. Coverage of first ladies had been standard features of women's pages but they were mentioned less frequently in news sections, where President Carter's brother, Billy, attracted unfavorable attention. Journalists reported Billy, the owner of a gasoline station who was described as a Southern "good ol' boy," had received loans from the government of Libya, which was accused of terrorism, and owned large amounts of back taxes.

Continuation of Traditional Values

Even as women's roles expanded, the news media continued to picture presidential families in terms of traditional norms. Weddings of presidents' daughters while their fathers were in the White House enthralled readers and viewers. Both Luci Baines Johnson and Lynda Bird Johnson staged picture-book weddings in 1966 and 1967, respectively, during the Johnson administration. Television displayed Tricia Nixon's royal-like wedding in 1971. Her sister, Julie, had married David Eisenhower, the grandson of President Dwight W. Eisenhower, before her father's election.

Nancy Reagan, whose husband, Ronald, was elected president in 1980 as a proponent of family values, initially was dubbed "Queen Nancy" by journalists who claimed she was obsessed by clothes and had strained relations with her own children. Her media coverage improved after she launched a campaign, "Just Say No," aimed at eradicating drug use among youth. Her successor, Barbara Bush, wife of President George Herbert Walker Bush, adopted the cause of literacy and frequently was photographed reading to small children. In a similar vein, her daughter-in-law, Laura Bush, the wife of President George W. Bush and a former librarian, stressed reading and the importance of libraries after becoming first lady in 2001. When news accounts surfaced that her college-student twins, Barbara and Jenna, were cited for underage drinking, Laura objected vigorously, contending that a profit-driven media should not exploit presidential children.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, a lawyer and advocate for women's rights, garnered praise for being put in charge of health care by President Bill Clinton after his election in 1992, but soon encountered negative coverage. The failure of her plans resulted in a barrage of unfavorable news stories. She also figured prominently in news accounts concerning unproven allegations she had committed financial and legal improprieties before entering the White House. Ridiculed for changing hair styles and types of attire presumably in search of a favorable image, she rebounded in public favor in 1998 when she supported her husband during his impeachment for sexual relations with an intern, Monica Lewinsky. Gaining sympathy as a stereotypical wronged wife, Hillary went on to become the first woman to win the popular vote for president even though her opponent secured the Electoral College and thus the presidency.

The history-making election in 2008 of Democrat Barack Obama, the nation's first African American president, sparked media interest in both his extended and immediate family, which consisted of his wife, Michelle Robinson Obama, two school-age daughters, Malia Ann and Natasha (called *Sasha*) and Michelle's mother, Marian Robinson. Journalists interviewed numerous Obama relatives scattered over the globe, pointing out that Obama's deceased father, Barack Hussein Obama Sr., came from Kenya, and his American

mother, Ann Dunham, from Hawaii, where President Obama was born and grew up.

The news media recognized President Obama's often-expressed desire to be an attentive parent himself in view of the fact that his parents had divorced and he had had little contact with his own father. News stories pictured the Obamas as a close-knit family unit, noting the president had dinner daily with his family and assisted in coaching Sasha's school basketball team. When a communications director for a political opponent attacked Obama's daughters on social media for looking bored during a traditional White House ceremony at Thanksgiving, a public outcry forced the aide out of her job.

Off to a rough start in terms of her portrayal, Michelle Obama, a lawyer, emerged as a media celebrity, becoming an extraordinarily popular media figure. From a working-class neighborhood on Chicago's South Side, she had graduated from Princeton University and Harvard Law School and held a top job as a hospital administrator before her husband's presidential campaign. At first deemed a political liability for being "an angry black woman" too outspoken on racial issues, she quickly learned to describe herself simply as "Mrs. Mom."

Avoiding hard-edged comments on public issues, Michelle, the descendent of slaves, urged young minority women to follow her example and pursue an education. Planting a White House vegetable garden with children from public schools, she publicized the need for more nutritious school lunches. Employing television, women's magazines, and social media, she waged a campaign against childhood obesity called *Let's Move*, and supported an initiative named "Joining Forces" to reduce hardships faced by military families. According to a 2019 Gallup poll, she was the most-admired woman in the United States.

Different Dynamics

Coverage of the family of President Donald J. Trump, following his unexpected victory as a Republican in the 2016 presidential race, confronted the news media with a different set of dynamics than the Obamas had presented. With a public increasingly polarized between the Republican and Democratic parties and the growing use

of social media, the Trump family provided newsworthy material for both opponents and proponents of his administration. The family included first lady Melania Trump, the president's third wife, three grown children who were heavily involved in his business and political interests, a daughter recently graduated from college, and a young son.

The president maintained close ties to his oldest daughter, Ivanka, a wealthy writer and entrepreneur who marketed clothing and accessories, and her husband, Jared Kushner, a multimillionaire real estate developer, naming them both senior advisors. Their positions led to ongoing media scrutiny as President Trump's political opponents contended neither had relevant experience and that their private interests conflicted with public service. Journalists questioned whether Kushner had received necessary security clearances before being put in charge of major efforts including plans to broker peace in the Middle East. As White House innovations director, his broad portfolio, subject to continuing news coverage, included oversight of numerous programs as varied as criminal justice reform and a coordinated federal response to the coronavirus pandemic.

Ivanka Trump, like her older brother, Donald Jr. and her younger brother Eric, had grown up with New York tabloid headlines featuring their father's acrimonious breakup with their mother, Ivana. A key administration figure, Ivanka, the mother of three, exhibited a media-savvy style that highlighted her stylish wardrobe during her meetings with world leaders. As an advocate for women's issues, she pushed for paid family leave and other policies to advance women's economic empowerment. Donald Jr. and Eric, who ran the Trump organization's real estate operations, were featured in the news as businessmen attuned to their father's political interests. Both Donald Jr. and Kushner figured in media accounts of their presence during the 2016 election campaign at a meeting with a Russian lawyer. The meeting was investigated repeatedly during impeachment proceedings against President Trump.

In contrast to her older siblings, Tiffany Trump, the daughter of actress Marla Maples, whose marriage to President Trump had ended in divorce after 5 years, kept a low profile. A law student at Georgetown University in Washington, Tiffany

did not live at the White House. President Trump's teenage son, Barron, the child of Melania Trump, was rarely seen in the media.

Melania, a native of Slovenia 24 years younger than her husband, was accustomed to the public eye as a high-fashion model before her marriage, but had little experience in public speaking or political life prior to her husband's bid for the presidency. She rarely campaigned for him in 2016. Her appearance at the Republican national convention that year backfired when reporters pointed out large portions of her speech had been copied, apparently inadvertently by a speechwriter, from an address Michelle Obama had given in 2008. Sometimes described as press-shy, Melania rarely gave media interviews. She maintained silence when reports surfaced that her husband had been accused of sexual harassment and allegedly had paid hush money to an adult film actress to cover up an affair that occurred during the first year of the Trump's marriage.

When the first lady did speak out, she did not always offer the same message as her husband did to the public. Her signature project, "Be Best," a campaign to prevent online bullying of children, was portrayed by some in the news media as an ironic commentary on President Trump's personal use of the social media platform Twitter to attack his critics. To promote her program, she reportedly appeared more comfortable speaking to children than adults. In 2020, journalists noted that Melania was pictured wearing a face mask as part of her own consistent message on social media urging the public to take precautions against the spread of the coronavirus. President Trump declined to wear a mask himself.

Three years earlier the first lady condemned the actions of white nationalists in Charlottesville, Virginia, after a woman was killed during a violent demonstration to protest removal of Confederate statues. By contrast, President Trump initially did not repudiate the white supremacists. When he took action in 2017 to separate children from their parents in an attempt to curb illegal immigration, the first lady expressed her disapproval and made a trip to the Mexican border to visit the children. She startled observers by wearing an inexpensive jacket bearing the words "I REALLY DON'T CARE. DO U?" Columnists speculated widely on what message this was

intended to convey. Months later she told a television interviewer that she had meant to show disdain for the news media critical of the Trump administration.

Concluding Thoughts

As technology has changed, news of presidential families has evolved to include coverage in various media including print, photography, broadcasting, and internet. It is based on a perception that the public in a democracy is entitled to a broad range of information about its chosen leader. If the presidency belongs to the people, then the people as represented by the news media, rightfully can expect to be given insight into the president's family relationships as a way of allowing it to judge character and performance in office. Since the role of the president's spouse has developed over the years into an integral part of the presidency, journalists today see it as a vital part of White House coverage. Family members often are depicted in media coverage as satellites that can either enhance or detract from the performance of the president.

Maurine H. Beasley

See also Congress and Journalism; News Values; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Satire of News; Satirists, Political; Sensationalism

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PRESIDENTIAL SCANDALS, COVERAGE OF

From the partisan press to the digital age, press coverage of presidential scandals has been constant watchdog of White House misconduct and corruption as a mainstay of American journalism. While the sensational elements and public desire for such coverage often distract from factual reporting of administration policies and accomplishments, the resulting historical record impacts a president's legacy. Presidential scandals involve personal misconduct or political corruption by a president or associates that attract media coverage and influence public opinion. This entry examines famous presidential scandals from the early 19th-century scandals that plagued Andrew Jackson to the multiple scandals that dominated the presidency of Donald Trump.

Andrew Jackson— An Adulterous Marriage?

In the election of 1828, supporters of John Quincy Adams attacked the people's favorite general Andrew Jackson, who lost to Adams in 1824, by resurrecting tales of his early relationship with his eventual wife Rachel Jackson. In a vicious war between party-owned and administration newspapers, what began as a stealthy smear campaign developed into a ruthless frontal assault of slander

and insinuations about husband and wife never before witnessed in American presidential politics. These attacks on Rachel ranged from portraying her as a bigamist, adulterous whore to a "dirty, black wench," with the amorous Jackson being accused of stealing another man's lawful wife.

Jackson met Rachel in Nashville in 1789, when she was married to Lewis Robards, but separated and living in her widowed mother's house. Even though abandoned by her husband, to get a divorce Rachel was required to travel to Richmond for a legislative act, but she did not. A relationship blossomed as Jackson escorted Rachel and her mother to Spanish-controlled Natchez; they eventually returned to Nashville to live as a married couple with no record of a wedding. Meanwhile, Jackson learned that Robards was seeking a divorce, which was eventually granted, and the couple were married in 1794. That was the version promoted by Jackson supporters, while the opposition insisted that the adulterous couple pretended to be married, while Rachel was still legally to Robards.

These rumors first surfaced in 1823 in anti-Jackson newspapers in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Washington, D.C., but the military hero was elected to the U.S. Senate the next year. *Cincinnati Gazette* and *Enquirer* editor Charles Hammond, a friend of Henry Clay, published his 1827 expose "General Jackson's Domestic Relations in Reference to His Fitness for the Presidency." These attacks were later serialized in the pamphlet "Truth's Advocate and Monthly Anti-Jackson Expositor" in order to deny Jackson the presidency on moral grounds. Hammond charged that Jackson had prevailed upon Rachel to desert Robards, "and live with himself in the character of a wife."

Originally published in the *Gazette*, various versions of these charges were published in dozens of anti-Jackson partisan and Adams administration newspapers across the country.

While Jackson never directly answered personal attacks about his marriage, military executions, slave trading, and his semi-literacy, he realized the value of influencing public opinion through the country's increasingly influential party press. Jackson's long-time friend John Overton organized a committee in Nashville to respond to the adulterous accusations. Rebutting the charges with such supporting evidence as

affidavits and depositions, the committee's report was published as a pamphlet "A Letter from the Jackson Committee of Nashville . . . Upon the Subject of Gen. Jackson's Marriage." Other Jackson supporters created stories about premarital relations between Adams and his wife.

Originally featured in the pro-Jackson Tennessee and Kentucky press, portions of the pamphlet were eventually published in numerous partisan newspapers around the nation. Among the editors of those pro-Jackson publications were Duff Green, Amos Kendall, Isaac Hill, Francis Blair, some later members of his "Kitchen Cabinet," who later helped President Jackson organize a network of partisan newspapers to promote his candidacies and policies. Rachel died at the Hermitage, the Jackson home, after Jackson defeated Adams in the popular and electoral vote. The grieving widowed president blamed the slanderous attacks in the national Republican press for causing her death.

Ulysses S. Grant— The Whiskey Ring and Credit Mobilier

Even though a president might not be responsible for scandals caused by others, the resulting fallout can impact his legacy long after he leaves the White House. During his two terms, Ulysses S. Grant experienced continuous press criticism due to several scandals involving numerous Cabinet members or presidential appointees, especially in the Whiskey Ring and Credit Mobilier scandals, even though some events occurred before his initial election.

Elected primarily for his heroic Civil War record, Grant's political inexperience contributed to an ineffective relationship with the press and lack of credible response to scandals caused by his appointees and family. As a result, Grant suffered as much or more abuse from the independent and partisan-leaning newspapers as any president to that time except for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. His 8 years in the White House were among the most politically corrupt.

By Grant's election in 1868, the partisan press and administrative organs had been replaced by independently owned newspapers, despite many editorially favoring one party over another. The

rise of crusading advocacy and investigative reporting foreshadowed the Muckrakers in exposing political and business corruption, including those surrounding the trusting yet oblivious Grant, who later complained of unfair press abuse and slander.

In an investigation before Grant's reelection in 1872 over *New-York Tribune* founder-editor Horace Greeley, *The Sun* exposed Grant as "The King of Frauds" and announced his victory with the headline "Greeley Defeated: Four More Years of Fraud and Corruption." The Credit Mobilier scandal was originally reported by *The Sun*, then the national press. While building the Transcontinental Railroad during the Johnson Administration, the Union Pacific railroad set up Credit Mobilier as a dummy construction company. The same officers as the parent group earned lavish salaries funded by government payments. A Congressional investigation revealed that a House member distributed Credit Mobilier stock to several colleagues. The scandal also implicated Vice President Schuyler Colfax (a former Missouri newspaper founder), House Speaker James G. Blaine, and future president, then Congressman, James Garfield.

Since Lincoln levied tax on whiskey to finance the war, Congress had attempted to end fraud among Internal Revenue supervisors and Treasury Department agents, who approved fake brewing figures by distillers to avoid millions in government tax payments. An 1874 investigative story in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* exposed fraudulent distillers in St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Louisville, and other Midwest centers, who were tipped off about inspections by corrupt revenue agents. Investigations by federal prosecutors and indictments by St. Louis grand jury eventually entered Grant's inner circle, such as longtime aide General Orville Babcock, whom the president helped clear with an unprecedented 5-hour deposition. Notable newspapers, including *New York Tribune* and *Chicago Tribune*, praised the Ring's breakup, while implicating Grant's brother, son and brother-in-law, but they were never indicted.

In 1876, during Grant's final year in office, after the *New York Herald* called for an investigation of the War Department. The House committee found that Secretary of War William Belknap, a Civil War general, started taking bribes in 1870

for selling trading posts in Indian Territory. Having been impeached, Belknap resigned, but was tried, then acquitted. Grant's younger brother Orvil was also implicated in the scandal. Ironically, in the election of 1864, *Herald* editor James Gordon Bennett led the charge for a premature Grant presidential run.

Another 1876 scandal involved the president helping brother Orvil obtain four profitable Indian posts, but not with the sibling's illegal kickbacks. This scandal resulted in detailed reporting and editorial criticism of Grant by such leading newspapers as the *Herald*, the *Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The Nation*, and the *Baltimore American*.

As for a third Grant term in 1875 and 1880, Democrat and independent publications, such as *The Nation*, the *World*, and the *Sun*, criticized the proposal and his two terms. Republican-leaning and independent newspapers, such as *The Washington Post*, the *Tribune* and *The New York Times* respected Grant's legacy with compassion for his failures, but wanted no third term.

Grover Cleveland— Abandoning His Illegitimate Child?

The sensational news reporting and editorializing concerning the private life of Grover Cleveland, particularly the 1884 campaign disclosure of his allegedly fathering an illegitimate child, demonstrated the impact of investigative journalism on the surrender of privacy by presidents, even before their election. Prior to Cleveland's nomination, the Republican Buffalo *Evening Telegraph* on July 21, published a front-page, three-column "investigation" titled "A Terrible Tale," later proven as distorted and fabricated in parts.

The story charged Cleveland with fathering and abandoning an illegitimate son with a widow, Maria Halpin, 10 years before. Offering no reply from the Democratic nominee, the story relied on local sources, particularly Buffalo pastor Dr. George H. Ball, a Republican supporter, who would later admit exaggerating certain details after being attacked in several Democratic-leaning newspapers outside the state.

After acknowledging the possibility of paternity, even though Halpin had been involved with other men, Cleveland telegraphed a message to his supporters, "Whatever you say, tell the truth.

While the candidate did not comment publicly on the charges, he told friends that he had "generously assumed the responsibility for the child to shield an intimate friend," as reported from an interview with a Cleveland staff member by the *Detroit Journal* (Lynch, 1932, pp. 200, 220).

Following investigations by several newspapers across New York State and the country, both Democratic and Republican, some details of the *Evening Telegraph's* exclusive scoop were proven distorted, some facts of the story were true. Other notable newspapers, both pro-Cleveland and independent, originally ignored the Cleveland scandal.

In New York City, publisher Charles Dana of *The Sun* used the revelation to defect from Cleveland and the Democratic Party, while Joseph Pulitzer of *The World*, attacked Dana and supported Cleveland. Democratic pro-Cleveland newspapers defending Cleveland included the *New York Herald* and the *Evening Post*, while the *New-York Tribune* and *The New York Times* supported James G. Blaine and the Republicans.

Reporting by newspapers from outside New York state included the Boston *Journal's* front-page, two-column, first-person investigation, on July 30, with interviews of Reverend Ball, asylum doctors, and Halpin's friends and neighbors. The story prompted criticism from such Boston Democratic newspapers as the *Herald*, *Evening Transcript*, and *Globe*.

Although Cleveland supporters rallied behind their candidate's forthright honesty, the revelation remained a campaign issue. In public rallies, supporters of Republican nominee James G. Blaine chanted "Ma! Ma! Where's my Pa?," while pushing baby carriages with dolls. Despite the scandal, Cleveland defeated Blaine in electoral votes 219-182, and 48.5% to 48.3% in the popular vote, a margin of about 24,000 votes. After Cleveland's victory, his supporters answered the Republican rally chant with the classic rejoinder, "Gone to the White House. Ha! Ha! Ha!"

Warren G. Harding—Teapot Dome

During his front-porch "Back to Normalcy" 1920 presidential campaign, Warren G. Harding was already defending himself from rumors of scandals, such as his womanizing and doubts over his

racial heritage, but defeated James Cox with 404 to 127 electoral votes and 60% of the popular vote. Before their political careers, both candidates were Ohio newspaper publishers.

In his personal life, Harding's prolific philandering was later well documented, including a 1927 memoir *The President's Daughter* by one mistress, who bore his illegitimate child.

Inside the White House, where illegal liquor freely flowed during Prohibition, the Harding administration's runaway corruption in the "Ohio Gang" involved Cabinet members, personal aides, agencies appointees, and the president himself.

Harding died suddenly in San Francisco on August 2, 1923, during a cross-country trip, as his emotional and physical health had deteriorated as his political scandals grew. At his death, Harding was a popular president, so the press and public mourned his unexpected passing. Thanks to the former publisher's amiable relations and regularly scheduled press conferences with newspaper reporters and editors, press coverage had been flattering, as scandal rumors had not yet implicated Harding.

Of several scandals during Harding's 29-month presidency exposed in the press and government investigations after his passing, the Teapot Dome scandal was considered the most explosive White House malfeasance to that time. After securing the transfer of oil reserves from the Navy Department, Interior Secretary Albert Falls profited from his no-bid leases and resulting bribes for three Naval reserves in Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and later served a prison term.

A six-inch front-page story in *The Wall Street Journal* on April 14, 1922, reported with unnamed "department sources," a lease to the Sinclair Oil Company. The story prophetically stated the contract "marks one of the greatest petroleum undertakings of the age and signalizes a notable departure on the part of the government in seeking partnerships with private capital for the working of government-owned resources."

Subsequent brief stories in the *Journal* and other newspapers, including *The New York Times*, the following week included a Senate call for an investigation, while Harding "would welcome" the leases and any probes. After his passing, daily national reporting of Senate investigations, a bipartisan commission and a special counsel

authorized by his innocent successor Calvin Coolidge, would tarnish the legacy of the trusting, but negligent Harding.

Richard M. Nixon—Watergate

By Richard M. Nixon's 1969 first-term inauguration, television had surpassed radio and print media as the major source of news for the American public.

Facing his first national political scandal, Nixon was nearly dropped from Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 ticket with charges of deception over a political slush fund. In an emotional 30-minute prime-time appearance known as the *Checkers* speech on 60 NBC-TV stations paid for by the Republican National Committee, the vice-presidential candidate defused the crisis, and served two terms. But during his presidency, live television news coverage would eventually lead to his downfall.

On June 17, 1972, Washington Metro Police arrested five burglars in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate Hotel-Office complex. In covering their arraignment, *Washington Post* metro reporter Bob Woodward found links to the White House and CIA among the suspects.

Over the next six months in some 200 stories, Woodward and *Post* colleague Carl Bernstein linked the Watergate break-in to a web of clandestine operations by the Committee to Reelect the President to infiltrate and damage Democratic nominee Senator George McGovern. Earning a Pulitzer Prize, the *Post* exposed secret campaign fund and a trail of deception eventually leading to the Oval Office. Their reporting was later detailed in the best-selling book and feature film *All the President's Men*.

At first, Watergate was a local Washington police story. With better resources, manpower and reliable sources within the DC police and federal law enforcement, including FBI Associate Director Mark Felt, later revealed as "Deep Throat," the *Post* raced ahead of other news media. Some newspapers columnists and reporters were reluctant to credit the rival's scoops or did not believe the scope of unfolding corruption. Without credible sources willing to appear on camera, network television news struggled with the complicated investigative story.

CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite narrated a two-part series in late October 1972, which made Watergate a national story, despite White House denials and criticism of the news media. *The New York Times* published a five-part series by investigative legend Seymour Hersh in January 1973. With America's powerful newspapers, network television correspondents and international media pursuing the Watergate story, the administration's defenses began to unravel.

The Washington press corps wondered what did Nixon know and when did he know it? Initial evidence did not prove Nixon's prior knowledge, but he did authorize the coverup. Having easily won his second term, Nixon did not take any blame, but accepted responsibility for "people whose zeal exceeded their judgment" in a national television appearance on April 23, 1973. In several live press conferences and speeches to journalists, Nixon continually denied any prior knowledge, but exhaustive investigative reporting testimony by aides and audio tapes of Oval Office conversations later confirmed otherwise.

Over the next year, the Nixon presidency crumbled by his firing of high-ranking federal officials, a special prosecutor's investigation, convictions of key aides, and an adverse Supreme Court decision (reported on live television) over the Oval Office recordings. More than any other media coverage, however, the live television gavel-to-gavel Senate Select Committee hearings during the summer of 1973 turned public opinion into calls for impeachment.

During his presidency, Nixon attempted to use some two dozen live nationally televised speeches as public relations tools to distract the news agenda away from his scandals. Each of the three networks followed those speeches "instant analysis." In his final national television slot, Nixon announced his resignation.

William J. Clinton— An Intern Affair and an Impeachment

Even before William "Bill" Clinton secured the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination, his long-shot campaign was nearly derailed by sexual misconduct allegations during his two terms as Arkansas governor. The post-Watergate investigative news media were more eager to expose

scandals character flaws of national candidates and leaders than examine their domestic and foreign policies.

With "new media" creating internet news outlets and eliminating deadlines, the audiences clamored for instant news and sensational scandals. The eruption of "feeding frenzies" resulted in diminished fact-checking and anonymous sources replacing on-the-record credible sources. Unsubstantiated rumors becoming national stories, which later faded as nonstories without retractions.

While the political press ignored the sexual escapades of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy during their administrations, media scrutiny of character issues and private lives in the 1990s went beyond newspapers, magazines, and TV exposes into best-selling books.

After announcing his candidacy, the relatively unknown candidate was confronted with allegations from singer Gennifer Flowers detailing their 12-year relationship. Appearing in a post-Super Bowl interview on CBS's *60 Minutes* with his wife, Hillary, Clinton denied the affair, while admitting to "causing pain" in their marriage. After her press conference featuring taped phone conversations with Clinton, Flowers traveled the national interview circuit, and later wrote two books. Meanwhile, the "Comeback Kid" finished second in the nation's primary, won the nomination, and defeated incumbent President George H. W. Bush.

The post-Watergate press would add the suffix "gate" to any potential political scandal, including two of three non-scandals during Clinton's first term. "Travelgate" involved possible 1993 improprieties in White House travel office, firing of several veteran staffers, and the suicide of Vince Foster, Hillary Clinton's former Little Rock law partner and deputy White House counsel. "Whitewater" involved possible wrongdoing in a 1978 real estate development venture in the Ozarks and a failed Arkansas savings and loan firm owned by a former Clinton aide. "Filegate" involved unauthorized receipt of some 300 confidential FBI files by low-level White House officials. While no charges resulted, the press—and lead investigator Kenneth Starr—seemed to think each inquiry merited serious investigative coverage.

In late 1993, press coverage of Clinton's sexual indiscretions erupted again when *The American Spectator* magazine featured interviews with two

Arkansas state troopers (“Troopergate”) on Clinton’s protective detail. The story also revealed his 1991 harassment of state employee named “Paula.” Investigative stories appeared the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Washington Post*, while Clinton’s accuser, Paula Jones, appeared in press conferences, interviews, and national TV shows. Jones filed a sexual harassment federal lawsuit against Clinton, which was dismissed in his favor, and then settled in her favor after a successful appeal. During a 1998 deposition, Clinton admitted the Flowers affair, but his “misleading testimony” about another affair would nearly end his presidency.

On January 17, 1998, a “world exclusive” on the Drudge Report website stated “Newsweek Kills Story on White House Intern” and “Blockbuster Report: 23-Year-Old Former White House Intern, Sex Relationship With President.” Matt Drudge reported new details, such as the identity of the intern as Monica Lewinsky, who made an affidavit in the Paula Jones case denying any relationship with Clinton. With growing speculation over possible investigation of criminal ramifications, Starr, *The Washington Post* and ABC News posted web stories about the intern on January 21, as the unprecedented media feeding frenzy exploded.

After publication of initial Lewinsky story, Hillary Clinton responded to her husband’s troubles as part of a “right-wing conspiracy” on NBC’s *Today*. Eleven days after Drudge’s story, Clinton stated in a live White House television speech that he never “had sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky.” But investigations by the media and Starr would prove otherwise, as detailed in the prosecutor’s pornographic report. After admitting the Lewinsky affair before a grand jury, Clinton acknowledged his inappropriate conduct to the nation in a live 4-minute televised speech.

With Clinton’s continuing denials and tainted deposition, the media frenzy pursued the first couple and Lewinsky. The tabloid press and upcoming 24-hour news channels, liberal-leaning CNN and conservative-devoted Fox, stoked every possible “breaking” lead, even those later proven false. While the president avoided press appearances, his administration attempted to distract the news agenda with domestic and foreign policy initiatives. Although the scandal lead to

his impeachment, the Senate acquitted the “profoundly sorry” president.

Donald J. Trump—Two Impeachments

No other American president arrived at or left the White House with as many personal and political scandals than Donald J. Trump. Even before his national celebrity status as the host of BC’s *The Apprentice*, Trump manipulated the New York City news media, particularly the tabloid newspapers to cultivate his image as a billionaire businessman and a flamboyant playboy between his three marriages. With that media attention also came media exposes of his personal life, business practices, and political aspirations, especially by *The New York Times*.

That media attention continued into his 2016 campaign, when Trump enjoyed more than two billion dollars of free airtime, which allowed him to run a fraction of his opponents’ advertising budget. With his adept use of social media throughout his presidency, particularly Facebook (35 million 2021 followers) and Twitter (88 million 2021 followers), Trump was able to drive the daily news cycle and set the news media agenda, until permanently banned from both shortly before leaving office.

With a free public medium unfiltered by news media or political norm, Trump could distract news media coverage from his scandals. Yet an antique medium—an audio tape—nearly derailed his campaign. On a 2005 bus ride with television host Billy Bush before an appearance on NBC’s *Access Hollywood*, Trump had been recorded boasting of his inappropriately touching women, even strangers. *The Washington Post* reported existence of tape on October 16, 2016, which was played repeatedly on the internet and television.

At first, Trump denied, but then admitted it was him on the tape. He called remarks “locker room banter, a private conversation that took place many years ago,” while referring to Bill Clinton. Later during fallout, “I apologize if anyone was offended.” An hour after tape’s release, WikiLeaks released 2,000 emails off personal account of Clinton campaign manager John Podesta, followed by 50,000 more hacked messages. Media and public attention shifted from the Trump tape

to Hillary Clinton and an old story over her private email server.

During the next four years, Trump chastised the news media as “the enemy of the people” and reporting fake news to create perhaps a toxic press-president relationship. Coverage of continuing scandals was ongoing, with conservative-leaning media, such as Fox News, defending Trump. Meanwhile, public trust of journalists seemed to decline as audiences consumed news from social media, late-night comedians, and pundits, which included the president’s supporters.

Press coverage of numerous scandals continued—sexual assault allegations, campaign finance violations, emolument clause questions, the Mueller report on Russian interference in the 2016 election, tax fraud investigations, two impeachments, security clearances, indictments, resignations, convictions, and pardons. Yet Trump maintained a stable approval rating throughout his presidency.

Jack Breslin

See also Cable news; Democracy and the Media; Election Coverage, U.S.; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Investigative Journalism; Partisan Press

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PRESIDENTS, COVERAGE OF

Informed by prevailing understandings of an independent Fourth Estate, the founding fathers of the United States demonstrated their initial commitment to freedom of the press through their words and actions, contending that newspapers held a special place in American culture and affirming that place through the protections afforded in the Bill of Rights. Armed with these protections, reporters covering U.S. presidents have done so with a range of symbiotic and adversarial approaches rooted in individual and collective relationships with the sitting president.

While espousing their commitment to a free press, when encountering adverse coverage, most U.S. presidents, regardless of party affiliation, have experienced negative feelings about news coverage as a whole, within specific outlets, or produced by an individual reporter. Until recently most presidents have not expressed those feelings publicly while in office, but some modern U.S. presidents have engaged in public attacks on individual reporters, news outlets, and the collective news media. This entry first discusses coverage of U.S. presidents beginning with the partisan press of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and by the commercial press that followed. It then looks at the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when White House reporters were increasingly seen as setting the national agenda and the public relations apparatus around the president grew more sophisticated. Finally, the entry discusses the

emergence of more adversarial coverage in presidential politics in the late 20th century and the development of crises of credibility in both U.S. presidential politics and the news media.

The Partisan Press and the Emerging Commercial Model, 1789–1897

As the United States minister to France, Thomas Jefferson may have best summed up the prevailing sentiment of the Founding Fathers toward newspapers when he said (as quoted in Teeter, et al., 2008, p. 79).

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

But, though the Founding Fathers expressed their commitment the freedom of the press through their words and deeds in the construction of the First Amendment, the first U.S. presidents, including George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, grew to despise adverse, sometimes vitriolic, coverage in the party-subsidized, partisan press. Federalist-leaning presidents Washington and Adams were often sharply attacked in Philip Freneau's Democratic-Republican *National Gazette* and later in Benjamin Franklin Bache's *Aurora General Advertiser*. In December 1796, for instance, Bache lashed out at Washington, writing: "If ever a nation has suffered from the improper influence of a man, the American nation has suffered from the influence of WASHINGTON. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by WASHINGTON. Let his conduct then be an example to future ages" (as quoted in Teeter, et al., 2008, p. 87).

Both privately and publicly, within the federalist-leaning *Gazette of the United States*, Washington and Adams condemned these partisan editorials designed to destroy their character and to discredit their administrations as lies. Moreover, amid the threat of war with France in 1797, Adams restricted First Amendment freedoms with the Alien & Sedition Acts. Under the Sedition Act, U.S. federal courts prosecuted more than 25

individuals, mostly editors of Republican-leaning newspapers, in opposition to the Adams administration before the measure expired in 1801.

Newspapers of this period offered what might be characterized today as fake news, a hybrid of misinformation, disinformation, and party propaganda. Newspaper publishers and editors circulated these partisan accounts in an attempt to gain a voice in the political process and to make a living in the era of party-subsidized newspapers, and party-subsidized partisan newspapers thrived. Moreover, by the 19th century, most politicians recognized the power of the press and sought to guarantee positive coverage for their party and themselves through a party-subsidized patronage system. In 1819, Congressional leaders erected such a system, which allowed the selection of a printer of choice without regard for the lowest bids to sustain the partisan newspaper model, and it remained in effect until 1846.

Based upon this partisan tradition, editors and reporters at emerging commercial newspapers in the middle and late decades of the 19th century focused most of their regular coverage on Congressional proceedings, but regularly shifted attention to the executive branch, particularly in election years and in times of war. Even with the move away from the party-subsidized news model and the decades-long development of the commercial news model, controversial U.S. presidential campaigns and elements of partisan political coverage have lingered into the 21st century.

Attempts to Manage Press Coverage, 1897–1960

At the end of the 19th century, professional news reporters employed at increasingly mass-circulating news outlets located in urban hubs began to shift their attention away from the halls of Congress to the new center of action in American politics, the White House. Recognizing the increasing reach of stories circulating through newswires, newspapers, and magazines, President William McKinley and his advisers extended their sophisticated strategic campaign communication once in the White House by formalizing the relationship between the president and Washington press. Moreover, in a moment of conflict that included a clash over news paradigms (i.e., detached, literary,

and activist brands of journalism) and amid a flood of sensational and fake news, news reporters increasingly recognized the president as a reliable news source and a regular news beat.

After the McKinley administration created the first official working space for news reporters at the White House, he and his successors attempted to shape the news coverage constructed by these increasingly important agenda-setters who informed and influenced public opinion. Moreover, amid increasing cries from the public for access to “information . . . not from a careless or reckless press, but from the president himself,” McKinley’s direct successor Theodore Roosevelt established the “public presidency” and erected a “bully pulpit” to influence the Washington press and their audiences (Roessner, 2020, p. 9). Thereafter, presidents increasingly relied upon emerging public relations and mass communication advisers to reach and mold public opinion of U.S. and global audiences directly through official news channels and indirectly through emerging new media technologies.

The White House press corps came to rely upon newsgathering opportunities, including the regular press conferences instituted by the administration of Woodrow Wilson in 1913. However, as presidential-press routines became more formalized in subsequent years, reporters increasingly challenged the slick, Hollywood-inspired public relations campaigns that emerged in the decade after the nation’s intensive propaganda campaign waged by George Creel’s Committee on Public Information during World War I.

By the middle of the 20th century, presidential contenders embraced the tools of showbiz politics and implemented them with relative success to generate positive news coverage and to establish a postwar age of consensus politics. For instance, Republican presidential candidate Dwight Eisenhower welcomed Hollywood film professionals and Madison Avenue advertising specialists into his inner circle of advisers, and they constructed an effective showbiz-inspired campaign that effectively synced Ike’s image and his message into spots that resonated with the American public.

A generation of “TV presidents,” including Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Richard M. Nixon, engaged in a hybrid of showbiz politics and news management to release a controlled flow of news to elite reporters and their American

audiences. During this period, the White House press corps, comprised of an older generation of elite, establishment news reporters, and a younger generation of skeptical frontline reporters, would come to challenge official reports that did not align with empirical observations and to chafe at government secrecy and news management techniques.

Credibility Crisis in U.S. Presidential Politics and the News Media, 1960–Present

Although Kennedy is remembered for the positive press coverage that followed his efforts to court the working press, his administration came under sharp attack from emerging conservative media outlets, including the *National Review*. The magazine’s editor, William F. Buckley Jr., warned that Kennedy might pack the Federal Communications Commission with members of his own party and deploy the fairness doctrine to silence conservatives. Moreover, echoing the dean of Washington-based reporters Arthur Krock, the consensus-minded news pack attacked after they learned of government secrecy, misinformation, and news management surrounding the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The credibility crisis in U.S. presidential politics intensified after Kennedy’s assassination in 1963 and as U.S. involvement in Vietnam escalated under the subsequent administrations of presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Nixon. Mutual distrust contributed to the deterioration of symbiotic relationships among the president and the press and the emergence of adversarial coverage amid enhanced news management and circumvention techniques. Despite their unique vantage point, the White House press corps was slow to expose the discrepancy between official statements of government sources and the lived reality on the ground in Vietnam; instead, a new generation of more skeptical reporters, including *New York Times* foreign reporter Neil Sheehan and CBS News war correspondent Morley Safer, made their U.S. and global audiences aware of the emerging credibility gap in the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

Amid these journalistic exposes about government secrecy and lies, critics from the right and the left raised concerns about the trustworthiness

of U.S. news. Conservative thinkers, such as Buckley and Phyllis Schlafly, had long warned that elite, establishment news reporters were serving as kingmakers in presidential politics, but their claims were amplified by leaders in the Nixon administration, particularly Vice President Spiro Agnew, who attacked news broadcasters as a “tiny, enclosed fraternity of privileged men elected by no one” and condemned “irresponsible” elite reporters at establishment companies, such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, for their biased news coverage (as quoted in Roessner, 2020: 23). Attacks on journalistic credibility also came from inside the newsroom. In 1971, former *Time* and *Life* correspondent Edith Efron published *The News Twisters*, an expose supporting Agnew’s claims of biased networks based upon analysis of news coverage of the 1968 U.S. presidential general election campaign. Moreover, from the left, prominent reporters, such as *New York Times* veteran Tom Wicker, critiqued journalistic objectivity for leading to an overreliance on official sources. Dissatisfied with traditional legacy news outlets, a well-known circle of journalistic veterans launched (*MORE*) *Magazine*, a journalism review established to hold the news media accountable to uphold its commitment as the Fourth Estate.

In mid-June 1971, Nixon’s Attorney General John N. Mitchell issued a temporary restraining order against *The New York Times* to require it to cease its publication of what became known as the *Pentagon Papers*, which exposed government secrecy and disinformation surrounding the Vietnam conflict going back to the 1950s during the administration of President Harry S. Truman. The U.S. Supreme Court offered its landmark First Amendment decision 2 weeks later, ruling 6 to 3 to dissolve the injunction, thus establishing precedent against prior restraint. Still, Nixon continued his war against the group that he privately referred to as his enemy—the press—prompting North Carolina Senator Sam Ervin to launch a congressional subcommittee hearing on the freedom of the press in September 1971. After the Pentagon Papers incident, Nixon embraced every tool at his disposal, even illegal ones, to fight what he referred to as conspiratorial attacks from his perceived enemies. Amid his increasing paranoia, he authorized a series of corrupt acts and illegal

cover-ups surrounding the Watergate break-in scandal that contributed to his downfall.

With the Watergate scandal, it was again a younger generation of skeptical reporters, particularly the *Washington Post*’s Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, not the White House press corps, who uncovered presidential lies and corruption. Only after this initial journalistic groundwork did elite news reporters, including CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite, provide the consistent coverage of the unfolding scandal that pressured the Senate Watergate Committee to engage in the bipartisan congressional hearings that ultimately resulted in Nixon’s resignation in the face of almost certain impeachment. Though the journalists who covered the Watergate break-in scandal were mythologized in films, such as *All the President’s Men* (1976), the legacy of Vietnam and Watergate contributed to an increasingly adversarial relationship between the president and the press.

In the ensuing years, the White House press corps and other elite journalists focused on engaging in extensive probes of alleged presidential scandals, such as the Carter administration’s Lancegate, which centered on allegations that President Jimmy Carter’s Office of Management and Budget Director Bert Lance engaged in financial misconduct in his previous role at the National Bank of Georgia. Presidential administrations increasingly embraced techniques to manage the news media, while by the 1990s conservative politicians regularly attacked the credibility of the news media on 24/7 cable news networks.

During the 2016 presidential campaign cycle that took place in a divisive, hyper-partisan cultural climate, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump, the former reality television star, gained a tremendous amount of “free media” coverage beginning well before the primaries through grassroots social media with controversial tweets that were amplified by news outlets. Like other successful candidates after the party nomination reforms of the early 1970s, Trump capitalized on positive media coverage of his early primary victories to create a bandwagon effect that effectively withstood establishment opposition and media scrutiny. Moreover, after securing the nomination, Trump survived more intense media scrutiny and adverse news coverage of regular gaffes and scandals by attacking what he characterized as a

biased news media. Meanwhile on social media there was a proliferation of stories tied to the election that were presented as factual but had no factual basis, most of them favoring Trump. Amid scandals and controversies that left some in his own party questioning his fitness for the presidency, some journalists engaged in editorial rebukes of Trump. But Trump's strategy of admonishing campaign reporters proved successful in further undermining the credibility of news reporting and seemed to energize his base, contributing to his victory on Election Day.

Though U.S. presidents traditionally have enjoyed a honeymoon phase with the news media, Trump was afforded no such reprieve from journalistic scrutiny. The adversarial relationships initiated on the campaign trail continued during Trump's transition into office and inauguration. According to the Pew Research Center, during the first 60 days of his presidency news coverage of Trump was twice as negative as that of his predecessors dating back to President Bill Clinton. Trump responded in a Nixonian fashion by severely limiting press access, offering just one press conference and an average of 12 press briefings a month in his first year in office, far fewer than his predecessors. Moreover, he often berated specific news outlets, such as CNN, and individual reporters, even going so far as to suspend the press credentials of CNN reporter Jim Acosta.

Although Gallup found Americans' trust in the news media rose during the first 2 years of the Trump administration after a record low in 2016, it fell again in 2019 and throughout those years was much lower among Republicans than Democrats. Moreover, according to research conducted by the Pew Research Center, continued tension and adversarial relationships among the president and news reporters not only hinder access to the news for millions of Americans, but also threaten to undermine U.S. democracy by lowering perceptions of journalistic credibility and neglecting more comprehensive coverage of the actions of the federal government.

Lori Amber Roessner

See also Access to Media; Alternative News Media; Bandwagon Journalism; Cartoonists, Political; Congress and Journalism; Credibility; Democracy and

the Media; Election Coverage, U.S.; Fake News; Fourth Estate; News Conferences; Partisan Press; Political Reporters; Presidential Families, Coverage of; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Press Pools; Spin; Television News, History of; Trust in Journalism

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PRESS AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

The development of news media is closely tied to the emergence of modern government. Indeed, news media have always been intimately tied to government and political institutions more generally; they are often considered a political institution, a kind of “fourth branch of government.” Early newspapers served to shape public opinion in the course of battles between and within states, to integrate citizens into developing administrative structures of the modern state, and to provide them with the information necessary to manage their interactions with those institutions.

The importance of the news media grew as popular participation in political life expanded, often through the extension of institutions of mass democratic politics, but also through authoritarian institutions for the mobilization of mass opinion. News media are tied to the state through a dense and complex network; much of their content focuses on the activities of government, and governments, for their part, often devote large amounts of attention and resources to their relations with news media. The nature of the connections between the press and government varies depending on the role of news media in a particular society—their economic basis, for example, and the culture of journalism that prevails within them—and also on the nature of political institutions—how centralized power is within them, and the extent to which they are governed by legal rules, for example. The relationship of the news media to government also varies with historical circumstances—the U.S. news media, for example, acted very differently in relation to government during and immediately following the Watergate scandal of the 1970s, when they often took an aggressive “watchdog” stance, than they did in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, when they reverted to a more passive relationship.

There is a long history of political polemics about the relation between journalism and government, and a substantial body of scholarly research and theory on that relationship. This entry discusses theories of press–government relations, the functions of the state in relation to the press, and characterizations of the press’s role in

relation to government. It concludes by discussing variations in press–government relations in different types of government systems.

Theories of Press–Government Relations

A key distinction needs to be made between normative and empirical theories of journalism and government, that is, theories of what roles the state and media *should* play in relation to one another, and theories about what roles they *actually* play. The dominant normative theory across most of the modern world is derived from liberalism, as expressed in such classic early works as John Stuart Mill’s essay *On Liberty*, published in 1859. This conception emphasizes the need for a press independent of the state, which will provide the basis for the independent public opinion on which the legitimacy of democratic government is based. In its later formulations, this view is connected with the idea of the news media as a “watchdog” of the state, providing a counterweight to state power.

The polar opposite to liberal theory is what Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm called in their influential 1956 work *Four Theories of the Press* the authoritarian theory, in which the state is conceived as having essential responsibility for protecting the interest of society as a whole. The “oppositional” role of the press (so valued in much liberal theory) is consequently seen as socially destructive, and state control of the press or at least close cooperation between press and state are more valued than is press independence.

Authoritarian theory was dominant in an earlier era. One of the most developed versions was the communist theory of journalism as an apparatus for revolutionary transformation of society, in which the media were conceived as an integral part of the state rather than an institution apart from it. This model, in the evolved form in which it is found, especially, in China, remains the most coherently developed alternative to Western liberal models.

Within liberal political systems, some elements of authoritarian theory coexist, as for example with “national security,” where many argue that patriotism should prevail over the watchdog function of the press. There is also an important distinction in democratic systems between more

classical liberal systems such as the United States, where government intervention is seen as a barrier to press freedom, and systems where the government is assigned a more positive role in assuring the conditions under which press freedom can prosper. This is more typical of European societies with traditions of a strong welfare state, where institutions such as public service broadcasting and press subsidy systems are justified in these terms. France, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries, for example, have systems of press subsidies that are intended to keep alive a greater number and diversity of newspapers than the market would otherwise allow.

Functions of the State

The State plays many different roles in relation to the news media. These include:

Censor. In some systems, the government restricts media organizations from publishing or broadcasting certain material.

Owner. Public service broadcasting is one version of government-owned media, though such systems are often structured as relatively autonomous from government control; they are publicly owned rather than government owned. In other cases governments directly own or invest in media enterprises.

Funder. Government funding can take the form of direct subsidies, tax breaks, loans, government advertising, and sometimes forms of patronage such as jobs, contracts, and other payments to media owners or journalists.

Regulator. Broadcasting is almost always state-regulated. Forms of regulation range from restrictions on cigarette advertising to hate speech laws to shield laws that give journalists special rights to confidentiality

“Primary definer.” Governments play a role in providing the information and of interpretive frameworks relied on by journalists. They serve as an agenda-setter, providing cues about what is news and what is not.

News Media as a Fourth Branch of Government

Although liberal press theory emphasizes separation of media and government and even sees them as adversaries, research has often emphasized

their interdependence and the ways in which journalists and media have become an integral part of the governing process. The different roles of the state listed earlier is one illustration. Even in an open society like the United States, government has played an important role in subsidizing news media, which were seen as an essential element of democracy as well as a key lever of power. Subsidized postal rates, government jobs (e.g., postmaster, customs inspector), and printing contracts, for example, were crucial to the early growth of American newspapers.

The government as a primary definer of news also illustrates this interdependence. Research in Britain and the United States has shown the media in those countries rely just as heavily on government officials as news sources as do journalists in other countries (France, for example) where government intervenes much more as a regulator, funder, and owner of media. Theories of the news-making process have consistently emphasized the central role of government officials as sources, and the fact that journalists’ routines of newsgathering tie them closely to government officials, as, for example, in the “beat” system that organizes journalism around divisions of the government.

Government and media rely heavily on one another: government officials need the media in order to communicate with the mass public and often with other political actors, and journalists rely on government as a steady source of usable, newsworthy content. The tremendous resources governments often devote to servicing the media have sometimes been referred to as an “information subsidy,” as they make it easier and cheaper for journalists to cover the news. Journalists get privileged access to government officials. When the president of the United States travels on Air Force One, for example, he is normally accompanied not only by his top aides and other political leaders, but by journalists. Officials, in return, get privileged access to the news media, where their words, concerns, deeds, and faces regularly appear.

Lapdogs or Watchdogs

There are important debates about the balance of power between media and government and the character of the relationship between them. These can be summarized as a debate about whether the media are watchdogs, aggressively

scrutinizing government officials, or lapdogs, mostly colluding with or manipulated by them. Gadi Wolfsfeld distinguishes among three characterizations of the media's relations to government: "faithful servant," "semi-honest broker," and "advocate of the underdog." A variant of the latter, which sees the media as an adversary of government, often as an overly aggressive watchdog that hurts the public interest by undermining support for governing institutions and making it more difficult for officials to govern, became more common in the 1970s and 1980s. The media in many countries did shift in that period toward a more assertive stance toward government officials and more negative coverage of politicians and political authority with the growth of investigative journalism and "critical professionalism" in the 1970s.

At the other end of the spectrum, the best-known statement of the "faithful servant" perspective is Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's propaganda model of media-government relations, which sees media as dominated by elites who hold wealth and power in society, and are able to use the media to "manufacture consent" in mass public opinion. Their view sees media as dominated not only by government—though they place heavy emphasis on the state—but also by business elites, and they see these two sets of actors as acting in harmony.

Journalists like to see themselves as honest brokers, covering politics in a way that gives fair representation to a wide range of actors, and playing the watchdog role in a responsible and essentially objective way. Wolfsfeld uses the term "semi-honest" broker because virtually all researchers would acknowledge that the media are affected at least to some degree by inequalities of wealth and power, and that some actors—including certainly government officials—will always have more access and influence than others. The bulk of research can be described as falling somewhere between the honest broker and faithful servant perspectives. This research views journalists and news organizations as independent actors, often genuinely committed to the watchdog and honest broker ideals, but at the same time recognizes that the newsmaking process is influenced by structures of power, and that government officials exercise central if not unlimited influence. This scholarship also sees the relation

between media and government as variable rather than constant, with news media sometimes acting like faithful servants, sometimes more like honest brokers, and sometimes—more rarely—like advocates of the underdog, depending on political circumstances.

The indexing theory holds that the range of views represented in the news will be "indexed" to the degree of debate among political elites, becoming wider when elites are divided and actively debating an issue and narrower when they are not. In some versions of this theory, the media not only reflect the varying degrees of elite debate, but their own role also shifts: they are more independent and assertive in gathering and interpreting the news when elites are divided. Robert Entman's hierarchy of influences theory is a related attempt to synthesize research on political communication, which attempts to show how the political role of the media shifts depending on a number of factors, including divisions among political elite, but also, in some cases, such factors as mobilizations by social movements and the cultural resonance of various interpretations with journalists and news audiences.

These theories apply to liberal systems with media that are relatively independent of government economically and organizationally. In other systems, censorship, dependence of media on government, or tight alliances between media owners and governing parties, will produce something much more consistently close to the faithful servant model. Scholars often refer to this as "media capture." The rise of populist movements in recent years has in many systems destabilized traditional relations between media and political elites and produced strong conflicts between established media and populist-led governments.

Variations in Press-Government Relations

Relations between the news media and government vary considerably from one political system to another. Differences between liberal and authoritarian systems and between systems in which government intervention in media markets varies have already been mentioned. One important distinction has to do with the degree of political parallelism in the news media, that is, the

degree to which news organizations and journalists have political alliances or allegiances. In some systems, media have clearly identifiable political orientations, report the news from the point of view of particular factions, and in some cases participate in the process of debate and negotiation among those factions. In other systems, media avoid particular partisan entanglements and present themselves to audiences as providers of neutral information to a nonaligned public. The effects of many forms of government intervention also varies considerably depending on the nature of governing institutions. Government subsidy to news organizations, for example, may have little effect on media independence in systems with clear and transparent rules for the allocation of subsidies, and great effect in systems where government funds can be used at the discretion of political authorities to reward or punish the media.

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See also Antitrust; Censorship; Congress and Journalism; Development Journalism; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Fourth Estate; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Government, State, Coverage of; Libel; Military and the Media; Presidents, Coverage of; Public Broadcasting Service; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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PRESS FREEDOM

Democracy advocate Freedom House defines press freedom as, “the ability of journalists to report freely on matters of public interest.” Under such conditions, the press is able to inform the public while providing a platform for the open exchange of information and ideas. However, since 2001, press freedom around the world has been in decline. With this decline, doing journalism has become more dangerous. This entry explains this decline and what it means to journalists and their ability to report in the interests of democracy.

Dying for Journalism

According to the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ), in the 28 years from 1992 to the start of 2020, 1,365 journalists had been murdered for their work around the world. Broadening the count to include *media workers*, and those who died on the job in circumstances for which the motives were not clear, the number climbs to 2,022, a rate of six per month. Countless more have been imprisoned, threatened, beaten, and intimidated simply for fulfilling their democratic duties, in holding the powerful to account on behalf of their readers and audiences.

A closer analysis shows that the numbers were relatively low through the late 1990s, before surging in 2004. Until 2019, the annual tally of dead remained close to 100, but then the figure suddenly drops to 51. As of 2020, it is too soon to say whether the fall was a statistical blip, but the graph overall reveals something important about the global trends in press freedom.

As this entry explains, one among other possible cause for the surge in the early 2000s may

be the 9/11 attacks on the United States by Al Qaeda, and the way many governments chose to respond with legislation that not only targeted the media but also undermined democratic institutions. The 9/11 attacks changed the nature of conflict from battles over tangible things, such as land or ethnicity, to a war over ideas. In that struggle for ideological dominance, the place where ideas are transmitted—the media—becomes a part of the battlefield. In that world, journalists are no longer merely observers to conflict; they are regarded by both sides as actors and foot soldiers responsible for propagating the ideology of *the enemy*. One logical response from governments is to pass national security legislation that either explicitly or implicitly regards information as a weapon of war, which needs to be controlled and directed in support of the aims of the state. The tools and methods of control have since expanded to what has been called *lawfare*—a broader suite of legislative assaults on independent journalism, but the net effect is the same.

By simply reporting on and quoting one side or the other, journalists have become regarded as legitimate targets in a struggle for control not so much of physical land, but political and intellectual territory. The CPJ's statistics and the lived experience of hundreds of journalists show this is not just an academic theory, but a painful and bloody reality.

Lawfare and Restricting Press Freedom

The challenge for journalists covering conflict has always been to adhere to their professional obligations to provide fair and accurate coverage in the face of extraordinary pressures from the state to support its aims in war. Under normal circumstances, the media would critically analyze legislation, bringing in specialists, sceptics, and outright opponents of the proposals, to thrash out the consequences and develop a settled majority view. But the 9/11 attacks elevated the overriding importance of security to such an extent, that anyone seriously challenging the government's policies could themselves be attacked as supporters of terrorism.

University of California academic Douglas Kellner (2008) pointed out that “war correspondents must mediate between the conflicting ideals of journalism, an often pro-military and pro-war public, pressures from their corporate managers, and the frequently propagandistic and censoring efforts of the state and military” (p. 297). Those pressures can become impossible to resist, particularly when journalists themselves are drawn in and become part of the narrative and active supporters of the government rather than critical independent observers and reporters. As Kellner's 2008 study concluded, “the major story of U.S. journalism and the mainstream corporate media in the reporting of two Bush administration wars is largely a shameful one” (p. 325).

Much of the media's complicity that Kellner described, helped create an environment that enabled legislation, which has in turn severely limited press freedom in the decades since 9/11. The pro-democracy organization Freedom House alarmingly titled its 2019 report, “Global Press Freedom in Peril” and said, “the fundamental right to seek and disseminate information through an independent press is under attack, and part of the assault has come from an unexpected source. Elected leaders in many democracies, who should be press freedom's staunchest defenders, have made explicit attempts to silence critical media voices and strengthen outlets that serve up favourable coverage.”

Freedom House makes it clear that the assault on press freedom has broadened to include what is known as *lawfare*—the use of a raft of legal tools such as tax laws, ownership laws, regulation, and licencing—to further tighten government controls over media messaging.

To appreciate how far things have moved in the years since 9/11, it is worth recalling what the world was like before then, and in particular, how it worked for journalists.

Most of the casualties on the CPJ's list from the early 1990s were victims of three particularly savage civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Algeria. In just 1 year—1994—21 journalists were killed in Rwanda. Between 1992 and 1995, 30 lost their lives in the former Yugoslavia. In Algeria, the number killed in the 4 years between

1992 and 1996 was 58. In the vast majority of the cases in Rwanda and Yugoslavia, the victims died because of their ethnicity; the fact that they were journalists was incidental—they would likely have been killed in the ethnic conflict regardless of their profession. In case of Algeria, they were trapped in the ideological crossfire between Islamists and the government.

While radical Islamists have often had a difficult relationship with reporters, history shows that conflict is not inevitable. Through most of the 1980s, journalists worked relatively freely with Mujahedin factions (Islamic *holy warriors*) in their war to drive Soviet forces out of Afghanistan. Once the Soviets had left, Western reporters continued to cover both the civil war between rival Mujahedin militias and the emergence of the newest force seeking to win control of the country—the Taliban.

The same was true of journalists working in the Gaza Strip, with the Islamist group Hamas in control, and in Lebanon with Hezbollah the dominant group. Inevitably some journalists were killed, but they tended to be casualties because they were working in an inherently dangerous environment or kidnapped simply because they were Westerners with employers who their captors believed would pay large ransoms. In very few cases on the CPJ's list were journalists targeted simply because of their profession.

That changed with 9/11. On September 20, 2001, U.S. president George W. Bush stood before a special joint session of Congress and declared the *war on terror*. He then went on to say, “either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.” As a phrase, the war on terror became a powerful framing mechanism that shaped the way many journalists and their readers and audiences came to understand the conflict and those who were involved in it. It also effectively removed the idea of neutrality. It became impossible to do as reporters had done through the 1990s in Afghanistan, for example, crossing the physical and ideological frontlines in an effort to understand what was driving those involved in the fighting. On November 13, 2001, soon after Al Jazeera obtained the first interview with Osama Bin Laden after the Bush administration accused him of masterminding the attacks, a U.S. guided missile landed on the

news organization's Kabul bureau. At the time, the U.S. military said it had targeted a *known Al Qaeda facility*.

On November 19, one of the Taliban's units ambushed a convoy that was moving between Jalalabad in the east of Kabul, toward the capital. The convoy included four journalists—Spanish reporter Julio Fuentes from *El Mundo*, Afghan photographer Azizullah Haidar and Australian cameraman Harry Burton who were both from Reuters, and the Italian journalist Maria Grazia Cutuli from *Corriere della Sera*. The gunmen released all those in the convoy apart from the journalists; they took the four journalists into the hills outside the town of Sarobi and executed them. The killers were eventually captured, and during their trial, they admitted being involved but said they were only carrying out orders from their superiors to go after journalists. It was the first explicit attack by the Taliban on journalists, not because of their nationality or religious faith, or because of their reporting (they were on-route to the story and had not yet started working), but because of their profession.

Those two events—the bombing of Al Jazeera's Kabul bureau and the murder of the four journalists in Sarobi—indicated that the environment for the media in the war on terror had profoundly shifted. Since then, militant Islamists have continued to target journalists in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia, as well as a magazine in Paris, while governments have seized the opportunity to give themselves extraordinary wartime powers that either directly or indirectly restricted press freedom.

National Security and Press Freedom

Since it started tracking the numbers of journalists behind bars, the CPJ has also been monitoring their charges. Of the 248 in prison around the world at the end of 2019, 39 were facing what might be described as *traditional* crimes of journalism: defamation, violating censorship laws, or publishing ethnic or religious insults. Fifty-four had been locked up without charge. But 165—roughly two thirds of the total—were being held on what the CPJ broadly defines as *anti-state*

charges, including charges such as sedition, treason, and terrorism. As a means of comparison, in the year 2000, only 27 journalists had been imprisoned around the world, half of them on anti-state charges.

Those numbers suggest that governments increasingly see journalists as dangerous, particularly when it comes to threatening the state. In 2019, the country that has imprisoned the most reporters was China, with 48 behind bars. Of those, 34 are there on anti-state charges; the vast majority are Uighurs who had been covering the government's crackdown on what it describes as Islamist terrorism.

Turkey was in second place. All but one of the 47 in its prisons were facing anti-state charges. The numbers in Turkey's prisons increased in 2016, in the aftermath of a failed military coup. The government accused the exiled Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen of orchestrating the coup and started arresting anybody suspected of supporting it. Since then, most of those journalists have also been accused of terrorism-related offences. At least 35 journalists were arrested in 2017 as a part of what become known as the *Bylock trial*, in which thousands of people were caught allegedly using an obscure smartphone app that enabled encrypted communications. The government believed that use of the app was evidence of association with the Gülenists and therefore involved in a terrorist conspiracy to overthrow the government. Egypt and Saudi Arabia tie for third place, with 26 journalists each.

The issue of jailing reporters is not limited to authoritarian regimes seeking to crack down on media criticism. The United States has its protections for press freedom and freedom of speech enshrined in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, yet it has also seen an increase in the use of the law to go after journalists and their sources. Press freedom advocates in the United States have pointed to the Obama administration for using the Espionage Act of 1917 in particular as a basis for prosecution. Previous administrations used the act to prosecute anti-war protesters and those accused of spying, but only one person was charged with leaking to a news organization: Dan Ellsberg who in 1971 passed the so-called Pentagon Papers to *The Washington Post*. Although the precise numbers are difficult to confirm because of variations in the way the cases are

counted, it has been reported that the Obama administration used the Espionage Act at least as often as all previous administrations combined. In the majority of these cases, the Espionage Act was the basis for charges against journalists or their sources who had been exposing politically embarrassing information.

In a CPJ report titled *The Obama Administration and the Press*, its author, former *Washington Post* Executive Editor Leonard Downie Jr. declared, "The administration's war on leaks and other efforts to control information are the most aggressive I've seen since the Nixon administration." Another journalist quoted in the report, *The New York Times*' national security correspondent David Sanger, said, "this is the most closed, control freak administration I've ever covered." Despite expectations, the Donald Trump administration was not as aggressive in using the Espionage Act or other legislative tools as its predecessor, but press freedom advocates have accused President Trump of creating a hostile atmosphere nonetheless. He regularly described the press as *enemies of the people*, denigrated journalists and news organizations he regarded as unsupportive, and generally besmirched the integrity of the media. The situation deteriorated during the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests that erupted across the United States in the wake of the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis. The U.S. Press Freedom Tracker monitors aggressions aimed at journalists, and through the protests, they counted more than 600 incidents, mostly by security agencies who appeared to treat the media as hostile targets rather than legitimate observers.

Clearly not all news organizations have behaved honorably, but in another report, *The Trump Administration and the Media*, the CPJ argued that attacks on the credibility of the press not only undermined public faith in the media and therefore damaged U.S. democracy but also endangered press freedom around the world. According to the report, authoritarian leaders have used *fake news* to justify restricting press freedom, and in the process, many of them praised Trump's rhetoric as encouragement. University of North Carolina law professor David Ardina told the CPJ, "his caustic rhetoric and continuing attacks on journalists are echoing around the world . . . In other countries, they're thinking, 'If the U.S. does not value

independent journalism, why should we have it?' It's diminishing journalism around the world."

Australia is another democracy often hailed for its democratic credentials, yet it has become a global leader in national security legislation. In 2018, the union that represents journalists, the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA), published a report titled *Criminalising Journalism*. The report detailed the way many of those laws either directly or indirectly limit the ability of journalists to do their jobs in holding the powerful to account. In his foreword to the report, the MEAA chief executive Paul Murphy wrote, "with legislation being drafted offering 20 years jail for journalists, Australia has consciously wandered into the arena populated by serial press freedom abusers. Countries like Egypt, Turkey, China, Myanmar and Cambodia that lockup journalists who disclose what their governments are up to" (MEAA, 2018, p. 4). The following year, the Australian Federal Police raided journalists from two news organizations on consecutive days, searching for evidence of the sources of leaked confidential documents. The raids triggering widespread public outrage and two parliamentary inquiries into press freedom, but as of September 2020, no substantial legislative reform.

Globally, the restrictions on press freedom have broadened to include legislative tools, such as tax and ownership laws, media licensing, regulation and accreditation, and the use of government advertising dollars to apply pressure to unfriendly media organizations or specific journalists. In the Philippines, award-winning former CNN correspondent Maria Ressa has become the target of the government's anger because of the critical reporting by Rappler, the news site she founded. Ressa faced 11 separate legal indictments with sentences totaling more than 100 years in prison. Those charges included allegedly breaking tax laws, having foreign owners, and cyber-libel (criminal libel committed online). Ressa used the term *lawfare* to describe the way the government has weaponised the law against uncomfortable reporting. But the pro-democracy group Freedom House believes media freedom has steadily deteriorated around the world over the decade to 2020, increasingly driven by populist leaders with new forms of repression taking hold in both open societies and authoritarian states alike.

Concluding Thoughts

In its report on the state of press freedom in 2019, Freedom House said, "elected leaders in many democracies, who should be press freedom's staunchest defenders, have made explicit attempts to silence critical media voices and strengthen outlets that serve up favourable coverage. The trend is linked to a global decline in democracy itself: The erosion of press freedom is both a symptom of and a contributor to the breakdown of other democratic institutions and principles, a fact that makes it especially alarming."

Ultimately, if the first responsibility of any democracy is to protect the safety and security of its people, it makes sense to support the foundations of the system that delivered that security in the first place. Press freedom is widely accepted as one of those foundations.

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See also Censorship; Democracy and the Media; News Values; Propaganda

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PRESS POOLS

The term *press pools* is a reference to journalists working as a group, rather than in the traditional mode of competing with one another as reporters and employees of a particular news outlet. This occurs when a professional agency enlists journalists from several news organizations to share reporting content or location advantage. Reporters in the pool are expected to supply detailed notes and to file reports that are shared freely with all members of the pool who may not have been selected for inclusion at the event for coverage.

Press pools are sometimes the result of a government declaration in order to organize reporters and their newsgathering at a particular event or location. Press pools are also commonly used by public figures or large organizations such as international companies or leagues to efficiently distribute information. The term is often replaced now with the more inclusive *media pools* which accounts for the shift in news formats from paper-based print to audio and image content across digital platforms.

This entry describes the evolution of press pools and discusses the effects that pooling has had on news content and public opinion. The entry begins by discussing the reports sent home during the Roman Empire in western Europe before focusing on pooling practices of the U.S. news media in the 19th century and beyond.

Early Pooling of Reports

News reports in a written form that circulated, or were posted for public consumption, date to at least the first century BCE. The *Acta Diurna*

(Daily Events) reported significant events around the Roman Empire and provided a record or announcement of births, deaths, and marriages. The publication was a collection of news reports sent from the provinces as well as official notifications from government and was considered required reading for Roman citizens. The efficiency of collecting news into a single fixed issue and distributing or posting it for mass consumption was not lost on the citizenship of such a vast empire. Individuals recounted in letters and other kinds of records that they read specific reports in the *Acta Diurna* and relied on the contents for knowledge about their shared world.

With the development of a mechanized printing press, collected news was distributed in ever wider regions and the reports were gathered from many sources. Pooling of content was often through a post office or general publisher who had access to correspondents who were far-flung and well-informed. As regularly published newspapers became a part of advancing societies, the reporters were more organized and identifiable to establish authoritative content. There was the use of *nom de plume* when a reporter was concerned about retribution for news content, but many reports identified sources for information so that readers at least understood whether to believe the story.

Printing Press Era Pooling

Once newspapers became regularly issued and published by established news organizations, reporters supplied content that suited the publishers' and subscribers' interests. As a selling point for subscriptions, reporters were urged to provide the most current and reliable reports. The need for a constant flow of news reports spurred entrepreneurs to employ journalists and create newsgathering organizations such as the Associated Press, Reuters, and United Press International that collected news and supplied publishers with content. The development of the telegraph aided in news collection and distribution speed over long distances.

Press pooling—that is, selected journalists providing reports for an entire group of reporters who were working for several news organizations—took several forms. *Press conferences*, for example, where a source of information—a public official,

entertainer, or social personality—delivered at once the subject of a report to many journalists without giving interviews to individual reporters. This is one means of pooling the journalists and conserving the effort of relaying information. Press conferences were held, sometimes lavishly and with much anticipation, by government officials, the Hollywood entertainment industry, and anyone else with a public following in the days before social media. Another use of press pooling was developed by the news organizations that wanted access, equally and efficiently, to regular news sources. These pools are sometimes referred to as the *press corps* and are found in environments where news events and sources are habitually providing content. Reporters assigned to particular officials or agencies even had offices or locations dedicated for their reporting activities.

These pooling structures benefited the news sources because they limited the time necessary to interact with journalists. The pooling also benefited the journalists because everyone got the same information at the same time, requiring less time for each reporter to gather particular facts or statements. Journalists were free, then, to spend more time working on other aspects of their reports, such as gathering information outside the pool resources, or writing their stories. This pooling structure can lead to what is referred to as *pack journalism*, when reporting practiced by reporters in a group becomes uniform. Sources of news have also learned to use press pooling to their advantage. Pooled reporters could be uniformly misled with false reports or misdirected by information that was provided without substantiation. The timing of reports could also be managed by sources who wanted to delay information or advance speculation to benefit a particular stance or point of view.

Government Restrictions on Reporting

During times of social conflict, particularly wars and civil unrest, governments learned to manage journalists with varying degrees of success. Notably, in the United States, the federal government organized press pools for reporters covering offshore wars in a variety of ways. These efforts included limiting journalists' access to military activities, formally pooling with credentials and

dedicated work areas, to embedding reporters with specific military units or offices.

In the early years of the 20th century into the late 1960s and the Vietnam War, U.S. journalists who were reporting on wars from the frontlines were encouraged to be good citizens about the details and timing of what they relayed about military activity. Censorship was imposed by government agents as reports were intercepted and taken from messengers or deleted from field reports. And there were self-imposed rules applied by news organizations that feared that laws would be enacted to curtail freedom of the press if editors did a poor job of screening news content.

During the latter part of the century, the improvements in media reporting and communication equipment substantially shortened the timeframe for filing and distributing reports. The Vietnam War was reported so quickly by journalists at the front to the U.S. nightly news broadcasts that the reporters and editors hardly had time to think about the implications of their stories. The military, in response to so little filtering of the news, formalized the reporter credentialing process and imposed broad restrictions on what could be reported from war zones, beginning with U.S. interventions in Central America, Africa, and the Middle East in the 1980s. The restrictions ranged from a 1983 complete ban of media during the U.S. military intervention in Grenada and a 1986 shutdown of media reporting on the military operation in Libya. Following an internal report by Ret. General Winant Sidle, press pools were organized by the U.S. military for 1989 operations in Panama, 1990 in the Persian Gulf, and in the 1992 Somalia deployments. Later, the 1993 peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the 1994 Haiti intervention both proved more difficult to enforce pooling strategies because the military activities were not as formal.

News organizations loudly decried the confinement of reporters away from the battlefields. Coast to coast, opinion writers posted scathing editorials, and reporters protested during press conferences with military officials when the news blackout occurred during the landing in Grenada and again in Libya. After the recommendations contained in the Sidle Report (1984) became known beyond the Pentagon, embedding of reporters was adopted by the U.S. military as a

way of controlling the news sent home from the Persian Gulf operations. Embedding also reduced the antagonism of the news organizations. In this new press pooling template, reporters were allowed access to offshore operations but were restricted to their specifically assigned military units. They were also instructed, with guidelines from the military, that providing any detail about troop movement, size, or activity might inform the opposing side in the conflict. Reporters were required to agree to, and abide by, the guidelines or they would be denied credentials that allowed them to report from the locations of military activity.

These restrictions of press pools had a deep effect on the kinds of news that was distributed in the United States, and research suggests it has also affected public opinion about military conflicts. For example, during the 1982 U.S. Marines deployment to Lebanon, before media pooling was in effect, only 35% of respondents to a public opinion poll said it was the right thing to do. But the next year, after the 1983 Grenada invasion and reporter blackout, 69% of poll respondents said it was the right thing to do.

Modern Press Pools

As communication technology evolved in the 21st century, the need for credentialed journalists on the scene of specific events has diminished. Reporters with varying skills are more often available as freelancers for news organizations to hire on the spur of the moment. News organizations have blended staff reports across communication platforms, so that fewer reporters are required at any given location or for specialized events.

News reports can be filed seamlessly using digital equipment and Internet connections, so that anyone with a portable computer or smartphone can transmit news anywhere that satellites serve. News consumers are also less reliant on a few news sources and can instead browse the World Wide Web for information at will. These factors—worldwide digital communication, and the ubiquity of search tools—have reduced the efficiency and usefulness of press pools as a means of controlling information gathering,

limiting or broadening information distribution, and affecting news media content.

Shannon E. Martin

See also Bandwagon Journalism; Checkbook Journalism; Comparative Models of Journalism; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of.; News Conferences; Press and Government Relations; Self-Regulation

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PRINTING

Printing is the reproduction of text and images in quantity on paper. Modern printing has become highly sophisticated and more digital in nature and has been transformed from art to science. New digital printing processes combine the use of advanced premedia systems (preparation of content for printing or publishing), lasers, plates,

presses, inks, papers, electronic controls, and digital imaging and printing systems. This entry examines printing's origins and summarizes different types of printing, including lithography, digital imaging, and ink-based processes, including but not limited to offset lithography, letterpress, and screen printing.

Origins

Printing from movable (or exchangeable) type appeared in China and Korea in the 11th century. The oldest known printed rather than manuscript text was printed from clay in Korea in 1397 BCE. In 1440, Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz (Germany) introduced printing with ink on paper to the Western world with his invention of movable cast metal type mounted on a converted wine press. Until Gutenberg's invention, all books in the West were laboriously handwritten or copied by scribes.

Changes in press construction evolved slowly until the first all-metal press was built in England by the Earl of Stanhope early in the 19th century. Expanded use of printing was spurred by the growth of book and newspaper publishing and the need to produce more copies of publications faster. During the Industrial Revolution, the job (or platen) press and the cylinder press were developed. The first successful cylinder press, in which a rotating cylinder was used to press the paper against a flat bed of raised type, was the steam-powered press built in London by German inventor Friedrich Koenig. It was used for the London *Times* in 1814 and was capable of producing 1,100 sheets per hour. Cylinder presses provided the speed for high-capacity magazine, newspaper, and book printing.

Mechanized Printing

American Richard Hoe manufactured the first cylinder press in 1846. The first such press was installed at the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Early models produced 2,000 impressions per hour. The first web (roll-fed) press was developed by American William Bullock in 1856. These early web presses delivered 15,000 signatures (multiple pages printed on one large sheet) per hour, printed on both sides. A device for folding the papers as

they came from the press was added in 1875. Letterpress printing (metal type) was replaced by offset lithography in the 1960s.

Lithography

The basic principle of lithography—*stone writing*—is based on the principle that oil-based ink and water do not mix. It was discovered by Alois Senefelder of Munich about 1798. Working on a highly porous stone, he sketched his design with a greasy substance that adhered to the stone. He then wet the entire surface with a mixture of gum arabic and water. It wet the blank or nonimage areas, but these non-greasy areas repelled the ink. An ink made of soap, wax, oil, and lampblack was rolled on the stone. This greasy substance coated the image but not the wet blank area. Senefelder called his invention *chemical printing*. Artists used lithography to make reproductions of artwork—drawings and paintings.

The first steam-driven press for lithography was invented in France in 1850 and introduced in the United States by Richard Hoe in 1868. Direct rotary impression for lithography was introduced in the 1890s using grained zinc and aluminum metal plates to which images were hand transferred from stones using starch-coated transfer sheets.

In 1906, the first *offset lithographic* rotary press began printing sheets in Nutley, New Jersey, an invention of Ira Washington Rubel. Offset lithography transfers the image from the plate to a rubber blanket and then to the paper.

Digital Imaging

The age of electronics and computers changed the way printed products were created and produced. The first production operation to be affected was typesetting with the introduction of the Intertype Fotosetter in 1949 and the Photon phototypesetter in 1954. Offset lithography did not need metal type, and this accelerated the growth of photo offset preparation. In 1950, the PDI Electronic Scanner was introduced for color separations. To print color photographs, they must be *separated* into cyan, magenta, yellow, and black plates. Neither technology advanced until the 1970s, when the video display terminal or television screen and

computers were combined to improve electronic typesetting, and electronic dot generation and digital magnification expanded electronic color separation.

The digital revolution in typesetting began in 1985 with the introduction of the plain paper typesetter and the film imagesetter. In 1985, the imagesetter and raster image processor (RIP) fostered the development of device-independent prepress systems known as *desktop publishing* that displaced the device-dependent color electronic prepress system and eventually replaced conventional prepress systems. Typewriters were replaced by video editing terminals in newsrooms.

Platemaking advances began earlier, with laser imaging in 1975. This was followed by computer-to-film in the 1980s and the eventual introduction of computer-to-metal plates in 1991.

Each modern printing process has three main operations: prepress, press, and postpress. The first and last steps are very similar for all printing processes.

The prepress step involves preparing text and graphics for printing. Before the introduction of electronics and computers in printing, most prepress operations were manual using handset type and/or typesetting machines, process cameras for making page films, film processing, manual color correction, film assembly, and page and signature layout (multiple pages on one plate). Notably, digital imaging technology has replaced all of these manual metal and photomechanical operations; pages are now created and assembled on computer screens using desktop software. Postpress or finishing is the operation for cutting, folding, assembling, and binding sheets into final form—and it is largely unchanged.

The press or printing steps used by presses differ for each printing process. There are two major classifications of printing processes: (1) plate, pressure, or impact processes such as offset lithography, letterpress, flexography, gravure, and screen printing and (2) plateless or dynamic processes such as electrophotography, inkjet, ion, or electron charge deposition, magnetography, thermal transfer printing, and inkjet.

Plate printing processes use mechanical printing presses to exert the heavy pressure needed to transfer ink to paper and are the processes used to support long-run (many copies) magazines,

newspapers, books, packaging, and other printed products.

Plateless printing systems are used for copying and digital printing. They produce an image during each cycle of the printing device. The image can be the same or can be changed from cycle to cycle. This feature enables digital printers to print variable information such as coding, addressing, and personalizing promotions and documents. The printing speed, however, is slower than plate processes, but there is no plate loading and no drying time. Therefore, they are used primarily for short runs, on-demand, and/or variable information printing.

Ink-Based Printing Processes

All printing processes are concerned with two types of area: the *image* or printing areas and the *nonimage* or nonprinting areas. After the text and imagery have been prepared for reproduction (the prepress step), each printing process has definitive means of separating the image from the nonimage areas. Ink-based or conventional printing has five types of printing processes:

Planographic—printing and nonprinting areas are on the same plane surface and the difference between them is based on chemical properties—ink is either accepted or rejected. Examples are offset lithography, collotype, and screenless printing.

Relief—the printing areas are on a raised surface and the nonprinting areas are below the surface. Examples are letterpress and flexography.

Intaglio—the nonprinting areas are on a plane surface and the printing areas are etched or engraved below the surface. Examples are gravure and steel-die engraving.

Porous—the printing areas are on fine mesh screens through which ink penetrates, and the nonimage areas are a stencil over the screen to block the flow of ink. Examples are screen printing and stencil duplicating.

Digital—includes electrostatic printing with toner particles or inkjet printing with drops of ink produced on demand or jetted as a stream.

Planographic—Offset Lithography

Offset lithography uses thin aluminum metal or polyester plates with the image and nonimage areas on the same plane. There are two basic

differences between offset lithography and other processes: (1) It is based on the fact that oil (ink) and water do not mix, and (2) it uses the offset principle, in which ink is transferred from the plate to a rubber blanket on an intermediate cylinder and from the blanket to the paper on an impression cylinder.

On a lithographic printing plate, the printing areas are ink-receptive and water-repellent, and nonprinting areas are water-receptive and ink-repellent. When the plate mounted on the plate cylinder of the offset press is rotated, it comes into contact with rollers wet by a water or dampening solution and rollers wet by ink. The dampening solution wets the nonprinting areas of the plate and prevents the ink from wetting these areas. The ink wets the image areas that immediately are transferred to the blanket cylinder. The inked image is transferred by pressure to the paper as the paper passes between the blanket cylinder and the impression cylinder.

Offset is not a process. Letterpress and gravure (and even digital printing) can also be printed using the offset principle. A main advantage of the offset principle is that the resilient rubber blanket produces a clearer impression on a very wide variety of paper surfaces and other materials with both rough and smooth textures. It extends plate life and reduces press makeready (the process of setting up the press for printing by loading plates, paper, and ink).

Both sheetfed and web (roll-fed) presses are used. Sheetfed lithography is used for printing advertising collateral, books, catalogs, greeting cards, posters, labels, packaging, folding boxes, decals, coupons, trading stamps, and art reproductions. Also, many sheetfed presses can perfect (print both sides of the paper, which is also called *duplexing* or *perfecting*) in one pass through the press. Web offset prints on rolls of paper and is used for printing daily and weekly newspapers, inserts, advertising literature, long-run catalogs, books, encyclopedias, and magazines.

Relief—Letterpress

Letterpress is the method of printing Gutenberg invented in 1440 and has been used for job and commercial printing. It is a relief method of printing that can print from cast metal type, molded

duplicate plates (still used for some package printing), or photopolymer plates on which the image or printing areas are raised above the nonprinting areas. Viscous oil-base and ultraviolet (UV) inks are used. The ink rollers come in contact with the raised areas only, and the inked image is transferred directly to the paper. Commercial letterpress has declined in use because too much time was consumed in makeready (adjusting the press form so both the light and heavy areas print with the correct impression). Letterpress makeready is a manual process that is very skill- and time-intensive and therefore very expensive. It is one of the main reasons that the letterpress has declined in use. It is still used for corrugated carton printing, imprinting, and numbering. Four types of presses were used: platen, flatbed cylinder, rotary, and belt. Letterpress is making a comeback in specialty and hobby printing using photopolymer plates.

Relief—Flexography

Flexography is a form of rotary web relief printing like letterpress but using flexible rubber or resilient photopolymer relief plates, and fast-drying low-viscosity, solvent-based, water-based, or UV-based inks fed from an anilox inking system (rollers with many cells in them to facilitate ink delivery). Most flexographic presses are webfed in three basic approaches: *stack*, *in-line*, and *central impression cylinder* presses. Almost any material that can go through a web press can be printed by flexography—tissue, plastic bags, pressure sensitive labels, corrugated board, and materials such as foil, cellophane, polyethylene, and other plastic films. It is well suited for printing large areas of solid color with high gloss and brilliance. The growth of flexography parallels the expansion of the packaging industry, especially flexible packages. Development was based on the central impression cylinder press, laser-engraved ceramic anilox ink metering systems, laser-imaged photo-polymer plates, and water-based and UV inks. In the 1990s, some newspapers attempted to print with flexography approaches.

Intaglio—Gravure

Gravure image areas consist of cells or wells etched or engraved into a copper cylinder, while the unetched surface of the cylinder represents the

nonprinting areas. The image cylinder rotates in a bath of ink. The excess is wiped off the surface by a flexible steel *doctor blade*. The ink remaining in the thousands of recessed cells forms the image by direct transfer to the paper as it passes between the plate cylinder and the impression cylinder. Three types of processes are used for making gravure printing cylinders: (1) *Chemical etching* produces cells of the same size or area with varying depths; (2) *electromechanical engraving* produces cylinders with cells that vary in area and depth; and (3) *direct digital laser etching* produces cells of varying area and depth. Gravure printing produces excellent reproductions of pictures, but slightly ragged type. The high cylinder-making cost usually limits use to very long runs. The use of halftone and film-less gravure has reduced these costs and made gravure competitive in certain shorter run markets. Gravure is used for long runs of newspaper supplements, circulars, magazines, catalogs, as well as special products such as wallpaper and packaging. Cylinders can be reused many times. Many magazines and catalogs are hybrid publications—part gravure and part lithography. The long-run editorial sections are gravure and the short-run geographic, demographic, and advertising sections are printed with offset lithography. All pages are then assembled in automated bindery systems.

Porous—Screen Printing

Formerly known as *silk screen*, this method once employed a porous screen of fine silk, nylon, dacron, or stainless steel mounted on a frame. Many materials are now used to make the stencil, which is produced, manually, photo-mechanically, or electronically. Printing is on a wide range of substrates under the screen by applying ink with a thick consistency forced through the fine mesh openings with a rubber squeegee. The production rate, once limited by the drying time of the ink, has been increased by the development of automatic presses, improved dryers, and new UV inks. Most presses are flat-bed. Rotary screen presses speed up production considerably because they allow continuous operation. Screen printing usually can be recognized by the thick layer of ink and is used for

fabric, apparel (especially T-shirts), signage, and specialty materials.

Lithography, letterpress, flexography, gravure, and screen printing account for the majority of all reproduction on paper and special substrates; however, digital printing processes are making rapid inroads because of their ability to more effectively handle short runs and variable information printing.

Digital Printing Processes

Copying and digital duplicating are also called *reprography* or *reprographics*. For fewer than 100 copies, the *copier* has been the fastest and most economical method of reproduction. Above 100 copies, high-speed copiers and/or duplicators are used, but these are now mostly *digital printers* and can accept hard copy or digital files. Reprography is used extensively by in-house printing departments and quick printing shops. The only method for making copies of documents before 1940 was the photographic print called a *photostat*, which was time-consuming and expensive. In the 1950s, the 3M Thermo-Fax used heat to make copies. The Xerox 914 in 1959 was the first to introduce plain paper copying using electrophotography (toner). Subsequently, a number of photocopying systems were developed, such as photo-based diffusion transfer processes that were popular in Europe. Electrophotography (toner) has dominated the reprographic market, but inkjet printing is making inroads.

Electrophotography, also called *xerography* or *electrostatic printing*, is based on electrostatic transfer of toner to and from a charged photoconductor surface. Many printers use electrophotographic (EP) coatings such as selenium, cadmium sulfide, zinc oxide, or organic photoconductors to produce the images in the copier. The photoconductor converts light energy (photons) into electrical energy (electrons). These coatings are charged with a corona discharge in the dark and lose the charge on standing or when exposed to light, such as that reflected from the white areas of an original or by a laser or other light source. The image areas that remain charged are developed with an oppositely charged dry powder or liquid toner and are transferred from the EP surface onto plain

paper using electrostatic attraction. The electro-photographic coating is cleaned and can be reimaged many times. Color copiers use similar principles, but they have four or more colored toners or inks rather than one. The term *digital press* implies a higher level of operating speed and capability for production applications.

Copiers are no longer manufactured as such. The function of copying a hard copy original is now performed by multifunction printers (MFPs). These devices incorporate a scanner, a digital printer, and a digital front end to accept files. They can scan, print, fax, and copy. Fewer and fewer copiers are made as more and more files are sent to these devices for printing. MFPs may be black-and-white (also called *monochrome*) or full color. Printers theoretically produce originals, and copiers produce copies—but the term *copy* is used in both cases.

Duplicating

Before copiers and digital presses, copies of pages in quantities from 50 to 5,000 were produced on offset lithographic duplicators. There were offset presses in sizes up to 12 by 18 inches (A3+). The offset duplicator was the mainstay of the printing industry and allowed many entrepreneurs to start printing services. Copiers and duplicators were once small offset presses with online polyester platemaking. Over time, they became high-speed copiers that *photographed* paper originals, and today, they are digital printers. Stencil and spirit duplicators are based on the mimeograph that was invented by Thomas Edison and marketed by Albert Blake Dick. They work by forcing ink through a porous stencil and produce copies on plain paper. New versions of these printers use digital files to image the stencils.

Digital Prepress

Prepress processes advanced from metal assembly to pasteups to film. New filmless digital imaging processes create page images directly on printing plates for conventional printing or directly on plateless presses from computer files. These are called *computer-to-printing* or *direct-to-printing* processes. The three types of filmless digital

printing processes are (1) *computer-to-plate* (CTP), (2) *computer-to-plate-on-press* (DI, for direct imaging), and (3) *computer-to-print* (digital printing). All categories use essentially the same prepress digital files output from page composition software, page description languages, and RIPs to drive the lasers or imaging systems of the marking devices.

Digital Printing

Conventional printing uses plates that contain the text and images to be reproduced in quantity on a mechanical press that feeds inks to the plates and exerts heavy pressures to transfer the inked images to paper or other substrate. Digital printers apply copier and new digital technology and use dynamic image carriers. Each cycle of the printer transfers a fresh image to the substrate. It can be the same or different than the previous image. This feature makes it possible to print variable information from print to print, which conventional printing cannot do. It also allows electronic collation, which assembles all pages of a publication in order. Digital printing is used for short-run, on-demand printing (print immediately), but the speed for larger and longer-run documents is slower than plate processes.

Digital printing began in 1970 with the introduction of inkjet printing, followed by EP laser printers in 1978, color electronic laser printers in 1993, and many EP and inkjet color printing presses introduced since 1995. Other digital printing technologies are magnetography, thermal transfer, dye sublimation, and inkjet printing.

All printing today is digital in some manner and all printing technologies accept digital files. Static printing uses an image carrier (plate or cylinder) that makes every impression exactly the same. Digital printing refers to any printing process that does not use a fixed-image image carrier (e.g., a plate). The process is based on the regeneration of printed information for each and every impression of a particular job. Toner, solid ink, and inkjet (in all its forms) are considered digital printing. DI printing (imaging plates on-press) or CTP (imaging plates off-press) are digital in nature, but not digital printing. Over time, offset lithographic plates will be imaged on reusable

image carriers on-press and the age of *plateless* conventional printing will begin.

Computer-to-Print Systems

All purely digital printing systems accept digital files and thus become computer-to-print digital printing systems. They may use EP photoconductor, inkjet, ion- or electron-charge deposition, magnetography, thermal transfer, and dye sublimation technologies, among others. They are called *variable data printing systems* because each impression is regenerated and can then include personalized information from a database. Each impression is an original. Copiers made a second-generation copy.

Magnetography and electron deposition printing use special magnetic toners to produce the printed images. In these processes, there is less need for heat to fuse the toner, and thus a wider array of papers may be used, especially when lithography is used for preprinting.

Thermal transfer uses thermal print heads that melt spots of dry thermoplastic ink on a donor ink ribbon and transfer them to a receiver to produce color labels, logos, wiring diagrams, bar codes, and other similar products. Dye sublimation printers are like thermal transfer printers except the inks on the donor ribbons are replaced by heat-activated dyes. The thermal head converts the dyes to gas spots that condense on the receiver.

Inkjet systems use jets of ink droplets driven by digital signals to print directly on paper or other substrates. The first plateless digital printing system was an inkjet imager introduced in 1970. Two types of inkjet systems are in use: continuous inkjet and drop-on-demand.

Continuous inkjets are used for direct mail and transactional printing, digital color proofing, and variable information on-press color printing systems at speeds up to 1,000 ft per minute.

Drop-on-demand inkjets are divided into thermal, piezo, and solid ink/phase change digital printing systems. Inkjet uses heat and thermal pressure to create droplets of ink. Solid ink begins as a solid and is melted to produce drops. Inkjet systems are rapidly gaining in use, especially since new inks have been developed with light- and water-fastness properties for printing on different substrates. There are also large format webfed and

flatbed printing systems used for producing displays, murals, outdoor exhibits, posters, and paneled billboards. Water-based (aqueous), solvent, and UV inks are used depending on the printer type. Early water-based inkjet inks used dyes; today, many use pigments.

Press Configurations

Printing presses and digital printers are either sheetfed or roll-fed (also called *webfed* and *continuous feed*). Sheetfed presses are used for commercial printing where lightweight and heavyweight paper stocks can be easily changed. Roll-fed presses are used for printing longer runs on light-weight stocks for magazine, catalog, and newspaper publications.

Presses and printers are further categorized by the sheet size (40-inch presses can print eight pages on one side of the sheet at one time), and roll-fed presses use the width of the roll and the cut-off in defining size. Most publication roll-fed presses cut and fold the paper into units called *signatures* that contain 4 to 64 pages.

The printed newspaper is facing many challenges—from electronic reading devices with news distribution via social media, blogs, and websites. As print circulation declines and page sizes shrink, newspaper printing is projected to move to digital printing (toner or inkjet). These devices do not use plates. Digital printers allow printing of individualized newspapers with information aggregated for one person.

Some weeklies are already using webfed inkjet printing. The tabloid format and smaller run lengths are now effectively addressed by digital printing. Newer inkjet printers are webfed with roll widths over 40 inches. This will allow shorter run broadsheet newspapers to print digitally.

Journalism arose because of the printed newspaper and today extends into television, radio, and the Internet. But the printed newspaper will metamorphose from a mass-produced publication to one that is more personalized and the technology to produce it is at hand.

Frank J. Romano

See also Automation; Design and Layout, Magazine; Design and Layout, Newspaper; Graphics; Gutenberg

Press; Layout; Magazine Design; Newspaper Design;
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PRIOR RESTRAINT

A prior restraint occurs when a government body or representative tries to stop publication before it occurs. In the United States, prior restraints are considered presumptively unconstitutional and the least acceptable intervention into the speech marketplace. This is because, unlike punishments that occur after expression has taken place, this form of censorship keeps speech from reaching the public in the first place.

This entry explores instances when prior restraints were requested and discusses whether they were permitted or not. The entry also examines how this process is complicated by the existence of websites like WikiLeaks. Finally, the entry explains what the prohibition against prior restraints means for U.S. journalists.

What Is a Prior Restraint?

The notion that government censorship of speech is an improper exercise of power dates back the writings of John Locke in the late 1600s. Locke said that people, not governments, have innate rights including life, liberty, and personal self-fulfillment. The power of the government comes from the people, therefore, government actions to limit natural rights, such as censorship of expression, are always illegitimate.

This thinking and a desire to be free of interference on expression imposed by the British

Parliament helped the framers of the U.S. Constitution shape the First Amendment, which prohibits Congress from making laws that abridge the right to freedom of speech or press. Prior restraints by the government run directly counter to the First Amendment and therefore are allowed only in certain, extreme circumstances.

In the United States, the government may restrict speech by making an entire category unprotected, such as obscenity, incitement, or fighting words, or through a prior restraint. Prior restraints generally occur in two ways. The first is when the government requires that content be submitted for approval before it is distributed, usually through a licensing process. The second and more frequent way prior restraints occur is through a temporary restraining order or injunction against speech.

Occasionally government actions can be viewed as indirect prior restraints. For example, an appeals court said that when a county sheriff tried to pressure credit card companies not to provide services to the classified advertising website Backpage.com, which contained sex ads, this amounted to a prior restraint that harmed the website's right to free speech.

When Prior Restraints Might Be Permitted

The legal doctrine used to determine when prior restraints may be considered constitutional is referred to as the *Near test*, which comes from the 1931 case, *Near v. Minnesota*. In this instance, Jay Near, publisher of the *The Saturday Press*, printed eight issues of his paper in which he accused city government and police of doing nothing to stop Jewish gangsters who he said were operating bootlegging, gambling, and racketeering operations in the city. The paper was shut down for violating a public nuisance law because it was malicious, scandalous, and defamatory. The law provided that any person "engaged in the business" of regularly publishing or circulating an "obscene, lewd, and lascivious" or a "malicious, scandalous and defamatory" newspaper or periodical was guilty of a nuisance and could be prevented from continuing that nuisance.

The U.S. Supreme Court eventually overturned Near's conviction and found the Public Nuisance statute to be a violation of the free press clause of

the First Amendment. The Supreme Court, in a 5–4 decision, said that only in certain, extreme instances may expression be curtailed before it has had a chance to be heard, such as when it threatens national security.

A few years later, in *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart* (1976), the Supreme Court said in their unanimous decision that if “a threat of criminal or civil sanctions after publication chills speech, prior restraint freezes it.” In addition to judicial injunctions against publication, the Supreme Court said here that prior restraints include government oversight over categories of speech or types of publications, government determinations of acceptable and unacceptable content, and government censorship of expression that occurs before it reaches the speech marketplace.

Prior restraints may be considered constitutional when the speech in question is necessary to protect national security or to prevent obstruction of military recruitment or foreseeable overthrow of the government. Speech that falls into the unprotected categories of obscenity, incitement, and fighting words may also be curtailed.

Under this framework, the government may not censor or prohibit a publication in advance of its release unless it reveals military secrets, incites immediate violence, or meets the legal definition for obscenity. To receive an injunction against a particular publication, the government must demonstrate that the prior restraint is justified.

The National Security Exception

For publication to be prohibited under the national security exception, it must contain specific information that would endanger troops, such as their location, numbers, or movements.

In 1971, the Supreme Court ruled that a court order stopping the publication of information by *The New York Times* that came from a stolen top secret government report about U.S. actions during the Vietnam War was unconstitutional because it did not prevent immediate harm to troops but instead revealed only historical information. In this instance, the federal government was not able to demonstrate that it had a compelling reason for the restriction. This case, *New York Times v. United States*, is often referred to as the *Pentagon*

Papers case. It has become a landmark case and a long-standing example of the Supreme Court’s refusal to allow information to be censored simply because it portrays the United States government in an unfavorable light.

However, when a magazine called *The Progressive* wanted to publish instructions for designing and constructing a hydrogen bomb, courts issued a temporary injunction against sharing what they deemed to be military secrets. The case was eventually dismissed when the information was independently published by other sources.

Today, Internet technology makes it far more difficult for the government to prohibit the release of information. WikiLeaks, which was founded in Iceland in 2006 by Internet activist Julian Assange, has released a number of caches of leaked or stolen documents on its website. For example, in the mid-2000s, WikiLeaks distributed classified U.S. military documents about the war in Afghanistan. Unlike the Pentagon Papers case, the information released by WikiLeaks in this instance was not historical in nature and therefore had the potential to put troops in danger.

WikiLeaks has released classified information provided by former Army intelligence officer Chelsea Manning who was convicted of violating the Espionage Act of 1917. Former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden has also been charged with violating the Espionage Act for sharing classified information with news organizations about the NSA’s global surveillance program. While some look at Manning and Snowden as whistleblowers shining a light on potentially problematic U.S. global and domestic initiatives, others label them traitors. The existence of websites like WikiLeaks and cases like Manning’s and Snowden’s demonstrates how difficult it is for the government to prevent the release of information in the digital age.

Newsgathering

Prior restraints also arise when institutions or organizations are threatened by the release of information by journalists. However, these too are generally not permitted unless the government can produce clear and convincing evidence that the speech will cause certain harm that cannot be

addressed by less intrusive measures or that the speaker clearly engaged in criminal activity to obtain the information being banned. In the case *CBS v. Davis* (1994), the Supreme Court struck down a state order preventing a newscast that featured hidden camera footage of a meat packing plant. Although the reporters engaged in *calculated misdeeds* to secure the footage by getting jobs at the plant under false pretenses, the Supreme Court ruled that the extraordinary remedy of an injunction was unwarranted.

What Journalists Need to Know

When it comes to prior restraints, it is important for journalists to know where the legal lines exist. If the information in question contains troop location, numbers, or movements, it may be curtailed under the national security exception. Journalists and other speakers may also have their expression restricted when it contains obscene material, as defined by the case *Miller v. California* (1973). If the speaker or publisher engages in criminal activity to gather the information in question, it may also be censored before publication. Other than those instances, the government may not stop publication before it occurs. Therefore journalists, whistleblowers, and others should not be dissuaded from publishing because of threats issued by public officials. The Supreme Court has maintained over a series of cases that prior restraints on speech are presumptively unconstitutional.

Caitlin Ring Carlson

See also Censorship; Espionage Act; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Pentagon Papers; WikiLeaks

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PRIVACY

The law of privacy in the United States does not fit into a single conceptual framework. The term *privacy* consists of three distinct, though related, broad legal categories: constitutional privacy, statutory privacy, and the privacy torts or civil claims. In popular discussions and debates, journalists and nonjournalists alike often blur the distinctions. All three are relevant to journalism and everyday life in the United States. This entry first discusses how technological developments of the late 20th and early 21st centuries have forced journalists to grapple with new privacy concerns. It then looks in turn at the three different legal categories of privacy and how they relate to journalism.

As photography grew and the press became more intrusive in the late 19th century, journalists, philosophers, and legal scholars began reexamining the meaning of personal privacy, the limits of ethical journalism, and the law of privacy. Similarly, the explosive growth of the Internet in the late 20th century and the subsequent development of social media and surveillance cameras have raised new ethical and legal concerns about the shifting lines between what is private and what is a matter of legitimate public interest.

With so many people posting to the Internet their personal moments and actions and with only limited protection through privacy settings and privacy policies, journalists and others can find a wealth of information electronically that in the past would have been unavailable. This raises fundamental questions about society and journalism. Are our privacy expectations changing? If the Internet never truly forgets, despite the best efforts of search engine optimization firms that seek to

bury or reorder search results and the European Union that has struggled to implement a legislative right to be forgotten, is everyone and everything online fair game for the tech-savvy, even voyeuristic, journalist?

Although new technologies and somewhat exhibitionist habits of many social media and smartphone users may be pushing the boundaries of journalism ethics, the courts still invoke the settled boundaries of privacy law to those new technologies and habits. The near-ubiquity of video footage and private information on the Internet have not made privacy law irrelevant—just more technical and perhaps even more dangerous for the poorly informed journalist. Websites and other online services may be able to protect themselves by having their user click on and agree to their exception-riddled privacy policies, but journalists do not have those same legal or contractual defenses. Just because one can find the image or information on the Internet, that does not mean the image or information might not, if published, constitute an invasion of privacy. To understand these issues, journalists need to understand the different legal dimensions of privacy in the United States.

Constitutional privacy is rooted in the U.S. Constitution, although the word privacy does not appear in that document. Decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court provide the outlines of the concept, which defines the right of individuals to be free from unreasonable governmental intrusion into their lives. When one thinks of Court decisions dealing with everything from a woman's right to control her reproductive life to gay rights, one is generally dealing with constitutional privacy issues.

Statutory privacy is grounded, again as the terms suggest, in statutes (i.e., laws) typically enacted by state legislatures or Congress. These statutes are subject to change as the political climate in those bodies and the country changes. Statutory privacy deals with everything from health care records to student academic records and even driver's license records. The texts of these laws tend to be very detailed and can vary from state to state in the absence of a federal rule.

The third category consists of the four privacy torts or civil lawsuits for invasions of privacy. This category is generally a question of state law. As a

result, there is some variation from state to state based on common law traditions and relevant state court decisions and state statutes. General treatises on the law, such as the Restatement of Torts, provide excellent sources of guidance.

Most states recognize four privacy torts. These include the following: invasions of privacy through the disclosure of highly personal facts, intrusion upon one's solitude, false light, and, finally, commercial appropriation of one's image or name without permission in connection with the sale of products or services. The precise terms of these claims vary across the country, as discussed more fully below. Several states have rejected the false light claim, for example, concluding it resembles defamation law without its safeguards.

In addition to the multijurisdictional and multiconceptual state of the law, one also must consider the constitutions of the 50 states. Those documents, which tend to be idiosyncratic as well as more easily amended and more detailed than the federal constitution, often have provisions creating certain state privacy rights or rights of access to state-controlled records and information that some might otherwise consider private.

This nuanced world of privacy affects the lives and work of journalists and nonjournalists alike. First, journalists often write about constitutional issues without understanding the subject. Second, state or federal statutes that limit, for example, access to certain records, whether in the possession of the government or a private entity such as a hospital, define both privacy expectations of individuals and the ability of a journalist to obtain newsworthy information. Finally, tort claims over the disclosure information in a news report or over the newsgathering techniques ranging from photography to voice recording obviously affect both nonjournalists and journalists. A brief analysis of each of the three categories of privacy law in the United States follows.

Constitutional Privacy

Although the word "privacy" is nowhere in the text of the U.S. Constitution or any of its 27 amendments, the Supreme Court has recognized a series of privacy-based rights of the people against unreasonable governmental intrusion into or control over personal decisions, personal information,

private places, and the conduct of private lives. Journalists often write about these issues.

Many of these cases have arisen in the context of criminal prosecutions and police investigations, often relying on the Fourth Amendment right against unreasonable searches and seizures. For example, the Supreme Court has found a zone or envelope of privacy surrounding an individual as well as dwellings and other specific places, thus limiting the power of the government to conduct not only physical searches but also certain wiretaps and forms of digitally enabled surveillance. This application of privacy can also limit the legal ability of government agents to allow journalists to be present during some raids, arrests, and other official activities.

The Supreme Court has not limited its privacy rulings to the world of criminal procedure. The Court has extended the general reasoning regarding privacy rights to intimate decisions made by individuals. In a seminal case in the 1960s, the Court held that if one examined the structure and import of various constitutional rights, from the First Amendment to the Fourth to the Equal Protection Clause, one found decisional privacy rights grounded or implied in the “emanations” and “penumbras” of those constitutional provisions. In 1965, the Court used this right of privacy to strike down a state law barring the sale of contraceptives to married couples. As the Court expanded the scope of this implied right of privacy to other matters, including most notably in 1973 to a woman’s right to choose to abort a fetus within certain limits, the right became more controversial.

The constitutional right of privacy developed further when the Court in 2003 used it to strike down a Texas statute that made consensual sexual relations between adults of the same sex a crime. Writing for the court, Justice Anthony Kennedy articulated in *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) a rationale based on respect for the private lives and intimate choices of consenting adults. The Court employed the same basic rationale in 2015 to invalidate state limitations on the rights of same-sex couples to marry in *Obergefell v. Hodges*.

The lynchpin in each of these decisions is governmental action—be it enforcement of a law related to intimate relationships or the collection of information about a person for criminal

prosecutions or other investigations. The voluntary disclosure of information by people to private businesses, from banks to credit card companies and even social media or software companies, implicates no state action and thus generally no constitutional privacy rights in the United States. These forms of information collection involve questions of personal privacy left to the realms of statutory privacy rights and the privacy torts.

Statutory Privacy

The state legislatures and the U.S. Congress often enact statutes designed to protect individuals from invasions of privacy beyond that which the Constitution covers. Increasingly many of these statutes apply to information collected by private businesses (e.g., banks, health care providers, insurers, search engines, social media companies, and other digital entities) as well as by the government.

The content of these statutes rarely makes for easy or stimulating reading. The laws tend to share some common characteristics. First, the laws tend to be detailed, lengthy, and very technical. Second, the laws are subject to amendments and even repeal as the political winds shift in the relevant legislative body (e.g., Congress). Third, the laws usually represent a balancing of competing interests and thus can be controversial (e.g., the interests of technology companies that trade in personal data with the interests of the users). Fourth, the laws must comply with constitutional standards and are thus subject to review and interpretation by the courts—both state and federal.

Setting forth the detailed requirements of even one of these statutes would exceed the scope of this entry. Some apply primarily to information held or collected by the government, some to private entities, and some to both. The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), for example, is a law that provides some access to the records of federal agencies, but it also includes exemptions designed to protect personal privacy. The states also have their own public records laws that provide access and define any privacy exceptions in the statutory text or by judicial interpretation. The federal Privacy Act of 1974 is another statute relevant to information held by the federal government about individuals, and it too is very complicated.

Among the more high-profile federal statutes with direct relevance to individuals' rights to privacy information, one will find the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996, which took effect in 2003 (HIPAA), and the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA or the Buckley Amendment) of 1974. HIPAA limits the use and disclosure of individuals' health information by doctors, hospitals, insurers, related businesses, and many employers that provide health care or coverage. FERPA protects the privacy of student education records and applies to all schools that receive federal funds.

Other examples of these laws set standards for all types of information from driver's license records to electronic communications to information collected online about children and others. Some states have laws intended to protect the privacy of certain participants in the judicial system (e.g., jurors and victims of sexual batteries). While some of these laws are constitutional, some are not under the First Amendment, which provides, among other things, certain rights of access to judicial proceedings.

The Privacy Torts

Tort law involves the civil court claims or lawsuits that individuals or businesses may file against one another for violations of certain rights, including privacy rights, through their conduct. The American law of privacy has developed in an ad hoc fashion over many decades and with some significant variation among the states and territories that comprise the country.

In 1960, William Prosser, then the dean of the College of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, published an influential law review article entitled "Privacy" examining hundreds of cases involving privacy tort claims. Prosser identified four distinct torts that cut across state jurisdictional lines: (1) disclosure of embarrassing private facts about individuals; (2) intrusion upon an individual's privacy or solitude; (3) false light or the intentional dissemination of highly offensive false publicity about another; and (4) appropriation, or the use of another person's name or likeness without permission. The discussion that follows represents a general examination of the

most common approaches across the states to individual privacy torts.

The first privacy tort involves the publication of truly private information that would be highly offensive or outrageous to a reasonable person and not a matter of legitimate public concern. This tort assumes the disclosed information is true. If the information is false, one would be looking at a potential defamation or libel claim and not a privacy claim. The disclosure must be widespread, which would apply to just about all disclosures by the media.

The types of information that are most likely to raise this tort include reports about sexual relations, humiliating illnesses or other intimate medical information, intimate personal letters, some very personal family disputes, and photographs taken in private places. The exception for matters of legitimate public concern protects many news media reports, though not necessarily all of them. Information relevant to public events, controversies, trials and most judicial proceedings, or found in publicly available government records typically will not support one of these claims. In one case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the news media may legally publish personal information, even the name of a sexual battery victim, if that information is already public. Information, even if embarrassing, that one discloses about himself or herself or that is already widely known cannot be the basis of a claim because the information is not private. Consent is a defense to this claim.

One well-known recent case involved the posting by the Gawker gossip blog of a short, grainy sex tape that showed a celebrity, Terry Bollea ("Hulk Hogan"), engaged in consensual sex with the then-wife of Bollea's then friend. Although Bollea had repeatedly and publicly boasted of his sexual conquests, the disclosure of the private tape so outraged the jury that in 2016 it awarded Bollea \$140 million in damages. A judge subsequently reduced the award and the case was later settled for about \$30 million, but it led to the bankruptcy and sale of Gawker Media, which ran Gawker and several other websites. The case also demonstrated the risks faced by digital news media and even social media users who post highly personal information that is not clearly newsworthy.

The tort of intrusion involves a violation of an individual's solitude, either physically by entering

that space or technologically through photography, videography, audio recorders, or other devices. This tort does not require actual publication of the information obtained, if any. The intrusion itself (i.e., the collection of the information) constitutes the essence of the claim, which resembles some elements of the criminal law of trespass. As a general matter, public spaces and events cannot be the basis for an intrusion claim. People involved in public activities typically have little or no reasonable expectation of privacy in those activities. Private property and private spaces (e.g., locker rooms and bathrooms) are a different matter. One usually needs permission to enter private property, although consent may be implied in some contexts. The use of hidden cameras, secret microphones, drones, powerful telephoto or infrared lenses, and other similar tools can lead to an intrusion claim in cases of misuse. Some states even make the secret, nonconsensual recording of private conversations a serious crime.

The false light case law across the country exhibits a high degree of confusion. This tort is best expressed as the widespread publication of facts that by their arrangement or order place a plaintiff in a false light that is highly offensive to a reasonable person and, in at least stories of public importance, was published with actual malice (i.e., with knowledge of or reckless disregard concerning that false light). Dramatizations of actual events, deceptive juxtapositions of otherwise accurate facts, fictionalizations of events, and docudramas can raise this concern. The confusing and at times conflicting case law as well as similarities to some elements of the law of defamation, particularly defamation by implication, have led some states and courts to reject this tort.

The fourth tort, commercial appropriation, involves the use without permission of an individual's name, likeness, or image for commercial purposes—that is, advertising or promotions for the sale of products or services. Some states expressly include the unauthorized use of distinctive voices and other forms of impersonation as protected elements of a person's identity. This tort does not cover unauthorized use of a name, likeness, or image in news reports, feature stories, or commentary; it typically will not cover certain truly transformative, creative works incorporating the name, likeness, or image.

Most commercial appropriation cases involve advertising that uses a celebrity's name and identity, although private persons can file these claims as well. Celebrities can also file claims based on the right of publicity, a closely related claim that is often confused with commercial appropriation. The unauthorized use of names and likenesses can lead to claims involving works of literature, films, and television shows. Obtaining consent or permission (i.e., a signed, written release) is an important defense to these claims. The related right of publicity may be assigned by contract and may survive a celebrity's death in some states and be inherited or owned by an heir or some other person or business.

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See also Ethics; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Libel; News Values; Photojournalism, Ethics of; Section 230, Communications Decency Act; Sunshine Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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PRODUCERS

Producers are the hidden voice of broadcast news, especially television news, in local and network newsrooms across the country. People do not often see their faces or hear their voices, but they touch virtually every word that is written in television news and make the decisions every day that set the news agenda for local and national, television and radio news programming. Since the early 2000s, the role of the producer has exploded into the digital world producing content for websites, mobile, and social media platforms. Producers

work with a wide range of technology to create audio, video, text, interactive digital, graphics, and virtual and augmented reality content across all media platforms.

When most people think about producers, they think about Hollywood film or Broadway theater producers. But news producers are not involved with the finances or staffing of their programs; they are the key content people. News producers' decisions range from what stories go into a television or radio newscast and how they will be presented to researching, reporting, and writing those stories; from graphics, video and audio production elements, to timing and communicating with talent and production during a live broadcast. Digital producers manage everything from the overall look of websites and mobile apps to specific content areas to individual stories and special projects. Most broadcast newsrooms and their digital counterparts are managed from a “producer-centered” perspective, meaning the producers are the center of the decision-making process about what ends up on the air, on the web, on mobile, and on social media. This entry examines the development of the role of producers within the context of news, discusses four main types of producers, and highlights some producers considered pioneers in the production of television and radio news. The entry also addresses concerns about the role of producers in light of developments in journalistic technology and content in the 21st century.

Development of the News Producing Role

One can trace the present-day dominance of the producing role in broadcast news back to early television network news programming in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Prior to television, most radio news was written and produced by the reporters and anchors who also delivered that news. Two of the earliest television news programs were Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* (1951–1957), and *Douglas Edwards and the News* (1948–1962). The names behind those news programs are almost as famous as the faces and voices viewers knew so well. Fred Friendly, who went on to become Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News president, was Murrow's producer and Don Hewitt, creator and longtime

executive producer of *60 Minutes*, was also the creator and producer of the Douglas Edwards broadcast.

At the national network (CBS, National Broadcasting Company [NBC], and American Broadcasting Company [ABC]) level, producers such as Friendly and Hewitt had a great deal of influence over the broadcasts they worked on. They managed the content working closely with the anchors/hosts of the programs, but those anchors typically would have the final say on editorial decisions. As of 2021, the anchors of the major broadcast network evening newscasts still carry the title of Managing Editor, which gives them some editorial control over the content. In early local television newsrooms, the reporters and the assignment desk were the focal points for coverage decisions, and then the news anchors would typically decide the order in which the stories would be broadcast. If there was a producer, that person was an assistant to the anchor, helping with writing, distributing scripts, and sometimes sitting in the control room during the live news program to help with timing. But most early producers in local television news had little editorial control or decision-making power.

The television viewing public got one of its first glimpses of this local producing position in the 1970 hit situation comedy, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Actress Mary Tyler Moore played Mary Richards, a single woman who worked in a Minneapolis television newsroom as an assistant producer. Her role as primarily the girl Friday to the egotistical anchor and the gruff news manager was not very different from the reality of local television news producers in real newsrooms. During the 7 years the award-winning show was on the air, viewers saw Mary Tyler Moore's character grow in responsibility and influence in the newsroom, a trend that also was happening in local television newsrooms.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, technology changed the complexity of television news and dramatically compressed production time. The change from film to videotape cut processing time out of the production process. The introduction of live technology allowed reporters to go live from the scene of a story and send videotape back to the station for immediate broadcast. Previously reporters and photographers had to be back at the station by 4:00 p.m. for a 6:00 p.m. broadcast,

now they did not have to come back at all and could be still shooting a story at 5:30 p.m. that would lead the 6:00 p.m. broadcast. Graphics and production technology also allowed much more production value to be added to the newscast.

In addition to the rapid technological developments, in the early 1980s, local television stations began adding more newscasts, expanding from a half-hour at six to an hour, then 90 minutes and by the 2010s as much as 2.5 to 3 hours in the early evening. They also expanded morning news and added a half-hour at noon. All these developments made it impossible for one person to write, produce, and anchor a newscast. There was a need to manage all the elements of the newscast, especially during the live broadcast, and the manager of those elements became the local news producer. Those assistants to the anchors, now full-fledged producers, also gained control over the editorial content of the newscasts.

By the early 1990s, local television producers had as much influence and control over local newscasts as their national network counterparts. Most local television newsrooms were described as "producer-driven," clearly indicating the importance and power of the position. An interesting side note to the development of the producing role is the importance it played in moving women into more prominent positions in television news. As accurately portrayed in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, the majority of those assistants to the anchors were women. As those assistants became producers, growing in importance and power, so did women in television newsrooms. By 1990, a survey of television news employees found two thirds of producers were women. And as television newsrooms became "producer-driven," the career track to upper-level news management positions changed from reporting and/or anchoring, to producing. According to the 2019 Radio Television Digital News Association survey of women in leadership, more than 35% of all television news directors and nearly half of news directors in the largest 25 TV markets were women.

As broadcast newsrooms began to expand the content to the web and eventually mobile and social platforms, the role of producers expanded. Initially, it was the newscast producers' job to make sure content from their shows got on the stations' websites. Because the web was treated as

an afterthought, often television and radio scripts were simply dumped onto websites, with their associated broadcast cues and technical directions included. As with early newspaper content on the web, broadcast content was rarely adapted for the new platform and was never put on the web before a broadcast. When broadcast stations and networks began to put more emphasis on web, and then mobile, content, the term *producer* stuck for the new managers and creators of this content. One frequently finds this term in digital-only news sites as well.

Types of Producers

There are four main types of producers in radio, television, online, and mobile news, and their roles range from overseeing content and production of an individual story to overseeing an entire newscast, to multiple newscasts.

Field Producer/Digital Content Producer—A field/digital content producer works very much like a reporter but, in video and audio content, is not typically the face or voice of the story. At most local television and radio stations, reporters are their own field/digital content producers. They do the research, interviews and writing, and often shoot their own video and/or edit the video/sound for their stories and then put those stories on air and on the web. In the early 2000s, the title reporter/field producer migrated to multimedia journalist (MMJ) in most small- and medium-market local television or radio stations, and national networks even used MMJs in international bureaus.

In larger local stations and at the broadcast and cable network level, a field producer will often do much of the work to put the story together, including research, setting up interviews, writing, and overseeing the editing of the story. A reporter or anchor will become the on-air talent, recording the script and perhaps going out into the field and conducting interviews the field producer sets up, as well as doing a stand-up (the part of the story in which viewers see the reporter talking on camera). Field producers also are used for special reports, such as consumer or health stories, investigative reports, and in-depth stories, such as the segments of a news magazine program such as *60 Minutes* or *20/20*. A separate digital content

producer may be working on the same story for the website and use some of the video or sound from the on-air story. For digital-only news outlets, the digital content producer typically works like a broadcast reporter/MMJ, although some team up with a video/audio field producer to gather and edit sound and video for the story.

Field/digital content producers may oversee more than just a single story when there is breaking news or a major event. In those situations, much of the coverage of the story is live from the story scene, so field producers supervise all the coverage from the site, for example, from candidate headquarters on election night.

Line or Show Producer—This is the position most typically thought of when the title “producer” is used in radio or television. The line producer is the person in charge of an entire newscast or other news program, or a segment of the newscast, such as weather or sports. Line producers manage every part of a newscast, from deciding what stories will go into their newscasts and in what order those stories will air, to how long and in what format the stories will be, which stories will be promoted, and which stories will be live from the field. Line producers write many of the stories in their newscast, and they decide which stories have graphics. Using automated production tools, they often create those graphics. They are the key communication hub for everyone who contributes to, or oversees, the newscast. While the newscast is on the air live, the line producer times the show to make sure it gets off the air on time, as well as communicates with all live locations out in the field, the anchors and the director of the show, to make sure everything is going on air correctly. Because of their experience in the control room during live newscasts, line producers also typically call the shots during live breaking news coverage. With no scripts and no rundowns to guide what goes on the air, the line producer literally decides on the fly what comes up next and communicates that to everyone as it goes on the air. There is nothing more stressful for a producer than live, real-time producing, but many will tell you, there is also nothing more exciting and fun.

Executive Producer—The executive producer is a manager of producers and newscasts. The executive producer might have responsibility for

overseeing all the newscasts of a local station, a group of newscasts, such as the morning news and noon show, or the early evening newscasts, or perhaps just one newscast, such as the late news. Larger stations are likely to have multiple executive producers, while smaller stations may only have one. At the network level, each news program has its own executive producer. The executive producer approves the producer's line-up of stories, reviews scripts, and works with reporters on developing their stories as well as approving scripts. The executive producer is the "big picture" person who is responsible for ensuring that each program follows the newsroom's overall philosophy toward news content and targets the audience for each newscast's time period. This is a management position that will help determine the strategic direction of the newsroom and implement that strategy in individual programs. The executive producer also is typically the person who will lead the planning for special event coverage, such as election night or a major community event.

Special Projects Producer—This producer and/or executive producer does not work on daily news, but as the name implies, works on special projects that ultimately air during newscasts, news specials, and/or are posted on a website. Special projects producers typically oversee health and consumer segments, regular feature segments, interview segments, and investigative/long-form stories. Special projects are usually planned and produced over weeks or months and are highly promoted to draw in viewers to a newscast, website, or other news programs. The special projects producer may directly produce the segments and stories in the field or supervise the work of other field producers and/or reporters.

At the national news level, radio, cable, or broadcast networks and digital outlets have several producers in each of these categories for each news program or web page or mobile app produced. One may see credits that include Washington or New York Producer, Senior Producer, Supervising Producer, Foreign Producer, Assistant Producer, or Segment Producer, among others. But most of those titles fit into one of the above categories—it all depends on what the producer is responsible for.

Producing Pioneers

There are many notable producers who could be recognized, but here are just a few who helped define television and radio news production in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

Roone Arledge (1931–2002)—Arledge is most closely associated with his pioneering work in sports broadcasting, but he also took over the news division for ABC. Interestingly, it was an idea for a show called *For Men Only*, modeled after *Playboy* magazine, which caught the eye of an ABC executive who was just about to take the fledgling network into sports programming. In 1960, producing his first college football game, Arledge smashed the boundaries between the camera and the sporting event, taking viewers right down on the field. From there, he created and produced *Wide World of Sports*, *Monday Night Football*, and ten ABC Olympic broadcasts. His success with sports led ABC to name him president of the struggling news division, along with the sports division in 1977. Arledge created the news magazine, *20/20*, and reshaped the evening news broadcast into *ABC World News Tonight* using many of the same flashy graphics and production techniques he had pioneered in *Wide World of Sports*. In 1979, Arledge changed late-night television with a series of special reports on the Iranian hostage crisis that eventually became *Nightline*.

Fred Friendly (1915–1998)—Friendly often falls behind Edward R. Murrow's shadow, but was a pioneer in his own right, producing long-form documentary-style news programming. In the 1940s, he began his first producing project with Murrow, working on historical albums for Columbia Records. He experimented with the use of audiotape from actual radio news coverage in these albums, and when he did not have the original sound from a news report, he would recreate the event on tape (which to this day causes headaches for radio historians, because he did not identify which was real and which was recreated). Friendly did a stint with NBC radio, producing a 1950 NBC radio series called *The Quick and the Dead* on the atomic bomb, which brought together broadcast and print news reporters, experts, and the star power of Bob Hope as host. That award-winning series led to his full-time job at CBS,

where he worked with Murrow to produce the CBS Radio documentary series *Hear It Now*, which moved to TV as *See It Now* in 1951, becoming one of the first regularly scheduled television news programs. People often credit a 1954 *See It Now* program on Senator Joseph McCarthy with helping to end McCarthy's anti-communism crusade. Friendly continued his groundbreaking work in news documentary programs with *CBS Reports*. As *See It Now* and *CBS Reports* moved out of the studio and into the field, Friendly's producing style incorporated video and natural sound (the background noise one hears at a scene, such as the crowd cheering at a sporting event, or trees rustling in the wind) in ways that moved television news production toward maximizing the visual image element of the medium.

Reuven Frank (1920–2006)—Frank often receives credit for bringing television out of radio's shadow by always emphasizing the pictures. He wrote in a famous 16-page memorandum on his creation, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*, that pictures were the point of television reporting. Frank started his news career as a reporter for the *Newark Evening News* in New Jersey. In 1950, he moved to NBC News and in 1956 he teamed Chet Huntley, broadcasting from New York, with David Brinkley, broadcasting in Washington, to create the first television news superstars. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* dominated network television evening news ratings until Walter Cronkite came along for CBS. Frank's memorandum on the format and look of the newscast was detailed, even down to camera angles, and included guidelines for the visual storytelling techniques he believed were the heart and soul of television. The memorandum became a blueprint for television newscasts everywhere. Frank also produced documentaries, including the 1962 Emmy award-winning *The Tunnel*, which detailed the escape of Germans through a tunnel under the Berlin Wall. Frank was president of NBC News for two terms, from 1968 to 1972 and 1982 to 1984.

Don Hewitt (1922–2009)—Although Hewitt was trained as a journalist and worked the first 5 years of his career at the *New York Herald Tribune*, when he came to CBS in 1948, he was as involved with the production side of news programming as he was with the editorial content. He was the producer and director for the networks' evening

newscast for 14 years. He also directed Murrow's *See It Now* program and the first televised presidential debates between Nixon and Kennedy. As the executive producer for the *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*, Hewitt helped Cronkite become known as the most trusted man in America. Hewitt was instrumental in developing the early formats for the network evening news. But Hewitt is best known for creating the first television news magazine program, and the longest running prime-time broadcast program, *60 Minutes*. Hewitt remained an executive producer of *60 Minutes* with very tight control over story content until he retired in 2004 at age 81.

Al Primo (1935–)—Primo worked in the early days of local television news, and took local news producing to whole a new level with the creation of the first format exclusively designed for it. Primo debuted the format he called *Eyewitness News* in 1959 in Cleveland and then took it to Philadelphia and New York, successfully beating the competition in both cities. The format made heavy use of reporters as "eyewitnesses" for the anchor in the studio and the viewer at home. Al Primo also receives credit for creating "happy talk," in which the studio anchors chat about stories, and talk with weather and sports anchors. The *Eyewitness News* format spread across the country and internationally, eventually being used by more than 150 stations in the United States and in Mexico, Canada, Japan, and Australia. A handful of U.S. stations still used the *Eyewitness News* name in the early 2000s. The success of the format also led to the development of a rival format in 1965 called *Action News*, which incorporated fewer reporters and lots of short stories with video or some visual element for each story. *Action News* also was still in use by a few stations into the 21st century.

Concerns

As journalism moves through the incredible technological and content changes of the 21st century, there are some concerns specifically targeted at television news producers. Because they exert so much control over the content and presentation of news programming, and local television news remains the primary source of news and information for people even as digital and mobile

overtake all other sources, it is important to note those concerns.

The age and experience level of people in news line producer positions has been a worry for years, and it continues to be a problem. Good news producers in radio or television are difficult to find and keep at stations and the networks. The job is very demanding, and highly stressful, requiring someone with great writing skills, quick decision-making ability, solid news judgment, creativity, people management skills, and the ability to work extremely well under deadline pressure. It is definitely not a job for everyone, and because of the high stress level, tends to be a job for younger people, with a high burnout rate. Producers are in high demand in television news, leading local stations in all size markets to hire students right out of college to be the key decision makers for their newscasts. Because of that, there is a widening gap, especially in local television newsrooms, in age and experience between the producers and executive producers who control news programs, and the anchors and reporters who contribute to those programs. A 2001 survey of local television news producers, anchors, reporters, and news managers found that more than 60% of anchors had 10 plus years of experience, but only 20% of producers had that many years in the news business, and as of 2021, this has not changed. News managers and anchors express frustration about the inability to hire producers who have not only journalism experience, but also life experience to fall back on when making daily judgment calls about stories. Young producers are less likely to be engaged with the communities they live in, have less historical context for stories, and do not relate to the typically much older audience for news. One anchor in the 2001 survey said that children were producing newscasts. However, these younger producers bring key mobile and social media skills to radio and television newsrooms, which are highly prized as most broadcast media outlets become multiscreen content producers.

Related to the age and experience concern is one of flash over substance. Younger producers, raised on video games, social media, and mobile content, find themselves increasingly pressured to produce television newscasts that attract younger viewers. As technology continues to make the use of graphics, music, virtual and augmented reality,

and other production tools easier and less expensive, producers focus on glitzy and jazzing up their news programs more than the story content. In addition to high production value, most television news sets are tools for producers to add multiple venues for anchors and reporters to deliver content. In addition, live technology and pressure to be the first with breaking news also tend to replace journalism judgment. A television or radio news producer often feels pushed to change a newscast rundown that they may have worked all day crafting in favor of an accident or crime story that happens right before or during the newscast. Since the newscast is not an accordion of time, substantial stories may end up getting dropped to accommodate what may be a minor story that happens to break as the newscast goes to air. This pressure to have more live and breaking news puts producers in the hotseat to shuffle their newscasts, and to make instant decisions with no time for the careful thought that went into the original newscast rundown. Automation in the production process has added additional stress to the process of “blowing up the rundown.” Whereas up until the early 2000s, if producers needed to make a change during a newscast, they simply let the director and on-air talent know. But news production is steadily automating to the point where most live television programming is computerized, so directors now code every bit of information into an automation system and during the show simply hit a computer keyboard to move forward to the next set of commands. These systems control microphones, video, graphics, and cameras. In order to make a change, new coding has to be entered into the system, so instant changes are much more complicated.

Broadcast news producers are the people most directly responsible for the news people consume on television and radio and via mobile and social media sources. Producing is a high-power, high-stress job that is best suited to those who thrive under deadline pressure, like to be in control, and can juggle multiple tasks at the same time. One typically does not see or hear from the producers of news content, but their handprints are on everything one does see, hear and read. The position has developed from little more than an assistant gopher when television and radio news first started as very simple productions, to the person at the center of the broadcast and digital news

process in a world of high-tech, fast-paced, live programming.

Mary T. Rogus

See also ABC News; Anchors, Television; Audience Research; Cable News; CBS News; Fox News; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Satellite News Gathering

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PROPAGANDA

Propaganda is the organization, the message, or means of communication that is designed to persuade people to take a position or to question accepted thinking. Propaganda often uses incorrect information and hides the source of the information. It is known as a type of political warfare. Rather than attacking an enemy with military force-like weapons, propaganda uses deceptive communication. It is cheaper and physically safer than using military weapons. Propaganda uses a range of techniques. "Fake news" is one technique, but propaganda is more than fake news.

This entry examines the meaning of propaganda, its origins, messages, and means and methods. It also examines specific types of propaganda and the relationship between propaganda and misinformation. Finally, this entry examines the use of propaganda in wars and other conflicts, its status as fake evidence, and its circulation in and through the arts.

Meanings of Propaganda

While the common view is that propaganda is the message itself, it has been viewed in different ways over time. How propaganda is constructed, by what kinds of organizations, and the responses have varied over time because of the historical context. Understanding the complexity of propaganda makes it easier to spot and analyze.

Origins as Organizations

The formal beginning of propaganda is credited to the Roman Catholic Church during the medieval period when the Reformation was challenging that church's authority throughout Europe. Protestantism was rising between the 14th and 16th centuries. A Catholic pope created a commission to expand where Catholicism was taught. This commission evolved into the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* [Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith], which dealt with the church's foreign enterprises and taxed new cardinals. Within 5 years, the Collegium Urbanum, functioning as a school of propaganda, came into place to prepare the new priests.

In this period, propaganda came to be known as the organization with the mission of putting forth the ideas of those who created it. Although propaganda would become known as the messages themselves and their distribution, propaganda was equated with organizations. More recently, during World War I, the different countries had their own propaganda offices. Great Britain had a Ministry of Information and an Enemy Propaganda Department. The United States created the Committee on Public Information (CPI), nicknamed the Creel Committee because it was run by journalist George Creel. The CPI had a Foreign Section for the purpose of communicating to its friends and allies as well as its

enemies abroad. German propaganda, in contrast, was largely run by the army. These different kinds of organizations created different kinds of propaganda. The more professionally organized British and American offices relied on facts compared to the German army's.

Because of World War I, propaganda became better known. The major countries involved in World War II continued to rely on propaganda offices. Britain still ran its Ministry of Information, but also the Political Warfare Executive against the opposition. The United States ran its propaganda through a similar Office of War Information, although the Office of Strategic Services administered some psychological operations. In Germany, most propaganda came from the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* [Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda].

Messages for the Masses

As a mass society developed in the late 1800s and early 1900s, authorities saw the benefits and risks of propaganda as messages. The organizations created to spread propaganda did so because the organization's founders felt they would benefit from affecting how people thought and felt. Behind this thinking were assumptions about the public.

An early mass communication concept was known by two names, *the magic bullet* and *hypodermic needle*. Both describe a process by which people's minds could be easily changed by messages. Propagandists assumed the masses were simplistic and easily manipulated. This concept from the first half of the 20th century appeared to have some plausibility in light of events. For example, Russians overthrew their monarchy in 1917 and replaced it with a different form of organized oppression. Later, Germans followed Adolf Hitler and the Nazis down a path of extreme hatred and violence.

It was reasonable for responsible leaders during these decades to fear the possible effects of propaganda on a mass public after witnessing such horrible events. They did not want similar things happening in their own countries, yet they wanted to be able to use the mass media for positive activities, such as improving the health of the public through mass messaging.

The two wars did not eliminate the use of propaganda for religion, but they did prioritize politics as the primary purpose for propaganda. It could be used for social control, which would lead to debates if even well-meaning propaganda campaigns were good for a society. Propaganda, in meaning, became known less for messaging with a persuasive purpose and known more for manipulation and bias. Because of propaganda's history in the 20th century—one which went beyond wars and revolutions—some people may now think they are immune to the message. However, the assumption that someone is beyond the effects of propaganda may leave them more vulnerable because they are not critically analyzing messages they agree with or consider as plausible as other messages.

Nowadays, the common view of propaganda is that it is biased, if not deceitful, information. So while this view holds all propaganda is information, not all information is propaganda. Simply put, a central idea of propaganda is that people can be persuaded how to think and act if given the right information, in the most appropriate ways, and with frequency to reinforce the ideas. Propaganda tends to be systematic messaging; otherwise, the message is unlikely to stick.

Propaganda may mean different things to different people, but disagreeing with the message does not make it propaganda. Propaganda has to do with the intent of sending the message. It benefits those in charge. Propaganda has been compared to advertising. A significant difference with advertising is that people understand the process and what they are being sold. Propaganda, on the contrary, is a message that is not as clear in purpose as an advertisement.

The Means and Methods of Propaganda

As already explained, propaganda has been treated as an organization and a message. It has also been described as how that message is shared, such as the physical form or medium of communication. The treatment of a medium of propaganda is tricky because a medium, like television, is more often used for content that is not propaganda. Most people who study propaganda do not argue that a medium is a propaganda, but it is helpful to know how propaganda has been transmitted.

Printed documents have been used for propaganda in numerous locations. Political pamphlets made by colonial patriots were the literature of the American revolutions. The best known writer of the patriot cause was Thomas Paine, who created *Common Sense* and *Crisis*.

Similarly, leaflets were regularly used in Europe to create confusion or to break down the opposition. In 1806, the British Navy flew kites from the HMS *Pallas* to drop leaflets on the French. A little more than a century later, leaflets were dropped on German troops from aerial balloons. The Russian revolutionaries used leaflets to try to convince German soldiers to join them as workers of the world. Leaflets were still used in World War II, the Vietnam War, and the Gulf Wars. They remain useful to this day when one side may not have access to other forms of communication.

Two kinds of radio signals are useful for sending communications over distances. The AM frequencies may lack the clarity of FM, but FM signals travel farther. Short-wave signals travel even farther by reflecting off the ionosphere and reaching far-away listeners, such as across continents.

Radio, although very young, was used during World War I and then during the Great Depression, when many people could not afford daily newspapers. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his “fireside chats” via the radio to inform Americans and keep their spirits up during the Depression. At this same time, in the 1930s, Hitler used the radio to promote his idea of a renewed Germany.

Radio has been used for other purposes. In some cases, radio was used for distance education. Radio has also been used to share messages across an empire or to a diaspora, such as by the British Broadcasting Corporation’s Empire Service and Germany’s Deutsche Welle, both formed between the two world wars.

Radio was employed to discourage soldiers during World War II. The British broadcast to German soldiers to weaken morale. The broadcasts were made to sound as if they were produced by dissident Germans located in Germany. Radio propaganda aimed at soldiers occurred on both sides, such as Japan’s use of multiple women to speak to Allied soldiers in the Pacific region. The soldiers gave a single nickname for all the women, Tokyo Rose.

The Cold War era was one of reliance on the radio for a variety of purposes. Spies could receive messages from abroad via the short wave. Western countries established propaganda stations, such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Radio in the American Sector, to combat internal propaganda efforts in communist countries.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were funded by the Central Intelligence Agency after World War II until 1971, and then Congress directed funding to a broadcasting board for their operations. Radio Free Europe was aimed at the countries that came under the control of the Soviet Union, like Poland and Hungary. Radio Liberty broadcasts were directed at the Soviet Union.

Radio in the American Sector, more commonly referred to as *RIAS*, operated in the American sector of a divided Berlin, Germany. RIAS was broadcast for all who could listen, including those under the control of East Germany and the Soviet Union. East German officials suggested RIAS more appropriately stood for Revanchism, Intervention, Anti-Bolshevism, and Sabotage. RIAS lasted from 1946 until 1993.

Television, which became popular after World War II, has been used for various propaganda purposes, most notably in the pretense of news. Citizens of the modern Russian Federation rely on television for their news. Because the Russian government dominates television news in Russia, citizens are given a steady supply of pro-government propaganda. In the United States, Fox News has resembled Russian-style propaganda television for giving a highly restricted view of the world and disregarding some traditional journalist practices like routinely correcting errors in stories.

The Internet has become sort of an all-in-one medium for propaganda. Social media posts are the new leaflets, websites are like pamphlets with stories, and various platforms can play podcasts and videos like radio and television. Fake news is not a new phenomenon, but it spreads faster on the Internet than through previous mediums.

Specific Propaganda Tactics and Targets

There are the subjects of propaganda (who the propaganda is about), targets of propaganda (the

audiences), and motivations for propaganda (the goals of propaganda. Some specific aspects of these have been repeated over time so often that they deserve attention.

Overt Propaganda

Overt propaganda is based on truth—or a perceived truth—that represents an official position. For example, a nation's health and safety office may have an information wing that provides useful tips on exercise, eating better, and avoiding illnesses. The public may not like the advice, but it is pretty clear who is providing the messages and the reasons for sharing them.

Overt propaganda can be directed to the public of an enemy government. Again, the messages come from an identifiable source and the purpose is relatively clear. An example would be the radio broadcasts of the Voice of America (VOA) during the Cold War. The VOA would broadcast news stories so that Soviet citizens could learn of events without the usual Soviet censorship. VOA would also play music to show off American culture, like jazz. The VOA would broadcast in less developed countries, as well.

A more extreme version of this type of propaganda is the Nazi's Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda. The ministry was run by Joseph Goebbels, and it never hid its purpose. The goal of the ministry was to get Germans to think the same about Germany. It is at this extreme that truth is fading away if it relies on lies, not just information and motivational speaking, and overlapping covert propaganda.

Covert Propaganda

Covert propaganda is designed to be hard to detect as propaganda because it is difficult to identify the original source, which would likely indicate the potential for biased or faked information. The propaganda radio broadcasting by Britain, pretending to be German, and aimed at Germany during World War II was covert propaganda, as was the German radio pretending to be Scottish during the same war.

A reason for aiming covert propaganda at enemy soldiers is to lower morale because the audience is not sure of the accuracy, but may

believe it without oppositional information. Even if the audience does not completely believe the covert propaganda, they may not trust the reliable and accurate information they otherwise receive at home.

Disinformation

Disinformation is part of a formal process of information warfare that the Soviet Union's intelligence agency created, and which is continued by the Russian Federation. Disinformation is information that is intentionally false and usually distributed in a secret or covert manner. It is a form of covert propaganda that was used during World War II and the Cold War. Soviet intelligence considered disinformation to be an "active measure" in its political warfare.

A disinformation campaign involves creating a lie and then getting the lie in the news. The Soviet intelligence office, *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* (KGB), would create the lie, and then try to get the lie in the news. A disinformation story would often have a small element of truth in it to make the whole story appear more plausible.

In some cases, agents posed as journalists and published stories in newspapers around the world. Some researchers produced falsified studies that received news coverage. One of the most successful campaigns was when the KGB spread the lie that the United States developed the AIDS virus to use as a biological weapon, but the virus got out of the lab and began infecting people.

It is not surprising that the Russian Federation has carried disinformation into the Internet age. But even with technological changes, disinformation campaigns hope their stories appear in mainstream media. The Western style of journalism that seeks comments from both sides of a story legitimizes the possibility that the lie is true. Thus, disinformation takes advantage of the fundamental nature of objective journalism.

Disinformation agents' most reliable targets tend to be people who believe in conspiracy theories because they lean toward believing lies. This was evident in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign when a lie was spread through online chat rooms that members and supporters of Hillary Clinton's campaign were involved in a pedophile ring

operating out of a pizza restaurant in Washington, D.C. The lie was so effective that one man decided to investigate it himself and shot a rifle in the restaurant before being arrested.

Trolls and bots are now used in disinformation campaigns. They operate out of so-called propaganda farms in countries like Russia and Iran. The most notable farm is the Internet Research Agency (IRA) in Russia, which was used against the 2016 American presidential election to create distrust and hostility. In 2018, Twitter released more than 10 million tweets for analysis that Twitter identified as being mass-produced for information campaigns.

The use of Twitter and Facebook in disinformation campaigns led to questions in multiple countries about what limits should be placed on social media business that benefit economically from these kinds of disinformation campaigns.

War, Atrocities, and Martyrs

The propaganda of violence has often been used to motivate people to undertake acts of violence in response to real or false violence, regardless of if the stories were true or not. An early example is Pope Urban II's speech that accused Muslims of crimes against Christians, which contributed to the Crusades in the Middle Ages with the goal of taking back Jerusalem.

Martyrdom is tied with the propaganda of violence because the victims are celebrated or recognized in a positive fashion for their death. This encourages the righteousness of one's own beliefs and may convince some people to become martyrs. John Foxe's 1556 *Acts and Monuments* (*Book of Martyrs*) is an early example of recognizing martyrs and being used to promote a view, in this case learning about atrocities committed by the Catholic Church against Protestants. It is considered one of the most important books of its time for its massive size and influence on English political and religious authorities.

War propaganda was frequent in the first true mass media century, the 1900s. The Great War was the name of the war, which would become known as World War I after World War II. World War I started in 1914 and formally ended in 1918. This was a war of citizen soldiers, not of armies-for-hire like wars before, such as the

British use of Hessian soldiers in the American Revolutionary War, the Swiss Guard in the French Revolution, and the Viking-originated Varangian Guard who served the Byzantine Emperor. Citizen-to-soldier armies became prepared for war through propaganda.

This kind of propaganda requires different functions. It creates or focuses hatred against the defined enemy. It must also convince the public that its beliefs, lifestyle, and/or values are different than the enemy's and that their own cause to protect these is better than the enemy's. Propaganda is also used to gain help from other entities, like other countries. Then, it is used to strengthen and maintain the alliance. Propaganda has often been used to make the enemy look extremely dangerous and different. Oftentimes, existing prejudices were references and worsened for effect. For example, Italian propaganda during World War I showed a German soldier stabbing a baby with a bayonet. Germany used anti-British propaganda by attacking any supposed British righteousness because of past British atrocities in its empire, such as in Ireland and India.

Some propaganda support was aimed at recruitment without a direct racist, ethnic, or religious attack. For example, the Uncle Sam "I Want You" World War I poster was modeled on the British poster, "Britons: Lord Kirchner Wants You. Join Your Country's Army! God save the King." Both make the appeal for enlistment without a biased framing of the enemy. This propaganda is a form of overt propaganda.

By World War II, which started in 1939 when Nazi Germany invaded Poland from the west and the Soviet Union responded from the east, the public had somewhat tired of propaganda. Many people in democracies were suspicious of propaganda because of what they saw two decades before during World War I. Some countries, like Britain and France, investigated the accuracy of propaganda. In Germany, anti-Semitic propaganda was ubiquitous and many believed it. Germans were taught that they were a superior race and that Jews, Slavs, and people of color were causing the world's problems. The Slavic people, the German citizens were told, should become slaves for Germany.

These wars revealed the limits of atrocity and related propaganda. The British did not use it about Germany because the government felt its

own citizens recognized the Nazi values were radically wrong. Public has to be willing to believe the propaganda for it to be effective and not create a suspicion of the sender of the message. News of German concentration camps emerged during World War II, but the true stories were easy to dismiss as propaganda because of past war propaganda.

The use of such propaganda also affects the perception of violence and news coverage. During World War II, the Soviet Union massacred more than 14,000 Polish officers who were their prisoners. The secret police buried them in mass graves, which were later uncovered by German soldiers in Russia. The Germans correctly blamed the Soviets, but the Allies accepted the Soviet lie that Germany committed the massacre. The British and American public was quick to believe their governments because of previous Nazi atrocities. This made it difficult for the British and American governments to punish the Soviet Union after the war. The two governments had to admit they lied, but critics and the Soviet Union argued Britain and the United States could not be trusted because, one way or the other, they were liars. As the United States investigated the so-called Katyn Massacre in the early 1950s, the United States was accused of using biological weapons during the Korean conflict. Even in 2019, North Korea accused the United States of developing such weapons to use against them. This demonstrates how atrocity and related propaganda builds off of both previous violence and propaganda.

This form of propaganda continued appearing at times and at a variety of places where extreme violence existed. For example, the Kosovo War in the Balkans, during the late 1990s, was a conflict of religions and nationalities. It was also the first war when the Internet played a role in communications. The tightly restricted access to war zones by both sides and the emergence of the Internet as a source of information was a preview of the future.

Martyrdom has also been associated with terrorism and propaganda, especially when people are recruited to sacrifice themselves for a cause and become a martyr. The deaths of martyrs have been used for continued recruiting and to encourage others to help in different ways.

Fake Evidence

Evidence is used to make a convincing argument. But not all evidence is true—some evidence is faked. The history of propaganda includes the creation and distribution of faked evidence.

Probably the most commonly cited fake evidence is *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, published in 1903 and appearing to come from Jewish thinkers and leaders planning to take over the world. The source of the document is believed to be an officer in the Russian tsar's secret police, who wanted to unite non-Jewish Russians against the Jewish Russians. The document became better known after World War I and was one of the important source documents for the Nazi movement in Germany. In the United States, Henry Ford, founder of Ford automobiles, used the *Protocols* to spread anti-Semitic messages.

Another example is a medal a German made for himself that celebrates the 1915 sinking of a British ocean liner, the RMS *Lusitania*. The British were able to photograph a copy of the medal and send images to the United States, which had lost 128 Americans in the sinking. Britain sent these to encourage Americans to join World War I. Britain also manufactured copies with a leaflet on German offenses. While the original medal was not official because copies were made for personal use, it came to symbolize German violence and the celebration of it.

The Arts

Design, photography, music, and movies all have played special roles as propaganda media. Each one's special characteristics lend themselves to certain propaganda messages. The artfulness of their presentations—compared to news reports—can increase the emotional appeal of the propaganda.

Art has long been used as a way to communicate stories and values. In religion, paintings and other art forms served to communicate to people who could not read. Paintings were also associated with the rulers because most people could not afford a painting. Naturally, rulers wanted art that elevated them above the masses. So art was a privilege of the elites, and they could choose the stories that were shared.

Art has been used to support patriotism, nationalism, and myths that all function as varying degrees of propaganda. For example, Howard Chandler Christy's famous painting of the signing of the American Constitution is more myth than journalism because it was not designed to be historically accurate, except for the faces of the subjects.

The Soviet Union made extensive use of visual propaganda to celebrate workers and encourage more labor. The country actively used modern graphic design techniques, for the time, photography, and movies. After a while, the dynamic style was largely dropped for heavy-handed propaganda without experimentation. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin decided to prevent the use of new and exploratory styles of art from the West.

During the Depression, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt funded the Farm Security Administration, which hired photographers to document conditions in America. Photographs were shared with news publications for distribution. It was hoped that people around the country would see the suffering and struggling of other people, which could lead to sympathy and support for taking care of the needy.

Nazi Germany used both classic and newer art forms for propaganda. Hitler was inspired by the music of Richard Wagner and movies were used to promote his ideas. *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will), a 1935 documentary-style propaganda film, was made to convince people Germany was returning to greatness. Its aesthetic style and exclusion of themes that would have made it more offensive, such as anti-Semitism, helped to attract audiences to the propaganda piece.

During the Cold War, the United States used the modernist art form of abstract expressionism as a propaganda tool. The U.S. government wanted to show people in other countries, especially those aligned with the Soviet Union, that artists could create what they wanted and in any style they wanted, unlike those in the Soviet Union.

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See also Europe; Fake News; Germany; Press and Government Relations; Propaganda; Russia Federation; RT and Sputnik; TASS and Russian News Agencies; War and Military Journalism

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PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) was created in 1969 by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) both to interconnect local noncommercial television stations and to procure, schedule, and distribute programming to them. Comprising around 350 member stations, PBS has functioned as one node in the U.S. public media ecosystem, though it frequently has been positioned as a synecdoche for the sector on whole. Over the course of its history, public affairs programming has been

central to the mission of U.S. public television; it was founded to offer clear expressions of American diversity, as a forum for debate, and to provide a voice for otherwise unheard groups. While PBS has played an important role in expanding the civic function of televisual journalism, it simultaneously has been limited by the structure and funding of the U.S. public media sector. This entry examines the creation of PBS, its role in the development of public affairs programming, funding for PBS, and PBS's status in the 21st century.

The Creation of PBS

In the 1950s, a nascent noncommercial television sector emerged in the United States. It was facilitated in part by the successful campaign of the Joint Committee on Educational Television to persuade the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to set aside over 200 television frequencies for *noncommercial, educational* stations. It also was enabled by the largesse of the Ford Foundation, which funded national organizations to lobby for educational television, help local communities establish ETV stations, and distribute programming to stations.

Technical, logistical, and financial restraints limited how noncommercial television could address current affairs. National Educational Television (NET), an organization largely supported by the Ford Foundation, distributed programming to local stations. Throughout the 1950s and much of the 1960s, stations were not interconnected—they were not capable of simultaneously carrying the same programming—and received NET programming in staggered blocs; this distribution system undermined NET's ability to telecast on exigent issues. NET's public affairs programming instead focused on topics ignored by commercial television or provided greater depth and alternate perspectives than what viewers may have encountered in commercial media.

Local educational TV stations were heterogeneous and included stations created by state legislatures and run by state commissions, stations affiliated with school systems, stations run by university systems, and stations created by local community organizations. As NET sought to provide alternate perspectives, it faced hostility from some

of the local stations who anticipated that their local communities, or the entities that funded and controlled them, would see the programs as contrary to the local public interest. In addition, corporate underwriters for NET programming were reluctant to sponsor public affairs programming and preferred cultural affairs and science series.

By the mid-1960s, the future of noncommercial television seemed uncertain, especially given the financial instability that had defined the sector for over a decade. The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television formed in 1965 to study the problems of and map solutions for the U.S. noncommercial television sector. It suggested that the sector, which had been referred to as *educational television* be reconfigured as *public television*, a renaming that signaled both a core tenet of the commission's recommendations—that the federal government provide sustained financial support for the sector—and a reinvigorated vision of what noncommercial television could offer the U.S. public. The Carnegie Commission imagined in public television an alternative to commercial television; freed from the constraints of advertising, and thus freed from the reliance on ratings and on hailing a mass audience, public television was intended to take risks, address controversial topics, and expand the diversity of perspective available to television viewers.

The Carnegie Commission recommended a manufacturer's tax on television sets that would provide a dedicated funding stream insulated from political pressures. The Public Broadcasting Act (PBA), enacted in 1967, embraced the Carnegie Commission's recommendation with one important modification: Public broadcasting would receive federal support, but it would be allocated by Congress as part of the appropriations process. In so doing, Congress created the conditions by which the future of the sector could be compromised by its programming decisions, especially in the realm of public affairs.

The PBA created the CPB to disburse federal funds to local stations and to fund program production. The CPB created the PBS. PBS has been one element, by design, of a highly decentralized public television sector, one that has uneven control of nationally circulating programming especially in the realm of journalism and public affairs. The four primary constraints on PBS's public affairs

programming—the allocation process for federal support, the sector’s reliance on corporate underwriting, the centrality of viewer support to local station operations, and the diversity of the local stations themselves—were prefigured in the early history of noncommercial TV in the United States and cemented in the passage of the PBA. In addition, technological changes, such as the expansion of cable television and the rise of the Internet, along with the escalation of the culture wars in the United States, influenced how PBS approached its public affairs programming.

PBS and Public Affairs Programming

PBS does not produce the programming it circulates to local public television stations. Producing stations—such as WETA (Washington, D.C.), WGBH (Boston), WNET (New York), and WTTW (Chicago)—produce the majority of programs scheduled and circulated by PBS. PBS also secures programming from independent sources and international television services. Local stations round out their schedules with locally produced programming and with shows secured from other providers such as the Independent Television Service and American Public Television.

PBS’s signature news series, *PBS NewsHour*, premiered in 1975. Originally produced by WNET and entitled *The Robert MacNeil Report*, the program emerged from PBS’s widely praised coverage of the Senate Watergate Hearings. Journalists Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer anchored the coverage and provided around 5 min of context before each day’s testimony began; the hearings were telecast live and re-aired each evening. This coverage established public television as a crucial site of public affairs programming as it brought the extent of the criminality of the Richard Nixon White House daily into people’s living rooms.

After the success of their Watergate coverage, MacNeil and Lehrer in 1975 coanchored a half-hour nightly news program. The title of the program shifted across time—it became the *PBS NewsHour* in 2009—and it was expanded to an hour in 1983. The program has offered an overview of the day’s headlines, followed by three or four longer segments of in-depth discussions on the issues of the day; when the series first aired in

its 30-min format, it had dedicated its discussion period to one topic. This facet of the *NewsHour* extends a longstanding commitment within the noncommercial television sector to discussion and deliberation as central to unmasking and addressing social and political problems.

While, as discussed in greater detail later in this entry, public television long has been attacked for an alleged liberal bias, its flagship nightly news program has been critiqued for tacking to the right. Analyses of the *NewsHour* have identified how the program’s guests largely hail from government, think tanks, journalism, corporations, and the academy and comparatively rarely are drawn from local communities, advocacy organizations, or labor unions. Accordingly, while offering more substantive discussion of issues, the *NewsHour*, for its critics, has replicated an *elite bias* in news sourcing and has neglected to meaningfully offer diverse perspectives not heard on commercial outlets.

PBS’s other longstanding public affairs programs have included anthology documentary series and weekly news discussion programs. In 1983, PBS premiered *Frontline*, a series dedicated to long format public affairs documentaries. *Frontline* has been the only sustained broadcast series committed to public affairs and investigative documentary since the commercial networks jettisoned their prime-time documentary series (CBS *Reports*, NBC’s *White Paper*, and ABC’s *Close-Up*). *Washington Week*—formerly *Washington Week in Review*—since 1967 has provided weekly panel discussions, primarily by Washington-based journalists, on the key recent events.

Public Funding and Public Affairs

The first substantive existential threat to the public television sector happened within 5 years of the PBA. In 1972, Nixon vetoed the CPB’s authorization bill on the grounds that the public television sector had become too centralized. To many then and since, this issue of localism was seen to cloak Nixon’s antipathy toward public television’s public affairs programming, his animosity to journalists (such as Robert MacNeil, Sander Vanocur, Bill Moyers) perceived to be his political enemies, and his view that members of the CPB board were too liberal. Nixon ultimately signed an authorization bill in 1973, not coincidentally

after the chairman, president, and director of television for the CPB resigned.

The Nixon veto confirmed that the PBA had left the public television sector vulnerable to political pressures. In response, PBS and the CPB inaugurated a new system by which nationally circulating programming would be chosen: the Station Program Cooperative (SPC). The SPC empowered local stations to determine which programs PBS would distribute. The value of the process was in how it allowed stations to play a substantial role in determining the national schedule; the downside was that it privileged programs that were inexpensive, uncontroversial, or tried-and-true. The SPC was in place from 1974 until 1990.

Public funding was substantially decreased in the 1980s, the result of two intertwined developments. The expansion of cable television was imagined to obviate the need for public broadcasting, as it diversified the outlets, and ostensibly the perspectives, available to TV audiences. In addition, PBS programming about topics like the Vietnam War, the Iran–Contra scandal, and Israel provoked attacks that public television evinced a liberal bias that betrayed its commitment to serve the public on whole. While public television survived calls for its complete defunding, the Reagan administration decreased federal support and the sector moving forward was required to rely on other financial sources. In response, the CPB and PBS rejected programs critical of state and corporate actors, delivering public affairs programming characterized as “safely splendid” and “blandly grand.”

The decrease in federal funding pushed PBS to rely even more on corporate underwriting. This move was facilitated by a 1984 FCC order that allowed for *enhanced underwriting* on public broadcasting stations. Enhanced underwriting allowed stations to provide on-air information about their underwriters, save explicit promotion of their goods and services or comparative claims about their value, and accordingly made underwriting more attractive to underwriters than the brief on-air identifications of support that previously had been permitted.

Challenges to PBS resurfaced again in the 1990s, when conservative leaders in Congress fought to defund public broadcasting, drawing on similar arguments about liberal bias—especially centered on programs about homosexuality—and

redundancy. While this effort did not succeed, the 1992 appropriations bill for the CPB included a provision that required the CPB to review public affairs programs to assure they adhered to objectivity and balance. This provision again put PBS on notice that its treatment of controversy would be central to future federal support and discouraged it from taking risks in its presentation of alternate viewpoints.

Threats to cut off federal funding for public television continued on into the 21st century. In 2005, the House Appropriations Labor, Health and Human Services Subcommittee voted to defund public media on the recommendation of CPB chairperson Kenneth Tomlinson for analogous reasons as were raised in the 1990s. Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney in 2012 called for the privatization of public media, arguing that it was an inessential expense that increased the nation’s unsustainable debt. President Donald Trump in 2017 and 2018 proposed budgets that would have eliminated funding for public media, though Congress refrained from enacting the cuts.

PBS Today

For decades, criticisms of public television have hinged on five complaints: accusations of ideological bias in programming, assertions of its redundancy in an era of media abundance, allegations that it serves primarily an elite audience, anxieties that its funding sources (especially corporate underwriting, private foundation grants, and viewer donations) have undermined its public service mission, and contentions that its lack of racial diversity in personnel, programming, and perspective similarly have undermined this mission. These concerns have endured yet shifted in the 21st century. Underwriting scandals between 2012 and 2014—PBS, for example, had created a multipart series on the U.S. economy that aligned with the business interests of corporate underwriter Dow Chemical, a series lambasting the problems of public employee pensions funded by a billionaire who had lobbied against public pensions, and a program about drones underwritten by a drone manufacturer—accelerated concerns over how the financing of PBS compromised its function as public media.

Yet, PBS also has persevered and capably adapted to an increasingly partisan media ecosystem and to the affordances of digital media. The emphasis on deliberation and discussion in its flagship public affairs programs distinguish it as a trusted news source for audiences across the political spectrum. Its cultivation of multimedia websites—inclusive of blog posts, video, and podcasts—also has extended its capacity to offer in-depth discussion of current events and to expand the audience for its news programming. As Michele Hilmes (2018) has noted, PBS has developed into a *quality* media brand that, along with decades experience in navigating and uncertain financial future, has rendered it well-poised to persist in an ever-changing media environment. If hailing a *quality* audience in the 20th century had provoked accusations that PBS did not serve the public on whole, in the 21st century, it may be the key to its resilience in a variegated media ecosystem.

Allison Perlman

See also National Public Radio; Nonprofit Media; Public Funding; Public Service Broadcasting; Public Television Journalism

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PUBLIC FUNDING

Public funding constitutes financial support for journalism that comes from a government entity. Public money can support journalism directly or indirectly. Because independence from government is a valued element of journalism, the extent to which government financially supports journalism has been more controversial than other forms of funding for media such as advertising, underwriting, reader support, or philanthropy. This entry discusses public funding for journalism in the United States and the debate surrounding its efficacy.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which includes the wording “Congress shall make

no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press,” sets up some protection for journalism from government, and journalists in the United States are expected to act as a check on government. A major function of the press is holding the government accountable.

Because of this, opinions among U.S. journalists differ about the extent to which public funding should support what they do or whether it should support it at all. Some have argued public funding compromises the ability for journalists to act independently of government; others have argued it can provide necessary financial support for journalism while safeguarding editorial independence.

History of Public Funding of U.S. Journalism

The United States has a history of subsidizing journalism in various ways. In the 1700s, colonial newspaper printers survived because of government contracts and would act as official printers for a municipality. The U.S. Postal Act of 1792 offered discounted rates for newspapers and allowed printers to exchange them for free. The U.S. government contracted roughly all its printing to newspaper publishers, often doling out contracts as political favors, until Congress in 1860 created the U.S. Government Printing Office. Through much of the 19th century, plenty of American journalists were either directly on the government payroll or had sideline patronage jobs working as political party operatives. Public money kept the presses running.

A gradual move away from a linkage between government and the press began in the 1830s as commercial for-profit media bloomed, particularly in larger cities. As the “penny press” in New York City took off, newspapers moved away from alliances with government as commercial advertising dollars fueled newspapers that no longer had to rely on political parties for support.

There was never a complete break, however, from government support for some journalism in the United States, particularly as news mediums continued to evolve. During World War I, the federal government took the unprecedented step of funding and running a daily newspaper called *Official Bulletin*. Published out of the News Division of President Woodrow Wilson’s Committee

on Public Information, the newspaper appeared in government offices, post offices, and military installations until the end of the war.

Publicly Funded Journalism Entities in the United States

During World War II, the U.S. government launched Voice of America (VOA), a radio news operation broadcast overseas to combat Nazi propaganda. In 2019, the federal Broadcasting Board of Governors requested \$661.1 million from Congress that year to fund its operations. The government entity, which calls itself “America’s civilian international media agency,” oversees VOA, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, and others. When President Gerald Ford in 1976 signed the VOA’s charter into law, the charter stated the broadcast operation would be “accurate, objective, and comprehensive.” In 2016, Congress stated the Inspector General of the U.S. State Department and Foreign Service shall “respect the journalistic integrity of all the broadcasters.”

Whether VOA operates in practice without political pressure or to the highest forms of journalistic independence has made for plenty of debate. One correspondent who spent 35 years at VOA said in 2017 such media were funded by taxpayers to support an agenda.

Following the advent of television, President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967 signed the Public Broadcasting Act, creating the private nonprofit Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). In public remarks at the time, he said while the CPB would get part of its support “from our government,” it would be independent, “carefully guarded” from government or party control. The CPB created the well-regarded National Public Radio (NPR) and Public Broadcasting System (PBS).

NPR and PBS do not rely entirely on government support. While the outlets receive money from the U.S. Treasury, through the CPB, they also raise money from listeners and viewers, and from corporate underwriting and philanthropic foundations.

In 2020, Congress approved \$465 million for the CPB, a minuscule portion of the federal budget that helped support more than 1,500 local public radio and TV stations that year. In 2017, 36 states provided public funding for broadcast media, and the percentages of public funding by state differed

considerably. Public funding made up more than half the revenue budgets of some local stations. Some conservative politicians have pushed to defund NPR and PBS for reasons ranging from cries of bias to wasteful spending. In 2012, public funds made up about 15% of PBS's budget. In 2020, NPR stated grants from the CPB and federal agencies and departments made up less than 1% of its annual operating budget on average.

Governments have supported media indirectly as well. In 1970, Congress passed the Newspaper Preservation Act, which allowed for a special exemption in antitrust laws for newspapers to enter into joint operating agreements with competing publications.

Some states offer tax breaks for printing ink or newsprint. States also have laws mandating certain public notices about important information like public meetings, government contracts, or unclaimed property appear in a local print newspaper. Smaller newspapers in particular rely heavily on the notices to stay afloat financially. In the digital age, newspaper publishers have had to lobby state lawmakers and fight to keep those laws on the books to prevent losing a revenue stream. Public schools and universities can financially support student journalism.

Shifts in Thinking on Public Funding for U.S. Journalism

Still, government support for media in the United States is less robust compared to some other countries such as Germany, Finland, and the United Kingdom, and news outlets funded by the government are outliers in the broader U.S. media ecosystem. For the better part of the 20th century, when a traditional advertising model was working well, particularly for local news publishers, many of those who produced the news in the United States likely would not have advocated expanding public-sector support and might have been repelled by the prospect.

Following the rise of the Internet at the turn of the 21st century and the Great Recession of the early 2000s, when the bottom fell out of the local news business model, public discussion bubbled up among U.S. journalists and those who advocate for journalism about the viability of expanding public funding to support local news. The

discussions came at a time of great disruption for local news publishers. Layoffs had lashed the industry. Publications went out of business. Studies showed a diminished local news scene was bad for democracy.

Local news was too important to disappear, believed some who began to rethink their aversion toward publicly funding journalism in the United States. In 2014, a North Carolina city government gave a \$100,000 low-interest loan to help expand a newspaper that focused on the Black community. That same year, a local government in Wisconsin offered a \$30,000 payment to a small local newspaper, so it wouldn't shut down. Some advocating for more public support for local news proposed creating state or national public media funds to administer money to publishers, forming entities called *Community Information Districts* funded by local taxpayers, or using local library district taxes to produce journalism, among various other possibilities.

As financial cutbacks in the local news industry continued through the first quarter of the 21st century, some who previously might not have entertained the idea of expanding public funding for journalism became more open to it—if it could be done in a way that protected publishers from undue influence. They included well-regarded academics, journalism historians, a former chairman of the Pulitzer Prize Board, and at least one First Amendment attorney. Some argued that if news publishers were able to establish adequate editorial firewalls to protect journalism from the influence of corporate advertisers or philanthropic donors—not that they always did—they could do the same if some revenue came from a government entity. Government has funded important science research without intrusion, some said, and the government has long funded arts and humanities.

In 2018, New Jersey lawmakers approved a bipartisan measure that created a nonprofit organization, the first in the nation, that would invest public funds to bolster local news coverage. In 2020, for the first time ever, the Colorado Office of Economic Development & International Trade offered a \$100,000 grant opportunity to a local news publisher.

As COVID-19 spread across the world and was declared a pandemic in early 2020, it prompted business shutdowns that further devastated

advertising revenue for many news organizations, and some publishers accepted government support via the Paycheck Protection Program administered by the U.S. Small Business Administration, so they could continue to create journalism. Others argued newspapers have a core function of covering government and couldn't reconcile that with accepting taxpayer money. If anything, the pandemic further galvanized a contentious debate over the efficacy of public funding for news in the United States.

Corey Hutchins

See also First Amendment; National Public Radio; News Deserts; Newspaper Preservation Act; Partisan Press; Penny Press; Public Broadcasting Service; U.S. International Communications

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PUBLIC RADIO JOURNALISM

American public radio journalism consists of the news and public affairs programs that can be heard on noncommercial radio stations and includes a variety of formats, from news magazines to public affairs programs to listener call-in programs. At a

time when commercial radio's news content is generally limited to brief newscasts, public radio offers listeners a wide range of news, analysis, and discussion. Public radio journalism offers greater variety and depth than is typically provided on commercial stations, covering not only breaking news but also science and the arts.

The main producers of such programming historically have been National Public Radio (NPR), Public Radio International (PRI), American Public Media (APM), and Pacifica Broadcasting. In recent years, more programs are also being produced by several local public radio stations and independent radio producers, some of these in collaboration with NPR and PRI. Podcasting has opened a new avenue for distributing public radio's journalism programs and has brought in new producers and new audiences. This entry first discusses the history of public radio broadcasting in the United States and gives some examples of news programming and coverage of the arts, culture, and the environment. It then looks at public radio programs featuring narrative journalism, collaborations among stations to strengthen regional coverage, the use of podcasts and social media, and public radio funding.

History

NPR, which came into existence as a result of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, started broadcasting in 1971 and is a major producer of news programming on public radio. APM, launched in 2004, is the second-largest producer of public radio news, culture, and music programs. APM is the name under which Minnesota Public Radio produces and distributes programs nationally.

Originally known as *American Public Radio*, PRI was founded in 1983 as a way to distribute programs from public radio stations around the country and to diversify offerings on public radio stations. In 1994, its name was changed to Public Radio International (PRI) to reflect its mission of bringing a more global perspective to the airwaves. It has established partnerships with the BBC, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and *The New York Times* to fulfill its goal of bringing different perspectives to public radio. In 2012, it was acquired by WGBH Boston and in 2018 it merged with PRX, another producer and distributor of audio journalism.

Pacifica Broadcasting was founded in San Francisco in 1949 by Lewis Kimball Hill, a pacifist who saw community radio as a place to begin a dialogue about the betterment of society. The Pacifica Network consists of five radio stations in New York, Los Angeles, Berkeley, Houston, and Washington, D.C., as well as many independent public radio stations that are affiliates. Its goal was to give voice to those without power and to become a place for progressive viewpoints that questioned the status quo with regard to political discourse, art, and culture. However, ongoing problems with governance and finances have undermined Pacifica's presence in the public radio journalism sphere.

News Programming

News magazines are an especially important part of public radio journalism. NPR's flagship news magazines are the late weekday afternoon *All Things Considered* and the similar but earlier *Morning Edition* and *Weekend Edition*. *All Things Considered* (ATC) was created in 1971 as a news program designed to be distinctly different from what commercial radio had to offer and that embodied the NPR mission of celebrating the variety of human experience. The format has evolved over the years and become more structured. ATC starts off with headlines on the hour followed by longer stories with in-depth reporting. This long-form journalism is characteristic of public radio as is its ability to explain complex issues, take unusual angles on news stories, and offer news with a global reach that makes for a greater breadth of coverage.

Recognizing that it needed a news program during morning drive time, NPR added *Morning Edition* in 1979. Introduced 8 years after ATC, *Morning Edition* was far more a product of audience research than had been the case with ATC, with information about audience listening behavior shaping the structure of the program. The program was designed without a clear beginning, middle, or end, an approach that allowed listeners to tune in and out of it depending on their morning routines. The segments were shorter than on ATC, with frequent opportunities for member stations to broadcast the local weather, news, and other announcements.

Weekend Edition (Saturday), hosted by Scott Simon, went on the air in 1985 and was followed by a Sunday version a year later. The program distinguished itself from the weekday news magazines with narrative features that combined natural sound with storytelling and commentary on the week's events that extended to sports and entertainment. NPR also produces programs in collaboration with public radio stations. One such example is *Here and Now* produced with WGBH Boston.

Although its original mission saw NPR being more of an alternative news source to commercial media with a focus on analysis and commentary rather than breaking news, over the years its role has evolved to being a primary news source. This means that there is a greater emphasis on covering all major news events and being on the spot when news breaks. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, for the first time, the network reported round-the-clock for a record 90 hours (nearly 4 days). Such live coverage is something NPR has continued to do, covering important Senate hearings, confirmation hearings for Supreme Court justices, and presidential debates.

As the amount of news on commercial radio has declined, especially with the increase in media consolidation after the Telecommunications Act of 1996, public radio has filled this void. Public radio defines journalism in a broader sense, going beyond hard news to feature a breadth of coverage similar to that of newspaper journalism. With newspaper closures and cutbacks at many remaining newspapers since the 2008 recession, public radio journalism plays a critical role by bringing to light abuses of power and making audiences aware of a range of issues that are not being covered elsewhere.

Starting in 2000, NPR has expanded its overseas bureaus in order to cover breaking news around the world at a time when most news organizations were closing their overseas bureaus because of declining revenues. In the early 2000s, NPR began to move toward establishing an online presence and training its journalists to produce stories for digital platforms. Funding for this initiative came from the Kroc bequest and later from the Knight Foundation.

Other public radio entities also provide news programming. In 1996, PRI launched its news and public affairs program, *The World*, designed to

compete directly with *All Things Considered*. PRI's first venture into program production, *The World* is coproduced by the BBC World Service and public radio station WGBH in Boston. As its name suggests, the program has an international focus and features a mix of news, interviews, and music from around the globe. In 2008, PRI added to the morning drive time news options with *The Takeaway*, a show that has a distinctive conversational style.

Democracy Now is a 1-hour current events program that first aired on Pacifica stations in 1996 and is now produced by an independent production company. The newscast covers stories that rarely achieve attention on commercial radio and even on other public radio stations and are in keeping with its mission of promoting peace and social justice.

Listener call-in shows, a staple of commercial talk radio, have also found a place on public radio, but the similarity ends there. The nationally distributed call-in program *Talk of the Nation* demonstrated that such offerings could be educational and informative and a forum for discussion, rather than the often-contentious ranting of commercial radio's largely right-wing hosts. That show ended its run in 2013, but *On Point*, produced by WBUR Boston and syndicated by NPR, continues the call-in genre of programming.

Marketplace, a 30-minute business program, is an example of how public radio has taken what many see as a dry and boring topic and put its unique stamp on it. To begin with, the program originates in Los Angeles, away from the East Coast business centers. And rather than focusing on the "numbers" (i.e., the performance of stock indices), it looks at the world through the lens of business, economics, and finance. This approach results in stories that often go beyond the typical business narrative and thus appeal to a wider audience. Sample features on the program in 2020 included stories about how much money people have on gift cards, how the novel coronavirus was impacting U.S. businesses, and the role of the Screen Actors Guild in assisting actors on and off stage.

Public radio also shows that news can be a source of comedy and humor. Weekly NPR quiz shows *Wait, Wait, Don't Tell Me*, hosted by Peter Sagal, and *Ask Me Another*, hosted by Ophira Eisenberg, mix humor and information and are performed before live audiences (with the exception of

shows broadcast beginning in late March 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic), giving them an opportunity to interact with the hosts.

Coverage of the Arts and Culture

While the arts are covered regularly in segments on public radio news magazines, there are also programs such as NPR's *Fresh Air* that often go into greater depth on this subject. *Fresh Air*, produced by public radio station WHYY in Philadelphia, has been available nationally since 1985. Host Terry Gross's interviews with writers, musicians, artists, journalists, and politicians are distinguished by the amount of preparation and research that goes into each of them to give listeners unusual insights into their personalities and a sense of who the subjects are as individuals.

Studio 360 was made available nationally to public radio audiences starting in 2001. Hosted by Kurt Andersen, the show was produced by New York's WNYC and distributed by PRI. It combines artist interviews with features that allow reporters to speak in the first person and draw on personal experiences to examine concepts in high and low cultures. Each program was built around a chosen theme; themes have ranged from girl culture to loneliness, to youth, to locations of popular television series. The program ended in 2020 after 20 years on the air.

In the realm of culture, public radio also has programs that are built around a single subject. *On Being*, which started as *Speaking of Faith*, is an hour-long program that explores questions of spirituality, healing, science, and the arts. It is produced and distributed by PRI and has been available nationally since 2001. In an interview in 2004, host Krista Tippett said her goal is "to trace the line between theology and human experience," through conversations that explore how individuals struggle to resolve the moral and ethical questions in their religion. A sampling of show titles indicates the breadth of topics covered that ranged from "How We're Wired for Goodness," "The Evolutionary Power of Children and Teenagers," to "A New Imagination of Prayer."

The Splendid Table, an hour-long weekly program produced and distributed by APM, explores the place of food in American life. While recipes are a part of its appeal, the discussions about food

provide a means to examine culinary traditions in the United States and other cultures. Originally hosted by Lynne Rossetto Kasper from 1997 to 2017, it is currently hosted by Francis Lam. Lam often invites luminaries from the world of cooking to share their perspectives and memories about food and cooking.

On the Media, another weekly hour-long show produced by WNYC and distributed by NPR, examines the culture of the media. A large part of its focus is on how news is made and how journalism is practiced by news organizations, including public radio and First Amendment issues. Co-host Brooke Gladstone said in an interview that the goal of the program was to explore advertising, television, movie trends, and look at “where media and culture collide, where media holds up the mirror to culture” in order to “show how the media sausage is made” (Transom, 2004).

Coverage of the Environment

Public radio journalism encompasses subjects rarely addressed on commercial radio, including science and the environment. NPR’s *Science Friday* is a weekly science talk presentation broadcast live that focuses on science topics that are in the news. Host Ira Flatow is joined by experts for a discussion on topics related to science, technology, health, and the environment. Listeners have an opportunity to call in with questions. Flatow says his goal is to make issues in science accessible to his listeners.

PRI’s weekly show *Living on Earth* reviews how culture, economics, and technology shape the world around us. Host Steve Curwood invites experts to explore a broad range of topics, many of which relate to the impact of climate change such as Norway’s vanishing winter and the environmental consequences of fracking. Curwood says the show is about people’s relationship with nature and does not seek to tell listeners what to do, but rather seeks to provide information.

Narrative Journalism

Public radio has broadened its definition of journalism to make room for individual narratives that find a place in radio documentaries and on news magazines such as *ATC* and *Morning Edition*. The public radio program that is credited with making

the personal narrative hip was *This American Life*, hosted by Ira Glass. First aired in 1995, the show features the stories of real people told in their own voices. Each show is built around a single theme that is explored through narratives of different individuals in compelling, dramatic, and often comic situations that are often also emotionally moving.

The idea that “people” stories can be interesting is the basis for David Isay’s *StoryCorps* project launched in 2003 and Jay Allison’s *This I Believe*, which aired from 2005 to 2009. *StoryCorps* gives ordinary people an opportunity to record their stories. The first booth where stories could be recorded was set up in New York City’s Grand Central Station in October 2003; in 2005, two Airstream trailers—traveling recording studios called *MobileBooths*—were launched to record stories told by people across the country. A small portion of these stories are edited down and then featured on *Morning Edition*. According to Isay, the idea that people matter and that they won’t be overlooked drives the project.

Based on a 1950s series by the same name hosted by Edward R. Murrow, *This I Believe* invited people—some famous, but many not famous—to share the core values and beliefs that guide their lives with the hope that listeners would develop respect for values different from their own. While the well-known were invited to participate in the program, the rest volunteered themselves using the guidelines on the program website to write their essays. These first-person 3-minute audio essays were carried on both *ATC* and *Weekend Edition*.

A less heard and perhaps less clearly identified format that has a place on public radio is the documentary. APM Reports (formerly American RadioWorks) produces documentaries that are carried on a variety of public radio programs. These documentaries explore topics such as the role of social media, technology companies, government institutions, and education.

Regional Collaborations

One way that public radio journalism is being strengthened is through station collaborations. In the late 1990s, six stations in the Pacific Northwest came together to form the Northwest News Network. While some of the original stations have dropped out of the collaboration, there are seven

primary partners with other stations that join in occasionally.

In 2017, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) launched the Mountain West Journalism Collaborative that brings together six stations in Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Montana. The goal is for these stations to produce local stories that could be shared regionally and pitched to NPR for reaching national audiences.

NPR's Collaborative Journalism Network launched with a collaboration anchored by four of the largest Texas public radio stations in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin. The collaboration started with six daily newscasts statewide that drew on news stories from large and small stations across the state. In addition, in-depth reporting carried by the Austin public radio station is shared with NPR member stations across the state.

A similar collaboration was set up in California to "increase coverage of statewide issues and to boost reporting from and for underserved areas in the state" (NPR, 2020). The goal is to eventually get all stations in the state to participate and to help counter news deserts that have formed as local newspapers shut down.

The Gulf States newsroom collaboration covers stations in three states—Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana—and is supported by both the CPB and NPR. Like the California collaborative, it aims to counter news deserts and contribute to a better-informed citizenry.

Both NPR and CPB see these collaborations as a way to support local journalism at a time when many local newspapers are shutting down.

New Platforms Expand Audience Reach

The growing popularity of podcasts has benefited existing public radio organizations such as NPR while offering a platform for independent producers to reach audiences. In 2020, eight of the top 20 podcasts ranked by Podtrac were produced by NPR including *NPR News Now*, *Up First*, and *Hidden Brain*. *This American Life* (produced by WBEZ Chicago and distributed by PRX) ranks among the most downloaded podcasts of all time.

Serial, produced by *This American Life* and launched in 2014, is an example of investigative journalism in a serialized audio narrative. The first

season investigated the 1999 murder of a student at a Baltimore high school. Season 2 focused on an American soldier, Bowe Bergdahl, who was held by the Taliban for 5 years and later charged with desertion. *Serial* became the first podcast to win a Peabody award and with over 340 million downloads of Seasons 1 and 2 set a world record.

The Center for Investigative Reporting (CIR) whose stories had been featured in a variety of news outlets—print and television—launched its first radio show and podcast, *Reveal* in 2013. News stories fall into three broad categories—inequality, sustainability, and accountability. Additionally, it launched a serialized investigation, *American Rehab*. *American Rehab* examined rehab programs that were turning those coming to them for treatment into an unpaid labor force. *Reveal* maintains an active presence on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter and uses its website to post multimedia content.

Funding

Financial support for public radio journalism comes from many sources and varies for different public radio entities. NPR receives funding from Congress by way of CPB, from corporate underwriters, from member stations (whose fees for programs are based on their audience size), and from foundations. PRI's main source of funding is station fees, corporate underwriting of program series, and support from foundations; it also solicits support from listeners. Pacifica Radio relies primarily on support from its listeners and is the only public radio entity that does not accept corporate underwriting.

As funding from the CPB has declined, corporate underwriting and support from foundations have become particularly important for both NPR, APM, and PRI. All of them have received funding from foundations such as the Gates Foundation, the McArthur Foundation, and the Knight Foundation, among others. Dependence on these sources of funding has raised questions about the influence of these entities on the journalism practiced by public radio and the limits such funding might place on investigative reporting on public radio. There is also concern that foundations can buy coverage in their area of interest.

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See also Audio Journalism; Community Radio; National Public Radio; Pacifica Radio; Podcasting; Streaming Media

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PUBLIC RELATIONS

Modern public relations emerged in the early 20th century as a response to the expanding role of mass communication in mobilizing and influencing public opinion. Several factors, such as Progressive Era political, social, and moral reforms and government war propaganda, combined to institutionalize and normalize the act of influencing and changing public opinion. After more than a century, public relations has evolved

into a profession that includes public affairs, crisis communication, issues and reputation management, lobbying, investor relations, media relations, community relations, social media management, and corporate communication. The definition of public relations also has changed over the years from making things known and relations with the public to strategically building and managing mutually beneficial relationships with publics critical to organizational success. Every organization, whether for-profit or not-for-profit, uses some form of public relations to navigate its social and professional relationships.

This entry defines public relations and explores its growth as an industry, its impact on individuals and organizations, and its expanded reach in the 21st century.

Defining Public Relations

As Ronn Torrosian, founder and CEO of 5W Public Relations, has said, public relations combines a variety of disciplines, including journalism, psychology, and law, and stays interesting while continually changing. Torrosian's definition coincidentally reflects the philosophy of public relations icon Edward Bernays, a onetime journalist and nephew of Sigmund Freud. In the 1920s, publicity was associated with journalism and persuading journalists to provide news coverage of the publicist's clients or employers. In promoting the new field of public relations, Bernays drew from psychology to emphasize the importance of knowing and understanding public opinion and attitudes. He then looked to the legal profession for the right metaphors to describe public relations practitioners as counselors advocating on behalf of their clients in the court of public opinion. As the most prolific spokesperson for the new profession, Bernays resisted using the more common term of publicity and instead promoted public relations as the preferred *nom de guerre*.

The concept of publicity or the act of making things known to the public had been around since the 1800s. Publicists relied on mass communication to reach the public and judged the success of their efforts by the number of newspaper and magazine articles written about their clients and special events. After World War I, however, the success of the Office of War Information's propaganda campaigns gave publicity a bad name and

associated it with such pejorative terms as propaganda, disinformation, and deception. Journalists condemned publicists and press agents for manipulating the news processes in a concerted effort to win positive news coverage for partisan corporate, governmental, and nonprofit interests. Even today, publicity, despite its pervasiveness in public relations practice, is considered somewhat of a dark art, a less respectable aspect of the field. Public relations practitioners and educators have continued to distance themselves from publicity and propaganda by emphasizing the management function of communication and public engagement.

This rebranding served the self-interests of professional publicists. It expanded definition of public relations to include services beyond the mere pleading for media attention and coverage. It allowed publicists, such as Ivy Lee and Bernays, to market themselves as public information counselors, mediating between organizations and the public. The captains of industry began relying on public relations counselors to rehabilitate reputations damaged by overly aggressive reporters and policy makers. Public relations helped corporate leaders shed their image as greedy, public-betrayed empire builders by rebranding them as civic leaders and philanthropists. Practitioners proved their value by advising corporate leaders on overall communication strategies that served the public interest. By the 1930s and 1940s, major corporations depended on public relations to win back public support lost during the Great Depression. Practitioners served as quasi corporate journalists, counseling executives as to the nature of public attitudes and opinions while at the same time providing the public with information about organizational leaders, operations, and values.

The Growth of Public Relations as an Industry

As practitioners mediated between organizations and the public, they began placing more emphasis on tapping into public attitudes and addressing public concerns. Public relations helped organizations adapt their messages to align with the needs and interests of the public. Scholars would later interpret these efforts to survey and understand public attitudes and opinion as asymmetric

communication or seeking public input so as to design better, more persuasive messages. That interpretation, however, fails to appreciate sincere attempts by public relations practitioners to know the public mind and use that knowledge to help organizations reconcile their values and interests with those of the public. Indeed, Denny Griswold, publisher of *Public Relations News*, defined public relations as a function of management that monitors and interprets public opinion and attitudes while aligning organizational policies with the public interest. Griswold added that public relations' purpose was to help the public understand and accept an organization's plans and activities. Of course, a favorable public image allowed organizations the space necessary to operate without public or political scrutiny. By counseling management on how to promote a positive public image, public relations managers increased their influence over the organization's dominant coalition and bargained for a seat at the management table.

A natural outgrowth of independent corporate communication counseling was the founding of public relations agencies. In 1927, John W. Hill helped establish one of the most successful public relations firms in Cleveland, Ohio. Hill & Knowlton remains one of the leading global public relations agencies with more than 80 offices worldwide. From the outset, Hill defined public relations as disseminating information about clients and educating the public about big business. Although he emphasized publicity, Hill was more concerned about aligning the attitudes and opinions of management with those of the public. In helping management understand the public, Hill perceived the role of public relations as the organization's conscience. In other words, practitioners' knowledge of public attitudes and opinion allowed them to advocate for the public inside organizations. They reminded management of the organization's social responsibility. Although public relations disseminated information necessary for the public to make decisions, it also monitored the public mind so as to help management recognize its social responsibilities. Practitioners echoed Hill's philosophy when they defined public relations as synonymous with the public interest because it acted as the public conscience for an organization.

These evolving definitions often referred to public relations role in shaping and influencing both the public perceptions of an organization and the organization's perceptions of the public. Other definitions emphasized the promotion of good will between an organization and its various publics, including employees, community members, civic leaders, and customers. As the word *image* gained more of a negative connotation, public relations began emphasizing the need to manage an organization's reputation rather than its image. Reputation better reflected the sum total of an organization's history, identity, and character. It encompassed more than a slick public image; it symbolized organizational actions, processes, and purposes. Dealing with the public image and reputation of an organization demanded a higher level of strategic expertise than simply writing press releases and talking to journalists. It required research, planning, and strategy. Even today, reputation management represents a critical function of public relations practice.

Public Relations for Organizations

Positive media coverage plays a big role in managing the reputation of an organization. Although the media have changed dramatically since the beginning of contemporary public relations, winning positive news and feature coverage of one organization remains an important goal for public relations practice. Newspapers and magazines dominated the Progressive Era and continued to be a key vehicle for reaching the public up until the 1990s, when the Internet began to disrupt traditional media channels. Press releases and media advisories go out to newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television networks and stations as well as online news sites and influencers. National public relations conferences and webinars devoted to media relations continue to draw large crowds of practitioners hoping for placements in *The New York Times* and the *Atlantic* or on *60 Minutes* and *All Things Considered*. Although a major part of public relations practice, media relations has rarely showed up in definitions of public relations. Instead, the media are channels in which organizations fulfill their democratic obligation to keep the public informed while at the same time serving to win public support for organizational

actions. The media help to cultivate and maintain public acceptance and support.

Managing media relations also plays a critical role in crisis communication. Since the Tylenol drug-tampering murders in the 1980s, public relations has counseled organizations on planning for, responding to, and recovering from crises, both those of their own making and those for which they are a victim. Crisis communication, especially in the age of social media, has become one of the most popular services offered by public relations agencies. It also has captured the interest of communication scholars and has developed into one of the most popular lines of research in the field. Most universities with public relations programs offer courses in crisis communication. Nearly 40 years have passed since the Tylenol crisis, but the basic formula for crisis communication remains essentially the same: acknowledge the crisis, apologize or take responsibility for one's part in the crisis, work with public officials to solve the crisis, and institute processes and changes to minimize the possibility of the crisis occurring again.

Even absent a crisis, it is critical that organizations get credit for the good things they do. The community relations function of public relations has been expanded to include corporate social responsibility (CSR). Public relations has become so integrated into CSR efforts that some observers argue that public relations embodies an organization's responsibility to the public. As part of that responsibility, public relations does more than simply inform the public; it engages in two-way communication with the public. As far back as the 1930s, public relations practitioner and professor Rex Harlow advocated the need for practitioners to establish mutual lines of communication between organizations and the public. In a professional and academic career that extended into the 1970s, Harlow promoted the concept of two-way communication in which management listened and adapted to public feedback and opinion. He emphasized social science research and ethical communication practices.

James Grunig and Todd Hunt formalized the concept of two-way communication with the introduction of the Excellence model of public relations. They argued that the ideal form of public relations emphasized two-way symmetric communication or communicative interactions in

which organizations and publics adjusted and adapted to each other. This emphasis on two-way symmetric communication contrasted with two-way asymmetric communication used to simply better persuade the other party. Public relations practitioners and scholars had long emphasized management, but in the 1980s, they began aligning management with the concept of public relationships. Scott Cutlip, Allen Center, and Glen M. Broom, authors of the introductory public relations textbook *Effective Public Relations*, coined a definition of public relations that placed the management function at the forefront. Public relations' management function was to identify, establish, and maintain mutually beneficial relationships, especially with those publics upon which the organization depended for its success.

Public Relations as Professional Practice

In the last two decades of the 20th century, public relations embraced the concept of managing relationships as central to professional practice. The concept has been further refined as managing organization–public relationships. While two-way symmetric communication continues to influence scholarship and practice, there is now a competing line of research emphasizing dialogue. Michael Kent and Maureen Taylor have rebranded public relations as relational dialogue, with the idea of creating conditions in which organizations engage in the type of give-and-take dialogue that strengthens and maintains healthy relationships, particularly mutually beneficial relationships.

In 2012, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) invited members and the public to vote on three potential definitions of public relations. The definitions chosen focused on public relations as a strategic communication process that builds relationships between organizations and the public in a mutually beneficial manner. Ironically, the new definition sounded a lot like definitions that had existed long before the Internet era. Indeed, the definition sounded a lot like the one Cutlip, Center, and Broom introduced in the 1985 edition of *Effective Public Relations*. Canadian practitioners adopted a similar definition a few years before PRSA did. The Canadians added the adjective *strategic* to public relations and also included

strategic as a modifier for managing relationships between organizations and various publics with the such objectives as using communication, seeking mutual understanding, achieving organizational goals, and serving the public interest. Some practitioners questioned the inclusion of the public interest, calling it public relations for public relations. Neither of these definitions mentions interactivity or two-way communication, which have been promoted as key components of public relations in the digital age. If public relations described practitioners' artistic and scientific approach to engaging with people, as the public relations philosopher G. Edward Pendray said in the 1970s, the field has now become the art and science of mediated communication through social media, websites, and owned media. The envisioned relationships are more virtual than real, and the mutuality of those relationships may depend on the number of likes, shares, or stars.

In reality, public relations is the strategic management of communication that humanizes organizations in such a way that they can attract other human beings to interact and engage with the people who populate those organizations and the purposes, products, and activities of those organizations. Public relations is a human endeavor. It represents the humanity of an organization by translating what it is, what it does, and what it means to other humans and human organizations. The challenge remains the same as it has been since public relations emerged as a new profession in the first half of the 20th century. Organizations, the media, technology, and society are undergoing constant change. For public relations to adapt it must somehow retain its soul as a human activity in the midst of a monolithic mediated environment. As the focus shifts from earned media to owned media and even paid media, particularly on social sites, public relations could be subsumed by marketing, social media management, analytics, and big data.

In the meantime, public relations continues to prosper. In 2021, the PRSA boasts 30,000 professional and student members, 110 chapters, 14 professional interest sections, and 375 student chapters. PRSA is part of the International Public Relations Association, a global network of public relations associations. Despite a significant drop in demand for education in journalism and to a lesser extent, advertising, the demand for public relations

courses and programs continues to rise. In recent years, there have been as many as 100 openings for public relations educators. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated in 2018 that the number of public relations specialists to total 270,000 and grow by 6%, with a median annual wage of \$60,000. Public relations graduates fill key positions in a variety of fields, including research, strategic communication, and digital content creation. Public relations agencies experienced banner years in 2018 and 2019, with the global public relations industry (agencies) employing 94,000 and generating more than \$16 billion in revenues.

Whether public relations is defined as strategically making things known, managing relationships, or reputation management, it remains ever changing and interesting. Public relations humanizes organizations by giving them a personal voice that communicates the organization's purposes, practices, and values. In the digital age, the need for organizations to relate and interact with public is more important than ever. Public relations instills human attributes in organizational communication that allows the public to relate with organizations and develop relationships with organizations. As public relations cultivates and strengthens those relationships, it establishes a communicative environment in which the organization can influence and be influenced by the people upon which it depends for its success.

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See also Public Relations, Ethics in;
Public Relations, History of

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PUBLIC RELATIONS, ETHICS IN

As a subdiscipline, public relations (PR) ethics focuses on questions of moral rights and wrongs as they relate to PR professionals and scholars. As such, PR ethics necessarily stretches across disciplines. On the one hand, scholars focus on the practice and theory of PR. This includes an understanding of the day-to-day activities of professionals working in various sectors (e.g., agency, corporate, nonprofit, government) and the major theories that inform our understanding of that practice (e.g., excellence theory, contingency theory, relationship theory).

On the other hand, PR ethicists are grounded in philosophy, typically employing theories of Western ethics in their studies. Perhaps the most widely utilized approaches are the Enlightenment ethics of utilitarianism—most notably championed by John Stuart Mill—and Immanuel Kant's deontological approach. While Enlightenment ethics arguably dominate theoretical approaches to PR ethics, critical theorists have offered alternative ethical perspectives based on a variety of approaches (e.g., postmodernism, Marxism, Jungian psychology). Other theories of ethics based on justice and care have also broadened our perspectives of PR practice, as has renewed interest in Aristotle's pre-Enlightenment virtue ethics.

As such, the objective of PR ethics—providing a means to evaluate right and wrong and the guidance to act morally—becomes predictably murky as

contradictory concepts within and across theoretical and practical domains collide. In particular, competing ethical theories conceptualize both the role of PR and the focal point by which we judge right and wrong differently. Given this state of both the PR and ethics fields, communication ethicist Wendy Wyatt advocates for a pluralistic decision tree through which key concerns of PR can be examined through the lens of multiple ethical theories, resulting in a fuller understanding of the nature of right and wrong within a PR context.

Common Ethical Approaches to PR

This section discusses several theories of Western ethics, including preeminent Enlightenment approaches as well as alternative views.

Enlightenment Ethics

Utilitarianism

PR practitioners are outcome oriented. Success is measured in fostering awareness, affecting behaviors, resolving disputes, and so on. The ability to land new clients for an agency, develop lasting and loyal bonds between a corporation and its customers, recruit a consistent stream of volunteers for a nonprofit entity, or increase voter engagement with public policy are all important outcomes for PR practitioners working in different sectors.

Given this focus on outcome, it is no surprise that scholars have consistently found utilitarianism to be the favored ethical approach of many practitioners. Utilitarianism is a consequentialist ethic, meaning the theory evaluates the goodness of an action based on its consequences—that is, its outcomes. Utilitarianism traces its roots to the 18th- and 19th-century writings of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, which were later built upon by Henry Sidgwick and carried forward by contemporary thinkers like Peter Singer.

While the varied approaches to utilitarianism are nuanced, *generate the greatest good for the greatest number* serves as a moral maxim. Problematically, this adage is a simultaneously accurate yet overly simplistic summation of the utilitarian approach. cursory readers of the theory often latch on to the “greatest number” side of the

equation, paying less attention to the “greatest good” aspect. However, both communication and philosophy scholars have painstakingly worked to define this more elusive question: What makes an action “more good”? Common answers of course reference the number of people who benefit, but others include the intensity of the goodness (e.g., curing vs. merely treating a disease), the duration the benefit is felt, and the likelihood that an action will lead to future good acts.

Critics of utilitarianism, particularly in its application to PR, argue that the approach may foster systematic injustice in its favoring of the majority over the minority. The utilitarian would respond that in striving to promote the *aggregate good*, or the good of all persons, highlighting the number of people who benefit from an action is only one factor in calculating that action’s goodness. It is therefore possible for the pain suffered by one individual to be so great that it outweighs the good done for 100; in such a case, the utilitarian would rule in favor of the minority.

Nevertheless, the utilitarian view that all persons are of equal worth complicates this tyranny of the majority critique. While many (perhaps most) would argue for the innate equality of all human beings, individuals do differ, and of particular importance to PR practitioners is their differing relationships with and influence on an organization. PR ethicists generally contend that practitioners and the organizations they serve have certain moral responsibilities to a variety of stakeholder groups: clients, customers, employees, investors, society writ large, and so on. Positive and negative outcomes across groups differ greatly, making apples-to-apples comparisons difficult. Moreover, in practical terms, some stakeholder groups—or even individual stakeholders—exert greater influence over organizational operations; therefore, their concerns may be weighted disproportionately in outcome-oriented decision making, often to the detriment of others, and despite the fact that a utilitarian ethic would demand otherwise.

Deontology

A deontological approach to PR ethics in part seeks to play counterweight to situational injustices by relying on universal rules to govern behavior. Deontology is most closely associated

with 18th-century Prussian philosopher Immanuel Kant and the 20th-century writings of William David Ross. This philosophy also influenced the work of more recent thinkers such as John Rawls, Thomas Nagel, and Thomas Scanlon.

Like utilitarianism, deontology comes in many flavors, but Kant's views are most influential in the PR ethics scholarship. Kant believes the intentionality of an action rather than its outcome more accurately reflects its ethicality. In his view, to act rightly is to act out of a sense of *duty* to the *moral law*, which he defines categorically, meaning that moral law universally deems certain actions obligatory and others prohibited. Through reason and the application of a goodwill, individuals can assess whether a given action is right or wrong based on series of tests, the various formations of which are known as the *categorical imperative*.

Briefly, the categorical imperative commands that we treat all persons as ends unto themselves, not simply as means to achieve some goal, and that we should act only in ways we deem universally acceptable. For instance, Kant views lying as immoral because (a) it disrespects the humanity of the person to whom we lie and (b) we would not wish to live in a world in which, faced with the option of telling the truth or lying, individuals would always opt for the latter. As such, from a deontological view, lying is morally wrong and forbidden in all situations.

Kant's deontological ethic is the most widely applied view in PR ethics scholarship in large part due to the work of Shannon Bowen, who in various writings connects deontology to the two-way symmetrical approach to PR, itself a popular conception of PR practice. Championed by James A. Grunig, the two-way symmetrical approach argues for the creation of mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics by relying on open, two-way communication in which organizations and publics have an equal chance to influence the behavior of the other. Dialogic communication is the favored tool of two-way symmetrical practitioners as it embodies these principles.

Two-way symmetry strives for more egalitarian, balanced relationships between organizations and their publics. As such, the view is similar to deontology in advocating for interactions founded on mutual respect. Deontological thinkers also

believe in the ability of practitioners to develop, adhere to, and govern themselves by universal rules of practice. Many are openly critical of utilitarian ethics as they fear not only the consequences of unequal power balances in moral decision making but also the slippery slope toward moral relativism.

This concern may in part develop from a misunderstanding of the foundational tenets of certain ethical theories. *Moral relativism* asserts that ethical judgments hinge on the perspectives of individuals rather than concrete moral principles. The most ardent moral relativists contend that the standards by which we evaluate right and wrong are as numerous as the individuals making moral choices; hence, there are no general rules or principles of ethics. As a result, many scholars favor the Kantian view of universal moral law over the more anarchistic, anything-goes view of moral relativism.

However, the debate between deontology and moral relativism can be better understood through a long-standing philosophical distinction between *moral generalism* and *moral particularism*, specifically regarding how each views moral principles. Moral principles frame ethical decision making as they serve as explanations as to why actions are right or wrong and subsequently provide guidance to individuals as to how they should behave. Generalists view principles as universally (or near-universally) applicable, whereas particularists do not. It is perhaps best to think of generalism/particularism as a spectrum, with Kantian deontology falling on one side and moral relativism on the other. As such, several ethical theories operate somewhere in between.

Alternative Views

Justice, Care, and Critical Approaches

Critical scholars have greatly contributed to the understanding of PR theory and practice, and the realm of ethics is no exception. Given that the two-way symmetrical view is arguably the dominant paradigm in studying PR practice, ethicists from critical and alternative traditions might best be understood in their relations to two-way symmetry—that is, whether their views of ethical practice support or critique this leading view.

John Rawls's work on justice, and in particular his views regarding fairness, echo the two-way

symmetrical concern for balanced, egalitarian relationships. Rawls distinguishes between *distributive justice*—how goods (often economic) are allocated among members of society—and *procedural justice*—the process through which societies decide how goods should be allocated. While Rawls admits that inequalities are likely inevitable in a liberal society, he strives to ensure they are minimal in nature and arrived at through a fair process. Rawls conceived a thought experiment known as the *veil of ignorance* to test the fairness of how goods are distributed.

Understanding that certain choices benefit some to the detriment of others, Rawls urges moral actors to think of themselves as divorced from their social position. In the case of PR practitioners, they would conceive of themselves not as representatives of an organization but instead potentially occupying the position of any party affected by organizational actions. From this position of ignorance—that is, not knowing who you are or to which group you belong—PR practitioners would then ask themselves whether the proposed organizational action is just and fair. The idea is that we often discount or downplay potential injustices done to others because we know we will likely never occupy their position. The veil of ignorance requires that we consider the fairness of an action from all perspectives.

Feminist ethics of care are also potentially supportive of the two-way symmetrical worldview, though this ethic is only occasionally referenced in PR scholarship. Foundational thinkers in the tradition of care ethics include Carol Gilligan, Nel Noddings, and Virginia Held. *Care ethics* developed as a response to the masculine nature in which philosophical discussions of justice are often framed. Rather than focusing an ethic on a system of universalizable moral judgments based purely on reason divorced from emotion, these scholars focus on the value of care and its role in creating nurturing relationships. Care ethicists uphold that the relationship between mother and child is a pure embodiment of care, calling on us to meet those around us from a position of “one-caring” to foster strong bonds. This focus on developing and nurturing deep relational ties echoes the stated aims of two-way symmetry; however, the demand to focus on situationally dependent aspects of interpersonal relationships

contradicts the more justice-oriented views of Rawls and Kant.

German philosopher Jürgen Habermas’s *theory of discourse* perhaps most closely aligns with the two-way symmetrical worldview and is often cited in PR scholarship to support the efficacy and ethicality of dialogic communication. According to Habermas, for dialogue to be ethical, participants must (a) have an equal chance to initiate and maintain dialogue, (b) have an equal chance to challenge and respond to one another, (c) interact freely without coercion or control, and (d) be equal in terms of power.

Many critical traditions question how common the conditions for Habermasian dialogue are—or in fact whether they ever truly exist. Marxists in particular focus on power imbalances, especially those of economic nature. In PR contexts, this manifests largely over concerns that organizations and publics are rarely equal power players, not only in their ability to influence one another but to influence sociopolitical structures that govern interactions, such as consumer protection or labor laws. Similarly, many PR ethicists argue that practitioners lack the freedom to act autonomously without fear of coercion, given that they are answerable to executives higher up in the organization and that, oftentimes, PR practitioners work within larger organizational departments (e.g., marketing, legal, human relations) and in turn are subjugated to their missions and goals.

More recently, Johanna Fawkes has championed a Jungian approach to PR ethics, arguing that the field has been unable to meld the realities of the practice with the image scholars project of that practice. Several critics of the two-way symmetrical model argue that it favors accommodating publics rather than advocating for organizational positions through persuasive communication. Fawkes asserts that proponents of two-way symmetry are unable to cope and unwilling to face PR’s reliance on persuasion and the field’s roots in propaganda. In attempts to avoid such uncomfortable realities, some scholars have defined PR as wholly separate from propaganda, and oftentimes persuasion more generally, instead of equating PR to coalition building in service of the public interest. Accordingly, this failure to reconcile the “shadow” material of persuasion into a broader understanding of PR has created unnecessary rifts

between scholars and practitioners, further hindering the field's ability to develop a meaningful professional ethic built upon honest self-reflection.

Virtue Ethics

Many critical scholars are thus disenchanted with the Enlightenment ethics of utilitarianism and deontology and therefore propose alternative moral frameworks. Others who feel this same disillusionment have looked to the pre-Enlightenment thinkers, leading to a renewal in virtue ethics, first developed by Aristotle in the 300s BCE. Aristotle's moral framework notably influenced the works of medieval Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas and 18th-century English philosopher David Hume, though 20th-century thinkers like Phillipa Foot, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Rosalind Hursthouse are largely responsible for the theory's resurgence.

Many ethical theories focus primarily on right action, specifically how we judge behaviors as moral or immoral. In contrast, virtue ethics is agent-centered, meaning the moral *character* of the person acting is the principal focus. The general premise asserts that if a person *is* good, he or she will *do* good and that the relationship between moral character and right action is mutually reinforcing.

Virtue ethicists believe that *eudaimonia*—commonly translated as flourishing, happiness, or well-being—is the ultimate end goal of humanity. Eudaimonia extends beyond our everyday understanding of happiness to something more profound, a true or real happiness. Humans achieve this state by cultivating *phronesis*, a sense of moral or practical wisdom that allows us to act appropriately in accordance with the virtues. *Virtues* represent deeply ingrained character traits that help a person act and live well. Aristotle established the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, courage, and temperance, arguing that other virtues stem largely from these. While there is no agreed-upon list, charity, understanding, trust, and truthfulness are some commonly cited virtues.

By their very nature, virtues are slippery concepts; therefore, cultivating practical wisdom is necessary for their proper understanding and application. For Aristotle, virtues pave the way

toward human flourishing while vices derail us from that path. In his eyes, vices result from an imbalance in the understanding and application of virtues that trend toward deficiency or excess. For instance, courage is a virtue that provides us the strength to stand up to injustice. When we lack courage, we fall victim to the vice of cowardice, deficient in the strength needed to do right. On the other hand, an excess of courage leads to the vice of foolhardiness, the tendency to seek out or escalate disagreements. Virtues thus represent a *golden mean* between vices of deficiency and excess, and practical wisdom enables us to recognize and maintain a proper balance.

Practical wisdom also helps us achieve balance in other ways. Many virtue ethicists argue that the virtues underpin one another. Practical wisdom helps us to recognize such connections and thus realize how virtues mutually reinforce one another to strengthen overall character. Looking back to the previous discussion of courage, one can readily see how courage is necessary to promote justice.

Finally, while virtues typically coalesce, they occasionally conflict, meaning the adherence to one requires violating another. Practical wisdom helps us balance situational factors so that we might properly comprehend and order the virtues, and thus act well.

Virtue ethics presents a fruitful lens for understanding PR because its major concepts are defined within relational contexts. In the ancient Greek world, the value of developing personal morality laid primarily in such persons' value to a functioning, flourishing city-state. The role of virtues in helping individuals achieve prosperity is therefore far less important than the ability of virtuous agents to work together toward well-being within the broader community.

Given this communal, relational focus, the ultimate source and process of acquiring principles of virtue differ vastly from how Kant theorizes about moral duties. For Kant, moral duties are derived through reason and adherence to universal moral law. Virtue ethicists view individuals as less autonomous, making the process of moral education a more collective effort. Virtues become ingrained character traits through habitual practice; however, there are times when we face moral dilemmas in which we are uncertain about moral rights and wrongs. Virtue ethicists encourage us to look

toward *moral exemplars*, those we uphold in our personal or professional lives as ethically steadfast. Consulting with them personally or looking to examples of how they behaved facing similar circumstances provides valuable guidance.

Ethics and Professionalism

While PR scholars and practitioners engage in seemingly endless debates over which moral approach is best suited to the field, there is near-universal agreement that ethics are critically important in establishing and maintaining the profession. A recognized code of ethics is considered by most to be a prerequisite of professional status; such codes create boundaries between proper and improper methods of practice, thus delineating professionals from amateurs while simultaneously establishing an aspirational vision for the field.

Unfortunately, PR appears trapped in an ongoing identity crisis in which scholars and practitioners struggle to define the field in general, and more specifically an ethic in which to ground it. Though these existential questions still rage—and likely will for some time—PR ethicists continue their search for answers within this thriving sub-discipline of PR.

Nicholas Browning

See also Press and Government Relations;
Public Relations

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PUBLIC RELATIONS, HISTORY OF

Public relations can trace its roots to ancient oral traditions in which storytelling served to inform, teach, influence, and advocate. Relating to an

audience depended on speakers and writers believing in their message and then knowing and understanding how to persuade their audience to listen and act on their words. With the expansion of mass communication in the late 1800s and early 20th century, the need arose for individuals, government, industry, and causes to hire experts who knew how to use the media to reach the public. The demand for public relations expertise increased the number of mass communication channels, which proliferated to include print, broadcast, and digital media. Today, public relations touches every aspect of society, and practitioners boast expertise in media relations, lobbying, marketing, social media management, investor relations, public affairs, community relations, and crisis communication. Despite the disruption in journalism and other forms of mass communication, public relations continues to flourish in all areas of society, including government, business, nonprofits, and education.

Historical Roots

Since the invention of the printing press in the 16th century, the rise of public relations has been closely tied to the evolution of journalism and mass communication. The strategic use of communication to influence and change public opinion, however, reaches back a millennium or more. Kings, religious leaders, missionaries, crusaders, social reformers, and merchants have long sought to persuade the masses to support their partisan interests. Aristotle, Socrates, Alexander the Great, and the Apostle Paul employed persuasion. More recently, the Sons of Liberty, Benjamin Franklin, and Andrew Jackson actively sought to rally public support for their causes. The ancients created special events, delivered speeches, developed curriculum, and wrote letters while more recent persuaders relied on handbills, newsletters, newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Even the documentation of the trial of John Peter Zenger represented an effective act of public relations. One of Zenger's patrons, James Alexander, wrote many of the libelous articles that led to the printer's arrest and then made sure to document Zenger's defense by publishing the notes of Zenger's attorney, Andrew Hamilton. This partisan version of the trial arrived in

Britain and its colonies long before the official version and transformed a local political battle into a great moral victory for freedom of speech and the press.

Contemporary scholars, many relying on superficial historical research, contend that public relations emerged in the early 1900s with the creation of the first press bureau and continued to evolve into a profession that served public and private interests. To meet the needs of business and address criticism from the press and the public, the field became more managerial, professional, and ethical. Proponents of this perspective steered public relations away from the more pejorative forms of persuasion, such as propaganda, publicity, and advocacy while touting a more prosocial emphasis on management, relationship building, and dialogue. This perspective conflicts with the historical record. Margot Opdycke Lamme and Karen Miller Russell argued that the field emerged from the deliberate effort to agitate on behalf of partisan causes, advocate for social reform, recruit allies, build goodwill, and establish legitimacy. The history of public relations had less to do with business than with the need to persuade and mobilize public opinion. Before 1900, education, nonprofits, reformers, politicians, government officials, and business executives all engaged in strategic communication—although they were more likely to refer to their work as publicity, propaganda, or advertising.

Progressive Era

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, publicity served as the dominant form of public relations activity. Practitioners were known as *publicists* and in some cases, press agents. However, public relations historians have disputed this connection between publicists and wily press agents such as P. T. Barnum. Press agents pined for press attention and resorted to a number of well-documented hoaxes and exaggerations to accomplish their promotional goals. Publicists, in contrast, sought to influence public opinion through press coverage, special events, and public associations. They justified the need for publicists and publicity by citing the press's bias for bad news, scandals, and conflict. As one observer noted at the time, bad news has wings while good news

needs help. To win coverage for positive news, publicists needed to know what types of events, stories, and people generated news coverage. Thus, publicists played a critical role in promoting the 1893 Chicago World's Fair as well as advocating for political, social, business, and moral reforms. Indeed, they portrayed publicity as a searchlight, cleansing agent, and civic catalyst. The Progressive Era, which started in the 1890s before grounding to a halt during World War I, marked the high point of publicity as a positive weapon for social and moral reform. Examples of Progressive Era publicity included the work of muckraking journalists, partisan newspaper editors, social and political reformers, and advocates for better business practices. Progressives adopted a paternalistic and sometimes coercive approach to improving society while at the same time believing in the public's power to act on prosocial publicity to bring about social and political change.

Popular public relations textbooks and histories contend that the field emerged from the response of big business to muckraking journalism and public scrutiny, but more recent research points to Progressive political leaders advocating for more government oversight and regulation. Others credit the close connection between journalism and public relations as opening the door for corporate journalists and publicists. In reality, key institutions of society—the government, businesses, churches, and charities embraced public relations activities because they recognized the importance of the press and public opinion in advancing partisan interests. Since journalists best understood the press and its processes, they tended to make the best publicists. Thus, public relations' roots in publicity inevitably aligned it with the press and journalism. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, speaking to the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1909, declared, "Get the newspapers with you." Newspapers, he continued, serve as the "organs of publicity, and they are also organs of opinion." Public concerns had genuine news value and by cooperating with the press, reformers accomplished their goals for social improvement. Suffragists, prohibitionists, and other social movements also learned to promote their causes through special events the generated publicity.

Greater public scrutiny meant that big business needed more than just in-house journalists; it required a new type of publicist, one who could advise business leaders on public issues and policy. One of the pioneers of this more consultant role of publicist was Ivy Lee, who in 1904 partnered with veteran journalist George Parker to create a publicity agency. Two years later, while representing anthracite coal operators during a strike, Lee promised to provide prompt and accurate information to the press and public. Although Lee did not always practice his Declaration of Principles, his words inspired generations of professional publicists who could mold and shape public opinion. In 1914, John D. Rockefeller Sr. hired Lee to represent his corporate interests and advocated a policy of informing the public. Lee transformed Rockefeller's image from cutthroat businessman to philanthropist and in the process, gave credibility to the role of communication counselor.

President Woodrow Wilson, an advocate for publicity, engaged Denver newspaperman George Creel to win public support for America's involvement in World War I. Creel turned the Office of War Information into an effective publicity and propaganda machine, promoting the government's war efforts in newspapers, movie houses, and schools. Creel's campaign to win American support for the world war exceeded expectations but also sparked a public backlash. Political leaders condemned the use of public funds to pay for a propaganda campaign to influence citizens. After the war, publicity lost its luster as a Progressive weapon of reform and evolved into a strategic weapon for winning public favor. Although the government continues to curry public favor, its actions were rebranded as public affairs.

Modern Era

In the 1920s, Creel Committee veteran Edward Bernays and other professional publicists also rebranded other forms of publicity as public relations and promoted their role as counselors and special pleaders. Like Lee, Bernays argued that public relations practitioners advocated on behalf of clients in the court of public opinion. By providing the public with information about commercial products and services, these new publicists

promoted commerce and served the public interest. The ethics of their work depended on representing clients worthy of public support. Working with his wife, Doris Fleischman, Bernays reframed public relations as a profession that mediated between organizations and the public. Unlike the publicists and press agents, the public relations counselor advised corporate clients on how to enhance their public image and reputation. Practitioners now sought to determine public opinion and then relay that information back to their organizations, allowing private interests to align with the public interest. Starting in the 1920s, universities began offering publicity courses. Bernays persuaded the Department of Journalism at New York University to allow him to teach a course on public relations.

Although the Great Depression stalled the growth of this new profession, the subsequent recovery required businesses to rebuild its image and regain public trust. Thus, public relations boomed again, and public relations agencies began opening up across the country. In 1927, John W. Hill started a firm in Cleveland, Ohio, focusing on “corporate publicity,” but he soon found that organizations needed a number of services, including internal communication, press relations, and strategic communication. By the 1940s, the firm’s New York office offered more opportunities for growth and expansion, so Hill founded Hill and Knowlton, Inc., which grew into one of the world’s largest public relations agencies. The firm helped clients with crisis communication, media relations, investor relations, corporate communication, and international communication. With demand for public relations skills increasing, especially in major metropolitan areas, practitioners aspired to higher standards. They organized into professional associations.

Universities hired veteran practitioners to teach public relations courses. By 1946, 26 schools were offering public relations courses. Rex Harlow practiced public relations in Oklahoma City before joining the faculty at Stanford University. He taught public relations courses and wrote for academic publications. He also helped form one of the first professional associations for public relations. In 1947, the two largest public relations associations merged into the Public Relations

Society of America (PRSA). PRSA established a code of ethics and emphasized professional training. Its members debated the question of professional licensing for practitioners. Bernays, despite disinterest in PRSA, advocated for licensing. The majority of his colleagues, however, rejected the notion, fearing it violated free speech and encouraged government oversight. PRSA resolved the debate by promoting voluntary accreditation based on having professional experience and the ability to pass rigorous written and oral examinations.

In 1952, public relations educator Scott Cutlip published one of the industry’s most influential textbooks, *Effective Public Relations*. Although publicity remained a tactical part of professional practice, public relations educators and professionals argued for a more prestigious management role that included influencing corporate policy as well as communication tactics. The field adopted a systems theory approach to managing communication in and out of the organizational system. As boundary spanners, practitioners bridged the gap between the organization and its internal and external stakeholders. Public relations managed issues critical to the survival of the organization. Practitioners moved beyond merely disseminating information to engaging in two-way communication with stakeholders and other important publics. Social science research methods helped public relations managers monitor public attitudes and interests and then advise organizational leaders on how to interpret feedback from the public.

Public relations exploded in the 1950s as corporations, government, the military, universities, and other organizations sought public favor. Whereas most public relations practitioners were once concentrated in large metropolitan areas, such as New York City and Washington, D.C., they now hailed from mid-sized cities across the continent. Although corporations generally remained reticent in regard to their ups and downs, they did value positive publicity, especially in the nascent business press. With an increasing demand for content, the business press relied on public relations for information and access to business leaders. Ralph D. Paine, the editor of *Fortune* magazine, warned public relations practitioners about the overabundance of positive stories they supplied to the business press.

If the press published only good news, they would lose credibility and that would not bode well for public relations or journalism. Although practitioners probably agreed with Paine, they were willing to take the risk. Positive publicity provided job security.

As the number of public relations practitioners surpassed 100,000, they received more scrutiny from the press and the public. Vince Packard wrote a best-selling book, *The Hidden Persuaders*, critiquing public relations practice. Writing in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Packard noted that the field had discarded the traditional labels of press agent and publicist and embraced Edward Bernays's title of public relations counsel. The public relations profession boasted that its practitioners had achieved power and prestige as corporate vice presidents and communication executives. Packard admitted that many public relations professionals advocated high standards of practice, but others resorted to using deception and half-truths to influence public opinion. In the 1960s, investigations by the Security and Exchange Commission and other government agencies into corporate publicity and public relations caused some sincere soul searching among practitioners, especially those associated with PRSA.

The Vietnam War and social turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s brought public relations to the forefront in defending government and business. Public relations also promoted businesses to Wall Street and defended corporations from activists and critics, such as Ralph Nader. In the mid-1970s, a recession caused businesses to trim public relations staffs and demand more accountability and measurement. As corporate CEOs became more media savvy, public relations earned more influence over branding and strategy. Public relations agencies expanded their political activities. Indeed, the 1970s and 1980s represented the rise of major public relations agencies including Hill & Knowlton, Carl Byoir & Associates, Burson-Marsteller, Ruder Finn, and Edelman. More and more jobs were filled by graduates trained in public relations rather than journalism.

Digital Era

Through the 1990s and into the 21st century, public relations professionals work in government,

international affairs, business, nonprofit organizations, education, sports, and entertainment. Educators teach two-way symmetrical communication, dialogue, relationship-building, crisis communication, and strategy. Earned media and media relations remain important, but public relations has expanded its role in creating and managing owned media, including organizational accounts on Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat, and YouTube. Digital media may have disrupted and savaged journalism but for public relations, it continues to open doors in social media management, social listening, and content creation.

The proliferation of digital media has only served to increase demand for public relations. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of 2020, public relations–related jobs in the United States totaled 274,600, with a 10-year estimated growth of 7%. The U.S. public relations industry generated more than \$14 billion in revenue in 2019, and public relations agencies employed more than 54,500 people. At the beginning of the modern era of public relations in the 1920s, the number of journalists outnumbered the number of publicists by a large margin. Today, there are six public relations practitioners for every journalist. Whereas media relations once dominated the work of publicists and public relations practitioners, practitioners now devote more time to digital storytelling and content creation, and social media marketing and management.

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See also Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in

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PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING

Public service broadcasting, which is sometimes referred to as *public media*, is a federal service administered through the oversight of a corporation and tasked with providing block grants to television and radio extension services that produce journalistic, head start, public affairs, and cultural programming for roughly \$1.35 per person per year. It is a legacy institution of the Progressive Era aspiration that national unity might be improved by agencies designed to promote awareness about the diversity of experiences within our communities, by providing services for self-improvement. Between roughly 1921 and 1967, early public service broadcasters built an alternative media industry to commercial media to guarantee every person the same access to

information and job training. From its origins in state universities, classroom curriculum evolved into radio and television programs that are now associated with Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), National Public Radio (NPR), and a substantial number of cable networks. This entry examines the early history and development of public service broadcasting, the impact of the Communications Act of 1934, the subsequent expansion of public service broadcasting, and public service broadcasting since the passing of the Public Broadcasting Act in 1967.

History and Development

The earliest apocryphal educational broadcasts were made in the 19-aughts, with experiments of live concert relays in San Francisco and West Lafayette. At the time radio had not yet been regulated, and every frequency was open to communication. One might have heard dozens of simultaneous voices on an unprotected channel, in the equivalent of sonic chat room. During World War I, the U.S. government prohibited most forms of radio use. But the University of Wisconsin was selected by the Navy to test directed content between 9XM Madison and the Great Lakes Naval base. Madison broadcasters built their entire station from scratch, even blowing their own vacuum tubes, and called it WHA. WHA is hence usually credited with being the first public service broadcasting station in the United States, due to this head start. One 9XM radio student was chosen to be the radio operator on Admiral Byrd's polar expeditions, another went on to invent radio signal technology. By early 1922, there were already roughly a dozen educational stations up and running. Early educational radio was originally supported by physics and engineering departments at Midwestern state universities, with experimental physicists more interested in measuring transmission of sound waves than the prospects of communication by voice.

But by the early 1920s, educators began to realize radio's promise as a cultural tool. Radio waves could reach large agrarian populations with immediacy, over vast geographic expanses. Distance learning programs initiated in the 1910s latched on to radio and streamlined curricula to reach

adult education students, in the process extending compulsory education programs to farm communities. A theory of the purpose of public service broadcasting emerged around roughly 1925, in dialectical contrast to new commercial broadcasters. The meaning of the service might diverge depending on the community that the station endeavored to reach. But university farm reports, 4-H club, weather emergencies, music appreciation, home economics, and classroom extension lectures marked contrast to the sponsor supported content of local department stores, regional broadcasters, and network affiliates.

Taking their cue from the precedent of the *modern school* and state university philosophies such as the *Wisconsin Idea*, early practitioners believed that the creation of an ethereal *social center* would strengthen the public sphere and promote social connectivity through continuous dissemination of data and perspective. The foundational concept—that educational technology could be utilized to increase equal access to education—inspired rapid public service broadcasting growth through the early 1930s.

In 1925, educators formed a clearing house, first called the Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations, later the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB), to discuss best practices. Internal correspondence, found in archives across Midwestern universities, detail well the growth of each station, unique genres, and the unique approach that inspired public media. Strides were made in drama, parks service, and primary school music appreciation programming. But as an incipient endeavor, programs were rough and undeveloped. Archival letters of the 1920s detail difficulties in producing broadcasts, from reports of announcers with nasally high-pitched voices, with poor script reading skills, to shows with no perceivable audience; to stations unable to fill airtime, forcing one Iowa DJ to play solo violin for hours to an uncaring audience to keep the station license.

Impact of the 1934 Communications Act

In 1934, the Senate passed its first national media policy: the Communications Act. Faced with frequency scarcity and an abundance of applications, the act stipulated that the infrastructure built by

commercial broadcasters, which did not require state support to maintain facilities, would receive most AM allocations. The consequence was that close to 85% of educational stations suddenly lost their licenses in 1935. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which was constituted by the act in 1934, was dismayed by this outcome and released a Pursuant to the Act that clarified a path for how educators might regain their licenses. The basic line of advice, which the FCC determined in concert with the Office of Education, was as follows: (a) that educators had to do a better job of entertaining audiences while educating and (b) to find a way to continuously fund content, since educators were determined to hone their craft without advertising dollars. The result was that the post-Act environment, initially marked by a decimated, scattered educational landscape, transformed into something like a civic movement. Hundreds of institutions and multiple sectors became galvanized that the state universities were right—radio could serve public education—and that technology was fated to do more than entertain, promote, and profit. After 1935, adherents began to search for a way that university stations might reserve a special bandwidth for education.

Improving Educational Broadcasting

University broadcasters studied the practices of the BBC and obtained Rockefeller fellowships to train in station maintenance, audio curricular design, and strategies for how to connect with audiences, setting the precedent for philanthropic underwriting of public media as early as 1936. Concurrently, the president of the University of Wyoming built the first noncommercial media network to reach educational sites in the Rocky Mountains, which he presciently coined as the Rocky Mountain Radio Council “public broadcasting service.” Meanwhile, the FCC and Office of Education organized a Federal Radio Education Committee (FREC) in concert with NBC and CBS, which green-lit a research project to determine how well educational broadcasts fulfilled their educational mandates.

Over the next 10 years, educational broadcasters refined their methods. New modes of distribution appeared at the Universities of Iowa and

Wisconsin. An innovative class of content and format innovators took the helm at Ohio State University. And through FREC, university researchers explored the effects of state university radio on public learning and opinion. The FREC study, which became known as the Princeton Radio Research Project (PRRP), consolidated the methodological foundations of what became known as *communications research*. They had a breakthrough in 1937, when they realized that demographic affiliation could be refined across multiple categories at once ad infinitum, as defined by the listeners themselves. This adjustment—the creation of reflexive demographic categories instead of fitting listeners into preset categories—made it easier to triangulate similar responses among experimental groups, helping educational advocates to satisfy the federal mandate of understanding educational listeners. The PRRP had achieved the remarkable goal of making their method reproducible in different control experiments, eliciting similar demographic responses across geographic space. By the late 1940s, their methods, first developed to understand educational content, became the cornerstone of advertising, product, survey, grant writing, and election approval techniques.

When the United States entered World War II, state university practitioners at the University of Illinois, Iowa State University, and Indiana University enlisted with the office of war information and military training divisions, applied this new technique, and streamlined the clarity and comprehension of instructional broadcasting. After the war, the same figures helped to build Voice of America and other postwar reconstruction projects. By the end of the war, Congress was persuaded to allocate protected frequencies on the new FM dial for educational broadcasting.

With the introduction of television just around the corner, in the late 1940s, educational broadcasting began to look something like today's public media. With the help of philanthropic groups, the military, and federal agencies, reform boosters had improved the quality of broadcasts. But perhaps more importantly, their discovery of triangulatable audience research was effective at measuring public opinion, which made their work attractive to university administrators. Universities began to pour funding into research and

development and audience testing, and between 1950 and 1953, two major events would change the trajectory of public service broadcasting history. The first event was the creation of communication departments. In 1947, the University of Illinois Institute of Communications Research applied audience research as *media effects*, making communication the designated departmental home for educational broadcasting, which further legitimated public service broadcasting. Telecommunications programs were additionally successful at training students for a trade—working in commercial radio. The University of Illinois became the NAEB's home base. From Illinois and WNYC, educators built the *bicycle network*, which figuratively and literally *peddled* shows from station to station, around the country.

Second, the FCC allocated 11.7% protected frequencies for educational television stations in 1952 with the Sixth Report and Order. Armed with TV channels and having realized a vision of nonprofit media distribution, the Ford Foundation became persuaded that the NAEB was prepared to expand into educational television production and research. Between roughly 1953 and 1967, educational broadcasting underwent a measured improvement in quality of content, while expanding its audience. To reach as many students as possible, Ohio State University founded the Midwest Program on Airborne Television Instruction, which literally put a signal tower on an airplane and flew around for 12 h a day to maintain broadcasts in the Midwest. Hagerstown, Maryland, attempted live closed-caption television broadcasts to classrooms. Universities applied the aesthetic qualities of the BBC and network broadcasters to their craft. And by the mid-1950s, the genres associated with public media started to reach aesthetic maturation: travel shows, cooking shows, public affairs, and head start programming.

By the late 1960s, National Educational Radio had produced its third and fourth generation of announcers and producers. In the 1950s, National Educational Television (NET) pooled talent and scripts with the BBC and Ford Foundation, developing programs like NET Playhouse, giving a young Alistair Cooke his start. He'd go on to host *Masterpiece Theater*. The Eastern Educational Network (EEN), which became known as WGBH

in Boston, introduced *The French Chef* and *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood*. WGBH also imported *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. With the founding of PBS, perhaps the greatest breakthrough came with the formation of the Children's Television Workshop (CTW). The group called upon audience methodologies discovered over the previous 30 years to create perhaps the most important public service broadcasting research consortium of U.S. history, with the most important public television show: *Sesame Street*. Originally a head start grant project, CTW shot early video content and brought it from school to school to screen to students. The material underwent rigorous research and development based on research conducted in communication departments. After a screening, the CTW surveyed response, gauged reception to content by demographic category, and then adjusted aesthetic components of the show from story-world building to the color of each Muppet. Eventually a formula materialized in which social issues such as advocacy for diversity was so well implicitly written into the fabric of the show that viewers no longer noticed that any single scene might feature representations from multiple class, ethnicity, and political viewpoints. Audiences were instead unified counting from 1 to 10, hearing the perspectives of different characters, or searching for Snuffleupagus, one of the many Muppets who would be popularized by the CTW.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967

By 1967, public service broadcasting's fortunes had turned around. The Public Broadcasting Act created PBS, NPR, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. With support from the Carnegie Commission and multiple Senators, Congress invited the NAEB to migrate producers, show runners, and engineers from state universities to Washington, D.C., Boston, and New York to populate the 4th network. NPR shows such as *All things Considered* and *Fresh Air* employed the first and second female anchors ever on a national network. Instead of instructional broadcasts, NPR favored reporting and conversational public forum style content, and PBS produced and licensed cultural uplift, news, and children's programs.

There are several major takeaways for journalism researchers when examining public service broadcasting's evolution from educational broadcasting during the New Deal to NPR and PBS. From the beginning of mass media in the United States, one finds two complex, successful, innovative approaches that sometimes worked in collaboration, with public service broadcasting and commercial broadcasting. But a fundamental difference in concept over the purpose of technology catalyzed an entirely different mode of production, with different genres, in service of education. The state university belief that education be accessible to every possible student, regardless of background or location, inspired a national media infrastructure.

Josh Shepperd

See also Access to Media; Alternative News Media; Audiences; British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); Civic Journalism; Community Radio; Democracy and the Media; Education, Coverage of; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Journalism Education; Media Literacy; National Public Radio (NPR); Nonprofit Media; Pacifica Radio; Public Broadcasting Service (PBS); Public Television Journalism; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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PUBLIC TELEVISION JOURNALISM

Public television news is an alternative to commercial news programming that positions the audience as information-seeking citizens rather than consumers. The public television model seeks to provide news that is important to a self-governing citizenry regardless of its commercial viability in the broadcast or cable marketplace. Ostensibly free from corporate control, advertising pressures, and the quest for ratings, public television news is generally marked by longer formats, more in-depth coverage of issues, slower pacing, and less focus on visual content compared to commercial news.

Public television news was slow to emerge in the United States. Commercial networks staked early claims to the broadcast spectrum that were subsequently protected by federal legislation. By contrast, in the democracies of Western Europe, public television news was part of a broad public service mandate for broadcasting that existed before the introduction of commercial television, so licensed stations were required to provide balanced news that was independent of both government and commercial interests. This entry first discusses the development of public television in the United States, news programming available on Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and public access television, and some of the problems of public television news in the United States. It then looks like a public television elsewhere in the world.

Public Broadcasting in the United States

In the United States, public television news typically eschews weather, sports, and entertainment news except in the context of reports with wider social, political, economic, or science implications. The absence of commercial interruptions is one of the hallmarks of public television programs.

However, in the United States, programs are often preceded and followed by or interspersed with underwriting credits that use brand names, logos, and information about the sponsoring company and its product. Also, during regularly scheduled national "pledge" drives, news programs are interrupted to ask viewers to make contributions to support public television news.

In the United States, public television news emerged in the mid-20th century in response to at least three concerns raised by critics of commercial television news: (1) that concentration of commercial media ownership into fewer hands invited homogenization of news and narrowing of opinions; (2) that commercial imperatives required news to have an entertainment value that prioritized sensationalism over serious reporting; and (3) that privately owned media relegated viewers to the role of passive receivers of news.

From the earliest years of broadcasting, public media was envisioned as a vehicle for balanced, inclusive coverage and discussion of the day's events. John Macy, the first president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), believed that public perceptions of declining network news standards in the 1960s created a vacuum that public television news could fill. Macy in 1970 set goals for public television news: to provide an alternative to commercial news; to provide a model of rational discourse; and to allow citizens to use television as a platform for expressing their own opinions. Despite such ambitious aims, the failure in the United States to secure reliable long-term funding for public television has left its news programs and documentaries vulnerable to financial and political pressures that have led to increasing commercialization and charges of bias from both left and right-wing critics. Also, the availability of news from cable networks, satellite, and online sources has steadily eroded the audience for public television news.

Development

The forerunner of public television news in the United States was radio programming carried on stations operated mainly by public universities. By the mid-1920s, radio had become an important pipeline of information to farmers, businesses, and

citizens in rural areas, providing a model for early educational television. Progressive educators such as John Dewey recognized the enormous potential of broadcasting as a distributor of news and information and as a public space for the exchange of ideas and opinions vital to deliberative democracy. Nonetheless, the United States opted for a marketplace model of broadcasting. As commercial media established their dominance of radio broadcasting, news was largely eclipsed by entertainment, a pattern that was repeated with the advent of television in the mid-20th century.

In 1952, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allocated space on the broadcast band for noncommercial television channels. However, due to Cold War fears of Communist infiltration of media, noncommercial television was narrowly cast as “educational.” Still, some early educational television stations experimented with community news and discussions aimed at promoting social and civic reform. One example was a series produced in 1952 by WOI-TV which was licensed to the Iowa State University. *The Whole Town is Talking*, a 15-part series funded by the Ford Foundation, featured local citizens discussing current issues in communities throughout Iowa.

The Ford Foundation played a crucial role in funding news programs for early educational television, particularly with the creation of National Educational Television (NET) in 1963. NET was a consolidation of several Ford Foundation projects that focused on media and education. The first regular public affairs program funded by NET for distribution to educational television stations was *At Issue*, produced by Alvin Perlmutter. NET also sought to address the concern that the mass media in the United States were focusing only on white audiences, a criticism highlighted by a presidential commission appointed to investigate race riots in the 1960s. By funding public affairs programs produced by and for minorities, NET showcased one of the potential strengths of public television news—its capacity to serve marginalized audiences rather than to maximize audience share.

Carnegie Commission Report

In 1967, the government-endorsed Carnegie Commission of New York released a report of its

2-year study of noncommercial television. The report, titled *Public Television, a Program for Action*, outlined a series of recommendations that included news and public affairs programming. Lawmakers enacted most of the commission’s proposals into law as the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The centerpiece of the law was the creation of the CPB, a nonprofit corporation charged with receiving and disbursing government funds in support of public television. However, Congress rejected the report’s recommendation to create a permanent source of CPB funds through excise taxes and opted instead to allocate funding to the CPB through the budgetary process. Consequently, federal funding for public broadcasting, which has steadily decreased since the 1980s, remains subject to shifts in the political climate.

Local News

Because of the prohibitive expense, most public television stations do not produce daily hard news programs. In lieu of conventional newscasts, many stations produce public affairs programs, interview shows, or themed call-ins that connect viewers by telephone or the Internet with expert studio guests. Two series—*Newsroom* and *The 51st State*—are commonly considered landmarks in public television local news.

KQED-TV in San Francisco was the first public television station in the United States to produce a daily news show. *Newspaper of the Air* debuted in 1968 in response to a strike that closed San Francisco’s two major metropolitan newspapers. The program featured journalists hired off the picket lines to report and discuss local stories. *Newspaper of the Air* was so popular with San Francisco citizens that when the 9-week newspaper strike ended, the Ford Foundation provided a grant to continue the program in a revised format. The new daily program, *Newsroom*, provided in-depth, local coverage of the fractious 1968 presidential campaign, the antiwar movement, and civil rights protests, receiving the prestigious Alfred I. duPont–Columbia University Award for television journalism for its local coverage.

The 51st State was a nightly production of New York’s WNET-TV from 1972 to 1973 and a weekly series from 1973 to 1976. The program reported on regional issues such as youth gangs in the South

Bronx while also providing New Yorkers' perspectives on national concerns including the Vietnam War. Rejecting the fast pace and headline quality of network news, *The 51st State* adopted unconventional broadcast techniques such as allowing the story content to dictate its length and bringing viewers into the studio to question experts and government officials.

National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT)

Unlike in most other countries, public broadcasting in the United States does not have a centralized news department. Rather, news is produced by individual member stations for distribution nationwide. The first effort at national public television news occurred in 1971 when the Ford Foundation and the CPB established the NPACT. The center was charged with producing news programming and documentaries for the recently established PBS, the nonprofit corporation collectively owned by member stations throughout the United States. It later merged with Washington, D.C.'s public television station WETA-TV.

NPACT's early efforts included *Washington Week in Review*, which was established in 1967 and continued to air on public television stations half a century later using the shortened program name *Washington Week*. In 1972, NPACT began producing a weekly campaign year series for PBS, coanchored by Robert MacNeil and Sander Vanocur. *A Public Affair/Election '72* provided the template for what became the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. Filled with interviews and studio discussions with visiting experts, *A Public Affair* operated on the principle that news should be delivered as unadorned as possible to prevent distortion or trivialization.

In the early 1970s, *A Public Affair*—along with other news programs and documentaries on public television—provoked the administration of President Richard Nixon, which accused PBS of having a liberal/leftist agenda. Concerns about the perceived liberal bias of PBS triggered the development of broad journalistic standards for public television news, which according to the CPB's Macy, included balanced programming, objectivity, reflection of "voices both inside and outside society's existing consensus," and "the obligation

not to let technique become the master of substance" (Macy 1974, 71). To implement the guidelines, PBS appointed Jim Lehrer, KERA's *Newsroom* anchor in Dallas, as its public affairs coordinator. Lehrer also became a correspondent for NPACT, and in 1973, he teamed up with MacNeil to provide live, continuous coverage of the Senate Select Committee on Watergate.

NPACT's decision to provide "gavel to gavel" coverage of the Watergate hearings marked a watershed for public television news. While commercial television provided excerpts of the hearings in nightly news broadcasts, PBS preempted its daytime shows to carry more than 200 hours of hearings. Its Watergate coverage attracted a larger audience in many markets than the networks' prime time reporting. PBS's Watergate broadcasts are widely credited with creating a surge in both viewer interest in and funding for public television news. Nonetheless, the Nixon administration's assault on PBS had weakened its news programming. In 1972, a CPB board, dominated by Nixon appointees, voted against funding news and political analysis and rescinded a funding commitment to NPACT. With the exception of *Washington Week in Review*, NPACT programming perceived as hostile to the Nixon administration went off the air once its funding was exhausted.

National Daily News

No daily newscast appeared on the PBS national schedule until 1975 when WNET-TV premiered a 30-minute weeknight program, *The Robert MacNeil Report*. Jim Lehrer served as the program's Washington correspondent. In 1976, the program was renamed *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*. Similar in format to *Newsroom*, the *Report* devoted each episode to a single issue. That changed in 1983 when the program expanded to a full hour under the title, *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, now *PBS NewsHour*.

In its expanded format, the *NewsHour* pioneered a new approach to nightly newscasts. Its opening segment provided a summary of national and international events. In-depth reports and interviews then provided additional context to news summary stories or introduced conflicting viewpoints. By limiting feature segments to just two or three per program, the *NewsHour* could

devote significant attention to a limited number of topics. Pre-taped feature segments were produced by the *NewsHour*'s own staff, by affiliated public television stations, and by producers from Independent Television News, a news content provider headquartered in Great Britain.

Confounding doubts that Americans would watch a full hour of nightly news, the *NewsHour* became one of the most popular and iconic series on PBS. The *NewsHour* continues to experiment with different types of segments. For example, in presidential election years, it airs extended excerpts of primary candidates' stump speeches on the premise that most citizens hear only sound bites and advertisements. The *NewsHour* also introduced weekly debates between conservative and liberal commentators.

Another periodic segment that began in the aftermath of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq is "Honor Roll" in which the *NewsHour* silently displays the pictures and lists the names, ranks, and hometowns of U.S. military members killed in Iraq. In 2006, "Honor Roll" expanded to include military personnel killed in Afghanistan. With the retirement of MacNeil and Lehrer, the program became *PBS NewsHour*. As of 2020, it remained the flagship news broadcast on American public television where it was carried by more than 350 stations and available to 99% of American viewers.

Other News Programming

Over the years, public television stations have experimented with a variety of formats designed to engage viewers in current events and promote an active, informed citizenry. The *Public Broadcasting Laboratory* (PBL), produced from 1967 to 1969, was an innovative and controversial series that tested the limits of public television broadcasting. The first series to be aired over a nationally interconnected network of public television stations, *PBL* was a magazine-style program that aimed to simulate a national dialogue by weaving together video and interview segments from around the country. In one of the program's most controversial segments, *PBL* producers gave a camera to Russell Meeks, a radical African American poet, who chronicled life in the Chicago ghetto while condemning Martin Luther King Jr.'s

strategy of nonviolence. The program drew condemnation for its subjectivity and incitement to violence. It was also praised for exposing a wide segment of the American population to the often invisible world of poor urban Blacks and for permitting a marginalized voice to tell his story in his own words. In many ways, *PBL* is considered the archetype for the magazine news programs that followed such as CBS's *60 Minutes*.

In 1968, the CPB funded a news program for African Americans. *Black Journal* used interviews, documentary productions, surveys, and editorials to examine political, social, and economic issues that were relevant to the African American community. In 1970, Tony Brown, a journalist from WTVS, the public television station in Detroit, became the executive producer. Brown took a special interest in media issues, encouraging African Americans to become involved in broadcasting to counter the racism he perceived in public television.

When the CPB withdrew funding for the program in the 1973–1974 season, the outcry from the Black community forced the CPB to reconsider. Nonetheless, Brown was frustrated with the CPB's tepid support. In 1977, he changed the program's name to *Tony Brown's Journal* and moved it to commercial television. In 1982, he returned to public television where his *Journal* aired until 2008, becoming one of the longest running public affairs programs on PBS.

Journalist Bill Moyers hosted several public affairs series on public television beginning in 1971, including *Bill Moyers Journal*, *This Week*, *NOW*, *Wide Angle*, and *Moyers & Company*, as well as one-time specials and mini-series. He was especially noted for his investigative documentaries and long-form conversations with prominent people seldom seen on television, such as social and cultural critics Noam Chomsky and Cornel West. Moyers frequently used his PBS platform to critique government, corporate, and journalistic shortcomings. His progressive views made him a favorite target for conservative media watchdog groups such as the Committee on Media Integrity (COMINT).

Moyers's critics often cited his reports, which they perceived to be one-sided, as examples of why the government should not fund public broadcasting. However, many regular public

television viewers considered him to be a political and cultural figure of authority, and his work has been honored with numerous journalism and public service awards. When Moyers retired from public broadcasting in 2015, he created BillMoyers.com, a website where he archives the news and public affairs programs he created over a 44-year career in public television journalism.

PBS's premier documentary series is *FRONTLINE*, an investigative program that began in 1983. It was created, in part, to fill the void left when commercial network news divisions gradually eliminated their own documentary series in the 1970s and 1980s and gravitated toward feature-filled and entertainment-oriented magazine programs.

FRONTLINE is unusual among public television news programs for at least two reasons. It has never been anchored by a single broadcast journalist or personality. Rather, it has featured both well-known journalists such as Garry Wills, Seymour Hersh, and Bill Moyers along with little-known independent reporters and filmmakers. Also, *FRONTLINE* is not supported by corporate underwriting. Its funding comes from the CPB, PBS, and PBS member stations. Perennially one of PBS's top-rated programs, *FRONTLINE* frequently generates press reviews and has won every major award in broadcast journalism. Given the nature of its content, it also incites controversy and is often cited as an example of the purported "liberal bias" of PBS.

Problems of Public Television News

Critics of public television news take issue with both its style and substance. Some believe that the deliberative pace and lack of stimulating visuals do not appeal to younger generations of news viewers. Others consider public television's approach to news to be pedagogic and elitist. A third critique is the failure of public television news to reflect minority viewpoints and marginalized voices as articulated by the Carnegie Commission Report. The most fundamental critique of public television news stems from PBS's lack of a long-term, insulated source of funding and the consequent perceived ideological biases that result from dependence on various funding agencies. Nixon alleged that a leftist bias in public

television reflected the ethos of the liberal Ford Foundation which funded many of the early news and public affairs programs. Other critics see a rightward trend with the addition of conservative commentators to PBS news programming.

The growing reliance on corporate underwriting has raised concerns about the ability of public television news reporters to practice independent and impartial journalism. Business corporations, brokerage firms, insurance companies, and corporate-supported think tanks have underwritten prominent business news programs such as the *Nightly Business Report* (A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.), *Adam Smith's Money World* (Metropolitan Life), *Wall Street Week With Louis Rukeyser* (Prudential-Bache Securities), William F. Buckley Jr.'s *Firing Line* (American Enterprise Institute), and *The McLaughlin Group* (General Electric). An additional fear provoked by corporate influence is that to attract the large audiences that underwriters seek public television news will increasingly become more entertainment-oriented and less of a distinct alternative to commercial news.

Beginning with the advent of cable television and against the rapidly evolving media landscape of the 21st century, public television news has been forced to defend its existence. Critics question the need for federally funded news programs, arguing that a wide range of news and opinions from various sources are available via the Internet and multiple cable channel options. Nonetheless, efforts by several Republican presidential administrations to eliminate federal funding for the CPB have been stymied by Congress.

Public Television Journalism in the 21st Century

Public media stations are locally owned and operated. Therefore, they have taken a prominent role in efforts to counteract the impact of "media deserts." These are the growing number of communities that have no local news coverage because of the rapid disappearance of newspapers that have gone out of business or merged since 2004 when about 9,000 were being published in the United States. The CPB's primary strategy for maintaining public media's reputation for serious, high-quality journalism has been to encourage collaborations

among local stations through pooled coverage of regional events and other efficiencies.

Through its financial support for editorial staff and enterprise reporters, the CPB has fostered partnerships that have connected more than 100 public media stations in 42 states. One example was a collaboration among stations in the Ohio Valley that produced coverage of the opioid crisis in Appalachia. In 2019, PBS's *FRONTLINE* announced the selection of five reporting teams from stations throughout the country that will make up the inaugural partners in the Local Journalism Initiative. The resulting projects will be published both locally and through *FRONTLINE*'s PBS digital and broadcast platforms.

News on Public Access Television

In addition to PBS, cable television offers another forum for public television news—community access channels. These are also known by the acronym “PEG” for the three types of users: the public, education, and government. Although the channels are owned by for-profit cable companies they generally carry no advertising, and they provide local citizens a platform for the distribution of their own noncommercial messages.

PEG channels emerged in the 1970s. The broadcast industry, fearing a loss of audiences and revenues, maintained that cable posed a threat to “free television.” The cable television industry touted community access channels to demonstrate its social responsibility as a content provider. Cable operators argued that these channels enabled them to be more responsive than commercial broadcast networks to the issues and concerns of local communities. In 1972, the FCC required all cable systems with more than 3,500 subscribers to set aside three noncommercial access channels for public, educational, and governmental use. The development of these channels has been uneven, with programs that range from static shots of school board meetings to lively and highly produced series that examine controversial political, social, and cultural issues. The series *Alternative Views*, which aired on public access television in Austin, Texas between 1978 and 1998, has been cited as a model for public access news programming. An interview

show, *Alternative Views*, addressed issues ignored by the mainstream media.

Public television has also experimented with community access projects. For example, in 1971, Boston's WGBH Foundation created *Catch 44*, a nightly 30-minute program that invited any local group to air its views. Participants were encouraged to use the latest portable equipment to create programming. Although other stations initially followed Boston's lead, community access projects did not become a significant source of public television news.

Public Television News Worldwide

Various development models for public media have influenced the types of news carried on public television globally. Unlike in the United States, where public television belatedly filled a niche neglected by commercial broadcasters, Canada, Australia, and Western European nations conceived of television as a public service from the start. Public television in these countries maintains a prominent role in the political process by routinely covering parliamentary debates, election campaigns, and policy announcements. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU), an organization comprised solely of public service media providers, requires its members to provide balanced programming.

Although created by the government, most European public television systems are funded by license fees on television sets or other taxes. This guaranteed funding insulates news producers from legislative pressures, but it also compels them to produce quality programs that justify the license fees. In this regard, European public broadcasters face some of the same pressures to attract large audiences as American public television producers who seek corporate support.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is one of the oldest and most widely respected public broadcasters. It originated the concept of public service broadcasting in the 1920s, with a mandate to “inform, educate, and entertain.” The BBC remains the world's largest newsgathering operation, reaching a massive global audience through its combined television, radio, and online divisions. Although the BBC is prohibited from advertising on any of its domestic media, it programs

several commercial channels outside the United Kingdom, including BBC World and BBC America.

Conclusion

Public television news is widely considered to be an important factor in the maintenance of modern democracies. Unlike commercial television news, which seeks to build large audiences that will attract advertisers, public television engages in newsgathering and information dissemination for its own sake. Consequently, public television news can explore serious issues in greater depth and can accommodate a wider range of topics and perspectives than is practicable in ratings-driven commercial news.

Despite a reputation for stodginess, public television news has been a force for innovation in the United States because commercial broadcasters are reluctant to take risks on new formats until they have been proven in the marketplace. Hour-long interview programs, magazine-style news shows, news satires, and niche programs such as business news were pioneered by public television before they were adopted by commercial broadcasters. In addition, public broadcasters in the United States have supported interactive programming and have taken advantage of new media technologies to expand their digital and multimedia footprint.

State subsidies, corporate underwriting, and viewer support fund public television in the United States. Other countries also rely on license fees, excise taxes, and advertising revenue. Budgetary crises and political tensions have accompanied the development of public television news which has been criticized for both fiscal and ideological reasons.

Regardless of the national structure or funding system, public media news producers worldwide confront the same three challenges in the 21st century: (1) greater competition from cable stations and web-based newscasters that can target narrow niches with specific news; (2) more pressure from powerful global media conglomerates that can absorb the expense of electronic newsgathering; and (3) rapidly changing technology that is pushing public television onto new digital

platforms. To meet these challenges, public media journalists are experimenting with innovative collaborations to find new ways of gathering, producing, disseminating, and funding the news.

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See also British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); Public Broadcasting Service; Public Radio Journalism

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PUBLICK OCCURRENCES

Although it appeared only once, on September 25, 1690, *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* is considered the first newspaper published in the British American colonies that would later become the United States. *Publick Occurrences*, published in Boston, consisted of three pages of information (approximately 7½ inches by 11½ inches in size) followed by a blank fourth, which the publication's prospectus intimated was left blank so that people who had more news or more accurate information could add it to the paper and then pass it on.

Publick Occurrences was not the first news-sheet to appear in Boston. Beginning in 1667, a series of one-time broadsheets appeared in Massachusetts, mostly related to European events that were considered to be of significance to colonials. In 1689, printer Samuel Green Jr. (1615–1702) produced *The Present State of the New-English Affairs*. This broadside dealt with the political power struggle that was taking place in the colony between Governor Edmund Andros and the Puritan hierarchy that the Anglican Andros's appointment had usurped.

What made *Publick Occurrences* different from *New-English Affairs* and the other Massachusetts broadsides was the fact that *Publick Occurrences* was dated. In the top left corner of the front page, "Numb. 1" appeared, meaning that the paper's printer, Benjamin Harris (c. 1647–1720), intended for his news-sheet to appear at regular intervals as newspapers did in England. Harris reaffirmed this idea in the opening sentence of the paper's prospectus: "It is designed, that the Countrey shall be furnished once a moneth (of if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener,) with an account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice."

Harris was no stranger to newspapers nor to the controversy he would create in Boston with *Publick Occurrences*. In the 1670s and 1680s, he began printing pamphlets and tracts for religious dissenters in England. Religion and politics were firmly entwined, and Harris soon turned his attention toward political issues. In 1679, the licensing of publications briefly ended in England, and

Harris produced the country's first nongovernment-sanctioned paper, *The Domestick Intelligence*; or, *News both from City and Country*. As a Baptist, Harris opposed the Catholic leanings of the Stuart Charles II as well as the Anglican Church. Because he was so outspoken in his opposition to the king, Harris was jailed twice. When he was arrested a third time in 1685 following the reinstitution of licensing, Harris fled to the Netherlands. A year later, he came to America and immediately set up a printing business.

Harris's arrival in Boston coincided with the revocation of Massachusetts's Puritan Charter and Andros's political appointment. Civil unrest following the appointment and, in anger, Massachusetts citizens revolted and removed Andros from office and threw him in jail. For a short time, the colony lacked any strong leadership. It was during this political void that Harris decided to produce *Publick Occurrences*.

With *Publick Occurrences*, Harris hoped to reestablish order and trust within the colony. By providing a regular and reliable information source, the paper's prospectus said, "people every where may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs." In addition, Harris hoped that a reliable news source would also prevent the "many False Reports, maliciously made, and spread among us."

Harris also believed that the newspaper had a divine purpose. He said that *Publick Occurrences* would provide news so "That Memorable Occurrences of Divine Providence may not be neglected or forgotten." To that end, the newspaper carried stories of "Christianized Indians" who had established "a day of Thanksgiving to God for his Mercy in supplying their extream and pinching Necessities," and he noted that if the colonies fared well in their current conflict with the French in Canada that "God alone will have all the Glory." News in the paper also informed readers of a fire that destroyed approximately 20 houses, and it described a smallpox epidemic spreading through Boston. "'Tis not easy to relate the Trouble and Sorrow that poor Boston has felt by this Epidemical Contagion," the paper said.

The paper's commentary surrounding the conflict between England and France, called *King William's War* by the colonists, ultimately led to

Publick Occurrence's suppression. Harris told of a ship seized by the French and Indians. They "Butchered the Master, and several of the men" on board, the paper reported. In addition, *Publick Occurrences* told how colonial forces "cut the faces, and ript the bellies of two Indians, and threw a third Over board in the sight of the French." He complained that colonial officials provided the Mohawks with too much information about colonial military activities. Harris also mentioned that King Louis XIV of France was rumored to be having sexual relations with his "Sons Wife."

Despite the fact that Massachusetts lacked strong political leadership, a Governor's Council still existed, and on September 29, it ordered Harris never again to publish *Publick Occurrences* or any other newssheet in the colony. The decree stated that the newspaper contained "Reflections of a very high nature," and it forbid the printing of any newssheet in the future "without License first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same." The council was simply following a 1686 English law, which prohibited the printing of anything in the colonies without "especial leave and license first obtained." The injunction against *Publick Occurrences* called into question the accuracy of the paper's information, as it was obvious that Harris portrayed the government as powerless to stop French and Indian encroachment in the colony's northernmost regions. Later correspondence from one council member revealed that because Harris chose to publish his paper without authority, complained about dealing with the Mohawks, and disparaged the French king, he raised the council's ire. Despite the fact that England and France were at war, references to royalty and sexual indiscretions were too much for the Puritan council members.

Harris complied with the council's ruling and printed no more newssheets, but he did print a news pamphlet in 1692, the same year he was named the colony's official printer. In 1695, Harris returned to England and resumed newspaper publication with the London Post. All copies of *Publick Occurrences* were ordered called in. A single copy is known to exist in London.

David Copeland

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Censorship; Free Expression, History of

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PUBLISHERS

A publisher is a person or entity that creates and distributes information in the form of books, magazines, newspapers, academic journals, and similar products. In journalism, publisher is the title typically given to a news organization's top executive. It is most often applied to the leader of a legacy newspaper. In early 2021, for example, A.G. Sulzberger was the publisher of *The New York Times*, but digitally native news organizations have also adopted the term. Melissa Bell, meanwhile, was publisher of Vox, an online publication she cofounded after leaving *The Washington Post* in 2014.

Like the news business itself, publishers' duties, responsibilities, and struggles have changed over time. This entry explores the evolution of the role of the publisher from the colonial era to the present, examining their work at both general-interest news organizations and in the activist press. It also describes how publishers have, throughout history, helped define routines and norms that continue to shape the journalism profession today. Modern challenges, including the profession's persistent lack of diversity and the impact of digital publishing on the news business, are addressed as well.

In general, the publisher is the top executive, responsible for overseeing the publication's editorial and business operations. Their professional duties and daily routines vary widely, reflecting the size, mission, and history of their publications as well as the needs of the communities they serve. A publisher may report to a CEO or president; or a publisher may also hold those titles. Sometimes a publisher is also the paper's top editor. In other cases, publishers own all or part of their publication or its parent media company. This arrangement is especially common at small, family-run newspapers or, more recently, digital startups.

During the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the newspaper industry has contracted due to innovations in communication technology and the rise of corporate newspaper chains. This shift has changed the role of the publisher, too. Publishers in big chains often have more in common with Wall Street executives than the journalists who work in their newsrooms. Their counterparts at digitally native startups, meanwhile, are often technologists as well as journalists, innovating with new techniques for digital content distribution, revenue generation, and audience engagement. There is no single educational path to the publisher's office, although it is common for modern publishers to attend journalism school, business school, or both. An entrepreneurial spirit, technical savvy, and a passion for supporting civic life are also desirable traits.

To understand the role of publishers, it is important to grasp the basics of journalism history. Modern newspapers trace their roots back to Europe in the early 1600s when printing press owners began experimenting with new types of publications. The term *publisher*, however, did not emerge until a couple of decades later, first appearing around 1630 in an English newspaper. As printing presses became more common, the number of early newspapers increased both in Europe and in what is now the United States as publishers began to create the nascent news industry.

Early American Publishers

The first publishers in colonial American were postmasters who used their access to the mail to

distribute single-sheet publications called *broad-sides*. The publisher of the colonies' first multi-page newspaper was Richard Pierce of Boston, a printer who worked with editor Benjamin Harris to produce *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*. Their collaboration was, however, short lived. When the first issue debuted on September 25, 1690, the Colonial government quickly intervened and barred them from producing any more.

The earliest newspapers in what would become the United States were, for the most part, concentrated on the East Coast and operated by printers looking to profit from distributing shipping news, dispatches from Europe, and tidbits of information from across the colonies. For instance, Boston's James Franklin (older brother of Benjamin Franklin) saved his printing business by launching *The New-England Courant*, a popular literary newspaper that debuted in 1721. Another notable colonial publisher was Philadelphian Andrew Bradford who, in 1719, created *The American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper in Pennsylvania. And John Zenger, publisher of *The New York Weekly Journal*, helped establish the notion of a free press when, in the 1730s, he won a highly publicized libel trial in which he was accused of using his newspaper to defame New York's colonial governor.

A number of early colonial publishers used their newspapers as platforms to support and distribute information about the revolution. Publishing anti-British content could be dangerous, so many early publishers went to great lengths to avoid getting caught. For instance, John Holt moved the offices of his *New York Journal* multiple times to avoid capture by British troops. In doing so, he was able to supply news about the Revolution not just to local readers but to other newspaper publishers, who reprinted his content for audiences across what would soon become the United States. In some cases, publishers of this era were forced to suspend their newspapers. That was the case for William and Thomas Bradford, who temporarily ceased publication of their *Pennsylvania Journal* while British forces occupied the city. Other examples of important Revolutionary War-era publishers include Benjamin Towne (*Pennsylvania Evening Post*); William and Sarah

Goddard (*Providence Gazette*); and Isaiah Thomas (*Massachusetts Spy*) who is best known for his account on the Battle of Lexington.

Throughout this period, newspapers publishing was largely the domain of white, affluent men, but there were notable exceptions. The first known female newspaper publisher in the United States was Elizabeth Timothy who, in 1738, inherited the *South Carolina Gazette* after her husband died of yellow fever. The first Black-owned newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, was launched in New York in the spring of 1827. Its publishers were John Brown Russwurm and Rev. Samuel Cornish; they received funding from a small group of wealthy free Blacks who, according to a 2011 book called *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media*, believed "it was time for the Black community to create its own newspaper, to challenge the endless stream of racial stereotypes in the white press" (p. 64). By the time the Civil War started, there would be more than two dozen Black publishers producing newspapers throughout the North. After the war, that number would surpass 1,000.

The year after the launch of *Freedom's Journal*, the first Native American newspaper debuted in Georgia. It was called the *Cherokee Phoenix* and operated by Elias Boudinot, a schoolteacher who was commissioned by the tribal council to publish and edit the paper. A variety of newspapers aimed at segments of the Asian American community were also launched during the mid- to late-1800s. One notable example is the *Chinese-American*, founded in New York City in 1883 by Wong Chin Foo, a Chinese immigrant who earned a reputation as a talented bilingual writer and advocate for the rights of Chinese workers.

Publications aimed at Spanish-speaking audiences were becoming increasingly common, too, especially in the South and Southwest. The first was *El Misisipi*, launched in New Orleans in the fall of 1808 by John Mowry who churned out semiweekly issues until 1810. Mowry and Foo were far from the only publishers to create newspapers designed to serve immigrant audiences, but few traces of their efforts remain because archiving practices have been focused mainly on preserving the work of white, English-language publishers.

The Rise of Newspaper Barons

In the decades after the Revolutionary War, newspaper publishing was either a family business or a political pursuit—and sometimes a mix of both. Newspapers often took on the personalities of their owners, and it was not uncommon for an ambitious publisher to launch a newspaper to support a specific candidate or political cause. This period is often called the *party press era*. Many historians say it began in 1789 when a New York publisher named John Fenno launched the *Gazette of the United States* (later renamed the *United States Gazette*) to back the emerging Federalist Party. Prominent anti-Federalists including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison reacted by helping a like-minded publisher named Philip Freneau create the *National Gazette*—a semiweekly newspaper with a similar name but a very different political worldview. Although the majority of publishers eventually moved away from such overtly partisan activities, some newspapers remained political organs well into the 20th century.

The partisan nature of the press began to change in 1835 when publisher James Gordon Bennett created the *New York Herald*, the first U.S. newspaper to vow it would maintain political independence. This coincided with the rise of what's often called the *penny press*, a term used to describe the many inexpensive, general-interest newspapers that appeared during the 1800s. These tabloid-style papers were far cheaper than their more literary counterparts and often featured salacious news about crime, travel, and celebrities. The publishers that operated these nascent newspapers experimented with content in ways that continue to shape modern journalism. Bennett, for instance, began to embrace standards that would eventually evolve into the idea of journalistic objectivity. Eliza Jane Nicholson, who inherited *The Picayune* in New Orleans when her husband died in 1876, introduced society pages and hired the first women's advice columnist. It's also important to note that perhaps the best known newspaper in the world—*The New York Times*—got its start during this period under the leadership of copublishers George Jones and Henry Raymond. Around the turn of the 20th

century, control of the paper was acquired by Adolph Ochs, the publisher of Tennessee's *Chattanooga Times*. When Ochs died in 1935, his son-in-law, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, became publisher. Members of the family have held key leadership positions, including that of the publisher, ever since.

Some of the most prominent publishers in American history made their fortunes during this time and shaped the contours of the news business. Joseph Pulitzer (for whom the Pulitzer Prizes are named) was a Hungarian immigrant who in 1878 purchased the paper that, through a merger, eventually became the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. A few years later, he bought the paper he's best known for running: the *New York World*. It quickly became the most-read newspaper in the country with a circulation hovering around 600,000. Although plenty of its stories were sensationalized and gossipy, the *World* was also a platform for meaningful investigative journalism like the kind practiced by one of its star reporters, Nellie Bly.

Pulitzer's *World* was often locked in fierce competition with the *New York Journal*, a newspaper operated by another well-known publisher, William Randolph Hearst. Their well-documented and often romanticized newspaper wars led to the rise of what's often called *yellow journalism*, a term used to describe over-the-top headlines, gruesome visuals, and other forms of salacious, scandalous content. Hearst got his start in publishing when he took over *The San Francisco Examiner*, a West Coast newspaper owned by his father. He quickly expanded his operations into New York when he bought the *Journal*. Later, he built a sprawling newspaper chain that by the 1920s included more than two dozen outlets such as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and the *Washington Times*. His business eventually evolved into the Hearst Corporation, a major media company that remains a force in the modern information ecosystem.

New York City was not the only venue for the birth of newspaper barons. E.W. Scripps, who Gerald J. Baldasty describes in his 1999 book *E.W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers* as the "prototype of the modern publisher" got his start working for his brother at *The Detroit News*. He then used money loaned to him by his sister,

Ellen Browning Scripps, to start what became the first newspaper chain in the United States. (Although Browning Scripps was never formally a publisher, historians agree that she was a key figure in the Scripps family business and, without her efforts, the newspaper chain might have failed or never existed at all.) Scripps contributed to the infrastructure of news in other ways, too, founding three wire services, including United Press International. Like the Hearst newspapers, the Scripps chain continued to evolve throughout the 20th century and is now the media company known as Scripps-Howard.

Professionalization

In the years between the Civil War and World War I, publishers at large and small newspapers alike began to see their jobs professionalized, modernized and, to some extent, standardized. In 1887, a group of 46 men convened the first meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, a trade association for daily newspaper executives. Its ranks grew quickly and, by 1950, it represented more than 800 newspapers across the United States.

Newspapers evolved into complex business institutions with all of the associated financial opportunities and operational headaches. Publishers of that era focused on the business side of newspapering, increasingly leaving newsroom decisions to editors and other journalists. Issues tackled by the publishers' association included labor unions, newsprint manufacturers, advertising competitors, and areas of government whenever the interests of newspaper publishers were at stake.

Despite this standardization, many newspapers still reflected the uniqueness of their communities. As the association's history noted, "the publishing industry scarcely could be amalgamated into one giant national corporation or consolidated into a few major production units . . . Successful publishers, such as E. W. Scripps, owned a score of newspapers, but the newspaper remained predominantly a singularly-owned enterprise. As a group, newspaper publishers made decisions that helped establish production routines and professional norms that dominated the business for decades and continue to influence the information ecosystem

today. Although publishers of this era tried to avoid overt political alliances, their positions gave them access to many powerful people. For instance, President William Howard Taft was a guest speaker at one meeting of the newspaper publishers' association.

As described later in this entry, the business of newspaper publishing was—and in many ways still is—dominated by white men. That reality was reflected in the homogeneous demographics of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. There were, however, professional organizations created by publishers of color to support their efforts to provide news to marginalized communities. The owners and top editors of Black newspapers began organizing various trade groups during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In 1940, John H. Sengstacke, the publisher of the famed *Chicago Defender*, invited representatives of 21 Black newspapers to Chicago to create what eventually became the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a trade group and advocacy organization that continues to operate today.

Ownership Models

Newspaper publishing could be lucrative, especially during the first part of the 20th century, and some newspaper families became well known for their wealth, philanthropy, and influence. In addition to the Scripps, Pulitzer, and Hearst empires previously outlined, dozens of other families operated successful newspaper concerns across the country. In these cases, the role of the publisher was often an inherited title. In Oklahoma, for instance, multiple generations of the Gaylord family oversaw *The Oklahoman*, starting in the early 1900s with Edward King Gaylord. Leadership then passed to his son Edward L. Gaylord and, later, his granddaughter, Christy Gaylord Everest, who was serving as publisher when the paper was sold to an out-of-state ownership group in 2011. In San Francisco, meanwhile, the Chronicle Publishing Company—which included both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and a local TV station—was operated by the de Young family for more than a century. And the Graham family owned *The Washington Post* for eight decades.

It was also fairly common for various members of the larger newspaper families to leverage their financial resources and industry knowledge to launch new publications. Many descents of E. W. Scripps, for instance, went on to lead newspapers of their own. His grandson James G. Scripps ran the Pioneer Newspapers and the James G. Scripps Newspapers, a chain of about 20 papers in 10 states. His granddaughter Nackey Scripps Loeb served as publisher of the *Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader* from 1981 until her death in 2000.

A small number of newspaper families continue to operate publications today, but many have either shut down their papers or, like the Gaylords, sold them to corporate chains in reaction to growing business challenges created by the rise of digital publishing. As a result, corporate newspaper chains have become a dominant—and, as many journalism scholars would argue, detrimental force—in news publishing.

During the 20th century, an increasing number of newspapers were acquired by corporate chains such as Knight Ridder, McClatchy, and Gannett. The many publishers working for these entities tended to focus almost exclusively on the financial and logistical sides of the business, leaving the journalism to the editors, reporters, and photographers in their newsrooms. This often led to tension between corporate revenue goals and the cost of producing high-quality news. These tensions have intensified in recent decades as corporate chains have slashed newsroom budgets, laid off journalists and, in some cases, closed entire newspapers. The negative impact of these actions has been especially acute at the local level.

In recent years, efforts to revive local journalism have intensified with advocates arguing that more news organizations, including struggling legacy newspapers, should embrace nonprofit status. This kind of transition is difficult, but it has been done successfully a handful of times. In 2016, for instance, *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* cash-strapped owner donated the paper to a nonprofit that oversee operations. Although this was a big change for the paper, the role of the publisher endures; the *Inquirer* named its first female publisher, Lisa Hughes, in early 2020.

In a parallel trend, wealthy businesspeople like Amazon founder Jeff Bezos and Boston Red Sox

owner John Henry have purchased struggling metro newspapers—in 2013 Bezos bought *The Washington Post* and Henry purchased *The Boston Globe*—and invested in modernizing the publications to better serve digital audiences. The two men have very different relationships with their papers, though. Henry serves as publisher of the *Globe*. Bezos, meanwhile, keeps his distance from the *Post*'s daily operations, leaving the publisher's office first to Katharine Weymouth and then to her successor, Fred Ryan.

Diversity Issues

Although there were, as noted earlier, early examples of newspapers published by women and people of color, the leadership of most news organizations remains overwhelmingly white and male. This lack of diversity persists despite decades of industry-wide discussion about the importance of news organizations reflecting the demographics of the communities they cover. There are, of course, notable exceptions. A number of women involved in the suffrage movement launched newspapers and magazines to draw attention to a cause that was often overlooked or marginalized by male-dominated mainstream newspapers. *The Una*, for instance, was started in Rhode Island in 1853 by Paulina Wright Davis. Well-known suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton ran *The Revolution*. In Boston, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin advocated for civil rights—including suffrage—in the pages of her *Woman's Era*, the first nationally distributed newspaper for Black women. Other suffrage-era female publishers include New York's Amelia Bloomer (*The Lily*); Oregon's Abigail Scott Duniway (*The New Northwest*); and Baltimore's Edith Houghton Hooker (*Maryland Suffrage News*).

Women also sometimes became publishers of mainstream newspapers, although they tended to inherit the job when a male relative died. Katharine Graham, for instance, took over *The Washington Post* in 1963 after her husband's death and led the paper through coverage of the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate scandal that eventually spurred President Richard Nixon's resignation. Two notable exceptions are Cissy and Alicia Patterson, both members of the sprawling Medill-Patterson newspaper family whose patriarchy,

Joseph Medill, led the *Chicago Tribune* during the mid-1800s. In 1939, his granddaughter Cissy Patterson became one of the first women to own a major U.S. newspaper when she purchased *The Washington Times-Herald* from Hearst. The following year her niece, Alicia Patterson, started Long Island's *Newsday* and served in various administrative roles, including publisher, until her death in 1963.

Other barrier-breaking publishers include John Rollin Ridge, a member of the Cherokee nation who founded the *Sacramento Daily Bee* in 1857. In the late 1890s, Myrta Eddleman became the first Native American woman to own a mainstream newspaper when she took over the *Muskogee Daily Times* in Oklahoma. Charlotta Bass was likely the first Black woman to own a U.S. newspaper, buying the *California Eagle* in 1912 and serving as its publisher until 1951. And in 1979, Robert C. Maynard became the first Black American to own a major, general-audience newspaper when he purchased *The Oakland Tribune*.

Still, the role of the publisher remains largely the domain of white men. One 2003 analysis by the Media Management Center at Northwestern University found that just 18% of papers with circulations above 85,000 had female publishers—a small number, but still a significant improvement over the 8% the same analysis found in 2000. (The study also noted that, when it came to gender parity, major U.S. newspapers fared better than Congress, which had 14% women that year, but not as well as college presidents, 21% of whom were women in 2003.) This sharp increase was due to multiple factors. Many of these glass-ceiling busting female publishers were among the many women who, due to second-wave feminism and equal employment lawsuits, entered the journalism profession en masse in the 1970s and 1980s. They were qualified, of course, but also benefited from programs at major newspaper chains like Gannett that worked to promote women.

The vast majority of publishers at mainstream newspapers and, more recently, digitally native news organizations are white despite a number of efforts in recent decades to diversify media ownership. It is difficult to find recent data about the demographics of news publishers, but there are some surveys that look at leadership more broadly.

For instance, a 2019 survey by the News Leaders Association found that roughly 19% of news organizations managers (a category that in some cases includes publishers) identified as people of color.

There are a number of efforts underway to improve diversity in journalism, especially when it comes to ownership and leadership positions. This is important because many journalism scholars believe that diverse owners may very well lead to news that is more accurate and better reflects all segments of society.

Facing Modern Challenges

The rise of digital publishing, smartphones, and social networks has transformed the business of news and, along with it, the role of publishers. This transformation is perhaps best described in a 2014 report, *Post-Industrial Journalism*, which describes how “an explosion of new tools and techniques, and, more importantly, new assumptions and expectations . . . have wrecked the old clarity” (Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2014, p. 1). The revenue streams that long supported newspapers began to collapse around the turn of the 21st century. Free websites like Craigslist rendered classified ads largely obsolete; businesses that once paid a premium to advertise in newspapers had new, digital platforms on which to reach potential customers; and many readers canceled their newspaper subscriptions because they could get free (albeit often lower quality) information online.

All of this has cast modern publishers as not just businesspeople navigating a challenging landscape but also as potential saviors of the kind of journalism necessary for informed civic life. As media critic and journalism professor Dan Kennedy (2013) writes in *The Wired City: Reimagining Journalism and Civic Life in the Post-Newspaper Age*, “newspapers have clearly become less capable of providing communities with the coverage they need. But newspapers are no longer the only source of local journalism . . . In city after city, region by region, dedicated visionaries are moving beyond the traditional of print newspapers supported mainly by advertising” (p. 5). In many cases, these visionaries are publishers of digitally native news organizations seeking to fill gaps in the information ecosystem, grow and serve

audiences and, yes, make a profit. Many of these startups are focused on hyperlocal news—civically relevant information about a specific town, neighborhood, or other geographic areas.

Notable hyperlocal digital publishers include Paul Bass, a longtime journalist and advocate for quality local news organizations who launched the Connecticut-based *New Haven Independent* in 2005. (Bass is also one of several digital news leaders Kennedy documents in *The Wired City*.) Two other trailblazing local digital publishers are Debbie Galant and Liz George, the cofounders of Baristanet, a thriving news website covering the New Jersey suburbs since 2004. Their work inspired similar hyperlocal efforts across the country, with journalists—many of whom had been laid off from jobs in legacy media—learning the business side of news to launch sites of their own. Some local digital news organizations are, like the *Independent*, nonprofit organizations that rely on grants, donations, and other contributions to support their journalism. Others, like Baristanet, are for-profit entities that sell advertising and, in some cases, subscriptions.

Just as the newspaper publishers of the late 1800s banded together to form professional associations, hyperlocal publishers have created a trade group of their own. It is called the *Local Independent Online News Publishers* (abbreviated as LION Publishers) and, according to its website, the group exists to support “locally owned and operated news organizations that directly serve their communities.” As of this writing, LION has more than 300 members across the United States. Together, they devise and share best practices for serving the information needs of their communities while also making a living for themselves and their employees. Modern local publishers share an entrepreneurial spirit with their 19th- and 20th-century counterparts, although today’s publishers are concerned with audience metrics, content management systems, and digital ad revenue as opposed to the price of ink and newsprint.

Publishers also lead larger digitally native news organizations with national or even international audiences. Melissa Bell, for instance, cofounded Vox with fellow journalists Ezra Klein and Matt Yglesias in 2014 and, as of this writing, serves as its publisher. Her career trajectory reflects the

realities of the 21st-century media ecosystem. After attending journalism school, Bell worked for a variety of publications, working as a columnist, a lifestyle editor, and a blogger before eventually rising to oversee key aspects of *The Washington Post*'s digital operations. This mix of journalistic and technical skills, plus a keen business sense, makes Bell an exemplar of modern media leaders.

Another trend in news publishing is the rise of publications designed to counter the many diversity issues described earlier. During the summer of 2020, longtime journalists Emily Ramshaw and Amanda Zamora founded The 19th*, a digitally native nonprofit news organization that, according to its mission, aims to reflect the nation's "racial, ideological, socioeconomic and gender diversity."

Publishers continue to lead legacy newspapers, as well, although their jobs are very different than they were just a few decades ago. A. G. Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times*, inherited the position from his father, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, in 2018 and is the sixth member of his family to serve in that role. His daily business concerns, however, likely have more in common with those of Bell and some LION Publishers than those of his predecessors as he leads the *Times* in its continued digital evolution.

Meg Heckman

See also Advocacy Journalism; African American News Media; Diversity in Journalism; Feminist News Media; Gannett; Graham, Katharine; Hearst, William Randolph; Hyperlocal Journalism; Latino News Media; McClatchy; Media Ownership; Native American News Media Pulitzer, Joseph; *Washington Post, The*; Zenger, John Peter

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PULITZER PRIZE

The Pulitzer Prize, part of a system of prestigious annual American awards recognizing exemplary work in journalism and also in arts and letters, is administered by Columbia University in New York. Established in the will of newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer, and first presented in 1917, the Pulitzers have grown from a mere handful of prizes—including for newspaper public service, reporting, and editorial writing—to encompass more than 20 awards in categories that honor writers of nonfiction and fiction books, plays, poetry, and music as well as journalists. Nationally, the Pulitzer Prize also has served as a model for other award programs that recognize achievement across a wide range of fields in journalism and beyond.

Since the early years of the prizes, when print newspapers and magazines represented the

primary forms of journalism, the Pulitzers have evolved to honor work in magazines, as well as such nonprint forms as online reporting and commentary. Broadcast and filmed work, however, generally remains excluded from consideration, except when in collaboration with print-based work. The Pulitzer award process is guided by a distinguished board of journalists, nonfiction authors, novelists, playwrights, and scholars who convene each year at Columbia. This entry discusses the design of the program, its history, several controversial decisions in awarding the prize, and the expansion of the journalism awards to additional media formats.

Design of the Program

The 15 journalism categories, as of 2020, were Public Service; Breaking News; Investigative Reporting; Explanatory Reporting; Local Reporting; National Reporting; International Reporting; Feature Writing; Commentary; Criticism; Editorial Writing; Editorial Cartooning; Breaking News Photography; Feature Photography; and Audio Reporting. For arts and letters, the seven 2020 categories were Fiction, History, Drama, Biography, Poetry, General Nonfiction, and Music. Publications or individuals enter, by a deadline on the fourth Friday of January, any work done during the prior calendar year, following strict rules for the number of individual components allowed in each category. This entry focuses primarily on the journalism awards rather than those for arts and letters.

Jurors selected by the Pulitzer board to judge entries in the various categories meet each spring at Columbia to sort through all entered work from the prior year. The jurors generally pick three nominees to be recommended to the board as finalists. The 18-member board then considers those nominees, although they are free to move entries from category to category and introduce other contenders, so that a final slate of winners represents the prior year's best work in the board's estimation. Public announcement of winners, which as a rule comes from the administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes, is an event widely followed by U.S. and foreign news organizations, with recipients and finalists both being celebrated. All

journalism Pulitzers, except that for Public Service, come with a cash award: originally \$1,000 or \$2,000, depending on the category, and last raised to a uniform \$15,000 in 2017. Public Service winners receive a gold medal bearing the likeness of Benjamin Franklin, but no cash award. Entering for a Pulitzer costs \$75 per submission.

While America's Pulitzers lack the grand global scale of the Nobel Prizes—the Nobels began in 1901, honoring work worldwide in Peace, Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, and Literature—a Pulitzer is considered the crowning achievement for U.S. journalists, authors, and others in the literary and musical arts. Indeed, the winning of a Pulitzer often is said to account for the first paragraph of the winner's obituary—or at least a portion of it.

Early Development of the Awards

In a way, Joseph Pulitzer's prizes had been inspired by Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite, who also had used his will to establish awards, in part to help reshape a tarnished reputation earned during a life in which his explosive inventions led him to profit from war and human misery. Pulitzer had a similar motivation. Because his *New York World* newspaper business had participated in sensationalist yellow journalism in his later years—fostered by Pulitzer's competition for readers with rival *New York Journal* publisher William Randolph Hearst—Pulitzer too aimed to retool his legacy through major benefactions to society.

His \$2 million gift to Columbia created one of the first schools of journalism, with \$500,000 of the total going for Columbia's establishment of the Pulitzer Prizes. Pulitzer's goal was to raise journalism to a great intellectual profession through education. Journalism's "elevation" was to be accomplished largely by having his newspaper prizes linked together with Pulitzer awards honoring America's top literary figures. Indeed, luminaries such as poets Carl Sandburg and Robert Frost, novelists Edith Wharton and Sinclair Lewis, and dramatists Eugene O'Neill and Thornton Wilder did become early Pulitzer winners. And both Nobel's and Pulitzer's postmortem gifts, in fact, became part of a broader worldwide philanthropic age, advanced as well by such

other wealthy Americans as steel baron Andrew Carnegie and Standard Oil magnate John D. Rockefeller.

In Pulitzer's case, however, the idea of presenting annual awards in the fields of American journalism and the arts was rather slow to catch on. The first Pulitzer Prize competitions attracted few entries, and winners got scant attention, except in the publications that won them.

Columbia's administration of the Pulitzers was uneven in the early years. In their first year, 1917, the Pulitzers named no winner at all for Public Service, its most prestigious category. And in 1919, no award was made for either Reporting or Editorial Writing. (The first Public Service gold medal, in 1918, went to *The New York Times* for "publishing in full so many official reports, documents and speeches" during the last year of World War I, work aided by its exclusive use of the then-new transatlantic cable.) Gradually, though, more examples of extraordinary journalism did begin to be entered by newspapers. One remarkable early Public Service prize, in 1920, went to the *Boston Post* for its exposing of now-legendary scam artist Charles Ponzi, who went to jail because of its reporting. And in the case of a number of early Pulitzers, often given to Southern newspapers that challenged the violent, racist Ku Klux Klan in their locales, courage in pursuit of a story often was involved.

As the selection of winners in the early decades gradually made clearer what qualities of exemplary journalism the Pulitzer judges admired, the number of newspaper entries began to increase, and the quality of honorees to grow sharply. That helped lift the reputation of the prizes as well. In addition to investigations that exposed criminals like Ponzi, exceptional coverage of disasters, and how communities coped with them, often earned Pulitzers. In the Public Service category alone, the 1938 award to North Dakota's *Bismarck Tribune* for the series "Self Help in the Dust Bowl," describing how Midwesterners fought to survive on land that had become barren. Another example was the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s 1948 win, after a coal mine collapse that killed 111 miners, for investigating the Illinois state government's failure to implement mine-safety reforms. Little Rock's *Arkansas Gazette* won a gold medal in 1958—and

Gazette editor Harry Ashmore also won for Editorial Writing—in the Pulitzers' acknowledgment of how the Little Rock newspaper dedicated itself to helping the citizenry adjust to federal-government-ordered school integration.

Often, prizes went for the work of an individual reporter, as in 1962, when the *Chicago Daily News*'s Lois Wille was named in a Public Service award for her powerful stories calling attention to government denial of birth control services for women. But just as frequently Pulitzer Prizes focused on the role of teamwork—such as 2 years later, when the *St. Petersburg Times* won a gold medal after the staff found widespread illegality in how road-building work was being done by the Florida Turnpike Authority.

As the decades passed, journalists acknowledged with Pulitzers included reporters Arthur Krock, Hanson Baldwin, James Reston, and Meyer Berger of *The New York Times*; Jack Nelson of the *Atlanta Constitution*; Clark Mollenhoff of the *Des Moines Register*; Edwin Guthman of the *Seattle Times*; Walter Lippmann, Homer Bigart, and Marguerite Higgins of the *New York Herald Tribune*; and Edward Cony and Peter Kann of the *Wall Street Journal*. Winners for various forms of opinion writing—from editorials to commentary to criticism—included Harry Ashmore of the *Arkansas Gazette*, Marquis Childs of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Don Murray of the *Boston Herald*, and Ada Louise Huxtable of *The New York Times*. Winning cartoonists over the years included Reuben Goldberg of the *New York Sun*; Daniel Fitzpatrick of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Herbert Block of *The Washington Post*; Bill Mauldin, for the *Chicago Sun-Times* and other newspapers; and Paul Conrad, for the *Los Angeles Times* and others. To pick just one example in photography, Joe Rosenthal of the Associated Press won in 1945 for his famous shot of the American flag-raising on Iwo Jima's Mount Suribachi during World War II. And, of course, journalists sometimes have won in literary categories as well—among them William Allan White for Biography (1947), Studs Terkel (1985) and Neil Sheehan (1989) for General Nonfiction, and Eugene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff for History (2007).

With the Pulitzers' success, other groups representing U.S. news organizations began to create

their own journalism prizes. The Sigma Delta Chi professional journalism fraternity bestowed its first awards in 1939, with Long Island University starting its George Polk Awards a decade later, and the E.W. Scripps publishing company following shortly thereafter with its Scripps Howard Awards. At Harvard University, the Nieman Foundation began offering its Worth Bingham Prizes, and Harvard's Shorenstein Center its Goldsmith Awards, both recognizing investigative work, as did the University of Southern California's Selden Ring Awards. The American Society of Magazine Editors began its National Magazine Awards in the mid-1960s, when magazine work was not yet eligible for Pulitzers. (Magazines have been able to win Pulitzers since 2017.) And in fields beyond journalism, awards also sprouted—honoring work in film (the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences' Oscars in 1929), in live theater (Antoinette Perry Awards, or Tonys, in 1947), and the Television Academy's Emmys (1949).

A Pulitzer Golden Age

In 1966, the Pulitzers marked their first half-century with a major celebration at Columbia. But an even more notable period—which might be called the *awards' golden age*—was about to start in the 1970s. Two of the nation's most revered reporting efforts, in 1972 and 1973, resulted in Public Service medals. The first was for *The New York Times's* publication of articles about the Pentagon Papers, secret documents describing years of government deceit about its war in Vietnam. The second was to *The Washington Post* for its remarkable disclosures that started with investigation of a break-in at the Democratic National Committee's Watergate office building in the nation's capital. The *Post*, mostly through the investigative reporting of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, under editor Ben Bradlee, determined that the burglary was conducted by operatives authorized by President Richard Nixon's White House.

In the view of many journalists, the Pentagon Papers and Watergate journalism sparked a new interest in investigative work around the United States—and increased the competition for Pulitzer Prizes. While the *Times*, the *Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal* remained perennial contenders,

other newsroom powerhouses emerged as well. At *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, for one, reporters Donald Barlett and James Steele, along with Bill Marimow and others working for editor Gene Roberts, helped build a Pulitzer-winning tradition. And many other papers, too, drew inspiration from the new investigative age. They included the *Los Angeles Times*, which began a run of Pulitzers in succeeding years, including several for Public Service.

The exploration of social issues led to much prizewinning. In 1991, the *Des Moines Register* won a gold medal for stories written by Jane Schorer, and edited by Geneva Overholser, detailing the story of a woman who chose to let herself be identified as a rape victim. Her decision challenged the news-industry tradition of withholding the names of women who had been raped. In the area of environmental reporting, *The Times-Picayune* of New Orleans won for Public Service in 1997, exploring how deteriorating oceanic conditions offered threats to the world's fish supply. In 2006, two newspapers—*The Times-Picayune* again, and the *Sun Herald* of Biloxi, Mississippi—won gold medals for how they covered the devastation that Hurricane Katrina wrought in Southern Louisiana and Mississippi the prior year.

With the 21st century came another 2-year period for the Pulitzers that recalled the winning years of the *Times* and the *Post*, for their Pentagon Papers and Watergate coverage, respectively. First, the New York paper in 2002 won a record 1-year total of seven Pulitzers, including Public Service, for its coverage of the September 11, 2001, terrorist bombings that destroyed the Twin Towers in downtown New York. (*The Wall Street Journal* also won in Breaking News Reporting for the work it did to describe the day's horror in the city—even though the *Journal* newsroom, across the street from the Towers, had to be closed, and the paper's operations shifted to a New Jersey location.) And in 2003, *The Boston Globe* won in Public Service for investigating the shocking Catholic Church cover-up of sexual abuse that priests for years had inflicted on young parishioners. As was the case with the *Post's* Watergate coverage, about which the 1976 movie *All the President's Men* was made, the *Globe's* prizewinning work eventually served as the basis for *Spotlight*, winner of the 2016 best-picture Oscar.

In 2008, the *Post* claimed six Pulitzers, including a Public Service prize for exposing mistreatment of wounded veterans at the federal Walter Reed Hospital. The same year, the *Chicago Tribune* won an Investigative prize for exposing faulty U.S. regulation of toys, car seats, and cribs, while two *New York Times* reporters also won in the Investigative category for reporting on toxic ingredients in medicine and other products imported from China.

Scandals surrounding President Donald Trump and his 2016 election were the focus of Pulitzer-winning work for several years, with the *Post*'s David Fahrenthold winning the 2017 National Reporting prize for a series of articles that cast doubt on new president's claimed high levels of charitable donations over the years. Both the *Post* and *New York Times* staffs won in National Reporting the next year, for independently confirming the extent of Russian interference in Trump's election in 2016. And in 2019, the *Times* was back as a winner in Explanatory Reporting, with three reporters studying the president's finances "to debunk his claims of self-made wealth," according to the prize citation's language.

Controversy, and the Path Ahead

As is the case with most competitive award programs, questions often have swirled not only about the Pulitzers' individual prize decisions but also about the system under which decisions are made. The *Chicago Tribune* did not enter work in the early decades of the prizes, for example, believing that the Pulitzers were favoring newspapers with liberal political positions rather than those that were conservative-leaning, as was the case with the *Tribune* at the time. (In more recent years, it has entered the Pulitzers and won a number of them, while allowing editors to join the Pulitzer board.)

From the beginning, secrecy has dominated the Pulitzer selection process. Even today, Pulitzer jurors in the various categories are asked not to discuss their deliberations, nor do board members generally go beyond the official information distributed with the announcement of winners and finalists. In earlier years, journalism historians have described the Pulitzers as sometimes being dominated by a handful of board members—for

example, in the 1940s and early 1950s by *New York Times* Washington bureau chief Arthur Krock, who served from 1940 to 1954 on the Pulitzer board. On his own, as described by *Los Angeles Times* press critic David Shaw in his 1984 book *Press Watch*, Krock connected with other board members the day before the official Pulitzer meetings in New York, and together they planned out how they might guide the official deliberations. Such attempts eventually led to reform efforts by the board, with one of the most successful reforms being led by Eugene Patterson, editor of Florida's *St. Petersburg Times* and a Pulitzer board member in the 1970s. According to Shaw, Patterson successfully helped democratize the process. In recent decades, board members have maintained that the process gives voice to all sides. Also, board terms have been limited to no more than 9 years.

Among the most famous controversies about specific awards over the years, one involved Walter Duranty of the *New York Times*, who won a 1932 Correspondence Pulitzer for his reporting from the Soviet Union about a famine there. A full 71 years later, the Pulitzers reviewed that prize over 6 months, and in 2003, it determined not to revoke the prize, although it found that there were serious concerns about his reporting. Also cited often is the 1981 Feature Writing Pulitzer awarded to *The Washington Post*'s Janet Cooke for her "Jimmy's World" story, about a supposed 8-year-old heroin addict. After winning, Cooke confessed to the *Post* that she had fabricated the article, and the *Post* returned the prize. The Pulitzers then named another winner in Cooke's place to receive a Pulitzer.

But every year, there seems to be a new controversy. In 2020, the Commentary prize to Nikole Hannah-Jones of *The New York Times*, for a personal essay that introduced the paper's 1619 Project, was questioned. The 1619 Project, which cast a new historical light on the introduction of slavery to North America's shores in that year, had been the subject of a correction by the *Times*, and additionally, the project itself had been a source of some historical controversy. But few found fault with Hannah-Jones's personal essay as a worthy example of Commentary.

These days, a source of debate within the Pulitzer board, and among journalists on the

outside, involves whether the Pulitzers will further broaden their reach beyond newspapers and their related online sites. Work by magazines has only been accepted since 2017, and the first prize in its new Audio Reporting category was in 2020, going to the staff of the radio program *This American Life*.

Roy J. Harris Jr.

See also Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Investigative Journalism; *New York Times*, The; Pentagon Papers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Washington Post, The; Watergate

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PULITZER, JOSEPH

Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) was a powerful and influential newspaper editor and publisher in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His newspapers, especially the *New York World*, were known for featuring large illustrations and news aimed at the common man. These style elements, while revolutionary during Pulitzer's tenure as publisher, later became standard in nearly all modern newspapers. During the late 1890s, Pulitzer engaged in a battle for circulation with competing publisher William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) that led to the sensationalistic style of news reporting known as *yellow journalism*. In his will, Pulitzer allocated large portions of his fortune to establish a school for journalism at Columbia University and the prestigious Pulitzer Prize awards. This entry examines Pulitzer's early life, political and newspapers careers, including his purchase and impact on *New York World*, and his ongoing legacy.

Early Life

Joseph Pulitzer was born on April 10, 1847, in Makó, Hungary, a small town near Budapest in the southeastern area of the country, to Philip Pulitzer and Louise Berger. Pulitzer was privately tutored and spoke Hungarian, German, and French fluently from childhood.

Pulitzer suffered from poor eyesight and feeble lungs his entire life. Despite these challenges, Pulitzer attempted to enlist in the Austrian Army, the French Foreign Legion, and the British Army in his late teens, but was turned away from each due to his weak vision. In 1864, he met an U.S. Army recruitment agent while traveling in Germany and agreed to enlist in the American Civil War as a Union soldier. After immigrating to the United States, he joined the horse-mounted troops of the First Regiment, New York Cavalry on September 30, 1864. The war ended only 6 months later, and Pulitzer was discharged in the summer of 1865.

After his military service, Pulitzer settled in St. Louis, Missouri, where he earned a living through a number of odd jobs, including waiter, taxi driver, muleteer, and baggage handler. He studied law

and was admitted to practice by the supreme court of Missouri. He started work as a reporter in 1867 covering the government for a German-language newspaper named *Westliche Post*. Two years later, he was elected to the Missouri legislature due in part to his reputation for fighting legislative corruption. Pulitzer married Katherine Davis, a prominent socialite from the Washington D.C., area, in 1878. The couple had five children, Joseph Pulitzer Jr., Ralph Pulitzer, Herbert Pulitzer, Constance Pulitzer, and Edith Pulitzer.

Political Career

As a Republican, Pulitzer's campaign for the Missouri state legislature in 1869 was considered a long shot in a Democrat-dominated district. At the time, he was 22 years old and had only been in the United States for 5 years. He was elected despite these hindrances, and while a legislator fought graft and corruption. At the same time, he continued to work for the *Westliche Post*, where he campaigned against the same problems through his reporting. In January 1871, Pulitzer put forward a bill that had the potential to end a system of bribery that infested the courts. Not content to leave the fight in the Senate chambers, he reported on the corruption in the newspaper, attacking the various lobbyists and judges caught up in the scheme by name.

One lobbyist cornered Pulitzer on the evening of January 27, 1871, threatening the young reporter-legislator and calling him a "damned liar." The confrontation ended when Pulitzer drew a four-barreled pistol and shot the man in the leg. Despite standing trial for the shooting, Pulitzer suffered few repercussions—he served no jail time and was released after paying a fine. His reform bill passed.

In 1871–1872, Pulitzer helped form the Liberal Republican party and backed Horace Greeley (1811–1872), a fellow journalist, for president in 1872. Greeley died before the electoral college met to cast their votes, and the Liberal Republican party collapsed. After these events, Pulitzer became a lifelong Democrat.

Early Newspaper Career

In 1868, the commander of Pulitzer's former Civil War army unit, Carl Schurz (1829–1906), offered

him a chance to work as a reporter for the *Westliche Post*, a German-language newspaper in St. Louis. In 1871 when he was just 25 years old, Pulitzer was offered a controlling share of the newspaper, which he quickly resold at a profit. He employed a similar tactic in January 1874, when he purchased another German-language newspaper, the bankrupt *St. Louis Staats-Zeitung*, and resold its Associated Press franchise and its printing press to different newspapers at a markup price.

In December 1878, Pulitzer purchased the bankrupt *St. Louis Dispatch* at an auction for the low price of \$2,500 and gained control of the *St. Louis Post*, both English-language newspapers. He combined the two, creating the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. With the help of his editorial staff, Pulitzer turned the *Post-Dispatch* into a success. Building on the early investigative reporting done sporadically after the Civil War, it was here that Pulitzer honed the expose-driven publishing style that would later become his trademark and key to success. Through in-depth reporting and exposes, the newspaper attempted to create a more civically minded St. Louis, pushing for city improvement and leading crusades against gambling, crime, and lotteries. In fact, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published so many exposes that Pulitzer felt it necessary to begin carrying a gun for self-protection. Whether crusading journalism led to positive or negative results can be debated, but Pulitzer's work at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* did prove that such reporting was profitable.

New York World

Pulitzer would continue to own and publish the *St. Louis Dispatch* until his death, but in 1883, he was ready to expand. He purchased the *New York World* from financier Jay Gould (1836–1892) for \$346,000 on May 10, 1883, and quickly turned the newspaper into a successful mouthpiece for the Democratic party. Within the pages of the *New York World*, Pulitzer earned his reputation as an influential newspaper man and made lasting contributions to journalism.

The timing of Pulitzer's purchase of the *New York World* was propitious. New pressroom technology, the inventions of the telephone and the

typewriter, and recently developed half-tone publishing techniques allowed Pulitzer to experiment with new forms of journalism and to produce more newspaper copies than ever before. Telephones and typewriters allowed journalists to report the news more quickly, while illustrations made it possible for everyone, including the illiterate and new immigrant communities, to get their news from a paper.

In order to further target low- and middle-classes, Pulitzer also lowered the cost of the *New York World* to two cents, putting it squarely within the budget of those communities. This price drop had the added benefit of making Pulitzer's competitors, many of whom were barely making a profit at three to six cents a copy, face a serious financial dilemma; if they lowered their own prices to compete, they would shrink their profit margins, but if they kept their prices at the old rate, they would lose readers.

The *New York World* further championed the causes of the everyman by covering topics including union strikes and city improvement plans. Rather than take the high-brow tone of his competitors, Pulitzer focused on human interest stories, scandals, and salacious gossip that made for good storytelling. He carried over the style he had developed at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, publishing even more exposés and crusades for or against different events in New York City.

In March 1885, Pulitzer led the charge to get the people of New York to raise the funds to finish the construction of the pedestal for the Statue of Liberty. The building of the statue itself had been financed by France, but fundraising had stalled on the American side for the cost of the pedestal. Pulitzer's campaign to finish the statue's installment garnered over \$100,000 in donations from roughly 125,000 people, most of whom contributed a dollar or less. The name of each contributor, rich or poor, was published in the *New York World*.

Pulitzer controlled every aspect of the newspaper, from its news coverage to its business operations. He pioneered several journalism practices still used more than a century later, all of which successfully turned a new demographics such as women and immigrant communities into newspaper readers. Such innovations included women's fashion pages, illustrations, and sports coverage.

The *New York World* also pioneered "stunt" journalism, a journalism style made famous by the reporter Elizabeth Cochran Seaman (1864–1922), who wrote under the pen name "Nellie Bly." Pulitzer hired Bly in 1887. That year, Nellie Bly faked insanity in order to be admitted to Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island. After she spent 10 days inside the asylum, a *New York World* editor forced the asylum to release Bly. She then published a horrifying account of her experiences on the island that detailed the many abuses of patients there. Her reporting prompted reform throughout the country.

In 1888, Bly cemented her fame as a stunt reporter by traveling around the world in 72 days, beating the fictional record inspired by the novel *Around the World in 80 Days* by Jules Verne (1828–1905). Bly sent regular updates to her editor at the *New York World* during her travels, which it published regularly. Bly's adventures made her an international celebrity and caused the newspaper's circulation to surge past 600,000, making it the largest circulating newspaper in the country.

Pulitzer courted the readership of all economic statuses, including New York's overflowing immigrant population. Through the liberal use of illustrations, Pulitzer blended news with entertainment and made the *New York World* accessible to all—including those who were still learning English. At times, images covered entire pages of the *New York World*.

Once the popularity of these illustrations was established, Pulitzer introduced another newspaper innovation: the comic strip. In 1895, the *New York World* began to publish "Hogan's Alley," a weekly comic drawn by Richard F. Outcault (1863–1928) that featured the now famous snaggle-toothed Yellow Kid.

Much like the writings of Nellie Bly, the Yellow Kid quickly became a major selling point for Pulitzer's *New York World*. The Kid, drawn as a bald-headed, jug-eared child wearing a smudged yellow nightshirt, was wildly popular with readers from all backgrounds. Through words written on his nightshirt, the Yellow Kid commented on the news of the day and made jokes about everything from politics and daily life. His image was printed on puzzles, cracker tins, and billboards, making him one of the first true marketing stars of the age.

The popularity of the Yellow Kid was so pronounced that in 1896 Hearst, who published the rival newspaper *New York Journal*, hired Outcault away from Pulitzer's staff in order to print the famous cartoon in his own paper. Furious, Pulitzer hired artist George Luks (1867–1933) to continue drawing “Hogan’s Alley,” and for more than a year, the Yellow Kid appeared in both the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*.

Hearst’s poaching of Outcault began a war between the two newspapers that would last until Pulitzer’s death. The publishers and their newspapers resorted to more and more extreme tactics to outsell each other, including reducing the cost of their newspapers even further than Pulitzer had already lowered them. They established a practice of dramatizing the news of the day in order to create more startling headlines and juicy copy. They also sought out and covered scandal from every angle. One of the editors of the *New York World* claimed that Pulitzer was particularly interested in publishing anything that broke one of the Ten Commandments, most especially the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, or ninth, particularly if the story involved anyone of note, including celebrities, the rich, or politicians.

Pulitzer’s health and poor eyesight continued to deteriorate, eventually forcing him to give up his daily newspaper work by 1890, even though he continued to keep close control over their editorial policies. Pulitzer spent most of his last few years of life aboard his yacht or in isolation at his home in Bar Harbor, Maine.

Pulitzer died aboard his yacht, *Liberty*, on October 29, 1911, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Pulitzer is interred in Woodlawn Cemetery, New York City. After his death, both the *New York World* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* went to the management of Pulitzer’s sons. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* continues to run, although it is no longer under the control of the Pulitzer family.

Pulitzer was remembered in his many newspaper obituaries as forceful, aggressive, and earnest in his beliefs. His influence upon modern journalism was undeniable even at the time of his death, and his ideas continue to impact news today.

Impact After Death

Pulitzer’s impact on journalism long outlived the man himself. While yellow journalism was widely criticized and quickly faded out of favor, several elements inspired by Pulitzer’s trademark news style continued on, including the use of illustrations, pictures, and political cartoons. Pulitzer’s style of stunt journalism and yellow journalism also helped form what is now known as *investigative journalism*, in which a reporter dives deep into one subject matter, often covering different aspects of the topic in multiple segments. This investigative style of reporting was first normalized by early muckrakers, reporters in the early 20th century who examined thorny topics such as monopolies and corruption in depth and with the aim of creating change within society.

Pulitzer was also one of the first major publishers to accept and utilize the growing number of women in the field of journalism. Women have been present in American journalism since its beginning, but it wasn’t until the late 1800s that their numbers made up a significant portion of any newspaper staff. That changed in the early 1880s, when women had flocked to journalism, usually driven by either a need for financial independence or a desire for adventure outside Elizabethan gender norms. Pulitzer’s use of Nellie Bly as an adventuring reporter and her subsequent fame and success inspired more women across the United States to try their hands at the field. While historians and scholars have since criticized Pulitzer and his *World* editors for their exploitation of “stunt girls,” who were often required to risk their bodies, emotional health, and reputations while in pursuit of a story, the fact that women were hired at such an influential newspaper as the *New York World* was enough to inspire more news agencies to follow suit in hiring females. The exploits of stunt girls became a fashionable if short-lived trend and allowed women journalists to cover front-page news stories for the first time.

Pulitzer was also one of the first American publishers to champion a “separation of church and state” in newsrooms, meaning that those who worked as journalists and editors should be uninfluenced by those working in the advertising and business departments. While Pulitzer was dedicated to making his newspapers a financial

success, he also believed that a newspaper held the power to influence its readers for good or evil and thereby change society. The practice of keeping the departments separate and distinct continues to be the ideal for the various news outlets in the 21st century.

Unwilling to leave his legacy to chance, Pulitzer included several provisions in his will that provided for his continuing influence on the field of journalism. Chief among these was the funding to establish a school of journalism at Columbia University in New York City and the establishment of Pulitzer Prizes.

Prior to the early 20th century, journalists had long subscribed to the notion of learning on the job. The idea that a reporter needed specific, college-level training, rather than a basic education in grammar and writing combined with a nose for news, was resisted in many quarters. During his life, Pulitzer was one of the first to embrace journalism education, claiming that even writers with innate talent must hone their skill in order to reach their full potential. After his death, he willed money to Columbia University for the creation of a school for journalists. The Columbia Journalism School was founded 1 year after his death. Over 75 undergraduate and graduate students enrolled the first year, including a dozen women. Construction of the journalism building was completed in 1917.

The first Pulitzer Prizes were also awarded that year. These were intended to celebrate the very best of journalism effort. Originally endowed with a gift of \$500,000 from Pulitzer, these prestigious awards have been given each year to outstanding

accomplishments in journalism, literature, and musical composition. The prize categories now include all categories of journalism, including breaking news reporting, investigative reporting, explanatory, local reporting, national reporting, and international reporting, feature writing, editorial writing, photography, commentary, criticism, editorial cartooning, and public service reporting. Pulitzer Prizes are also awarded for other forms of writing, including biography/autobiography, fiction, general nonfiction, history, poetry, drama, and music. Each awardee is presented with a gold medal and cash prize. As envisioned by Pulitzer, the awards are overseen by an advisory board, most of whose members are publishers. Members of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism and the president of Columbia University serve as nonvoting members.

Autumn Lorimer Linford

See also Hearst, William Randolph; Penny Press; Journalism Awards; War and Military Journalism; Yellow Journalism; Yellow Kid

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Many of the entries in this edition of *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Journalism* have been updated from their original publication in the first edition to reflect recent developments and include additional references. In some instances, the updates were made by someone other than the original author of the entry.

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Business Journalism
Citizen Journalism
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Food Journalism
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Human Interest Journalism
Hyperlocal Journalism
Innovation Journalism
Interpretive Journalism

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Bangladesh
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China
Germany
India
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Nigeria

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Social Media Organizations

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Technological Aspects of Journalism

Artificial Intelligence and Journalism
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Editing, Online and Digital
Internet: Impact on the Media
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QQ

QQ is an instant message software developed by Chinese tech giant Tencent. It is officially known as *Tencent QQ* and has an easily recognizable penguin logo. Started as an instant messaging software (QQ IM) when first released in 1999, Tencent soon began to offer users various additional features like email service (QQ mail), a social networking site that combines personal blog and social newsfeed (Qzone), online social games (QQ game), music streaming (QQ music), voice call, and video chat for groups. Tencent aims to develop QQ as a “one-stop online service platform” that can satisfy all their users’ communication, information sharing, and entertainment needs. Since its initial release, QQ has grown exceptionally. It reached 1 million users within a year and 50 million the next. As of 2020, QQ had about 850 million active monthly users worldwide. It is one of the world’s most widely used social media applications. This entry examines the development of QQ, its users and business model, and its relationship with the Chinese government.

Development of QQ

QQ is the first popular instant message software in China. In the early 2000s, only about 10% of the Chinese population had cell phones, and text message wasn’t cheap. To register for an account, one did not need a phone number or an email address. Teenagers without their own cellphones

can easily get a QQ account going online. After filling out basic information, each user was assigned a unique series of numbers as their permanent ID. QQ mail, which was automatically assigned to every QQ user, was many young people’s first adoption of an email service. Besides, the basic chat function in QQ, which later includes file transfer, voice call, and video chat, was entirely free. Young people, especially teenagers, heavily relied on QQ to communicate with friends. In a few years since its initial release, it quickly became the most popular social media in China. For over a decade since its first release, having a QQ account was nearly a necessity for young people’s social life in school and at the workplace.

In the 2010s, smartphone use grew quickly in China, and Tencent also promptly developed a QQ app for smartphones to attract more users. Since then, users can log in to their accounts on multiple devices simultaneously, including desktop, laptop, iPad, and cell phone. Because all chat history would be synced across devices automatically and sharing files across platforms can be effortless, many users rely on QQ to share and store information. In the meantime, more social media websites and instant messaging apps became available in China. Nonetheless, most QQ users remained loyal even as some tried out alternatives. On the one hand, long-time users have accumulated a sizeable social network that includes virtual and real-life relationships; it would not be easy to transfer existing networks to a new platform altogether. On the other hand, many users were also used to rely on QQ mail for professional

communication, QQ games and music for entertainment, and Qzone for personal blogging and social networking. Although there were many alternatives for each individual service QQ provides, most users could not abandon the whole package because of their previous time investment on the platform and the convenience of linking all these services to one account. In other words, the cost of completely leaving QQ seems to be too high for the majority of users. Although it was no longer the only social app for savvy users, it remained one of the most popular apps in China.

QQ's Users and Business Model

Most QQ users are young and tend to have less buying power as 60% of them are under 30 years old. In recent years, it has become especially popular among Generation Z in China. Most successful marketing campaigns on the platform are from brands targeting teenagers.

Unlike many social media companies in the United States, besides advertising revenue, QQ has various profitable services. It offers multiple levels of paid membership and various paid features for its instant messaging users. For example, users can customize their avatars in the QQ show, which is a separate profile page in addition to their profile picture. Every user is assigned a default human avatar with a plain outfit according to the user's gender. One must pay for advanced customization in the QQ show, such as outfits, accessories, unique background, and stickers. Users can either pay a monthly membership fee or buy QQ coins, a virtual currency, and then purchase individual items online. Because most active QQ users are teenagers and young adults, many of whom want to customize their QQ show avatars to show off their personalities online, this service was highly popular and profitable in early years. QQ games and QQ music also offer both basic free version and paid membership with various in-app purchases for advanced features and greater flexibility. Many young people also enjoy posting updates and seeing friends' updates on Qzone, a Facebook-like social network site that is connected to their QQ account. In addition to the free default template, Tencent offers users paid options to upgrade and customize their Qzone template and layout. Paid users can also add music and stickers on their profile page as well as in their blog posts.

QQ group chat is another critical feature that is highly profitable. Every user is permitted to own up to five chat groups with up to 200 members per group for free. With different levels of paid memberships, users can form groups with up to 500, 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 members. Users can create groups with family, friends, classmates, coworkers, and clients. Indeed, most active users who participate in social groups on QQ are mostly younger and still in school. To better reach the fan base, many celebrities have fan groups on QQ where they actively communicate with fans and also post updates in fan groups. For example, Chinese idol group The Fighting Boys (TFBoys) has 67 million followers on QQ, more than 34.8 million followers One Direction has on Facebook. There are also many fans-managed Qzone pages and fan groups that meant to support and share information about TFBoys with other QQ users. Tencent also invited TFBoys to host special events with fans following them to strengthen users' loyalty to the platform. Small business users also like to use QQ groups to communicate with clients and cultivate brand loyalty.

Because the voice/video group chat function and image/file sharing feature on QQ are user friendly, reliable, and mostly free, many people in China also rely on it to communicate at the workplace. As young people are most familiar with QQ before they enter the workforce, many organizations and small businesses readily adopt it as a preferred tool for their employees to communicate and collaborate professionally. Employees sometimes can use their personal QQ account to join work groups and communicate with colleagues using QQ mail.

Because QQ was initially developed as computer software, many of its key features, like Qzone and QQ mail, were only accessible on web pages. Since the 2010s, Tencent has made a substantial effort to transition QQ to compete on the smartphone application market and made most of its services into separated apps while still allowing users to link them to their IM accounts.

QQ and Government Regulation

Owning several of the most popular social and entertainment apps in China, Tencent has followed the Chinese government's Internet surveillance and censorship policies. Over the years,

numerous reports have shown that Chinese government officials can monitor conversations on various social media platforms by tracking keywords or phrases and even track users' locations when they check in on social media. Recent reports show evidence that Tencent has increased its data sharing with the Chinese government as the company's founder and chief executive, Ma Huateng, became a member of 3,000 delegates to the National People's Congress.

For instance, in 2019, security researcher and hacker Victor Gevers retrieved over 300 million chat logs from Tencent's popular app WeChat and QQ, which also contain users' personal identifying information such as citizen ID numbers, addresses, and location data. Gevers believes those data were collected in Internet cafés and sent to police stations, although it remains unclear how the government was using those data.

In recent years, the Chinese government also issued specific regulations on instant messaging group chats, including QQ groups. Unlike a public discussion board, those groups should be a private space for group discussions. Nonetheless, the Cyberspace Administration of China stated that group owners and managers have to take full responsibility for the management of the groups. In other words, if any comments are too critical of the government, group owners and managers may be held responsible and face repercussions. Also, Tencent, the same as many other online chat providers, has been asked by the government to keep the records of any group chat for at least 6 months. It remains unclear whether Tencent complies with such requests or how it decides what to share with the government.

In the meantime, the Chinese government has also pushed wireless providers to check and keep a record of new users' government-issued identification documents when they register for new cell phone numbers. People who have already registered cell phone service without providing real names were also encouraged to contact their providers and voluntarily link their government-issued ID to their existing phone numbers. Chinese officials claim such policy changes would reduce wireless fraud. QQ also has updated its policy so that new users have to provide a valid phone number for registration. Many long-time users, who registered without providing cell phone or their real names to Tencent in the beginning, cannot

continue to use certain services on QQ platforms without adding a valid phone number in their profile, which is mostly likely registered with their government-issued identification documents. As a result, although Chinese users can still largely remain anonymous on QQ in front of other users, it would not be hard for the Chinese government to get identifiable information on most users from Tencent. It remains unclear whether wireless fraud has indeed been reduced since such policy was adopted. In addition, QQ users are also encouraged to report other users to Tencent for posting controversial political opinions or being too critical to the government. Users can be blocked by Tencent if such reports are confirmed valid. As a result, users have become more aware of government's surveillance and may be more careful about what they say on QQ.

It is well understood in China that if Tencent, or any other social media company, allows controversial political opinion to be widely shared on its platform, the Chinese government may simply take down the whole platform as punishment. Since the early days of the Internet, the Chinese government has shutdown many online services because they consider political posts on their platforms too radical. Because of this, while some users are not happy with such heavy-handed surveillance, many understand that this is necessary for Tencent to survive and thrive in China's unique political climate.

Meredith Wang

See also China; Social Media

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QUOTATION

Quotation is fundamental to human communication. Language theorists have studied the linguistic, literary, semiotic, philosophical, functional, and cognitive nature of oral and written quotation for many decades, formally labeling it reported speech and thought. Theorists of direct (quote-marked) and indirect (non-quote-marked) quotation have concentrated most heavily on direct quotation—since quote marks add an important nonlinguistic, thus uniquely rhetorical element to language captured inside quotes—and somewhat less attention to the semantics of indirect speech.

Quotation qualifies as meta-language: language about language, one person's repeating another's words, whether in fictional or factual discourses. Accurate quotation of informational sources is critical in many occupations, especially journalism. A contemporary journalistic story is, in fact, virtually nothing but a series of quotations, making the citing of news sources journalism's fundamental narrative device. Around the late 19th century, journalistic source quotation became commonplace, but there is no formal history of quotation in journalism, probably because reporters' earliest source citations were generalized glosses and very loose summations, rather than accurately quoted words.

Only since the end of the 20th century have communication scholars begun to investigate, for

example, how quotation helps establish news objectivity, or accuracy and fairness to all sides of an issue; can create different “voices” within a story; or rhetorically depicts differing “subjectivities” of sources and reporters, depending on the quote mode. Some studies treat quotation transparently, as simple information transmission—for example, when different sources are counted to assess viewpoint “balance”—but sometimes without attention to quotation itself as a unique meta-linguistic act.

This entry explains factual quotation's emergence in journalism, details its linguistic and functional nature, and presents quote modes representative of contemporary print news. The focus on print is because television news features “sound bites,” where sources are *seen and heard*. Similarly, radio news sources are “heard from.” Only in print does the depiction of speech and thought take such a central role as a linguistic, rhetorical, and strictly standardized compositional process deserving study in its own right.

19th-Century Roots

American journalism historians say that, before the 1870s, a news writer's daring to use persons' actual remarks in stories would have been deemed inappropriate. Journalists of the day would significantly alter a person's actual comments or simply fabricate them. In antebellum America, and prior to around the 1830s, journalists were little more than political propagandists serving partisan ends, mouthing the words of their ideological patrons.

Only in the middle decades of the 19th century did reliance on commercial advertising begin to free newspapers from their previous need of political patronage, although many papers long maintained an editorial alliance to one or another political party. The reporting of stories, however, could now be done with formal “neutrality” declared, at least in principle, by the reporter. Increasingly, reporters could craft more factual, accurate, nonpartisan stories for a growing number of literate readers with diverse interests. Newspaper and magazine reporters in this way could begin to function as autonomous, professional practitioners following an occupational set of standardized newsgathering techniques.

By the 20th century, the growth of university journalism degree programs helped further certify

journalism as an independent profession, including teaching formalized rules of newsgathering and storytelling—quotation being one of them. American journalism historian Michael Schudson maintains that by the 1920s, journalistic interviews resulting in source quotation was established practice. Quotation emerged, then, as an occupational means, in narrative form, of modern fact-based storytelling, marking off person-centered knowledge claims as decidedly *not* those of the reporter, whose official role was now to remain neutral. Today, a story of more than a few paragraphs will typically have at least one quoted source—and longer stories, especially investigative pieces, will have many more.

The Modes of Journalistic Quotation

Journalistic quotation can be defined as the reporter's linguistically repeating, in written form and with assumed accuracy, the words, and sometimes, the thoughts of another person. Contemporary journalistic quotation follows nearly inflexible rules pertaining to the use of quotation marks, attribution type and placement, and punctuation.

The most common verb of speech used in source attribution is "said," considered by linguists as "neutral," conveying no attitude (interpretation) on the reporter's part. However, "marked" or "infused" speech verbs—*admitted*, *denied*, *asserted*, *charged*, *claimed*, *warned*, and countless others—do project some specific awareness of a more narrow, often emotionally charged speaking situation inviting the reporter's interpretive assessment, via the use of these "attitude" verbs.

Formal analyses of different quote modes show the overwhelming preference for "said" as the most common speech-verb connected with direct quotation, while "marked" speech verbs occur almost exclusively with indirect quotation, alongside frequent use of "said." The use of marked speech verbs in indirect quotes is because indirect requires the reporter's careful summarization and paraphrasing of original source content, resulting in an interpretive gloss of initial source commentary. Indirect quotation also deploys synonyms and other evaluative words to stand in for whatever was said originally, giving the journalist significant interpretive leeway. Indirect is therefore

writer-centered: the "onstage" narrator hogging the spotlight is, in effect, the journalist. Indirect speech demonstrates a key feature of contemporary quotation—the reporter's authorized interpretive role in objectively, accurately, creatively reconstruing previous speaker commentary for informational clarity.

By contrast, direct quotation is *source-centered*: it presents only the source's (assumed) exact verbiage, within quotation marks, meaning the reporter shines the speaking spotlight on the source as "onstage" rhetorical presence. Direct quotation serves an important traditional storytelling role in highlighting someone's dramatic, colorful, often controversial sentiments and highly subjective, even inflammatory rhetoric: a news source, unlike the journalist, is not constrained to engage in objective discourse.

Analyses of contemporary news stories generally show indirect quotation is likely the predominant quote mode, especially in larger urban papers specializing in critical reporting, while direct quotation occurs somewhat less often, though probably more frequently in smaller newspapers covering exclusively local, personality-driven issues. The type of story can also be determinative of the number and type of quotes used. In longer, in-depth stories, more indirect quotation is likely to predominate, including more use of quotation of both human sources and documents, and a higher number of total sources, if only because reporters themselves engage in more detailed, nuanced analysis via interpretive rewording and detached, analytical presentation using multiple sources to establish central facts. Longer form news stories generally utilize sources as *conduits* of information rather than as personalized human-interest "characters." But in feature, sports, entertainment, and other human-interest stories, the use of direct quotes will likely increase, since direct speech brings source voices into the story in their own colorful words and sentiments. Here, sources are depicted as distinct "characters" and not merely as informational conduits.

Examples of the Most Common Quote Modes

To conclude this entry, it is useful to examine the most used journalistic quotation modes (as

constructed by the author to highlight differences, with attributions underlined): Direct [quote-marked]; indirect [non-quote-marked] (*direct and indirect being the two most often used*); mixed [direct/indirect]; and free-indirect [a direct/indirect hybrid *without* quote marks, and often *without* clear attribution]:

- Direct: “This is an outrageous violation of my civil rights, and I won’t stand for it,” Smith said. “I’m taking this to court, and I’ll win.”
- Indirect (with “*said*” [neutral] speech verb): Smith said the law violates his civil rights and that he’ll sue.
- Indirect (both *neutral* and *marked* [“attitude”] attributions): Smith contends the law violates his civil rights and said he will sue.
- Mixed quotation: The lawsuit, Smith alleges, is “an outrageous violation” of his civil rights, and said he’s “taking this to court,” confident he’ll win.
- Free-indirect: He has no doubt it’s a major violation of his civil rights—outrageous, indisputably illegal, not the kind of ridiculous legal maneuvering that could ever really stand up in the courtroom, where he believes he’ll win.

The free-indirect example is likely less familiar to news readers. The free-indirect mingles the journalist’s creative reimagining of someone’s *supposed* words and thoughts. Occurring less often than formulaic direct, indirect, and mixed modes, free-indirect is a quasi-literary rendering of previous speech, often without clear attribution, thus functioning much like direct quotation, but without quote marks.

Conclusion

This entry has briefly covered only a few areas important to a basic understanding of journalistic quotation, detailing its role in securing journalism’s status as a professional practice devoted to objective storytelling. Today, journalistic quotation is so thoroughly ingrained as a compositional device that a perceived source “imbalance”—the suspicion most quotes favor only one viewpoint—can launch allegations of “bias.” Reporters are often, fairly or not, criticized for “misquoting” a source, which shows how the public expects quotation to stand in for neutrality, factuality, and truthfulness.

Joseph C. Harry

See also Interviewing; Objectivity; Sources

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R

RACE AND ETHNICITY, COVERAGE OF

As the United States has grown increasingly diverse, journalists have recognized the importance of reporting on issues of race and ethnicity. They also realize they must earn trust from multicultural communities and include people from a wide variety of backgrounds as sources and subjects. This task is not as straightforward as it may seem. As with most other U.S. institutions, those in charge of reporting and writing the mainstream news have been predominantly white. They have covered the news based on their own attitudes, experiences, and concerns. As a result, U.S. news organizations have an uneven history of equally and fairly covering all the people who participate in civic life.

This entry discusses coverage of race and ethnicity in the U.S. media since the 19th century, efforts to boost the numbers of minority journalists in mainstream news organizations, coverage of race and ethnicity in ethnic media, and research on the coverage of race and ethnicity in the mainstream news media and on the impact of that coverage. It then looks at how coverage of race and ethnicity has been affected by changes in the news industry in the 21st century and by recent developments, such as the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020. Finally, the entry discusses techniques that can be used to provide better reporting on race and ethnicity.

Development

When the penny press first arose in the 1830s, it sought to attract a broad audience by combining a low price with plenty of crime news and human interest stories. At its center was the heterogeneous white audience, rather than marginalized racial and ethnic minorities. This financially pragmatic formula, along with the general exclusion of people of color from public and political affairs, shaped news considerations and practices for decades to come. Scholars have identified four basic approaches in coverage since those days: at different times, mainstream news outlets have (1) excluded racial and ethnic minorities altogether, (2) focused on them as a threat, (3) detailed social confrontations among racial and ethnic groups, and (4) selectively covered minority groups based on a stereotyped view.

At least until the middle of the 20th century, only community-based outlets provided any in-depth coverage of racial and ethnic minorities. The bilingual *El Misisipi* began publication for Spanish exiles in New Orleans in 1808 and stayed in print 2 years. In 1827, the first Black-owned, edited, and published newspaper for Black Americans was founded, called *Freedom's Journal*. A year later the Cherokee Nation launched its own paper, soon named the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate*, in English and the Cherokee language, with international circulation and the interests of other tribes in mind. The paper ran out of money in 1834, and the Georgia Guard burned its building to the ground just before the tribe's forced relocation. But the Cherokee nation

was able to revive the paper and it still publishes as the *Cherokee Phoenix*. *La Prensa*, founded in 1913, merged in 1963 with *El Diario de Nueva York* and now publishes as *El Diario*. Ethnic media remain an important force in U.S. news, with devoted audiences that see themselves and their lives reflected honestly and accurately there.

Several defining moments in U.S. race relations over the past century have forced mainstream news outlets to reassess their white-centered approach. In the early 1900s, for instance, mainstream journalists comfortably disregarded the rise of Black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, who led the drive to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (when trains were still the prime means of long-distance travel); Walter White, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and W. E. B. Du Bois, the influential scholar and editor of NAACP's magazine, *Crisis*. In the 5 years between 1935 and 1940, *The New York Times* ran just one page-one story mentioning Randolph and none about the others, according to a review of the newspaper's archive by journalists Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. But the push for desegregation in the late 1940s, the brutal 1955 murder of Emmett Till, the Montgomery Bus Boycott of the mid-1950s, and the 1957 showdown over desegregation at Central High in Little Rock, Arkansas, challenged reporting that had ignored the lives of Black people.

Roberts and Klibanoff describe white news editors' slow realization that the civil rights movement and white supremacy resistance could no longer be overlooked. A few papers hired Black reporters, and white reporters began to venture out into the Black community. In 1948 Carl T. Rowan took a job as a copy editor at the formerly all-white *Minneapolis Tribune*; in 1950, Marvel Cooke began reporting for the *Daily Compass* in New York; and in 1952, Simeon Booker became the first Black reporter at a major newspaper, *The Washington Post*. In 1961, Dorothy Butler Gilliam became the first Black female reporter to join the *Post*.

The desegregation battles did not, however, inspire news outlets to integrate their pages in any comprehensive way. Latinos, Asians, and American Indians remained absent in coverage, except at times as criminals and threats. For the most

part, it was white reporters that covered the civil rights movement for the white press. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) had no nonwhite members at all until 1965, when it allowed the membership of John H. Sengstacke, the editor of the famed Black newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*. Some news outlets relegated coverage of Black people to one or two special pages. For the general public, it was as if African Americans, American Indians, and people of Hispanic and Asian descent never gave birth, married, achieved in their lives, or died.

In 1967, when President Lyndon Johnson appointed a commission to find out why riots had erupted in urban areas each summer for several years, its members returned with an indictment of the news media. The 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission, attacked journalists for failing to apply their own tough standards to their reporting on the uprisings. They reprinted rumors, reported inflated damage statistics, and printed "scare" headlines that exaggerated the scope and damage across the country, the report concluded. News misrepresented the violence as primarily Black-white confrontations. Most importantly, based on a content analysis of television and newspapers, the commission reported that reporters, editors, and producers had neglected racial problems that had simmered across the country for years. As prominent journalist Robert C. Maynard wrote a decade later, "the vast majority of white Americans was left to suppose that for no particular reason a bunch of blacks took it into their heads to burn down the city" (Marzolf and Tolliver, 1977, p. 7).

The Kerner report pointed to deep injustices within U.S. society and warned that the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Journalists, the commission said, had failed to report the deep problems America faced and neglected to identify potential solutions. The commission, calling news outlets "shockingly backward," urged them to hire Black reporters, editors, writers, and commentators beyond token levels. Black Americans should be covered routinely in the context of overall society, they argued. Reporters should be assigned to "urban" and "ghetto" beats, and news outlets should develop relationships with their

counterparts in the Black press. Black staffers should be promoted into policy and decision-making levels. The news media reflected “the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America,” the commission found. “The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man’s world.”

The report’s stinging words triggered a flurry of new hires, but also complaints by news editors that there just were not enough qualified ethnic minority journalists to bring on. Some universities and foundations stepped forward with programs to meet this objection—although most were short-lived. What is known today as the Robert C. Maynard Institute for Journalism Education in Oakland, California, remains one of the most successful training programs designed to integrate newsrooms and educate journalists of all backgrounds to report fully and completely on all people. It began as a training ground for entry-level minority journalists, placing graduates into jobs. The program gave a start to many outstanding journalists, such as Pulitzer Prize winners Dennis Bell of *Newsday*; Steven Holmes of *The Washington Post*; and David Reyes, Virginia Escalante, and Louis Sahagun (along with institute cofounder Frank Sotomayor) of the *Los Angeles Times*. Milton Coleman, former senior editor of *The Washington Post*; Kevin Merida, ESPN senior vice president; and Carolina Garcia, former executive editor of the *Los Angeles Daily News*, are all graduates.

Despite the flurry of hiring after the Kerner report, a conference of high-level journalists 10 years later decried the lack of progress. Minority journalists found work but often left the business within a few years, discouraged. The news still failed to report on both the realities of inner-city life and the influential culture and history of people of color. At heart, the problem really was the definition of news, concluded the group brought together by the University of Michigan. It remained fixed on white, middle-class, and male perceptions of who and what mattered in the world. What was needed, summed up one conference participant, was “greater infusions of minorities and women at a variety of levels in order to make that redefinition of journalism happen naturally through working together” (Marzolf and Tolliver 1977, p. 13). Maynard, who with his wife, Nancy Hicks Maynard, later became the first Black owners of a

major metropolitan daily, called the press one of the most segregated institutions in the United States. When only some kinds of people get to control the telling of America’s story, he said, “it is impossible for all Americans to understand what they should about each other” (Marzolf and Tolliver 1977, p. 9).

The Year 2000 Goal

The Maynards and other leaders in the Institute for Journalism Education developed a plan. They lobbied the ASNE (which in 2019 merged into the News Leaders Association) to set a goal: By the end of the century, minority journalists at member newspapers should match their proportion in the nation’s population. The plan passed in April 1978, and members agreed to a survey each year to assess progress. The first census found that minorities made up only 4% of newsroom employees in contrast to 17% of the population.

The ASNE goal helped stimulate additional training and recruiting programs. But as 2000 approached, more than 40% of newsrooms remained completely white despite the increasingly diverse U.S. population. About one-third failed to report their data at all.

With journalists of color still just 11.5% of professional newsrooms, ASNE members “strongly reaffirm(ed)” their commitment in 1998 and reset their parity goal to the year 2025 if not sooner. At minimum, ASNE said, all newspapers should employ journalists of color and each should reflect the diversity of its own community. The editors added women to their census, set 3-year benchmarks, and pledged to redouble their efforts.

Journalists Organize

Journalists of color encountered discrimination in hiring and, once they broke into a news operation, often faced hostility and skepticism about their abilities. They formed associations to support one another, provide training for young journalists, and promote inclusive newsrooms committed to covering all Americans fully and fairly.

In 1970, about 50 Black producers of television and film formed the National Association of Black Media Producers. They elected as president Tony Brown, who later earned fame as the host of the

Public Broadcasting Service public affairs program *Tony Brown's Journal*. He discovered a tool in the Communications Act of 1934, which declared that broadcasters, who are dependent on the publicly owned airwaves, must serve the interests of the whole community. With the help of Black community organizations, the association was able to push broadcaster doors open to Black people.

A few years later in Philadelphia, Black print and broadcast journalists created the National Association of Black Journalists in 1975 in an attempt to increase their numbers and pressure the industry from the inside. The Asian American Journalists Association formed in 1981, followed by the Native American Journalists Association and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists in 1984. These associations formed a coalition, UNITY: Journalists of Color, that lasted several decades.

The older, more broadly based journalist groups also played a role. The NewsGuild, a labor union founded as the American Newspaper Guild in 1933, had been inclusive from the start. The national level of the Society of Professional Journalists, however, only later joined the effort to press for change. In the 1990s, Society of Professional Journalists established chapters at several historically Black colleges. Reginald Stuart, at the time a reporter for *The New York Times* and later a corporate recruiter for major news companies, became the organization's first Black president in 1994.

Independently and collectively, each of these organizations have taken up the task of holding the news business accountable, monitoring both coverage and hiring practices. Scholarships and training supported students and helped professionals thrive in their jobs. Stylebooks aimed to help journalists with terminology and racially sensitive issues. Even as other industries made important strides toward integration, however, the news media fell progressively behind.

Ethnic Media

As conventional news coverage lagged in its struggle to keep up with U.S. demographic changes, community and ethnic media leapt in to fill the gap. Circulation increased rapidly for Hispanic

and Spanish-language newspapers from 1990 to 2003, when it flattened a bit and then climbed again to 17.8 million by 2006, according to an analysis by the Project for Excellence in Journalism. In the years that followed, Latino-focused outlets continued to grow, if more slowly. Black-oriented media remained consistent fixtures into the 21st century but were hit by the same economic challenges as other news media and slow to move into digital offerings. The eminent Johnson Publications spun out its famed magazines *Ebony* and *Jet* in 2015, then declared bankruptcy 4 years later.

Founded in 1945, Johnson Publications had transformed white news media's perceptions of Black culture and community, leading to broader coverage of Black celebrities and business successes. Both magazines also wrote frankly about racism. In 1955, *Jet* editors made a bold editorial decision that galvanized the civil rights movement. At the request of Emmett Till's mother, they printed a photo of the brutally tortured, disfigured 14-year-old in his coffin. Two white men had kidnapped and killed the Chicago boy after he was accused of offending one of the men's wife. The killers were acquitted by an all-white jury.

Ethnic media cover their communities in far more depth than do mainstream outlets and follow news developments in areas such as immigration and civil rights more closely. Such community-oriented media also tend to include context and commentary that other journalists neglect. When covering U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency actions, for instance, Spanish-language media often offer a level of diversity in topic and approach not achieved by other outlets. Mainstream news often concentrate on the victims of a particular enforcement raid or focus on examples of companies that hired undocumented workers. Spanish-language outlets cover similar topics in a balanced and neutral fashion and, in addition, bring in the social, historical, and political factors contributing to policy and enforcement.

Research on Mainstream News Coverage

Many scholars have studied news angles, content, and sourcing in mainstream news and found

compelling evidence that overall, mainstream journalists continue to report from a white point of view. While coverage has become more inclusive, people of color often remain absent—except in crime, sports, or entertainment news. White, male voices still dominate as experts in local and national news, whether broadcast or text-based. In 2015, National Public Radio conducted an internal study of sources and found that male reporters relied on other men as sources 75% of the time. Further, Latino, Black, and Asian journalists were more likely to reach beyond white sources to gather the news.

Black people do consistently and disproportionately appear on local stations and in newspaper crime news—nearly always as suspects, researchers have found. A preponderance of Black people appearing on network news are poor, complaining, or involved with drugs and crime. University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign communications researcher Travis Dixon analyzed 2 years of local and national news and opinion in print and broadcast and found stark misrepresentations of Black Americans. Overall, he found African American families were portrayed disproportionately and inaccurately as living in poverty, receiving welfare, with uninvolved fathers, and associated with criminality. Other studies have found journalists to be less likely to cover incidents involving nonwhite victims across subjects from missing persons to violent crime. The cumulative effects of such distortions may be profound.

In pivotal experiments testing attitudes and reactions, political scientists Frank D. Gilliam Jr. and Shanto Iyengar concluded that news watchers showed regular, unconscious tendencies to associate Black people with crime. Even when they were shown sample news stories with no perpetrator at all, 44% of viewers remembered a Black criminal. Frequent news watchers in the Los Angeles study tended toward views that the researchers called “new racism”: a perception that Black people tend to violate traditional values of hard work and make illegitimate demands for government benefits.

In a 2018 survey of public perceptions on the 50th anniversary of the Kerner report funded by the Ford Foundation, more than half of 3,000 African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian

Americans, and white Americans said that African Americans were portrayed more negatively than reality. Nearly half of Hispanic Americans and African Americans felt that Latinos were misrepresented as well. A majority of all races agreed that diversifying the staff of news media would improve news quality. While such studies have limitations and do not prove a causal link, they do give journalists cause for reflection.

Period of Awakening

In the first two decades of the 21st century, rapid changes in distribution forced news organizations to adjust or die. Headlines no longer could be simply “punchy,” they had to capture eyeballs in an enormously distracting environment and perform well in search engines and social media channels. Journalism had to compete with information that looked very similar but was designed to sell—a product, an idea, a political agenda. The news industry’s advertising-based business model began to collapse as Internet giants Google and Facebook vacuumed up news customers and advertisers. Takeovers and mergers convulsed the news sector, and many local news companies went out of business.

As long-time print and broadcast operations struggled, “digital natives” sprang up. While the economic shifts produced a barren news landscape in many ways, they also made room for new voices such as ESPN’s “The Undeclared,” which covers the intersections between sports, race, and culture; Indianz.com, operated by the Winnebago Tribe; The Root, which features Black news, politics, and culture; AsAmNews and *Hyphen* magazine, with an Asian American emphasis; and NewsTaco, with Latino news and information.

Over the first half of 2020, a series of developments upended what had already been a difficult period. The new coronavirus swept the world, bringing with it a surge of demand for trustworthy news, but also an exodus by advertisers concerned about appearing next to upsetting content. From 2008 to 2019, news organizations had shed 23% of their staff. As of April 2020, *The New York Times* estimated, another 36,000 journalists had been laid off, furloughed, or had their pay cut. Those who remained covered the wrenching story of illness and death, often risking their lives out on

the street while others sheltered at home. Then, following months of stay-at-home orders, George Floyd was killed by a Minneapolis police officer who was captured on video pressing a knee into the Black man's neck for nearly 9 min. The incident, one more in an accelerating drumbeat of similar videos documenting police killings of Black men and women over recent months and years, reignited the Black Lives Matter movement. Hundreds of thousands of protesters poured into streets across the globe—and remained there.

The continuing movement, which drew participants from across the racial spectrum, became the largest ever in the United States to date. It widened from a focus on police violence to calls for justice across government, corporations, and many other institutions. Working alongside protesters, journalists were beaten, tear-gassed, and wounded with rubber bullets by the police and state troopers.

Discussions about systemic racism surged in social media and on opinion pages. The upheaval soon spread to newsrooms themselves. Reporters challenged dictums that they should stay out of the conversation unfolding online and cover racial justice dispassionately. They called attention to a double standard that often assumed bias on the part of Black, Asian, and Latino journalists and allowed white ones more freedom. Ethical questions arose: Could journalists voice moral outrage on Twitter? Could they join publicly in debate about covering race? Join protests? Journalists often freely express support of the First Amendment and free speech—is that where allowable opining ends?

In June, when *The New York Times* published an inflammatory column by Sen. Tom Cotton asserting that the government should send “an overwhelming show of force” to quell the social upheaval, *Times* journalists took to Twitter in protest. One thousand employees reportedly signed onto a letter to the publisher denouncing the decision to run it. The editorial page editor resigned, and similar reckonings at *The Washington Post*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Refinery29*, *Bon Appetit*, and the *Los Angeles Times* unfolded as journalists spoke up about entrenched racism in newsroom culture, traditions, and coverage. Employees at *Essence* magazine pushed the quest for

accountability into the Black press, calling out bullying and sexual harassment and asking several executives to step down. *The Wall Street Journal* newsroom wrote a letter to the editor-in-chief calling for “more muscular coverage about racial and social inequities” and more skeptical treatment of business executives and government officials in their pages.

Hiring practices across the industry still favored white journalists: In the 2019 ASNE survey, journalists of color made up 21% of salaried staff among daily newspapers that reported their data and 30.8% of staff among online-only outlets. *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal* all promised to redouble their efforts at inclusive staffing and coverage, some making new appointments and creating job openings on the spot. That same month, the Associated Press announced it would capitalize both “Black” and “Indigenous” in its influential stylebook, after studying the question for 2 years. The change reflects “an essential and shared sense of history, identity and community among people who identify as Black,” wrote John Daniszewski, AP's vice president of standards. Indigenous references “original inhabitants of a place,” he added, explaining that the changes reflected a need to be inclusive and respectful in the news agency's storytelling. Inside and outside journalism, people asked for reflection: Was the U.S. press a white supremacist institution?

Techniques for Better Reporting

As cities across the nation grow more diverse, news outlets are realizing they must change their habits and recognize both their own implicit biases and the societal reactions their coverage creates. Fundamentally, news must create an information environment that is truthful. As one component of accuracy, journalists should resist habitually covering story subjects and sources in expected roles or social status positions. Reporters must learn to notice, for example, the Black women who are technology wizards, the Native Americans in the executive suite, and Latino families with three generations in community policing. Stories should include not only familiar ideas but also challenge audiences to adjust their assumptions.

Some newsroom traditions help lock in imbalance in sourcing and content. Practices such as evaluating a source's "credibility" according to title, status, and familiarity in the newsroom may lead a majority white staff to rely mainly on white sources. Perceptions of "prominence" and "proximity," or measures of the importance of a news topic, may vary according to journalists' familiarity with communities outside of their own neighborhoods and the downtown elite. Source lists handed down on a beat are less likely to reflect the racial, ethnic, and language diversity in schools, parks, shops, and workplaces across the country.

A number of mainstream news media outlets have forged partnerships with ethnic and community outlets in order to build better awareness of the people and stories they are missing. Ethnic media offer a background in the institutional and social underpinnings of their community's experience. They can share the perspectives and voices of groups that mainstream outlets find hard to access. For their part, the larger news organization can provide resources and connections to political and institutional sources that ethnic media may lack.

The Maynard Institute has long taught journalists to cover the whole community by analyzing how they perceive news and what they might be missing. Maynard identifies five forces that shape lives, experiences, and the social tensions in society: the "fault lines" of race, class, generation, geography, and gender and sexual orientation. By using this framework for self-reflection, reporters and editors can see how their own upbringing and history shape their view of the world. They can understand the shared culture within a newsroom, which often reflects society's racial and other social hierarchies and thus distorts the newsgathering process.

By assessing the ways in which these fault lines mold views about the importance and meaning of issues, journalists can do a better job deciding what to cover and how. They can learn their own blind spots and assumptions they have accumulated over time. Reporting more consciously, they can identify news they would have overlooked or avoided and locate the sources necessary for a complete and accurate story. A piece about the health of the Social Security system, for instance,

will be much more complete if it explores the very different experiences across racial group, ability or disability, and gender in both earnings and benefits.

Other resources also highlight the need for diverse voices. The Poynter Institute, a nonprofit journalism education and training center in Florida, places ethics, trust, and diversity together in its training and resources. Columns on integrating the newsroom and covering developing issues ethically sit side by side on its website, signaling that inclusion is central to accuracy and fairness. The Trust Project, an international nonprofit that works with news outlets to show "trust indicators" that explain the fundamental standards and practices behind their journalism, includes diversity alongside disclosures on ethical issues such as conflict of interest, corrections, and unnamed sources. The trust indicator called "diverse voices" asks sites to describe their commitment to inclusive reporting and provide data on the proportion of staff that reflects underrepresented voices in their region.

The need to change reporting practices became especially clear in the early months of COVID-19 in 2020, as the lopsided toll of cases and deaths among Black Americans, Latinos, and Asians became impossible to ignore. Even when coverage steered clear of stereotypes, journalists typically offered limited explanations—such as underlying health problems, cramped living situations, or an inability to work from home—that came close to blaming the victims. News stories often left the public to assume that the living and working conditions exposing people of color to higher risk were somehow inevitable. Instead, journalists must learn to uncover the interlocking systems that underpin such racially stratified conditions.

In the case of underlying health conditions, for instance, racial favoritism in the channeling of resources such as healthcare, clean air and water, and clean and well-lighted spaces to exercise over time have left people of color physically more vulnerable to the ravages of the virus. Simply by using the question "Why?" to deepen their inquiry, reporters can unravel the external forces that shape people's lives in a racialized manner. They can show the layers of institutional practices, policies, and built-in bias that reflect societal power

structures and act to hold inequality in place. They must study the history of race in America, including the construction of whiteness, and the way structural racism operates across neighborhoods and institutions in order to add context and awareness to their stories.

A journalist has a duty to “seek truth and report it” in service of justice and democracy, declares Society of Professional Journalists, the nation’s most broad-based journalism organization, in its ethics code. Yet “truth” in the news, both journalists and communication researchers have found, can be a matter of shifting ground. Whether journalists are reporting a car accident or a riot, their own location, knowledge base, and personal history influences the “truth” they are able to see. They may not notice and report on the impact of longstanding racial power relations, and their own role within them. The mainstream news media continue to struggle, with uneven success, to report fully on the truth lived by the racial and ethnic minorities in American society.

Sally Lehrman

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Diversity in Journalism; Ethics; Ethnic Minority Networks; Immigration, Coverage of; Latino News Media; Indigenous News Media; Newsroom Culture

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RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) played a dominant role in the development of radio and television broadcasting from 1919 until the 1970s. The company's cemented its influence through the development and manufacture of communications equipment and the establishment of broadcast stations and networks. This entry examines the history of development of the RCA and examines its influence beyond radio broadcasting, including its influence on television and attempted foray into early computing.

History and Development

In the early 20th century, radio was used predominantly for ship-to-shore communications. American Marconi Corporation, a subsidiary of Britain's Marconi Company, established a monopoly on wireless maritime transmitters and receiving equipment. During World War I, the U.S. Navy took control of American Marconi's transmitters and was reluctant to return them to the foreign-owned company at the conclusion of the conflict. Meanwhile, American Marconi made plans to purchase and operate new, high-powered transmitters manufactured by General Electric (GE). Fearing that a foreign country would dominate transatlantic radio communications, the U.S. government pressured GE to buy American Marconi

and form a subsidiary to purchase and operate the new transmitters. GE established RCA as this subsidiary in 1919, with a stipulation that all board members had to be U.S. citizens and no more than 20% of its stock could be owned by foreign interests.

As the 1920s began, the radio industry turned its attention toward the development of broadcasting—using a single transmitter to disperse a signal among a wide audience. Through a series of agreements, the major players in radio communication (RCA, GE, American Telephone & Telegraph [AT&T], and Westinghouse) agreed to share patents for critical radio technologies that would allow for broadcast transmission and reception. As part of the patent agreements, GE took ownership of about 30% of RCA's stock, with Westinghouse and AT&T owning about 20% and 10%, respectively. RCA initially moved cautiously into broadcasting, hewing to its original mission of providing international and transoceanic communication. However, David Sarnoff, a holdover from American Marconi who was now a manager at RCA, pushed his superiors to dive headlong into the broadcasting industry. In the summer of 1921, RCA set up a transmitting facility at a GE factory in New Jersey to broadcast a heavyweight championship boxing match. By most accounts, the experiment was a success, as an estimated 200,000 people listened (even though the transmitter burned out minutes after the final bell sounded).

By 1923, RCA operated three broadcast radio stations: two in New York City and one in Washington, D.C. In 1926, the company purchased AT&T's popular New York station WEAf; it also signed a long-term agreement to lease AT&T's transmission lines. The lines would allow RCA to essentially interconnect individual broadcast stations and share programming among them. To this end, RCA formed a separate entity, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), boasting that it would bring "National radio broadcasting with better programming permanently assured." The idea was that the network would originate programming in cultural centers (New York City, for the most part) where it was easier to secure popular artists and simulcast this programming over geographically dispersed stations using AT&T's transmission lines.

NBC actually established two networks: the Red Network, with WEAf as its flagship station, and the Blue Network, with RCA's other New York station, WJZ, as its flagship. The Red Network ran the most popular (and expensive) programming, while the Blue Network tended to carry less expensive programming as well as "sustaining" public service content that did not carry advertising. By the end of 1926, 19 stations were on NBC's networks; that number grew steadily over the next decade. By 1941, 221 stations were signed up with NBC, representing more than one quarter of all broadcast stations in the United States. NBC's roster also included many of the most powerful 50,000 watt stations, as well as outlets located in the largest markets in the country. The network's power and influence attracted the attention of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which ordered NBC to divest itself of one of its networks. In 1943, the Blue Network was sold to candy magnate Edward Noble, who rebranded it as the American Broadcasting Company.

NBC was not the only arm of RCA to receive governmental scrutiny. By the 1930s, RCA had become a leader in manufacturing radio sets for consumer use, and it had also expanded into other areas such as vacuum tube and phonograph players. The U.S. Justice Department in 1932 forced GE and Westinghouse to give up their RCA stock and to make patent pooling arrangements among the companies nonexclusive. At this point, RCA became a wholly independent company. Still, RCA's overall size and rich cache of exclusive patents for communications technologies would attract the notice of federal regulators throughout the 1940s and 1950s. "RCA occupies a premier position in fields which are profoundly determinative of our way of life," noted the FCC in its 1941 *Report on Chain Broadcasting*. "Its diverse activities give it a peculiarly advantageous position in competition with enterprises less widely based."

Influence Beyond Radio Broadcasting

RCA also inserted itself squarely in the development of television during the 1930s, investing millions of dollars in research, hiring engineers from competitors, and acquiring critical patents.

In 1938, RCA proposed that the FCC adopt standards for television transmission and reception it had developed. In the face of widespread opposition to RCA's proposal by competing companies, the FCC chose to approve "limited" commercial operation of black and white television so that various competing standards could be tested. Instead, RCA dove headfirst into marketing and manufacturing television sets, announcing at the 1939 World's Fair that television had "arrived." The FCC moved quickly to staunch RCA's overreach, and instead began a series of hearings to consider other television standards, including a color system proposed by CBS. In 1941, the FCC adopted television standards proposed by the National Television Systems Committee. These standards would rely on patents owned by RCA, and the company would continue to receive royalties on television equipment well into the 1960s.

The early 1960s were probably the high-water mark for the company's influence. Although it remained a major player in broadcasting, equipment manufacturing, and military and space communication, breakthrough innovations eluded the company. RCA's attempt in the 1970s to enter the computer business failed spectacularly, piling up losses of more than \$500 million. In 1986, GE took over RCA, and quickly set about dismantling the company's various ventures or integrating them into its own operations. Today, RCA is merely a trade name owned by Sony Music Entertainment and Technicolor.

James Foust

See also Broadcast, or broadcasting; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); North America

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RECORDING

“Recording” refers to written, aural, or visual evidence that has been preserved in some tangible medium. In journalism, the term is used to describe the practice of capturing and preserving selected elements of a news story. Journalists use recording devices to conduct interviews. Newspapers and magazines use transcriptions of verbatim statements of people or documents. Audio recordings preserve the voices of newsmakers. Photography and videography provide visual documentation of images of news events. All are recordings, but the word “recording” is used more specifically to refer to the preservation of words, sounds, images, and data using audio and video technologies.

Early recording systems used to store information include words on paper (symbols that inform the vocalization of human speech) and sheet music notations (instructions for singing and musical instrumentation). Some early mechanical devices also preserved instructions for sound, such as the prongs of a rotating cylinder used to pluck the strings in a music box and a perforated paper roll in a player piano. These devices did not preserve actual sounds, and for that matter, neither do more contemporary electronic devices. All rely on encoding processes to preserve some representation of sound and then decoding for reproduction in a way that is unique to a specific recording technology.

This entry discusses the history of sound recording before detailing the microphones and digital audio recording used in journalism. It then looks at the history of video recording, the development of digital video recording, and more recent developments in audio and video technology.

History of Sound Recording

The first practical device capable of recording the human voice was the “phonograph,” invented by Thomas Edison in 1878. Edison thought the phonograph (a Greek word for “sound writer”) would be used for dictation, for educational purposes. Major improvements followed, such as the “graphophone” (Chichester Bell and Charles

Tainter, 1881), a wax cylinder machine, and the “gramophone” (Emile Berliner, 1887), a flat disc system that made storage and duplication more convenient, later sold to the Victor Talking Machine Company which became a division of the Radio Corporation of America.

Significant technological developments in radio electronics contributed to improvements in amplifier and loudspeaker technologies. Consumers adopted these early systems for home entertainment and music recording, and Radio Corporation of America Victor became a major producer of vinyl records and the company’s “Victrola” player. Other methods of recording included “Phonofilm,” an optical sound-on-film system (Lee de Forest, 1919) used to produce experimental short films with music, speech, and vaudeville. Before long, Fox Movietone newsreels were shown in movie theaters. In 1927, the “Vitaphone,” a synchronized disc system, was used to produce the first feature-length “talkie,” “The Jazz Singer.”

Magnetic sound recording technologies were also developed. The first such device was called a *telegraphone* (Valdemar Poulsen, 1890s), which was used to record Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph at the 1900 Paris World’s Fair, believed to be the oldest surviving example of a magnetic recording. Later devices included wire and metal tape machines that were used to record news events as early as World War I. Breaking news events demonstrated the value of sound recording, such as WLS reporter Herb Morrison’s dramatic description of the Hindenburg airship crash in 1937. Radio networks and local stations recorded news or talk programs, such as Edward R. Murrow’s famous broadcasts on short-wave radio from London, which were preserved on electronic transcription disc. World War II also influenced the growth of sound recording, such as the development of the “magnetophone,” invented by two German companies (AEG and BASF), a machine that used iron- or ferrous oxide-coated paper or cellulose acetate tape—a recording medium that would later be known as *magnetic tape*. After the war, the American Signal Corps brought back these improved recording technologies to the United States.

Before and during the war, most radio programming was broadcasted live. The ability to record sound on magnetic tape changed radio and

help launch the music industry during the postwar period. Improvements in magnetic tape recording not only enhanced sound quality, it provided engineers with the ability to mix, balance, edit, store, and produce stereo and multichannel audio. Noise reduction systems to improve quality and control “hiss,” such as Dolby and dbx, were developed in the late 1960s. Various tape formats were also introduced, including reel-to-reel, endless-loop eight-track and professional cartridge, and the consumer compact audio cassette, which was standardized by the Philips Company of the Netherlands in 1962.

Analog audio technologies such as these were designed to capture and record variations in the physical characteristics of sound waves over time by imprinting their signature onto a moving physical surface or magnetized substrate. In the case of vinyl recording, the sound wave signature is encoded by carving a spiral groove onto the surface of a vinyl cylinder or disc. With magnetic tape, iron oxide particles on the surface of the tape are magnetically manipulated to create a pattern that mirrors variations in the electrical audio signal. Analog recordings capture sound continuously, in real time without interruption. Many hardware and tape formats came and went during the early decades of sound recording, but analog audio technologies remained fundamentally unchanged until the introduction of digital audiotape by Sony in 1987.

Microphones

One of the primary jobs of a journalist is to conduct and record interviews. To do so, they use microphones, which contain a transducer, an electronic component that converts acoustic energy into a low-voltage signal that can be processed and stored. By default, microphones are analog devices because the electrical signal they generate is a continuous representation of real-time changes in sound wave amplitude (perceived loudness) and frequency (perceived pitch) caused by variations in pressure and vibration from surrounding air molecules.

When a microphone is connected to an audio mixer or recording device, the low-voltage signal is amplified to make it suitable for audio processing. A “preamp” is used to increase or decrease the

amount of signal attenuation. A volume-unit meter (or VU meter) displays the strength of the audio signal in decibels to ensure a proper record level. Setting the record level too low will produce unwanted background noise and setting it too high can overdrive the preamp circuit, causing *clipping*—distortion and a loss of audio fidelity. When a microphone is connected to a digital audio recorder, the signal must also pass through an analog to digital converter, where it is trans-coded into binary form (0s and 1s).

The two most common microphone transducer types are *dynamic* and *condenser*. Most dynamic mics feature a relatively simple diaphragm moving coil design. Variations in sound pressure (acoustic energy) causes the diaphragm to vibrate and pulse. The vibrations are transferred to a moving coil that produces a low-voltage electric current that corresponds to the original sound wave. Reporters typically use dynamic handheld microphones when conducting field interviews or recording voiceovers. Condenser microphones include a capacitor, which require an internal battery or *phantom power*, making them more sensitive than dynamic microphones, thereby allowing them to pick up sound from further away. Most lavalier microphones fall into the condenser category and are often used for sit-down interviews and for on-air talent and guests in a television studio setting. Because they are more sensitive, “lav” mics are best used in quiet settings with minimal ambient sound.

Digital Audio Recording

In order for sound to be understood by a computer, it must be converted from its native analog form to a digital format that can be represented with discrete numerical values. Pulse code modulation (PCM), the most common codec used for recording audio as a digital stream of binary data, was conceived by British engineer Alec Reeves in 1937. His theory of pulse code modulation transmission relied on a process called *sampling* to transform a continuous signal into a sequence of regular interval discrete measurements. Each measurement (or sample) represents one instance of a sound wave’s properties at a single moment in time. In digital recording, each sample is stored numerically as a binary string of zeros and ones.

The fidelity of a pulse code modulation audio stream is determined by three variables: *sampling rate*, the number of times per second in kHz units each sample is recorded; *bit depth*, the number of bits assigned to each sample; and *bit rate*, the number of bits per second transmitted during playback or streaming. All things being equal, the greater the sampling rate and bit depth, the greater the overall sound resolution and quality. During reproduction, digital representations are converted back to analog acoustical energy for human monitoring.

Digital data storage and distribution formats, such as the audio compact disc, which uses a laser to read digitally encoded information, was the dominant consumer digital audio medium for three decades. Sony and Philips introduced the optical disk format in 1982 and published the initial technical standards for digital audio recording in a document known as the *Red Book*. An audio compact disc holds up to 74 minutes of uncompressed audio, includes two channels of stereo bitstreams encoded with linear pulse code modulation, and has a sampling rate and bit depth of 44.1 kHz/16 bit.

History of Video Recording

Over time, magnetic tape recording systems evolved that enabled recording video as well as audio. In 1956, Ampex released the first analog broadcast quality video recorder. It was dubbed the quad machine, because it used 2-inch wide magnetic quadruplex tape mounted on large metallic reels. Quad recorders served the broadcast industry until 1976, when Ampex and Sony jointly released the Type C 1 reel-to-reel recorder which was smaller, significantly less expensive, and included advancements such as instant replay and slow motion.

The 1970s also ushered in the era of electronic newsgathering and an eventual end to the long-held practice of film-based recording in broadcast news. In its place, broadcast news teams began using portable electronic video cameras and videocassette recorders (VCRs), which greatly enhanced their ability to disseminate news and information in a timely manner. Initially, portable video recording required a three-person team comprised of a reporter, a videographer to operate

the camera, and a recording engineer to carry the VCR and monitor levels. Eventually, bulky portable recorders such as the Sony U-matic $\frac{3}{4}$ VCR were replaced by a better device called a *camcorder*—a one-piece recording unit that combined a camera with a VCR that could be operated by one person. In 1983, Sony introduced the first professional-grade Betacam camcorder, which was widely used by electronic newsgathering professionals for more than a decade.

Digital Video Recording

Digital video converts an analog signal representing an image into numbers for magnetic, optical, or solid-state digital format devices, such as hard-disk and flash drives, memory cards, network storage, and online distribution. Digital cameras capture incoming light from objects in the field of view, turn it into a corresponding electrical signal, and then convert the energy of that signal into numbers for each picture element (pixel) representing light intensity and color in the image. Because of the large amount of information in a moving video image, newer systems use digital compression techniques (algorithms), which reduce the amount of redundant information to save storage space.

In the 1990s, various high-density optical storage technologies emerged for recording standard definition video. In 1995, Toshiba introduced the DVD (digital versatile [or video] disc) to record and distribute audio, video, and data, making this device the most widely used consumer video recording and distribution medium for motion picture film at the time. A standard DVD disc could hold 133 minutes of standard definition video content and offered desirable features consumers craved such as rapid access to program content via a visual interface with links to program chapters and bonus content. The DVD rapidly supplanted consumer reliance on antiquated analog tape formats such as VHS and Betamax. The Blu-ray disc format followed in 2006 to enable distribution of high-definition movies on a single disc the same size as an audio compact disc.

Solid-state video devices and digital video recorder systems, such as TiVo and ReplayTV, use computer technology and hard drives to enable consumers to download, manipulate (pause, fast

forward, reverse, slow motion), and take advantage of instant replay functions and time-shift television programs for later viewing. Video distribution services, such as satellite, cable, and Internet protocol television systems, also provide on-demand access to stored video programming.

Many recording formats, including digital variations of magnetic tape such as digital audiotape for professional sound recording, Digital Betacam (or DigiBeta) for professional newsgathering, and MiniDV for video recording by nonprofessionals, persisted in popularity from the late 1980s until the end of the 1990s. However, with the growing popularity of *file-based recording* near the turn of the century, their effective usefulness eroded.

On a related front, broadcast and production technical standards for digital television and high-definition television were adapted. By early 2007, personal digital multimedia devices allowed Internet users to download video podcasts or “vodcasts” of television news, information, and music. As recording technology continues to evolve, on-demand systems, available online or through digital cable systems, have reduced the need for consumers to download or record television news and other programs at home.

With file-based recording, digital devices such as DSLRs (digital single lens reflex cameras), video camcorders, audio recorders, smartphones, and so forth, encode audio and video signals directly to a flash drive or memory card as digital bitstreams, a sequence of bits used to represent individual video or audio signals. High-definition video files are much larger than audio files and must be compressed before uploading to streaming video services such as YouTube and Vimeo. Distribution standards changed, and by 2020, MP4 was the established video format for streaming high-definition video on the web. Likewise, H.264 and its successor H.265 (HEVC—High Efficiency Video Coding) were the most widely used codecs for encoding video, while AAC-LC (Advanced Audio Coding-Low Complexity) was used for encoding audio.

Newer Audio and Video Tools

Hard disk, removable flash drive, and solid-state digital storage devices are more recent innovations in sound recording. Stand-alone consumer

electronic devices were eventually supplanted by smartphones, which are capable of doing infinitely more, while expanding the distribution channels for news, information, and music across the Internet via Wi-Fi and cellular networks. Today, digital audio and video news stories are widely distributed online through a plethora of social media and streaming services.

Today, many journalists use smartphones to record interviews, still photos, and video images. They can also use mobile apps for editing and processing of sound, images, and video and for instantly sharing, transmitting, or publishing content wirelessly around the world. Podcasting, a convenient way to package, access, and download digital audio content, is now used by many respected journalists to provide supplemental news, information, and opinion. Mobile recording devices and apps help journalists capture everything said in an interview or press conference, especially long news events. Smartphone apps have been created specifically for such recording purposes and more. Some applications even offer a transcription function, making it possible to convert recorded sound to written words for publication.

Don A. Grady and Vic Costello

See also Audio and Video News Services; Convergence; Digital sound; Digital Television; Electronic News Gathering; Podcasting; Television; Video News Releases

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RELIGION JOURNALISM

Religion journalism is perhaps one of the most challenging subfields within journalism—it requires specialist knowledge to discern its specificities and the subject matter is so sensitive that the slightest mistake in wording can lead to angry outcries from the public. Topics such as religion are incredibly nuanced, and the ability to communicate religious issues accurately in 500 to 600 words can be challenging, to say the least. If a public is conceived of as diverse, then this creates both an opportunity and a danger for journalism on religion in a democracy.

Many countries have what Robert Putnam and David Campbell (2010) describe as a “volatile” mixture of a high religious pluralism—people of different faiths in close contact—and high religious diversity—a wide array of religions (p. 494). This would naturally raise the stakes for reporting on religion. Journalism is rooted in the history of religion itself and may be one of the most enduring subfields of journalism. Yet the religion specialty has shrunk substantially since the digital turn in the news industry, leaving much of the reporting on religion to nonspecialists. This specialty has great potential for promoting diversity and inclusion in society; yet, particularly in regard to concerns related to religiously oriented hate groups, there are substantial dangers that accompany this form of reporting.

Focuses of Religion Journalism

Religion journalism tends to be both trend oriented and focused on the individual experience. In 2019, religion journalism conducted significant

reporting on the growing schism within the United Methodist Church—this schism represents the continuation of Culture Wars era trend toward church splits over social issues, and social issues appeared to be at the heart of the split within the denomination. In a similar manner, the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 provided the opportunity for religion journalists to report on churches streaming activities, digital religious groups, and online churches—none of these were new phenomena but are representative of the trend toward digital religious experiences. The reporting is also highly individualistic. In 2020, in the wake of protests following the death of George Floyd by a police officer while being arrested, U.S. President Donald Trump appeared in front of an episcopal church, holding a Bible and announcing strong measures against protesters. Religion journalism reported extensively on the pastor and members of the church where Trump appeared and local journalists focused on the responses by local religious leaders to this imagery presented by the U.S. president.

These twin focuses on the trend and the individual experience make sense given the nature of the topic. It is difficult to offer any form of generalization on religion, given that there are myriad ways that the religion is interpreted—which presents a meaningful difference from the rules of basketball in sports journalism or laws for running a country's political campaign. Even if the generalization were based on the religious scripture, this presents three issues for the religion journalist: (1) different faiths place different degrees of emphasis on the scripture, (2) scriptures are often read in widely different manners—even in faiths that place a strong emphasis on the scripture, and (3) the most interest aspects of a religion tend to occur on a more individual level. In other words, human interest is a central aspect of religion reporting. Trends are more rarely reported across religious traditions but more commonly reported within religious traditions. So, for example, the decline of brick-and-mortar church attendance in the Western world represents a trend discussed within Christianity but is less commonly discussed in Islam, Judaism, or other faiths. More commonly reported trends in Islam might be demographic changes.

Religion journalism promotes a set of best practices through the specialty's nonprofit professional group, the Religion News Association. The association conducts yearly training at its annual conference and also offers, through the website ReligionLink, a set of best practices guides and source guides for reporters in the field. The organization's essential tenet is that "good reporting is good reporting" in that while religion journalism has distinguishing features it is essentially a specialty rooted in journalism.

Evolution of the Religion Beat

The religion beat began in the mid-19th century, becoming the norm starting in the early 1900s, when most newspapers had some sort of religion section. The earliest known religion beat specialists began at the start of the 20th century. The beat quickly professionalized to the point that a new professional association for religion specialists emerged in 1949. Since then, most of the nation's largest newspapers had specialists.

In the 1980s, public attention and journalism research focused attention on the salience of religion as a topic in journalism. Scholarship of the religion beat has centered primarily on content analyses describing the amount of religion news and the topics for coverage. For example, a number of studies have found that at most 2% of all the news in U.S. newspapers is about a religion. All large-scale content studies on religion news have focused on print publications, so the percentage of online religion news at a media outlet has not been assessed. Regardless of the relatively small percentage of all news about religion, religion has remained a key topic in the news. Annual content studies from the Pew Research Center often find religion as among the key topics of the news. End-of-the-year stories similarly highlight the importance of religion.

Contemporary journalism often traces its roots to the advent of movable type, and this is a history that has a profound, if not always explicitly acknowledged, influence on religion journalism. This first mass communication technology served to develop distributable Bibles. In many ways this technology facilitated the development of both Protestant Christianity and journalism. Protestant Christianity rests in five solas—statements about

the nature of how faith is determined. *Sola Scriptura* argues that the Christian Bible is the final authority on Christian faith and practice and the only infallible source of divine revelation. *Sola Christus* asserts a doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, in other words, that no priesthood is required beyond that of belief itself. Both of these beliefs rely in an essential manner on the mass distribution of Bibles—this provides a final authority for practice that would be essential for developing a priesthood of all believers. In a very similar manner, movable type facilitated the spread of information and the development of an informed public—both of which are foundational for the operation of journalism.

These shared technological roots do not imply a native marriage between journalism and religion. On the contrary, scholars have at times argued that journalism and religion share a "double blind" spot toward the activities of the other: religion often is blind to the operation and activities of journalism, and journalism is at times blind to the activities of religion. However, both journalism and Protestantism have an obvious shared foundation in their challenge to institutional power. Protestantism famously dismantled the hegemony of Western Catholicism. In a similar manner, the concept of the watchdog is an essential journalistic role, written into the rationale for the profession. This history leads scholars to argue that journalism operates with a sort of protestant normativity—that is, that journalists tend to operate with an essentially protestant set of biases.

In popular rhetoric, the news media are seen as presenting a secular and irreligious product. However, this belief does not hold up in scholarship. In a 1998 study, Mark Silk examined bias studies involving religion coverage and found them inconclusive. However, he found that when news media cover religion, the frames used are largely religious in nature. "News professionals . . . are operating with ideas of what religion is and is not, of what it ought and ought not be—with topoi—that derive, to varying degrees, from religious sources" (Silk, 1998, p. 55). These topoi account for many of the critiques of Western religion journalism in that journalistic reporting on Islam, Mormonism, and Judaism. In particular, this tends to be presented through inaccurate labeling such as a "Catholic pastor" (as opposed to "priest") or a

“Catholic sermon” (as opposed to “homily”); they are labels that take for granted a Christian Protestant point-of-reference. This represents a challenge if the journalistic goal is accuracy and fairness. Although religion specialists have been effective in this reporting, the decline in religion specialists represents a challenge to this reporting.

Since the Great Recession of 2000s, many religion reporting positions have become defunct—due to limited financial resources, difficulty in identifying advertisers for religion news sections, and too many other journalistic obligations. As papers began downsizing, those sections were closed or replaced with a token page, usually on Friday or Saturday. In the United States alone, large-scale newspapers that have shuttered their dedicated religion news coverage include The Dallas Morning News, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Orlando Sentinel, and The Palm Beach Post.

However, while clearly suffering some decreases in major markets, religion journalism survived the digital turn in the industry—one of the most profound shifts in the journalism marketplace since the penny press—as well as the Great Recession. Furthermore, recent surveys conducted by the Religion News Association demonstrate that the beat is more widespread in smaller circulation marketplaces than previous research suggests. Urban marketplaces may not currently see a future in religion reporting, but local and community news organizations remain committed to the religion beat. This may be a reflection of audience age and the rural nature of small and mid-sized communities, where religion often plays a significant role in social cohesion.

While these circumstances may indicate a continued commitment to religion reporting in the field, they may also indicate a continued lack of priority placed on individual religion reporters. For example, in a 2013 survey by the Religion News Association, only half of the 255 newsrooms surveyed employed an individual who regularly covered religion and there was typically only one religion journalist employed.

The segmentation of the American media marketplace as a result of the rise of Internet and mobile readership has changed the shape of religion news. More than 20 years ago, scholars argued that religion reporting was becoming less

localized, but Religion News Association surveys from 2013 indicate that the pendulum may have swung the opposite direction. Although the survey data suggest strength in the local reporting of religion, few surveys have substantially measured religion news at many small circulation newspapers. As opposed to having less coverage of local religion, the circulation size of newsrooms conducting religion reporting may indicate that more local religion reporting is happening than in previous years. That said, religion reporting at larger circulation newspapers is in decline, yet larger urban area newsrooms have been the ones that historically had the resources to cover national-level religion stories. This raises the question—who will be covering such stories if not large urban newspapers? A number of vibrant online-only sites are providing a growing trove of religion content free to members, including Patheos, OnFaith, and Religionnews.com.

Dangers and Opportunities

This form of journalism presents both dangers and opportunities for journalists. Religion news requires sensitivity in reporting, and as a result, careful reporting can provide an opportunity to showcase the nature of how journalists think about their work. While not a reporting activity in particular, the decision regarding the 2006 publication of the Mohammed cartoons, in which the Prophet Mohammed is shown with a bomb strapped to his chest, was nevertheless a journalistic decision. *The New York Times* declined to publish the cartoons, but French newspaper *Le Monde* chose to publish them. The difference in decision making between the two news organizations indicated that they operate under two different journalistic paradigms. In reports in which they detailed why they decided what they decided, Dan Berkowitz and Lyombe Eko (2007) note that the journalism took the opportunity provided by the Mohammed cartoon controversy to remind readers of the purpose of journalism and, by doing so, reaffirmed their journalistic paradigm.

The cartoons presented the opportunity to engage in paradigm maintenance, but the running of the cartoons also presented a danger: it represented a worst-case scenario in relations between religion and the press—any decision made would

result in a right being infringed on. In both cases, a belief was infringed upon—by journalists in the United States who argue that press had been censored and by Muslims in France who argued that their prophet should not be depicted.

Journalism provides a normative lens in making judgments about what constitutes good religion as opposed to bad religion. The way journalists make these judgments is in part through their work as an interpretive community. As a community, journalists make sense of stories regarding religion for the public. Journalists tend to be more politically savvy than religiously savvy, which may explain why religion is often collapsed onto politics. This appears through the use of labels used in attribution—journalists attempting to distill a more recognizable political term from a person's description of their faith (e.g., "conservative Catholic"; "fundamentalist Muslim").

In a similar manner, journalists faced with reporting on the Mormon Baptism for the Dead had to discern the appropriate means with which to undertake reporting. In this case, the reporting centered on two minority religious groups in the United States—Jews and Mormons—whose religious and legal battles were mediated in the press. In the Mormon doctrine of the Baptism for the Dead, Mormons have a responsibility to baptize their ancestors—by proxy—even after they have died. It does not force them to be Mormon, but it does grant them the opportunity, according to doctrine, to choose Mormonism if they had never encountered it. This caused a conflict when it was reported that Mormons had been baptizing Jews who had died during the Holocaust. Journalists, rather than emphasizing the conflict, worked to decrease the sensationalism of the conflict through peacemaking processes such as diminishing differences between parties and minimizing sensational claims related to the case. Gregory P. Perreault, Margaret Duffy, and Ariel Morrison (2017) argue that this occurs as a result of the danger implicit in the cultural unease caused by the conflict. Hence, journalists here took the opportunity presented by the event to engage in peacemaking in order to ease the conflict between the groups.

While religion as a topic crosses over with numerous specialties—perhaps most noticeably in politics and science—there are certain specialties

in which the topic has been shown to be less likely to appear. As religion specialists have decreased, these crossovers have become more essential in the dissemination of religion news. In sports journalism and gaming journalism, however, such crossovers have been less common.

In sports journalism, the appearance of religion journalism is often tied to human interest stories on individual athletes, but even in those cases sports journalism is rooted in an essential way to sports play. Hence, unless the religion is particularly tied to sports play in a meaningful way—such as professional golfer Tiger Woods's discussion of his Buddhist faith as a part of a public apology for marital infidelity—such faith is less likely to appear. When it does appear, sports journalists tend to report on religion in a more surface-level manner than would be expected outside of the religion specialty. In other words, an athlete's faith would be considered a part of describing their personality but might be less likely to be considered as a motivating force in their lives.

In a similar manner, video games commonly feature significant symbology of religion—games host religious guilds, and game players themselves can interact with gaming in a religious manner—yet little of this appears in gaming journalism, in part because gaming journalism tends to be rooted in issues related to game play. Again, if the religion is not somehow material to playing of the game, it is less likely to appear in the reporting of a piece of gaming journalism. Gaming journalists have described the religion in gaming as a sort of "wallpaper"—it is set dressing designed to set the tone but does little material to the entirety of the game. For example, gaming journalism reported extensively on player and industry response to a scene in the video game *Bioshock Infinite* in which the player—in a first-person perspective—is required to be baptized in order to begin the game. One Christian player took offense to this requirement and made public statements attacking the game and also requested a refund. In this case, as in the case of Tiger Woods, the religion journalism appeared in part because of its synergistic tie to the core of the other journalistic specialty.

Gregory Perreault

See also Peace Journalism; Religious News Media

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RELIGIOUS NEWS MEDIA

The first newspaper in British colonial America, *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domes-tick* (1690), assumed a religious point of view. Its purpose, editor Benjamin Harris wrote, was to report news of the day so “That Memorable Occurrences of Divine Providence may not be neglected or forgotten, as they too often are.” Harris, an Anabaptist, set out to produce a newspaper of record, not a religious medium, but he was so steeped in the Protestant culture of New England that he simply assumed the events he reported reflected the providence of God. A report in *Publick Occurrences* about a mourning widower who hanged himself said, “The Devil took advantage.” Another story reported that “Merciful Providence” fed the English colonists who were fighting the French in Canada. American colonies were largely established by men and women who saw the world through the lens of religious faith, so religion was a part of the institutions they created, including the press.

Today’s distinction between unbiased news about religion and news from a religious perspective stems from the 1830s with the development of the first electronic medium of communication, the telegraph. Use of the telegraph during the era of the penny press contributed to the development

of disinterested religion journalism distinct from parochial religious journalism. Indeed, subsequent changes to religious news media also followed the introduction of new electronic media. The rise of the radio and then television broadcasting propelled religious news media towards conservative hermeneutics and politics, and the emergence of the online digital age splintered consumers of religious news media into niches. This entry discusses the history of religious news media in the United States and the state of religious news media in the 21st century.

Print Media

The breach between disinterested reporting about religion and religious journalism began in the 1830s with the development of the penny press. Enterprising newspaper editors, seeking to expand circulation, replaced subsidies with expanded advertising, lowered the price of an individual newspaper to one cent and began selling issues one at a time, and increased timeliness by publishing reports they received by telegraph from far-away places. Telegraphed news was made affordable by sharing costs with newspapers in distant locations regardless of their editorial philosophy, which required telegraphed news to become neutral reports comprised of verifiable facts.

With the development of the penny press, commercial media began to report disinterested news about religion, leaving more interpretive and sectarian reporting to religious publications. Such reporting of religion in James Gordon Bennett’s *New York Herald* outraged competing newspapers and clergy, who campaigned to drive his newspaper out of business. But the so-called Moral War of 1840 failed, and the *New York Herald* and other commercial newspapers continued to publish independent, candid reports about religion to receptive readers.

Ceding control of news to profit-driven enterprises did not come easily to American religious groups. Not only did religious groups become perennial critics of commercial media, but from time to time they operated news operations of their own designed to serve both as models of public interest journalism and as viable alternatives to commercial operations. Their success

varied. Today's daily *Deseret News* was begun in 1850 by Mormon pioneers in Salt Lake City who set out to record their activities for posterity. Similarly, today's *Christian Science Monitor* was begun in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist, who wanted to publish a general interest newspaper that she said would injure nobody but rather bless all humankind, unlike the sensational yellow journalism of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Roman Catholic laypersons began *The Sun Herald* of Kansas City to report the day's news through the perspective of Christian values in 1950, only to fold 2 years later. Another short-lived newspaper, the biweekly *National Courier*, began in 1975 to report the news of the day from an evangelical Christian perspective, but poor management led the publication into bankruptcy after just 2 years.

The controversial founder of the Unification movement, Sun Myung Moon, founded the conservative *Washington Times* in 1982 in order, he said, to tell the world the truth about God. Through his news media company News World Communications, Moon bought the international news agency, UPI, in 2000, and in 2013, *The Washington Times* joined with Herring Broadcasting to start One America News, a politically conservative 24-hour cable television news channel.

Commercial newspapers may have captured an increasingly large part of the market for religion news since the middle of the 19th century, but religious magazines that supplied information and interpretation for the faithful multiplied during this time. Religious magazines have been published in North America since 1743, when *Christian History* began circulating weekly reports of the advancement and resurgence of faith in Great Britain and colonial America. Denominational publishing began in 1789, when Methodist missionaries Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke started the monthly *Arminian Magazine*. In the 19th century, the number of religious magazines grew as immigration increased, the country expanded, denominations proliferated, and audiences segmented. By 1885, more than 650 religious magazines were published in the United States, nearly double the number published at the end of the Civil War.

Religious magazines are still vital today, as attested to by the hundreds of institutional members of religious press associations including the Associated Church Press, the Evangelical Press Association, the Catholic Press Association, and the American Jewish Press Association. Many of these publications are local. In 2019, for instance, Roman Catholics published 34 diocesan magazines and 42 national magazines in the United States. The most influential national religious magazines are *The Christian Century* and *Christianity Today* (Protestant), *America* (Catholic), and *Commentary* (Jewish). Their circulations, however, are small, ranging from a low of 26,000 for the conservative *Commentary*, 36,000 for the progressive *Christian Century*, and 45,000 for liberal *America* to a high of 130,000 for the evangelical *Christianity Today*, a far cry from the millions of readers of commercial magazines such as *Time*, *People*, and *Good Housekeeping*.

Broadcast Media

Religious radio began at the dawn of broadcasting in the 1920s with local ministers preaching on commercial radio stations on Sunday mornings and religious radio stations such as Where Jesus Blesses Thousands in Chicago and KFSG (Four-square Gospel) in Los Angeles featuring evangelists such as Paul Rader and Aimee Semple McPherson. A half century would pass before radio featured Christian News/Talk programming, a format that corresponded with the rise of the religious right after the 1970s.

One of the first religious broadcast news programs was *Christian Perspectives on the News*, which was hosted by Don Cole, the so-called radio pastor for the network of radio stations run by Chicago's Moody Bible Institute from 1971 until 2008. Around this time, evangelical Christian television host Pat Robertson changed his popular daily variety program, *The 700 Club*, into a magazine show that included news and opinion. Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network followed in 1986 with *CBN News Tonight*, a nightly half-hour television program that offered news, features, and Christian commentary. CBN would expand its news programming with the daily newscasts *Faith Nation* and *NewsWatch*, weekly programs such as *Christian World News* and

Jerusalem Dateline, and news analysis programs such as *Faithwire* and *The Global Lane*. CBN News reports both secular and religious news from the perspective of the Christian right.

As Robertson was beginning to expand CBN's news programming, a conservative radio talk-show host from Dallas was starting a Christian news and talk radio network. Founded in 1985 by outspoken evangelical Christian Marlin Maddoux, USA Radio Network eventually supplied round-the-clock programming to 500 radio stations worldwide. Maddoux said that his *Point of View* talk show advanced a biblical worldview and complemented the fairness and balance of USA Radio Network's news stories, which included reports of Christian ministries, the persecution of Christians, and other stories that he believed church people would find interesting. Maddoux died in 2004, but USA Radio Network maintains its conservative Christian character. A recent lineup of USA Radio Network's programs included *Bible's Greatest Heroes*, *Chosen Generation with Pastor Greg Young*, and *USA Christian Internet News*.

The evangelical Christian firebrand Donald Wildmon, who created what would become the American Family Association in Tupelo, Mississippi in 1977, established American Family Radio (AFR) in 1991. With a mission to champion Christian activism, AFR set out to eradicate immorality in American culture by converting unbelievers to true Christian faith and by instituting family values as found in a literal reading of the Bible. AFR paid a staff of 10 journalists and seven technology specialists to supply 24/7 news to 1,200 broadcast, print, and online affiliates in 45 states and 11 foreign countries. The Southern Poverty Law Center listed the American Family Association as a hate group because of the organization's campaigns against LBGTQ rights and Islam.

Christian broadcasting networks have benefited from the repeal of the Federal Communications Commission's fairness doctrine in 1987 and the enactment of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which ended the cap on the number of radio stations any one company could own. The fairness doctrine had required radio stations to broadcast controversial public issues from diverse political perspectives. By far, the religious

broadcasting news operation that capitalized on these two changes the most was the Salem Radio Network (SRN). Begun in 1993, SRN now runs 115 radio stations, mostly in large metropolitan areas, and SRN News is also heard on more than 2,700 affiliates across the nation. SRN News operates out of Washington, DC, boasting on its website of being the only Christian news service using state-of-the-art broadcast facilities with full-time correspondents at the Capitol and the White House.

Online Media

Like their commercial counterparts, religious news media changed with the introduction of the World Wide Web in the 1990s. Online sources for religious information and opinion, including the evangelical online newspaper *The Christian Post* and the online Jewish magazine *Tablet*, proliferated as religious groups and individuals seized the opportunity to communicate news about their faith in new, dynamic ways. Older religious news organizations such as Catholic News Service launched websites, while other websites such as World Religion News sprung up to carry news about multiple religions. An online library and center for blogs, Patheos launched in 2009 as the go-to source for news, information, and dialogue on spirituality and religion, attracting more than 30 million page views by 2015. SRN not only made podcasts of previous newscasts available online but also produced *ChristianHeadlines.com*, a website of news reports, blogs, columns, and slideshows indexed alphabetically from *A Christmas Carol* to YouTube.

Ironically, with all of the channels available in the digital age, providing the public with religious news became increasingly difficult. Part of this difficulty was the nature of the public. Corresponding with the expansion of the World Wide Web was the rise of a population who became known as the nones, Americans who identified with no religious tradition. By 2019, an estimated 26% of Americans were religiously unaffiliated. Although 65% of American adults described themselves as Christian, this was down by 12 percentage points from a decade earlier, according to Pew Research Center. Since the end of the 20th century, secularism has been on the rise.

Social media have also made providing the public with religious news more difficult. Many online media attract more homogeneous populations, which often share stories of interest on social media with like-minded people. In the digital age, media users tend to use media that support the way they see the world, even in the case of online news sites that make their content free to nonsubscribers. Print and broadcast sources increasingly reach older consumers and younger consumers focus on digital media. With the proliferation of blogs, the distinction between information and opinion blurred online and trust in media declined generally. A 2019 survey by the Pew Research Center found that five in 10 Americans reported having little or no confidence in the news media to act in the best interests of the public. Four in 10 said the same about religious leaders. The result, in the early 21st century, is a society divided, among other things, by religion and media use. Using print and various electronic media, religious news providers attempt to impress their point of view onto those they reach, but a growing minority is having none of it.

John P. Ferré

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Fairness Doctrine; Internet: Impact on the Media; Religion Journalism; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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REUTERS

Reuters, an international news agency founded in London in 1851 by German Paul Julius Reuter (1816–1899), first served clients in the city of London and on stock exchanges (bourses) in Europe with financial and commercial services. London newspapers became subscribers beginning in 1858. Throughout its existence, while developing a range of products for the media, Reuters financial and commercial services (and from the 1960s, the computer terminals feeding them) were its main moneymaker. In the later 19th and early 20th centuries, Reuters' growth was linked to the expansion of the British empire.

Reuters differed from other international news agencies (e.g., New York Associated Press; France's Havas agency) in not collecting news from the provinces and limiting its British news collection to the capital, the clearing-house for political, diplomatic, and financial news. Rather, it developed a close, almost symbiotic connection with the leading British domestic agency, the Press Association (founded in 1868), which later became one of its owners.

Acquired by the Thomson Group in 2008 through a "reverse merger" largely engineered by Reuters then-CEO Tom Gloer, a mergers and acquisitions lawyer, the Reuters news agency has undergone a series of corporate changes since its inception. Initially a privately owned family concern, in 1865 it went through the first such change: incorporation. Many changes followed. The most significant occurred in 1984 when the company was floated on the London stock exchange. Its then-owners, in the form of a trust set up in 1941, including London newspaper publishers, profited handsomely. Many employees acquired company shares and monitored the ups and downs of its share price.

This entry details many of these changes as it discusses the services Reuters provides and the various issues with which it contends as an international news agency.

Financial Services

Paul Julius Reuter himself was a businessman who, having failed in previous ventures, saw the immense potential of electric telegraphy for rapid reporting of financial markets worldwide. Before 1858, no newspaper subscribed to the Reuters agency service. Reuters's first subscribers, such as the Rothschild bank, signed on to the service for its coverage of financial and commercial news from Britain and abroad. The agency was founded just as a telegraph link between London and Paris, facilitated by submarine cable between Dover and Calais becoming operational. The London Stock Exchange and the Paris Bourse each learnt before the end of the day's transactions the opening prices of shares, bonds, and commodities, in the other capital. This was the premise of what later would be called trading "in real time"; speedy transmission evolved over decades into instantaneous transmission.

The "follow the cable" policy of Paul Julius Reuter was later transmuted under his successor, Gerald Long (general manager from 1963 to 1981), as real-time reporting of financial markets worldwide. Indeed, the rapid growth of what had become in the 1950s a money-strapped company was accelerated by the company providing the networks and equipment, including computer terminals, used by banks and credit organizations to conduct and conclude "trades."

General News Services

The financial underpinning of the agency sometimes takes second place, in people's perceptions of Reuters, to its coverage of world news. Its service of general news—covering a host of news categories (political, diplomatic, sports, entertainment, crime, human-interest, religion, science)—has been, since the later 19th century, the main reason why it gradually became well-known and prosperous. "Gradually," because as a wholesaler of news, the company generally accepted that it remained in the background: for decades, many newspaper subscribers did not credit the agency as a news source—or did so only when the reliability of a news report was questioned.

As a German (who acquired British nationality in 1857), Reuter gained acceptance in the British elite; he was made a baron in 1871, presented to

Queen Victoria in 1860. Many of his early employees, when the company was still a modest affair, were German; his first news editor, more journalist than Reuter himself, Sigmund Engländer came from Moravia in the Habsburg Empire.

Partly because the expansion of the Reuters network accompanied that of the British Empire in the later 19th century, Reuters' fame was furthered by colonial news. During the Boer War (1899–1902), the news of "the relief of Mafeking," of a besieged British force in a South African township, caused massive celebrations in London and elsewhere. After a 217-day siege (October 1899–May 1900), the news of its relief delivered by Reuters brought the agency valuable publicity.

Reuters had developed a special service covering colonial news, partly financed by the British news agency serving provincial newspapers, the Press Association (PA) and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (NPA). Reuters covered primarily international news and London diplomatic and political news; it had developed close ties with the PA founded in 1868. In this respect, it was unusual among major international news agencies, like Havas in France, Wolff in Germany, and the Associated Press in the United States, all of which had journalists covering domestic and provincial news, as well as, to a certain extent, international news. The PA paid Reuters for its international news service and Reuters paid the PA for British provincial news. The relation between the two grew ever closer; and in 1941, the PA and London national newspapers, the NPA, acquired a stake in Reuters. Reuters and the PA dominated the market for general news in Britain. A British royal press commission noted in 1947, "Reuters is a monopoly as far as foreign news coverage is concerned."

Recurrent Issues

Over the decades, several recurrent issues have haunted the agency: relations with the British government and (less so) other governments; "new" technologies; the nature of the news services and of requirements of its journalists and other staff.

Relations With Governments

A news agency "must live in good intelligence" with the government of the country where it is

headquartered. This remark, made by an employee of the French Havas agency, applied to all international news agencies. A government, the machine or bureaucracy of the state, is an invaluable source of news. At the same time, Reuters did not in any way wish to seem beholden to the British government. Impartiality in news coverage guaranteed professional success: newspaper subscribers of various political persuasions relied on it for factually correct reports (at least correct at the time when transmitted). Reuters tried, and generally succeeded, to reconcile the two. The result was a relatively staid style of news reports.

Engländer, news editor from 1852 to 1875, claimed he was responsible for Reuters's adherence to a factually correct, sober style. Yet even he, on occasion, sought to introduce more "color." In the early 1890s, he urged an international society gossip column. In the 1930s, Rickatson Hatt, an editor who had worked in the United States, encouraged a more vivid style of newsreporting. Yet on sensitive news, such as stories about Wallis Simpson, the American divorcée and intended wife of the then-king, Edward VIII, he told staff not to mention her without his clearance. The tension between factual reporting and "color" was long present. In the 1940s, just after World War II, Reuters both admired and feared the Associated Press's "rocket-star" style.

A factor conducive to an officious reporting style stemmed from what was known as *the news agency alliance*. Initially, Paul Julius Reuter wanted to expand his agency in Germany as well as across the British Empire, implementing his "follow the cable policy." He even funded a cable link between Britain and north Germany (the Norderney Company) to further expansion eastward. But as Prussia led the creation of a united Germany, and Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismarck became Germany's chancellor, Reuters came into conflict with the German government-backed agency, Wolff (later the Continental) where Bismarck's closest financier, Gerson von Bleichröder, held sway.

In the 1850s–1860s, ambitions of the three major European agencies—Reuters, Havas, and Wolff—to each expand beyond the country where they were headquartered ended when each, reluctantly, decided it was better to confirm their respective dominance of their "home" market by

sharing "the rest of the world" between them. They agreed not to sell their service in the markets or "territory" (the contractual term) of their allied agencies; they relied primarily on the relevant allied agency for the news coverage of its territory, while remaining free to send their own reporters there.

This news agency alliance, fashioned in 1859, strengthened subsequently, as many national agencies were founded and joined the alliance, which held by and large for 70 years. But many such agencies were government-controlled: their coverage of their territory relayed primarily official news. Reuters often protested that allied agencies favored such news, sometimes supplemented by extracts from the press of the relevant territory, itself often mostly state-controlled. In a Europe of nascent power blocs, led by the Triple Alliance dominated by Bismarck's Germany, along with the Habsburg Empire and Italy, in the late 1880s, Reuters feared it might have to choose between their agencies and Havas.

Such nationalist pressures culminated with the outbreak of World War I. This threatened to end the news-agency alliance: the German agency promoted German news and interests, as did Havas the French; Reuters, not wanting to appear a tool of the British government nonetheless "rallied around the flag," in an ambiguous manner. An ambiguity epitomized by Roderick Jones, Reuters chief executive from 1915 to 1941 and very much a pillar of the British establishment and empire, taking a post with the British propaganda machine. In a period of censorship, agency star reporters were not allowed access to the front line. Reuters archivist, John Entwisle, noted that British advances were reported, but German advances, which were sometimes greater, were not.

News-editorial independence from the government was frequently trumpeted. Reuters' credibility depended on this. The state often helped otherwise, by offsetting transmission costs, for instance.

Technology

The advent of a new communications technology periodically challenged Reuters. It was slow to adapt to the advent of the telephone in the 1870s and 1880s. Wireless radio transmission was

used early by the agency, but in the 1930s, it feared BBC international transmission might compromise its telegraph and radio transmissions across the Empire.

It was better positioned when the computer age dawned. Indeed, much of its late 20th-century prosperity stemmed from its research and development investments in computer-fed screen services for the financial and business community of traders and banks; these in effect generated the revenue for the agency to also develop a range of news services for governments and the media. There was even a time, in the 1970s, when Reuters computer networks and terminals were used by traders, bankers, and others to both get the latest stock price news and conclude trades (for a fee) via its network. The halcyon years ended with the rise of Bloomberg, with its more user-friendly terminal, in the 1980s. Bloomberg had better access to a range of U.S. financial instruments, an ever-growing importance as globalization progressed. Furthermore, under Peter Job, chief executive from 1991 to 2001, and its then board of directors, Reuters was seen as having delayed in adapting to the Internet.

Nature of the News Service

In the 1950s, Reuters was considered a low-profile company starved of cash by the British press. The vast revenue it subsequently generated was due largely to the renewal of its commercial services, piloted initially by its Comtelburo service, whose staff was often disparaged by agency newsmen. Feeds of commercial and financial news to clients worldwide underpinned the agency's recovery.

How truly international was the agency's coverage over the years? The British empire long loomed large; the importance of the United States grew and grew: for the allied news agencies, Reuters was the contact agency with the U.S. ally, the Associated Press. World Wars both stressed the importance of international coverage and increased the difficulty in separating news from propaganda. Subsequent conflicts involving Britain—the Suez invasion in 1956 and the Falkland crisis in 1982—saw Reuters successfully demonstrating its independence of the British government.

Staff

Reuters archives show that in 1936 it had over 1,000 full-time employees, 676 correspondents abroad, and news-exchange agreements with many national agencies. Agency bureaus abroad both covered local news and sold agency services to local clients. In December 2006, Reuters employed 2,400 journalists operating in 196 news bureaus in about 130 countries (in a world of some 200 countries). Correspondents might cover several countries from a regional base; some traveled widely as “firefighters” in a news “hotspot.” In other hotspots, local reporters were employed. For instance, in Afghanistan, Reuters' local Afghan reporter Sayed Saluhaddin reported the fall of the Taliban regime and U.S. bombs on Kabul in the pursuit of Osama bin Laden after the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Reuters, like other international news organizations, has a long roll call of correspondents killed while doing their job. Kurt Schork (1947–2000), its American reporter who covered the wars in former Yugoslavia, was hunted by Serb forces and killed in Sierra Leone in 2000. An indication of the importance of human interest color, his story about the killing of two young lovers, a Serb boy and a Moslem Bosnian girl, with its shades of Romeo and Juliet locked in a mortal embrace, was the piece often consulted in the weeks following his death.

In November 2001, two Reuters' men were killed in Afghanistan and the Taliban once arrested Saluhaddin as a spy. Like many other journalists, Saluhaddin produced for a multimedia environment. He preferred TV film shots and still photos to filing text “copy.” Decades earlier, most Reuters' journalists filed only text. The diversification of the news product, stretching back to photo and radio, intensified in recent decades. “Show not tell” was a frequent Reuters instruction in the early 1990; the agency then increased its worldwide TV reporting presence. In the early 2000s, a Reuters news editor, sitting in on confidential international finance meeting, tweeted news developments to his staff outside.

Since the Reuters Company acquisition by Thomson in 2008, via the Thomson family's private holding company Woodbridge, the agency is

one of the best-known assets of the Thomson-Reuters group.

Michael Palmer

See also Agence France-Presse; Associated Press; Havas

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RISK AND NEWS

The number of impactful news stories to which people are exposed influences their perceptions of risk. The rise of social media and the instantaneous transmission in multiple formats (especially by audiovisual means) of news stories on terrorism, health crises, climate emergencies, and the rise of the extreme right fit into the paradigm of the risk society theorized by German sociologist Ulrich Beck. Most especially, the emergence of newer risks means that the decisions faced by humanity involve novel problems and hazards that contradict the institutional language of control.

Globalization contributes to a growing complexity and interdependence of both local and global interactions, which, in turn, increases the probability of unforeseeable crises such as that caused by COVID-19. A 2002 book by David Altheide that contextualizes the nature and use of the word *fear* in U.S. media concludes that most industrialized societies have developed toward the risk society paradigm, organized around communications oriented to police surveillance, control, and prevention. In addition, the vocabulary of fear is central to certain forms of media that rely on this to make an impact. In this context, journalism and the mass media play a crucial role. The mass media multiply our collective information on dangers, insecurities, uncertainties, or fears through stories that are instantly disseminated worldwide, yet their intervention is considered essential to risk coverage. As pointed

out by Bakir (2010), the media (a) provide knowledge that informs citizens, (b) modulate the public acceptability of different risks, (c) motivate the public to act responsibly, and (d) provide meaning frames for risks. This entry discusses the reporting of risks in the mass media, ways of reporting responsibility, and how new forms of media offer new ways of communicating about crisis situations.

Risks of Interest

Journalistic mediation is crucial to risk coverage. Public opinion in the face of significant risks needs to be addressed, as readers and viewers need help when deciding whether to buy a certain food, use a certain means of transportation, or remain at home as ways of limiting risk. This rationalization process forces the media to extract multiple interpretations and draw on a wide range of information sources. Individuals take into account the amount of information available when assessing risks.

The social responsibility of the informant and the media is crucial in the choice of linguistic resources used in situations of risk. Misuse of an expression may be involuntary but may also mask the express intention of the media or the informant to magnify, exaggerate, or minimize an event. The journalist's responsibility in a risk society is not just to report rigorously and responsibly but also to combat inaccurate and fake news.

The transformation brought about by social media, which allow the exchange of unverified information, renders journalists even more responsible for the dissemination of accurate information on risks and catastrophes. At the same time, however, the interest aroused by tragedies leads to contradictory feelings in information professionals who face complex challenges in the exercise of their profession. The essential problem when reporting risk is that the concept is abstract and invisible until it is manifested in a specific accident or disaster.

In disaster coverage, information rights, professional ethics, and victims' rights to their honor, integrity, and image converge. The journalistic interest stems from the interest of the public that consumes the information. Based on sociological, psychoanalytic, and cognitive arguments, Van Dijk (1988) argues that the public appreciates

learning about catastrophic events out of a sense of satisfaction at not being affected by the event themselves. Negative news, however, can also cover information on prevention or services for the public. In other words, tragic news is a form of simulating possible incidents that we ourselves may experience in the future.

Reporting Responsibly

Journalism in the face of risk can apply four basic precepts to help improve media coverage: (1) avoid fearmongering, (2) avoid politicizing information, (3) facilitate forums for cooperation and debate, and (4) historically contextualize the emergency.

One of the most important issues in reporting news about risk is to avoid fearmongering, that is, fostering a sensation of alarm. It is important to carefully choose words and to avoid the kind of language that only generates fear. In the first moments of an emergency, it is recommended to avoid the temptation to politicize the situation and point the finger of blame, whether at an actor (government body, company, and emergency manager), a behavior, or a fact.

Part of the journalist's responsibility is to report on all aspects of the risk or crisis and also to facilitate cooperation, that is, to help the public by publishing contact details for help of all kinds, including administrative/governmental, psychological, and economic assistance. News organizations also need to indicate ways that the public can contact them with information that journalists can verify for dissemination.

It can be a good practice to present emergency news in comparative terms with other similar events. Recalling other historical moments and events contextualizes a situation in terms of other moments of crisis, allowing the public to grasp the real magnitude of an event and therefore reducing the potential for alarmism.

Reporting on emergency situations requires that the facts be explained in detail and that some essential questions be answered: When did the event happen, where did it happen, what happened, what is the risk? To the extent possible, early coverage of an emergency needs to discuss who or what may be responsible for the situation, provide a chronological account that can help members of the public better understand and process information, and

include contact information for bodies in charge of managing aspects of the emergency as well as non-governmental organizations, associations, companies, and banks where economic and material contributions can be made to alleviate the consequences of the disaster. It is also important to disseminate crucial information for those coping with the emergency, such as on where to take refuge and how to obtain supplies such as food, blankets, and water. Information provided in an emergency should include links to online resources that can provide additional detailed, quality information on the event, its causes, and its consequences.

Graphic information should include good maps of risk areas, which should be relative to the territorial scope of the media. Comparative statistics that relate the event to previously experienced similar situations can put scope of the event in perspective. Other aspects of the presentation that should be considered are providing images of the situation and what wording to use to indicate when new or crucial information is being reported. Some news organizations tend to dramatize emergency situations with shocking images or banner headlines, but a more measured approach may help avoid provoking alarmism.

New Media, New Opportunities

Social media can be useful in crisis situations thanks to their immediacy and the ability for users to collaborate in communicating information. With the emergence of social media, the emission of messages in situations of risk is no longer exclusive to public bodies and the media, as citizens can now actively participate in the propagation of content in an emergency. With social media, citizens are direct participants, providing information and freely giving their opinion. Multiple studies support the use of Twitter in emergency situations for efficient information transmission. Watson, Finn, and Wadhwa (2017), for instance, assert that big data produced in social media platforms can have a positive impact on both the management and the prevention of emergencies. However, a 2016 study by Eriksson and Olsson found a mismatch between how citizens and crisis communications professionals used Facebook and Twitter, indicating that if public agencies rely on social media at times of crisis, it could interfere with the public receiving crucial information. Since the emergence of Web 2.0, when a crisis

occurs, media newsrooms call on citizens to participate and contribute comments, images, and even videos. This participation, if the information is verified, has been shown to make a substantial contribution to news stories that complement reporting by professional journalists.

Carles Pont-Sorribes

See also Citizen Journalism; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; News Values; Social Media; Terrorism, Coverage of

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RT AND SPUTNIK

Sputnik and RT are state-funded Russian media outlets usually described as propaganda outlets controlled by their government to improve its image, especially that of President Vladimir Putin. Both Sputnik and RT maintain websites, but RT is a television-based operation with a web presence. This entry describes the history and growth of both operations, and how they figured into investigations of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.

Sputnik

The Sputnik name may appear familiar to many people who grew up during the Cold War. It was the name for the first satellite launched to orbit Earth, and Sputnik effectively began the space race in 1957. As a symbol of success and past Soviet glory, the name was given new life as a Russian news agency, website, and radio service.

Prior to the start of Sputnik in 2014, RIA Novosti functioned as a comparatively well-regarded news agency. As RIA Novosti dissolved in 2013, Sputnik emerged and rose in importance. Operating under Rossiya Segodnya as a subsidiary, Sputnik has resembled the old Soviet Union propaganda efforts rather than the more professional

TASS and RIA Novosti. Sputnik presents itself as an alternative source of news, while attempting to undermine public trust in established sources of news reporting. This lends support to Russian intelligence operations of disinformation that tend to be cost efficient and benefit from those who spread lies framed as alternative facts.

One of Sputnik's more notable disinformation campaigns was pushing false claim that Seth Rich, a staff member of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) who was murdered in 2016, was involved in leaking DNC emails during the 2016 presidential campaign, fueling conspiracy theories about his murder. Russian intelligence used Sputnik to encourage others to believe that Rich was responsible for providing emails to WikiLeaks, despite U.S. intelligence agencies' conclusion that Russian intelligence officers hacked and leaked the emails.

Sputnik's Internet orientation gives it an advantage over traditional news production outlets. It has operated in 30 cities around the world producing content in as many languages. This orientation enables it to provide significant coverage to politicians in various countries who support Russia, or to politicians who challenge their own countries' ways of doing things on issues such as health care, education, or immigration. These political outliers have their views presented, often without a counter or mainstream perspective. Sputnik has not been successful in every location, however, as some Scandinavian sites did not survive more than a year or so. In some cases, governments have taken action against Sputnik. Lithuania, in 2019, decided that Sputnik should be banned for violating its copyright law. That same year, the United Kingdom Foreign Office would not issue press credentials for Sputnik and RT to attend a media freedom conference because of their efforts to spread disinformation. In contrast, Sputnik has been more successful with its local sites in the Balkans, such as in Serbia. Sputnik may be more influential than RT because of these local sites being freely available and appearing familiar because of their native Internet style.

RT

The name RT is based on the television outlet's original name, Russia Today. It was established in

2005 to serve as an information weapon for the Russian government and as an expression of Putin's propaganda strategy. RT's content has shifted as the Russian economy and international politics have necessitated revised alliances with individuals and governments.

Putin attempted, and largely succeeded in, centralizing money, power, and an authoritative image. As part of this process, Putin eliminated as much competition as possible. He pushed out the oligarchs who had their hands on the independent television stations so his government could oversee the stations. The stations' managers began meeting with Putin's handpicked political planner to learn what would be covered and how the news would be presented. Putin saw television as a way to craft the views he wanted the public to hold.

Russia Today's birth was announced by Margarita Simonyan, a young journalist from Southern Russia near Georgia. Simonyan quickly moved up the ranks in Russian media from working as a television correspondent to head of the new Russia Today, by demonstrating loyalty to Putin as a member of the Kremlin press pool. The key to success was not challenging Putin during interviews. Russia Today was established as a nonprofit entity working out of the RIA Novosti headquarters. Its motto is "Question More." Simonyan has taken the position that the United States is not a democracy nor a lecturing role model for other nations. To question more is to question Western narratives.

The presentation style looked conventional from the start, at least on the surface. A 1-hour broadcast began with news reporting then the final 30 minutes sharing lighter topics such as features and sports. Satellite broadcasts could reach the United States and Europe. Staffers tended to be inexperienced journalists, and Russia Today appeared to prefer those who spoke English as natives—often with native British accents.

Initially, the Russia Today programming reflected the rationale for its government's operations. Putin's growing strength coincided with an economic success based on oil prices. Russia Today began when these oil prices were boosting Putin's popularity. But as the oil business worsened, Russia Today changed as part of Putin's strategy to maintain control in times of chaos. Over time, the message has been that Putin was

making Russia wealthy, that only Putin could stabilize Russia when times were bad, and other countries were in worse shape than Russia.

Russia Today would rebrand as RT for an international audience to make its association with Russia less visible. It is difficult to estimate the size of RT's television or Internet audience. Throughout its periods of different names and mediums, RT has embraced radicals and critics of Western governments, from noted American linguist Noam Chomsky to WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange and Brexit promoter Nigel Farage. It has even hosted those who espouse Holocaust denial or neo-Nazism or who claim the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, were an American operation.

RT prided itself on its London office's view of the British Security Service (MI-5) and proximity to Secret Intelligence Service (MI-6), respectively the internal security agency and international intelligence agency of the United Kingdom. It has also been one of the most vocal mouthpieces for the Russian government regarding its invasion of Georgia and Ukraine. Despite evidence to the contrary, RT pushed the false narratives that the conflicts were simply the product of ethnic Russians (so-called separatists) protecting their heritage and claiming their territories for Russia. In one case, RT edited an interview with a Ukrainian rabbi in Crimea to make it sound like he was leaving because of anti-Semitism, rather than the real cause of Russian-originated conflict.

RT has received attention for signing American television personalities past their height of popularity. RT contracted to run two independently produced Larry King programs after his CNN show ended in 2010, while Ed Schultz joined RT as an anchor in 2016. Aspiring journalists have taken jobs at RT, resulting in some vocal departures. One American, Liz Wahl, resigned while on the air in 2014, and has since run for Congress on a platform challenging Russian propaganda and Putin's politics.

Russian Interference Investigations

Because of the prominent attention paid to Russian disinformation efforts during the 2016 election campaigns and the U.S. Department of Justice's Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In the 2016 Presidential Election (nicknamed the Mueller report), RT and involved

entities had to register with the Justice Department under the Foreign Agent Registration Act. Upset at the move, Russia placed new limitations on American media operations.

The entity behind RT's American production, T&R Productions, registered as an agency, and T&R identified ANO TV-Novosti as the foreign principal. T&R reported it had editorial control of RT's programming. Russia stated such registration was unnecessary because its outlets were similar to the unregistered British Broadcasting Corporation and France 24.

Another result from the Mueller report and journalistic investigations was Twitter's banning of Sputnik and RT from advertising on its platform, although both would be allowed to keep their nonadvertising accounts. In response, RT accused Twitter of applying heavy sales pressure on RT to advertise.

Michael Flynn, who briefly served as President Donald Trump's national security advisor in 2017, became embroiled in controversy for his associations with Russia, including his prior acceptance of tens of thousands of dollars to speak at RT's 10th anniversary event and sit with Putin. Both Sputnik and RT were accused by the U.S. Department of National Intelligence of promoting Trump's candidacy in 2016 and framing American news coverage as biased against Trump, all part of Russia's intelligence campaign. RT ran propaganda associating Trump's opponent Hillary Clinton with ISIS funding and illegal use of charity funds.

Timothy Roy Gleason

See also Europe; Fake News; Press and Government Relations; Propaganda; Russian Federation; TASS and Russian News Agencies; WikiLeaks

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RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Russian Federation, commonly referred to as *Russia*, is a country in Eastern Europe that was the core member of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, also known as the *USSR* and *Soviet Union*. It was an ally of the United States and Great Britain during World War II, but its aim of spreading forced socialism put it in opposition to its former allies. It employs propaganda as a governmental tool. It is one of the most dangerous places for journalists to operate. The government has established numerous laws prohibiting freedom of expression.

The Russian Federation is the product of its history as a monarchy and socialist state, resulting in an environment where the press has been controlled by the government in power. The governance and oppression of monarchal and socialist eras continue to shape how the Russian Federation applies formal control over, or pressure on, the news media. The Soviet era and the current Russian Federation share a tendency to view the source of its problems as coming from the West, especially the United States. The Russian media have reproduced this view in concert with the government. This entry discusses the history of the Russian Federation, its news organizations and propaganda outlets, formal controls on the country's press, and dangers facing the country's journalists and news organizations.

Monarchy

Monarchies are not democratic institutions. They are established through maximizing power over time, and monarchs attempt to pass control down through generations of the same family. In those places where the monarchy controls the

government, the press does not have freedom of expression.

The first Russian tsar, also spelled czar in English, was Ivan IV, who ruled between 1533 and 1584. *Tsar* came from the word *caesar* and was used to mean emperor in Russia. The Romanov family came to power in 1613, and they would rule Russia until the revolution of 1917. Tsar Nicholas II, the last tsar, made a contribution to Russian and future Soviet news when he ordered the merger of two news agencies into the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency, which dealt with economic and political news. Tsar Nicholas II could not have expected his effort would assist his enemy. An oppressive monarchal government was replaced by a new form of oppression that would take over the tsarist media and significantly increase the use of the media to help govern citizens.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Russian Revolution of 1917 led to a competition for power among different socialist groups and wealthy elites that was ultimately won by one of the socialist groups, the Bolsheviks. The leader of the Bolsheviks, meaning the majority, was Vladimir Lenin. The Bolsheviks were the most radical revolutionaries, and Lenin was the most radical of the radicals. Lenin rose to power and believed Russia was at the front of a global revolution of the proletariat—the working class. He saw the value of newspapers and used printing for propaganda. The St. Petersburg agency was taken over and renamed Petrograd as a rejection of the past. Russians in news and politics felt that Western Europe had a cartel over news distribution, and both the new Soviets and World War I were breaking that cartel.

After Lenin died, Joseph Stalin formally took power in 1924. Stalin, born as Iosep Jughashvili, worked to expand the new Soviet empire. Stalin saw the potential of the media as a tool of propaganda. The Soviet people were constantly exposed to propaganda in news and entertainment. The Soviets rejected the American and Western European models of watchdog journalism. The newspaper *Pravda*, established in 1918 and meaning “truth,” was the most famous Soviet newspaper to Westerners and was actually the organ of

the Communist Party. Soviet journalism was about promoting the Soviet ideology and maintaining power, such as *Za Stalina!* (For Stalin!). Newspaper stories, photographs, and films were often aimed to motivate people to work harder to meet the government's goals and then to celebrate those who accomplished it.

Several leaders followed Stalin, and what also followed was a process of de-Stalinization. This process included reorienting journalists for the purpose of rejecting some of Stalin's practices and policies, and which led to a more dynamic style of reporting. The press was to be less of a tool for persuasion and more of a historian of the Soviet Union for the public and proponent of the state. Journalists had to increasingly face the reality that Soviets were illicitly exposed to foreign news that would question the so-called reality of Soviet news. Furthermore, in the 1970s, the Soviet press recognized that Western news was becoming more energetic with images and sounds, and they were behind the West in many ways. This was the era Russian President Vladimir Putin grew up in, and which would influence his work as a Soviet spy and politician.

The final Soviet head of government was Mikhail Gorbachev, who took charge in 1985 and had a media-friendly persona in the West. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost brought some openness of ideas, and the policy of perestroika was a movement toward a marketplace economy. Glasnost was Gorbachev's effort to allow Russians to examine their own history, albeit within a scope allowed by the government. Unfortunately, the social history was one of mass poverty, food and other shortages, a lack of democracy, and a sense of fatalism. This was one of the rare moments in Soviet history when journalists could publicly question authorities, albeit minimally, without significant retaliation. Gorbachev's circle tried to shift the direction of Soviet journalism by engaging with two publications, the *Ogonek* and *Moskovskie Novosti*, to lead the way, and trying to change the leadership of *Izvestiya*.

The New Russian Federation

The Russian Federation is the name for the Russian state after the Soviet Union dissolved. While the Russian state existed throughout the 1900s

within the Soviet Union, the power and soul of the union was in Russia. In December 1991, Gorbachev announced the Soviet Union had ended after all but one of the other Soviet republics officially left the Union. Gorbachev introduced reforms to save the Soviet Union, but they could not undo decades of oppression and the observation that the Western nations were prospering in comparison.

Gorbachev survived a 1991 coup attempt by important members of the Communist Party who did not like the country's reformist direction. Boris Yeltsin, a Gorbachev ally who thought the reforms were moving too slowly, stood on a tank outside of Parliament rallying support for Gorbachev and reforms in front of the public and media cameras for the world to see—something that would not have been visible in the Soviet era. The attempted coup lasted 3 days, but Gorbachev's presidential career was slated to end anyway. Gorbachev turned the country over to Yeltsin after he won the presidential election. For the new leader, press control was a function of necessity. A 1993 failed coup attempt led President Yeltsin to censor more than a dozen newspapers and a television show, a reminder of the Soviet oppression of freedom of expression. Yeltsin tried to increase his popularity through light media coverage, such as dancing onstage at a rock concert, but aging, former Soviet politicians were not experienced in promoting themselves through Western-style media events. Yeltsin named former spy Putin, who was versed in disinformation and media imaging, his prime minister.

The opening of the Russian economy ignited a race to profit from the move from communism to capitalism, including media ownership. The fall of communism meant government-owned enterprises would have to be privatized, but there were not adequate controls to prevent corruption. The chances of buying a state entity for privatization—including media operations—could depend on a potential buyer's support of the leadership.

The newly independent, or quasi-independent, outlets had to adjust to new business practices. For example, *Izvestiya*, a newspaper sometimes translated as *Izvestia* and *Izvestiia*, had been a reliable Soviet mouthpiece, but in 1991 it declared it was free of Soviet oversight. The paper, like others, previously survived because the Communist Party

provided important funding. After a ban against *Izvestiya* failed to be effective, the Communist Party hurt the newspaper by pulling funding.

Russia applies a variety of tools to try to prevent former Soviet republics and allied countries from developing formal relationships with Western Europe. Russia has used military force, traditional media, and social media to create conflict in other countries and encourage foreign loyalty to Russia, with disinformation being the most cost-effective weapon.

Russia's counter-Western European efforts include anti-European Union efforts, as well as opposing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The former includes providing media exposure to politicians and parties calling for the break-up of the European Union, such as the Brexit effort in the United Kingdom and the radical right wing in France. Nigel Farage, a right-wing populist who was among the loudest proponents of Brexit, appeared on the state-funded RT television network multiple times.

Putinization of Television

Putin, who has served as prime minister or president since 1999, has a reputation for appreciating the power of television. Putin realized that television news was the way to reach the public, largely because of the war with Chechnya, the Chechen Republic.

Yeltsin did not want Chechnya to break away and force was used to keep it part of the Russian Federation. As the war worsened, so did Yeltsin's prospects for reelection. Television is especially important because that is how Russians tend to get their national and political news. Television could not improve military tactics, but it could improve the public's perception of the war.

Putin envisioned remodeling the new, quasi-capitalist television to something closer to the Soviet experience. Russian entertainment television would not be that entertaining, but the news would fit the propaganda model of Lenin's journalism. An authoritarian approach, such as Putin's, is one of maintenance much more than change because an authoritarian government tries to keep its power in place.

To counter a return to centralized television, California-based Internews, a nonprofit, opened a

Moscow office in 1992. It established a network of private television outlets of more than 100 outlets with a combined audience of more than 100 million people by 1996, called the *Independent Broadcasting System*. Internews provided equipment and training throughout the former Soviet Union, such as in Belarus and Ukraine, as well as in the new Russia. The Russian government pressured journalists to follow its preferred framing of the war with Chechnya, but Internews-trained journalists were some of the notable resisters to the government.

Internews also created programming, such as *Vremya Mestnoe* and *Esli*. *Vremya Mestnoe* stood out for compiling reports from outlets into a broadcast. *Esli* was created as a transitional series that explained the legal issues and process after the fall of the socialist system. The Educated Media Foundation took over the operations of Internews Russia through a merger near the end of 2006. The next year, the Russian government tried to shut down its operations.

By 1999, the beginning of the Putin era, there were four important television networks based in Moscow: NTV, ORT, RTR, and TV-6. NTV had the largest viewership and was owned by Vladimir Gusinsky, who established MOST, a bank that loaned money to new businesses.

ORT (Russian Public Television) had a mix of private investors and state ownership. It has been common in Russia for investors to have ties to high-level government officials. At ORT, Boris Berczovsky was an investor and one of Yeltsin's closest friends, who quickly became wealthy as the owner of a car dealership. ORT became known as *Channel One*.

RTR (Russian State Television) is known as *Channel 2*. Despite its reach, it was not the most popular. Lastly, TV-6 became the first commercial television station established.

Without an established journalistic routine in television news, some stations experimented to get viewers. One Moscow station, M1, had naked women read the news on the program *Golaya Pravda*, or "The Naked Truth."

In recent years, three channels have dominated Russia as the landscape of television has changed under Putin. Channel One and Russia One are outright owned by the government and serve as propaganda outlets. Another is NTV, which is a

property of Gazprom, the government-controlled energy firm, and hardly an independent voice in contemporary Russia. Tricolor is the leading satellite business.

Gazprom's takeover of NTV exemplifies the problems of conducting business and doing journalism in Russia. Unlike others who bought former Soviet operations, Gusinsky started comparatively from scratch. His support for a struggling Yeltsin—after his NTV critically reported on Yeltsin's poor performance on Chechnya—enabled Gusinsky to acquire Channel 4. Gusinsky invested in expansion, which hurt him when the economy crashed in 1998. An investment group led by American Ted Turner, the founder of CNN and TBS in the United States, wanted to invest in Gusinsky's NTV, as long as the Russian government would guarantee it would not interfere in its operation.

Gusinsky made enemies during his climb as a would-be media mogul. Gusinsky wanted to purchase a telecommunications company at the time government officials decided bids would have to be made in order to complete a sale. After losing his bid, Gusinsky used his media to attack those officials. NTV became the powerful, dissenting voice on TV when the war with Chechnya was restarted in 1999. This upset the Russian prime minister at the time, Putin, who would go onto the higher position of president.

To raise funds, Gusinsky made a deal with Gazprom. This would lead to his downfall. In 2000, now-President Putin had police raid his media office, and then arrested Gusinsky to force him to sign away his controlling interest in his media empire, Media Most, for his freedom. Media Most controlled NTV, Seven Days publishing firm, *Itogi* magazine, and Ekho Moskvy radio. A business that was valued at more than \$1 billion before the economic crash and renowned for quality and independence in Russia, became part of the Putin-oligarchy control. In 2004, the European Court of Human Rights determined Russia had violated Gusinsky's rights.

Newspapers and Propaganda

While television is the dominant source of news and entertainment in Russia, newspapers are still active but vary in their role as propaganda tools.

As of 2017, there were more than 400 daily newspapers serving Russia, typically aligned with government policy. Newspapers and their websites have the opportunity to play a more journalistic role than radio in Russia, where FM music is popular.

Putin and the government have supported various news outlets that can serve as propaganda outlets for foreign audiences. One is *Russia Beyond*, an advertising supplement for Western publications. *Russia Beyond* began in 2007 as *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, a publication printed in different languages and run by the Russian-government newspaper the *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. At one point, readers of *The Washington Post* website could read *Russia Beyond the Headlines* on the *Post* website via a dedicated section. It also developed its own mobile app for online readers, and has accounts on various social media channels. Social media has been used to soften Putin's image, such as by promoting a video of Putin's four best jokes. By 2016, it came under the control of TV-Novosti. The next year, 2017, *Russia Beyond the Headlines* was shortened to just *Russia Beyond*. It has run as a supplement in a variety of newspapers, such as *The New York Times* and London's *Daily Telegraph*.

Izvestiya, meaning the news, is the most prominent Russian newspaper, and also a supporter of the Putin government. Gazprom took control of the newspaper during the Putin-Gusinsky affair, but sold its majority ownership to the SOGAZ insurance company in 2008. The sale occurred during Putin's second stint as prime minister. SOGAZ was controlled by the Bank Rossiya (Bank of Russia) and its head, Yuri Kovalchuk, frequently described as Putin's banker. Bank Rossiya figures prominently in the Panama Papers and investigations into how Putin and his inner circle became profoundly wealthy.

Prominent newspapers include *Kommersant*, *RBK*, and *Vedomosti*. They received attention in the West for publishing the same editorial and similar front pages in support of a journalist, working for an independent website, who was held prisoner by the Russian government. The site, Meduza, is based in Latvia in order to operate, but it covers Russia by Russians. *Kommersant* is a business newspaper owned by a Putin ally, and its reputation took a hit when two respected

journalists were forced to resign and several of their colleagues resigned in protest.

Formal Controls

A variety of formal controls have been placed on the press and nongovernmental organizations in order to limit reporting on Putin, the government, and oligarchs.

The Russian Federation followed the Soviet tradition of strictly limiting demonstrations. While the Russian Federation does not prohibit all demonstrations, it tightly controls the required permits to demonstrate. This power enables the Russian government to refuse permission to any kind of demonstration it does not want, and it can arrest demonstrators without a permit for holding a demonstration that is illegal under Russian law.

One of the ways Putin restricted reporting was creating laws against nongovernmental groups. In 2006, Putin made such a move that included press organizations. The action was met with international discomfort because it empowered Putin to shut down organizations for flimsy reasons. There have been numerous more laws restricting freedom of expression.

Protests in 2012 led to a foreign agent law targeting nongovernmental groups. Putin believed, or at least stated, that outsiders were responsible for stirring up trouble in Russia, including protests. This is one of the reasons why Putin and Russian intelligence opposed Hillary Clinton in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, because Putin thought Clinton had created dissent when she was U.S. secretary of state by criticizing the Russian election process and results. As of 2012, the Russian government can block websites without a court order.

In 2013, a law was established to ban gay “propaganda,” limiting communications on gay relationships and LGBT rights. The United Nations feared the law would worsen homophobia and other biases in Russia. The same year, Russia made it illegal to hurt someone’s feelings regarding religion, but the law is so vague that it enables the government to punish critics of the state-aligned Russian Orthodox Church, which has a history of favoring autocrats. Also, in 2013, the Lugovi Law was put in place to block online access to sites that are the sources of information

on unsanctioned mass actions, such as protests. A criminal code also made it illegal to call for territorial separation from the Russian Federation.

A 2014 law forced bloggers with at least 3,000 daily unique visitors to register with the government. Bloggers became legally responsible not just for their own content, but for comments posted on their sites. Another law prohibits supporting Nazism and giving false information about Soviet activities during World War II. The law has been criticized for being vague, and could be used against people reporting atrocities committed by the Soviets.

Laws in 2014 and 2015 limited the foreign ownership of a media company to 20%. Those non-Russian owners who had more than 20% control had to either sell off part or all of their shares to buyers who knew the foreign owners had to sell or close.

A 2016 law targeted news aggregators by requiring them and search engines to remove information the government deemed not truthful. Also as part of counter-terrorism laws, the government prohibited communication online that would justify terrorist acts.

In December 2019, Putin signed a law that identifies journalists and bloggers working with foreigners as “foreign agents” themselves. A journalist or blogger is considered a foreign agent for reporting for the foreign media or distributing foreign news. The law followed massive street protests in the summer of 2019.

Threats and Attacks

Russia is a dangerous place for journalists to operate. In 2006, *Novaya Gazeta* reporter Anna Politkovskaya, who was known for her critical coverage of the Chechen war, was assassinated in Moscow and her killing has become symbolic of the dangers facing journalists. As of 2014, six men had been found guilty of participating in a conspiracy to kill her, but the person(s) who ordered the assassination remained safe. Politkovskaya’s story resonates with journalists because she was twice poisoned and even tortured, yet she remained a committed investigator until her death.

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reports 38 journalists were killed in Russia between 1992 and 2019 because of their work.

The CPJ could not confirm that another 24 were killed because of their journalism. Twenty more are believed to have been killed while covering news. For 2019, CPI ranked Russia as the 11th-worst country for the prosecution of cases involving murdered journalists.

Because of these dangers, the number of news outlets willing to take on Putin and his government is small. *Novaya Gazeta* remains a critical and independent voice, and is joined by radio's Ekho Moskvyy and Dozhd TV. Some Russian journalists decided that the threats they received could have led to violence and decided to leave. Ekho Moskvyy's Karina Orlova, for example, left Russia for the United States because of threats from Chechens after a cohosted show about a murderous attack on the staff at *Charlie Hebdo*, a French magazine. Another Ekho journalist, Ksenia Larina, went to Europe after a colleague, Tatyana Felgen-gauer, survived being stabbed multiple times in her throat while working at the Ekho office. Russian television outlets run by the state have loudly criticized journalists like Felgengauer.

The dangers facing journalists extend to non-governmental, human rights activists like Natalia Estemirova, who is believed to have been killed in 2009 by Chechens aligned with the Russian government. Putin's Russia has tried to limit or prevent the activities of nongovernmental groups acting in different roles, such as watchdogs of the government and promoters of democracy. One way to do this is to threaten and attack the activists, like Estemirova, and another is to place legal restraints on those that accept foreign money.

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See also Europe; Press and Government Relations; Propaganda; RT and Sputnik; TASS and Russian News Agencies

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S

SATELLITE NEWSGATHERING

Satellite newsgathering (SNG) is the transmission of video or sound news reports using communication satellites. SNG allows real-time electronic media reporting from far distant locations. Its use has helped reduce the one-time divide between local and national reporting.

Contemporary uses of SNG can include deployment of a Digital Satellite News Gathering van, which can be mobilized practically anywhere. The van beams signals to a geostationary satellite and the van, and between the satellite and a control room run by a broadcast station or network with advanced systems using internet protocol. Broadcast engineers are currently working on designs for remotely controlled, robotic DSNG vehicles that can be teleoperated in hostile environments such as battle zones, deep space missions, and undersea explorations without endangering the lives of human operators.

Communication Satellites

The demands of military missiles and communications drove and largely funded the initial development of communication satellites. First theorized by science fiction author and inventor Arthur C. Clarke in a 1945 article, the concept of orbiting satellites some 22,300 miles above Earth would allow three of them to communicate with the entire globe. At that altitude, they would appear

to remain stationery (hence “geostationary” orbit) above the same spot. Clarke thought it might take 50 years to develop what he predicted—in fact, it took less than 20.

The world’s first low-orbit artificial satellite, *Sputnik*, was launched by the Soviet Union in October 1957. Its appearance sent shock waves through government and military circles in the United States and greatly increased federal funding to develop U.S. intercontinental missiles and orbiting satellites. Coverage of rocket launches from Cape Canaveral, Florida, became a regular beat in everyday print and television journalism—starting with the disastrous failed launch of the *Vanguard* satellite in December 1957, which was carried live on television. A year later, the *SCORE* satellite carried a prerecorded message from President Eisenhower that was transmitted back to Earth. AT&T’s *Telstar* satellite of mid-1962 allowed the first live television transmissions between Europe and the United States for the limited windows of time when the satellite was orbiting over the Atlantic. The *Relay* satellite later that year helped link the United States and Japan with voice communications. But all of these were low-altitude (a few hundred miles above Earth) satellites that could be used only intermittently for a few moments during each Earth orbit.

The breakthrough to Clark’s geosynchronous orbit came with *Syncom* early in 1963, the first communications satellite to reach the 22,300-mile altitude. It and the two to follow quickly proved Clark’s thesis by being useful 24 hours a day, unlike

brief orbital “windows” for the earlier satellites. The United States created the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) to develop civilian satellite applications, which, in turn, led a year later to the formation of Intelsat to do the same globally. A steadily improved series of Intelsat satellites, starting with Early Bird in 1965, slowly expanded the global satellite communications system.

In the United States, a growing number of domestic satellites (domsats) laid the groundwork for a wholly new way to interconnect broadcast stations and cable systems, doing away with expensive terrestrial links. Equipped with uplink and downlink antennas, networks, and stations could now exchange or distribute programs in real time (minus a tiny time lag for the signal to travel a total of 44,600 miles) at a fraction of the cost of traditional terrestrial coaxial cable or microwave links. Furthermore, signals could go either way and multiple channels could be accommodated. By the late 1980s, American broadcast and cable networks were all using satellite distribution, and television receive-only (TVRO) “dishes” had become ubiquitous at stations and cable systems.

SNG Development

The first direct application of SNG appears to have taken place in 1975 when Chicago television station WBBM sought to cover the conspiracy trial of heiress Patty Hearst in San Francisco. The process involved using a portable video camera (itself a relatively new innovation) with a device to transmit (uplink) the signal to one of the first communications satellites. Back in Chicago, station engineers could then downlink that signal for processing into news reports. Though expensive, this early example of breaking down the “local-national” dividing line between network and local station journalism was a portent of the future.

Just 7 years later, when Britain decided to contest Argentina’s military occupation of the Falkland Islands in the spring of 1982, satellite news communications got a world debut. All news reports from the fighting front had to be transmitted over the 8,000 miles separating the remote South Atlantic islands from London. British army signals units established analog links using satellites, and transmitted both official military information and civilian news reports, usually time-shifted anywhere up to 24 hours.

This one news story demonstrated the drawbacks of SNG as well as its benefits. First, the process was still costly and the equipment was cumbersome. It was difficult to transport the needed ground equipment, which was heavy and bulky, and it took time to set up and calibrate with the needed satellite. Few commercial users could afford the expense or risk. Further, transmissions were often affected by radio interference on the satellite up- and downlinks.

Within the next decade, however, SNG links had improved markedly. In 1984, Consus Communications began the first American SNG cooperative, which used a fleet of SNG-equipped vans. By 1992, more than 150 television stations were affiliated. They had a lot of competition, for the broadcast and cable networks were also increasingly active in SNG; NBC had 67 SNG trucks, CBS 54, and ABC 48 of them. Sites of major news stories (such as political conventions or important court trials) soon began to resemble crowded parking lots as the satellite vehicles gathered.

SNG was next put to the test in 1990–1991 in coverage of the first Gulf War. CNN’s Peter Arnett was able to report from Baghdad over a period of weeks by using portable satellite news equipment. He was employing one of the first “fly-away” SNG antennas that could be packed into wheeled cases and carried on a commercial airliner. The smaller antennas could be precisely aimed at satellites—and thus attracted less (possibly hostile) attention. The White House was soon SNG equipped to allow quicker communication with news media and the public.

Within a year, the International Telecommunication Union and various national groups were working on consistent technical standards to enable SNG transmissions. The first were approved in 1992 and the process continued with digital SNG standards into the mid-2000s. But not all SNG issues were technical—use of the devices was sometimes contingent on getting local government or telecommunications authority permission.

Changing Impact

Where one network needed equipment that filled 75 to 100 shipping cases in order for it to cover the attack on Afghanistan in 2002, within a year that same capability could be fit into just five or six cases. By the time of the Iraq War, beginning in 2003, the

effect of a steady trend of miniaturization and streamlining was evident. Combining small cameras with desktop video meant that digitally edited reports could be transmitted day and night to networks and stations back home. Breaking news could also be sent by satellite telephone, which used far less bandwidth, though it provided jerky and low-resolution pictures (these sufficed for talking head reports that did not need to show much movement).

Thanks to the improving equipment, SNG is increasingly able to fulfill its role as a temporary link arranged on short notice. The continued reduction in equipment size, weight, and complexity—and cost—was aided further by conversion to digital technology over the past decade or so. Many companies provide equipment or full SNG links on a lease basis. Any SNG transmission still requires several pieces of equipment. Other than the satellite itself (by far the most expensive portion of the process), a means of transmitting up to the satellite (the uplink antenna) and back again (downlink) is essential, as well as processing equipment at both ends to receive and edit the video material received. Once the satellite signal is on Earth, it can be forwarded to a studio or elsewhere using microwave links (studio-transmitter links, STL) using different spectrum frequencies than are applied for SNG.

Steadily improving digital SNG equipment has contributed to the end of the traditional distinction between local and national (and international news). With readily portable SNG units down to 70 pounds and a cost of about \$130,000 by the mid-2000s, even small market stations can make use of the devices and receive or report stories far from the station.

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See also Audio and Video News Services; Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools

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SATIRE OF NEWS

Satire is a literary genre that employs humor when making commentary on individuals or activities and their perceived vices, shortcomings, or mistakes. In satire, humor is used to underscore an opinion or point about an issue or event. Most often, satirists use wit to criticize or attack something of which they disapprove. Parody (or spoofs), sarcasm, exaggeration, and analogy are defining literary tools of satire that help create its humorous tone.

In journalism, satire most commonly pokes fun at the news, or uses parody portrayed as conventional news. While satirical news is defined by its comedic nature, using deadpan humor to create spoofs of the news, its underlying objective is to make statements about real people, events, and trends, often with the intent of influencing change. In this way, it is usually fundamentally biased. This objective also highlights a key difference between satire of news and parody of news: While parody uses humor for humor's sake, news satire employs humor to attain the greater result of social criticism and/or promote change. Politics and current events are common themes in news satire, although the genre is not limited to them. This entry discusses the origins of news satire before looking at its prevalence and popularity and its effects.

Origins

An early example of satire in news is *The Spectator*, a British newspaper published in the early 1700s. Created by popular writers Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, the newspaper consisted of one long essay narrated by a fictional character that would report and critique a single aspect of

the news each day. Unlike a typical newspaper that would report hard news, *The Spectator* was satirical in a number of ways. First, the use of a fictional character to present real information allowed for variation in tone and a less systematic reporting style, providing a sense of intimacy through storytelling and creating an element of entertainment. Furthermore, *The Spectator* provided commentary beyond objective news reporting with the distinct intent to influence change in societal behavior and mindset. This fundamentally satirical goal was clearly evidenced by the newspaper's mission to "enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality."

Newspapers

Newspapers are the oldest form of news satire, at least as old as conventional journalism in the United States. In American journalism, one of the most famous news satirists was Samuel Clemens, more popularly known as *Mark Twain*. In the 1870s, Clemens worked as a young reporter for the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, a newspaper in Nevada. He was relieved of his position at the *Enterprise* for publishing occasional spoof articles that were misconstrued by editors and readers as real. Clemens went on to publish what were deemed "hoaxes" in other newspapers across the country, for which he was also reprimanded.

While the genre of news satire has been around for centuries, its prevalence within American journalism dramatically increased with changes in technology. From the rise of the telegraph before the Civil War, to the birth of broadcasting in the early 20th century, and on to the opening of the Internet to commercial use in 1995, technology has intensified the speed and breadth of mass communication and brought a new, grander scope to the genre of new satire. Today, news satire is disseminated rapidly on a wide scale due to the interconnectedness of modern technology, permeating popular culture, and serving as a source of news information for tech-savvy American youth.

One of the most popular satirical news publications is *The Onion*, a newspaper created in 1988 that has since expanded into a multifaceted satirical news organization. *The Onion* was first published by Tim Keck and Christopher Johnson, two juniors at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. In

1996, the paper's website began, quickly garnering national attention. It was bought by Comedy Central in 2000, at which point the print version began national distribution. *The Onion* went on to develop a daily web video broadcast in 2007, The Onion News Network, and in 2008 a film based on the newspaper appeared as *The Onion Movie*. The print edition ceased distribution in December 2013, mirroring the decline of the traditional newspaper industry and its transition to predominantly digital-based forms of news reporting.

The Onion is satirical in that it parodies traditional news in its articles, reporting fake stories about local, national, and international events and politics, usually to create underlying social or political commentary. In the early 2000s, it parodied the style of *USA Today* with its use of bright graphics and statistical pie charts, as well as featured sections such as "News in Brief," "Opinion," "American Voices" ("What do *you* think?"), and "Infographic." *The Onion* even has a fictional history with a list of fictional contributing writers and editors.

Television

Broadcast news satire arose with the advent of radio news in the early 20th century, but became more prevalent during the satire boom of the late 1950s in the United Kingdom. A generation of satirical writers popularized satire on television. A cornerstone of this satire renaissance was the television show *That Was the Week That Was*, a popular satirical news program that aired on BBC Television in 1962 and 1963. In the United States, the NBC television network adapted this British program into *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, a predominantly political comedy show that aired from 1968 through 1973. A satirical news sketch that aired as part of the show is an early example of popular televised news satire in the United States. The segment "Laugh-In Looks at the News" parodied network news with a fake anchor giving a comical report on recent news stories, both fake and real. The sketch also satirized historical events and predicted bizarre events far into the future.

Along with *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, *Saturday Night Live's* "Weekend Update" segment helped usher in the satire boom in the United States, reaching an audience of about 30 million people every week during its formative years of

1975 through 1980. “Weekend Update” is a satirical news sketch that parodies political and current events. The segment was created and originally hosted by *Saturday Night Live* comedian Chevy Chase and was introduced on the show’s original broadcast on October 11, 1975. Developed during a pivotal time that included President Richard Nixon’s resignation after the Watergate scandal and the end of the Vietnam War, it makes light of current events while emphasizing the perceived shortcomings of American politics and parodying mainstream broadcast journalism.

Perhaps the best-known broadcast news satire program in the early 21st century is Comedy Central’s *The Daily Show*. It premiered in 1996 but rose to popular notoriety when Jon Stewart replaced Craig Kilborn as host in 1999. Stewart hosted the show until he was succeeded by Trevor Noah in September 2015. *The Daily Show* parodies political figures and mainstream media while satirizing real news, drawing most of its stories from American politics and then mockingly criticizing them.

The popularity of *The Daily Show* led to the creation of a spin-off, *The Colbert Report*, hosted by Stephen Colbert, who had portrayed a conservative “correspondent” on *The Daily Show*. This news satire program aired from 2005 to 2014 and parodied political pundit shows such as Fox News’s *The O’Reilly Factor* (1996–2017). HBO’s satirical news show *Last Week Tonight*, which premiered in 2014, is hosted by John Oliver, a previous correspondent and fill-in host for *The Daily Show*. In 2016, *Full Frontal With Samantha Bee* premiered on TBS as a late-night news satire show with long-time *The Daily Show* correspondent Samantha Bee as host. As often is the case with news satire as opposed to straight parody, both Comedy Central programs, *Last Week Tonight* and *Full Frontal*, are seen as politically biased, most often using sarcasm to mock and criticize conservative people and politics.

On the Web

The web has also heightened access to and popularity of news satire. It has also exacerbated some of the problems with spoof news.

Although news satire has been on the web since its beginning, *The Onion*’s website, created in

1996, has been the most influential source of satirical news online. Since its inception, myriad news satire articles have been posted across the Internet, often as website articles or on blogs, and hundreds of satirical news websites have been created. Some have been designed to collect popular news parody articles. HumorFeed.com, for example, runs a news satire headline feed with over 40 contributing news parody sites.

A fundamental problem with news satire is its ability to be misinterpreted as real by audiences and even mainstream media. Its use of deadpan humor, which is more covert than typical comedy, makes the “fakeness” of news satire comparatively less apparent and more easily misperceived as actual news. The web intensifies this because of its abilities to repost pieces of news satire out-of-context and disseminate such pieces so speedily. The result is heightened room for misapprehension and confusion concerning what is real and what is parody.

Furthermore, satire is often criticized for defying the conventions of traditional journalism. Neither conventional news nor blatant comedy, satire often escapes the editorial processes of conventional journalism and is less subject to censure. Web publications, including blogs and articles posted on personal websites, are even less subject to review because they may be posted by anyone and escape any process of editing, thereby heightening the confusion. In recent years, the rapid propagation of unchecked information and “fake news” on web-based social media platforms such as Facebook has come under criticism in the United States, even likened to the spread of a virus by academic institutions, suggesting that misinterpretations of news satire taken out of context can be similarly distributed. The result is widespread dissemination of satirical pieces whose take on the news has not been checked for accuracy and is less likely to be censured.

Prevalence and Popularity

News satire’s integration in American popular culture is demonstrated by the popularity of these programs and publications. *The Daily Show* is a notable example. In March 2007, the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism asked Americans to name the journalist they most admire.

Jon Stewart, then host of *The Daily Show*, ranked fourth on the final list, following network news anchors Brian Williams, Tom Brokaw, and Dan Rather. The presence of a satirist on such a list underlines the integration of news satire within American culture. Senator John Edwards used *The Daily Show* as a forum to announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in September 2003, serving as another example of the conflation of satirical and real news.

Furthermore, a 2014 Pew Research Center analysis found that a portion of American adults actually got news from *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*. Pew found that 10% of online adults got news from *The Colbert Report* the previous week, which was comparable to true news outlets such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. Furthermore, 76% of those *The Colbert Report* viewers also got news from *The Daily Show*, with many also receiving news from CNN, NPR, local television news, and other sources. These statistics suggest that such programs serve as a primary source of information for many—particularly young men. A 2014 Pew survey found that 22% of 18- to 29-year-old men in the United States got news about politics and government in the previous week from *The Colbert Report*.

Statistics on readership and viewership of satirical news publications and programs further demonstrate the popularity of news satire. *Full Frontal* first aired in February 2016, and by the end of that year the show had 1.32 million viewers. By the beginning of 2020, *The Daily Show* had won 24 primetime Emmy Awards, *Last Week Tonight* had won 16, and the *Colbert Report* had won 7. In 2006, the *Merriam-Webster* dictionary publisher named *The Colbert Report*'s neologism "truthiness" Word of the Year.

Effects

News satire has had measurable effects on the public in recent years. In a 2017 Ohio State University study, researchers found that people with low or little interest in American politics tended to watch satirical news shows over true news, and that satirical programs affected citizens' belief that they can influence political systems. These findings suggest that satire is able to draw people into politics that may otherwise avoid matters of state. The study also found that people choose satirical

programs that align with their political beliefs, and that those programs reinforce their partisan leanings as much as true news.

The Daily Show is a commonly cited barometer for the effect of satirical news on political opinion. For example, a 2006 study by Jody Baumgartner and Jonathan Morris demonstrated that *Daily Show* viewers exposed to political comedy tended to rate politicians parodied by the show more negatively than nonviewers. Likewise, *Daily Show* viewers demonstrated higher levels of cynicism toward both media and the electoral system at large. Yet these same study participants reported comparatively high levels of confidence in understanding current American politics.

More recently, a 2017 study examined American attitudes toward Syrian refugees after watching a satirical segment on *Full Frontal With Samantha Bee* that was sympathetic to refugees. Findings showed that support for refugees increased significantly after viewing the segment, and that support was still found after 2 weeks.

The use of satirical news as primary news source has had discernible effects on the political awareness and participation of American audiences. In 2004, the National Annenberg Election Survey found that viewers of news satire were better informed on political happenings and current affairs than those who relied solely on traditional news media. A quiz given to nearly 20,000 American adults in mid-2004 demonstrated that news satire watchers had more knowledge about the backgrounds of political candidates and candidates' stances on issues than those who did not watch political satire. Moreover, *Daily Show* viewers knew the most about election issues, as compared to viewers of conventional news and straight comedy shows such as *The Tonight Show With Jay Leno* and *Late Show With David Letterman*. However, a 2008 study published in the *Journal of Communication* came to a different conclusion, suggesting that news entertainment programs like *The Daily Show* were less effective at producing political knowledge retainment in 18- to 64-year-olds than traditional news media, which resulted in more memory-based processing of political information.

While concern has been raised regarding the high levels of political cynicism associated with news satire viewers, a 2008 study by Xiaoxia Cao and Paul Brewer linked political comedy viewing

with increased levels of political participation. This study concludes that exposure to political comedy shows, including satirical news programs, is positively associated with increased participation in political campaigns and membership in a political organization. This political participation might be skewed toward the liberal end of the political spectrum; Pew Research Center reported in 2014 that survey respondents who got news from *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* were more consistently liberal than conservative. For example, about 72% of *The Daily Show* audience held left-of-center political views.

Satire has affected journalism and journalists as well. A 2007 study by communications researcher Lauren Feldman underscores the point that, during a year when young Americans' traditional news media consumption was decreasing, their attention to late-night comedy programs as sources of political information was on the rise. Through examination of discourse surrounding satire programs such as *The Daily Show*, the study found that many journalists have recognized this trend and begun using such programs as forums to reflect upon the nature of their work and the current state of journalism in general. The study concludes that the once rigid distinction between news and entertainment is blurring and that journalists themselves are reconsidering the dividing conventions between straight and satirical news.

Conclusion

In journalism, satire has been employed as a form of commentary on political issues and current events, using parody, sarcasm, and similar forms of deadpan humor to emphasize a point or critique such subjects. Its popularity has proliferated as communication technology has made news satire more easily and quickly accessible to the masses. Today, *The Onion*, *The Daily Show With Trevor Noah*, *Saturday Night Live's* "Weekend Update," *Last Week Tonight With John Oliver*, and *Full Frontal With Samantha Bee* are all examples of influential satirical news in American popular culture. Myriad studies have demonstrated palpable effects that news satire has on audiences as a result of their great popularity, subsequently blurring the lines between conventional and satirical news.

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See also Entertainment Journalism; Fake News; Hoaxes; Internet: Impact on the Media; Parody of News; Satirists, Political

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SATIRISTS, POLITICAL

Political satire is a subgenre of political journalism, and a complex ironic practice of political criticism mixed with rhetorical hyperbole, entertaining humor, deliberate misstatement, and personal insight. Political satire frequently defines (and on occasion, exceeds) the accepted limits of professional journalism because the practice draws attention to biases and subjectivity inherent in newsgathering and editing, as well as society in general. Satire in general plays this role for literature, folklore, pop culture, and film.

Political satire has roots deep in Western history and has flourished in different historical periods and cultures of representative democracy. Like all satire, political satire holds current events and social relationships up against a set of idealized

ethical norms such as basic fairness, humanitarianism, and democracy. Political satire can function as topical humor when actual events fall short of proclaimed ideals, or when responsible individuals, organizations, or governments are seen as openly hypocritical. Political satire can simultaneously offer humor and social criticism. Political cartoons are a well-known subset of political satire using graphic design, illustration, and physical exaggeration to engage in political commentary. Political satire in essay form utilizes exaggeration, irony, hyperbole, double entendre, and other rhetorical devices to simultaneously create humor and social and political commentary.

While parody and political satire share many attributes, not every political satire is parody and not all parody is satire, political or otherwise. Parody is usually a necessary-but-not-sufficient element to satire. However, both parody and political satire often test the limits of freedom of press and the specifics of libel, slander, cultural sensitivity, privacy rights, and copyright and trademark protections. In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music* found that, "parody has an obvious claim to transformative value." Within the Copyright Act of 1976, section 107 defines fair use. The Supreme Court decision clearly stated that "parody like other comment or criticism may claim fair-use under §107."

This entry discusses the origins of political satire and political satire in the early United States before turning to political satire since the start of the 20th century. The entry also looks at the relationship between the cultural specificity of satire and a globalized media environment and provides examples of some contemporary political satirists and outlets for political satire.

Origins and Development

The most well-known example of early political satire was the Dionysian theater rituals in classical Greek democracy. During these festivals, performers lampooned political leaders and elaborate skits were performed in the public arenas as a form of acceptable open criticism. As Greek society transitioned to a written culture, these performances were recorded and became lasting records of political satire. Most famous among Greek theatrical satirists was Aristophanes, whose plays are still

performed and retain much of their original satire of power. Several pre-Socratic philosophers also engaged in spoken and written political satire. So powerful were political satire and early theater that Plato harshly criticizes them in *The Republic*. Plato is cautious of “poets” and other writers because they have an ability to destabilize a democratic regime by appealing to the base entertainment desire of the audience. These same practices were continued by the Romans in the form of Saturnalia rituals and the stoic and satirical writings of Seneca, Horace, Juvenal, and others.

In Western cultures, satire and political satire were preserved during the Middle Ages by traveling minstrels and bards who obliquely offered social criticisms through lyrics to popular songs performed in informal settings. These coded satires were often of reigning monarchs and the feudal system itself. Many of these folklore songs were eventually collected and written as nursery rhymes and fairy tales, such as “Three Blind Mice” and “Jack and Jill.” Simple satires of religious institutions were coded into performances of mystery plays and church dramas. Erasmus’s *In Praise of Folly* satirized both the institution of the church and self-delusion on the part of the readers. Political satire regained popularity with the beginning of the Enlightenment era and greater literacy rates in European countries. Political upheavals around the redistribution of wealth and the rise of a mercantile middle class were the subjects of this satire.

British literary satirists including Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope influenced and encouraged an American colonial tradition of political satire. While attempting to break into establishment newspapers and magazines, Benjamin Franklin and other colonial printers used political satire both to speak out against the excesses and unfairness of British colonial rule and as an effective means of self-promotion. Franklin’s *Poor Richard’s Almanack* traces a fine line between satire, legitimate agricultural information, and outright hoax. This mixture of serious and satirical information is also found in his *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. Such political satire occurs throughout colonial works of journalism, which both reported on current affairs and offered scathing satires of King George III of England. Satire was suppressed along with other political journalism leading toward the American and French revolutions.

Early American Political Satire

Political satire continued to be a noticeable feature in 18th- and 19th-century journalism from Fleet Street publishers in London to French and American newspapers. While political satire is not unique to English-language journalism, it has made a more powerful impact in these societies. Political historians have argued that satire continued to flourish because these societies valued and enshrined a freer and more open press. Other theories for the continued popularity of satire in the Anglophone world in general and the United States in particular are that economic power is more widely spread, literacy rates are comparatively high, political engagement is socially encouraged, and political power is frequently balanced in a two-party system.

As printing technologies improved, illustrated political cartoons began to appear in newspapers as engravings and lithographs. Early political cartoons were a powerful form of political satire at a time when newspapers had large circulations but a large percentage of the population was not functionally literate. From Franklin’s simple “Join or Die” woodcut to the increasingly elaborate cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper’s Weekly* to the nuanced illustrations of *Punch* and *The New Yorker*, editorial and satirical cartoons have had an enormous impact on the style and substance of journalism. Enduring images such as Uncle Sam, the Republican elephant, and the Democratic donkey were all created within cartoons as a form of political satire. Many neologisms of the time, such as *gerrymandering* and *muckraking*, passed into the written satire of the 19th century and into the political lexicon of contemporary journalism. Viral online image macros or “memes” serve a similar function to earlier political cartoons, but allow for non-professionals to customize political satire images to fit quickly evolving news stories.

In the United States, satire acted at its most serious when used within the abolition movement and during the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865). The continued rise of literacy and the proliferation of periodical magazines created a unique and new literary market in the mid-19th century. Many of these publications turned to satire, particularly political satire, to reach out to new audiences. Satirical books influenced political essays in *Harper’s Weekly* and used satire to indirectly criticize the institution of slavery, political corruption, war

profiteering, and U.S. imperialism when direct criticism would have been difficult or impossible.

Like Franklin, Mark Twain (the nom de plume of Samuel Clemens) began his long career as a writer and essayist working as an assistant to a printer. Twain frequently made use of satire for political means. While working for a series of newspapers during Reconstruction (1865–1877), Twain used the “travelogue” genre as a vehicle for his satire, for example *The Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It*. Among the political targets of Twain’s satire were growing American imperialism, social elitism, phony frontiersmen, and religious dogmatism. His satirical journalism and his novel writing frequently cross-pollinated each other. Twain’s famous essay “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County” was originally published in *The New York Saturday Press*, which launched his career as both a satirist and a journalist. In a similar career to that of Twain, Ambrose Bierce also championed political satire within newsgathering and journalism. Bierce gained popularity as one of the first permanent columnists for the Hearst newspapers, then as the editor of *The Wasp*, a satirical magazine.

Twentieth-Century Political Satire

In the early 20th century, the term *debunkers* was broadly applied to political satirists working as journalists. H. L. Mencken, Don Marquis, and Upton Sinclair each used satire to similar effect, and Mencken and Sinclair occasionally lampooned the very institutions they promoted. Due to his open criticism and satire of U.S. involvement in both world wars, Mencken was frequently considered to be anti-Semitic and pro-German, despite his outspoken writing to the contrary. In the early 20th century, these same political satirists also began calls for a civil rights movement, took aim at prohibition, and championed immigrant rights.

Both Mencken and Marquis pioneered the sharp-tongued, mordantly ironic writing style that would later become the hallmark of political satire in magazine writing, as it began to distinguish itself from newspaper writing. *The Smart Set*, *Punch*, and other early monthly publications founded and popularized by Mencken, Marquis, and Sinclair eventually led to the style of *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, and other literary and lifestyle magazines. These magazines prided themselves on



Figure 1. A satirical, political cartoon that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in November of 1877 by Thomas Nast. Titled “The Lightning Speed of Honesty,” the cartoon depicts Uncle Sam seated on a snail named 45th Congress, as he carries army and navy payroll and money, with the Resumption Act in his pocket. The Resumption Act sought to reduce the amount of greenbacks (used to finance the Union side of the Civil War) in circulation.

Source: Library of Congress.

a highbrow literary style, sharp wit and irony, and an eclecticism that reflected the growing literary movement of urbanity and sophistication in the period between the two world wars. The Algonquin Round Table was an unofficial group of journalists, playwrights, and satirists in the 1920s that moved quick wit, sardonicism, and satire from populist lampooning into high culture and political commentary. Among this group, Dorothy Parker and Robert Benchley were literary essayists and satirists; Alexander Woollcott and Heywood Broun were professional journalists; and other members of the group, such as Harpo Marx, were

Broadway and Hollywood actors. While diverse, the group was held together by their use of literary satire for cultural and political aims.

Colleges have also been hotbeds for satire, where student groups published newspapers and magazines such as the *Harvard Lampoon*, continuing the tradition of highbrow satire. The growth of specialized humor magazines has led to more accepted publications for satire such as *National Lampoon*, *Mad*, and *Rolling Stone* that frequently mix political satire with farce, pop culture reporting, and music reviews. These magazines retain some of the political satire of college publications, but add a unique blend of consumer culture graphic design and lowbrow shock value. Later examples include *The Onion* and other alternative press publications that have moved toward mainstream journalism.

The “gonzo journalism” of the countercultural movement of the 1960s was another form of political satire influenced by the libertine ideals of drug and hippie culture. Freely mixing facts with outlandish fictions and personal opinions, this form of satire involved reevaluating serious topics in a sarcastic manner while eschewing objectivity. Championed by writers Hunter S. Thompson, Tom Wolfe, and George Plimpton, gonzo journalism as satire outlasted its hippie origins and continued into the 1980s and continues to influence contemporary journalists. Gonzo journalism celebrated anarchic popular culture and the civil rights movement, while satirizing U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the consumerism of the 1970s and 1980s, and the Cold War policies of U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

Political Satire in Broadcast and Online Media

Political satire continued its dynamic relationship with political journalism in the late 20th century and into the 21st century. While print journalism continues to include satire, television and online media have become more central vehicles for the genre. Since the late 20th century, satirical TV shows have taken off in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, with some of them finding popularity across Anglophone countries. *That Was the Week That Was* was a satirical sketch comedy show in the United Kingdom in the 1960s that directly influenced later broadcast news satire programs such as

Not the Nine O’Clock News (1979–1982) and *Brass Eye* (1997–2001) in the United Kingdom, *Not Necessarily the News* (1982–1990) in the United States, and *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* (1993–) in Canada. *Monty Python’s Flying Circus* (1969–1974) was an absurdist British sketch comedy show known for its randomness and a deconstructivist approach to television that continues to influence the style of parody and political satire.

North American sketch comedy programs such as *Laugh-In* (1967–1973), *SCTV* (1976–1981), and *Saturday Night Live* (1975–) engaged in frequent political satire. However, these programs maintained their parody and contrivances openly. By contrast, satirical news shows such as *The Daily Show* (1996–), *The Colbert Report* (2005–2014), and *Last Week Tonight* (2014–) have walked a fine line between offering satire and presenting legitimate news, and false or prank news.

During political campaigns and beyond, political satire is frequently, and sometimes deliberately, mixed with disinformation, rumors, and hoaxes. Many social media sites now affix tags designating satirical content as such. Misinformation in the guise of satire continues to circulate via media channels despite editorial oversight by broadcasters and notifications by social media platforms.

Satire and Global Cultures

Satire often does not work in terms of media globalism because the irony it employs can be linguistically or regionally very specific. For example, the political satire within Bollywood films in India is generally lost on Anglophone audiences. Within bilingual and multilingual countries, such as Canada and Switzerland, satirical newspapers and television shows, such as the Canadian *La fin du monde est à 7 heures* (The End of the World Is at 7 O’Clock, 1997–2000) are usually not translated because the essential humor component is lost.

The publication of cartoons of the prophet Mohammed by Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005 and French satirical weekly newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* in 2011 were conceived as social and political satire of theocratic Islam, iconoclasm, and the process of cultural assimilation. The strong public reaction and controversy the publication created highlighted the differences in responses to political satire by different cultures in a globalized media world. Mistranslations and

misunderstanding in globalized media have occasionally led to unintentionally funny occurrences: In 2002, *The Beijing Evening News* translated and ran a satirical story from *The Onion* that humorously claimed that the U.S. Congress had demanded a retractable dome be built to replace the Capitol building. Even after the story was revealed as a U.S.-based satire, the editors of the paper refused to publish a clarification or retraction.

Contemporary Political Satire and Satirists

"The Capitol Steps"

Formed in the early 1980s in Washington, D.C., this rotating group of comedians performs both parody pop songs and improvised comedy satirizing current political events. In 1994, a U.S. Supreme Court ruling allowed them to perform parody and satire without paying royalties for being within legal "fair use." Several different casts remain active in live performances and public radio appearances.

Samantha Bee (1969–)

Samantha Bee is a Canadian comedian and TV host of *Full Frontal With Samantha Bee* since 2016. She began her career in sketch comedy and writing in Toronto, and joined *The Daily Show* as the first female correspondent in 2003. After 12 years, she left *The Daily Show* and became the head writer and producer for her own show satirizing politics and news. Bee is also known for additional acting and voice acting roles.

Charlie Brooker (1971–)

As an English writer and satirist, Brooker is best known for the science fiction anthology series *Black Mirror* (2011–). He began his career writing for the BBC with *The 11 O'Clock Show* (1998–2000) and later wrote and hosted *Screenwipe* beginning in 2006. In 2009 and 2010, Brooker produced and hosted *Newswipe* with a format of news satire and criticism of journalism. As of 2020, he continued to be involved in news criticism, hosting *Wipe* specials and appearing on other United Kingdom and American television specials.

Stephen Colbert (1964–)

Colbert began his career as a writer and performer and gained popularity on *The Daily Show*. His television show *The Colbert Report* was a spin-off of *The Daily Show* that pushed satire to extreme levels, with Colbert playing a pompous conservative also known as *Stephen Colbert*. In 2006, Colbert was a featured entertainer at the White House Correspondents' Association Dinner, and in 2010, joined Jon Stewart in the "Rally to Restore Sanity and/or Fear" while remaining in the character of his alter ego. In 2015 he dropped his satirical character and became the host of the CBS late-night program *The Late Show With Stephen Colbert*.

Al Franken (1951–)

Franken is a liberal political satirist who began his career as a writer for *Saturday Night Live* in the 1970s and continued to write and perform occasionally through the 1990s. Franken wrote a series of books satirizing conservative media, particularly radio talk shows. He was elected as U.S. senator representing Minnesota in 2008, and resigned the office in 2018 after allegations of sexual harassment.

Greg Gutfeld (1964–)

Beginning his career as a magazine editor, Greg Gutfeld became the editor of *Stuff* and the UK edition of *Maxim* where he brought an element of gonzo journalism and political satire to each magazine to increase readership. Gutfeld was an early writer for *The Huffington Post* before hosting the late-night program *Red Eye* on the Fox News Channel from 2007 to 2015. He was known for controversial humorous polemics. In 2011 he became a panelist on *The Five*, and in 2015 began hosting *The Greg Gutfeld Show*, both on the Fox News Channel.

Garrison Keillor (1942–)

Keillor is a public radio personality and commentator who began his radio career on Minnesota Public Radio in the late 1960s. He created the radio show *A Prairie Home Companion* in 1974

and hosted it until 2016 before stepping down. The show, a blend of variety show, monologue, sketch comedy, and political satire, continued under the same name with host Chris Thile until 2017, and for 3 years after that as *Live From Here*. The show's name was changed after Minnesota Public Radio terminated its contracts with Keillor in 2017 amid allegations of inappropriate behavior toward an employee. Keillor has written several books excerpting stories from his radio show.

Bill Maher (1956–)

Maher began his career as a stand-up comedian and achieved popularity on late-night television in the 1990s with *Politically Incorrect*, a program that blended the roundtable interview format with comedy routines. Maher has been an active proponent of blogging and new media and involved in disparate political movements. In 2008 he starred in the comedic documentary *Religulous*. He began hosting late-night talk show on HBO, *Real Time With Bill Maher*, in 2003.

Trevor Noah (1984–)

Noah is a comedian and TV host born in South Africa where he began as a presenter and host for the South African Broadcasting Corp. (SABS). He produced and hosted *Tonight With Trevor Noah* (2010–2011) before moving to the United States and joining *The Daily Show* in 2014. In 2015 he replaced Jon Stewart as the host of *The Daily Show* and has produced other television specials.

The Onion

Founded in the late 1980s as a local college humor newspaper in Madison, Wisconsin, *The Onion* gained popularity after the launch of its website in 1996. The publication was distributed in several major cities in the United States and blended parody and satire with entertainment news and interviews. The print version was discontinued in 2013 but the website remained. Several satire news stories from *The Onion* have been republished accidentally as legitimate news stories both within the United States and internationally.

John Oliver (1969–)

John Oliver began his career as a stand-up comedian and a member of the Cambridge Footlights comedy troupe during college. Oliver hosted several stand-up comedy shows and *Mock the Week* (2005–) for the BBC before joining *The Daily Show* in 2006. In 2014 he became the host of *Last Week Tonight* on HBO. Like other late-night news programs, the satire and criticism of the show have had demonstrable political effects. Oliver is the namesake of the “John Oliver Effect,” referring to changes in policy and culture in the United States resulting from the show.

P. J. O'Rourke (1947–)

O'Rourke is a conservative political satirist who began his career writing for *The National Lampoon* and *Rolling Stone*. While originally considered a gonzo journalist, he later satirized the genre in a series of books and media appearances. He continues as a freelance writer and political commentator for public radio.

Jon Stewart (1962–)

Stewart is a television host and political satirist best known for hosting *The Daily Show*, from 1999 to 2015. Stewart began his career as comedian and master of ceremonies for sketch comedy and worked as a substitute host and writer for late night television shows. After stepping down from his position as host and producer for *The Daily Show*, he continued to write satirical books and making public appearances and issue advocacy.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Cartoonists, Political; Column-Writing; Editorials; Parody of News

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY JOURNALISM

Science and technology journalism provides public meaning to scientific issues that would otherwise never be widely discussed in public. It is a

subset of journalism practice that can take on a wide variety of forms but is focused on communicating science to specialist and nonspecialist audiences. While it has historically been linked to the promotion of science and gee-whiz stories that seek to fascinate people, through time its roles have diversified to showcase that one strength of science journalism as a profession is a critical stance on scientific and technology issues. This stance helps science journalism draw both on the power of science to learn about our world and the power of journalism to take a serious and thoughtful view on connections between science and society. Even as legacy mass media in some countries falter, imperiling jobs, many make the argument that a growth in misinformation makes good, independent, and evidence-based science journalism more important than ever. This entry discusses how scientific journalism has been defined, different approaches to science journalism, some common themes in discussions of the field, and challenges facing science journalism.

Definition(s) of Science Journalism

There is no standard definition of science journalism that is unequivocally accepted by all. Journalists, scientists, scholars, and critics have long debated the essential elements that could make up a robust field of science and technology journalism. Should it focus on the *translation* of complex scientific findings into jargon-free journalism to inform nonspecialists? Or make its mission the *critique* of scientific endeavors and new technologies for the public good? Perhaps, the goal is simply to *engage* audiences in the slow process of scientific discovery? Many additional questions and combinations of answers have been proposed, often with the underlying thread that journalism is one important connection between science and society. For science reporters such as Cornelia Dean, whose 2009 book *Am I Making Myself Clear?* is an invitation to scientists to talk to the public, science journalism involves four steps:

1. "Paying attention" to developments in science and technology;
2. Talking to the researchers that generate these developments;

3. Seeking to understand the ideas behind them; and
4. Communicating (through media production) this understanding to the public.

The importance of Dean's four steps is clearly situated in arguments that this is how we stay knowledgeable about how science is, and will continue to, change our world. This is seen through issues such as climate change, gene editing, ethical robots, pandemics, black holes, the loss of biodiversity, space exploration, quantum computing, and so many other topics that require incisive social learning and public deliberation. Such scientific topics, however, can represent some of most difficult forms of discourse to untangle without background knowledge.

The work of science journalists to publicly untangle science is often a highly personal endeavor. Each science journalist has their own preferences in terms of scientific topics, multimedia formats, tactics for explaining complex topics, trusted scientists to interview, and distinguishing styles. This, of course, is combined with sharing various common professional practices, a culture, set of norms, and a political and economic context situated in a desire to link scientific developments to public knowledge. In his 1997 book chapter, "Covering Science for Newspapers," Boyce Rensberger outlines five criteria newspaper science writers use when deciding whether a story is newsworthy:

1. Fascination value—science journalists speak to human curiosity;
2. Size of the audience—science journalists want topics that impact many people;
3. Importance—science journalists want their story to resonate, to mean something;
4. Reliability—science journalists want science that is good, convincing, peer-reviewed, and notes its limitations (other scientists will back it up); and
5. Timeliness—science journalists want a "new" discovery.

Not every science journalist will agree with or prioritize all these criteria, but they suffice to show that science journalism can look a lot like other journalism, which Sharon Dunwoody notes is due to media coverage patterns making use of

similar production infrastructure as opposed to content specifics.

Science journalists have long had a strong community with professional associations such as the World Federation of Science Journalists (WFSJ) and its 63 member associations from across the world, as well as books providing guidance to science journalists. A restrictive view of this work sees the clearest, defining examples of science journalism in the specialist news reporting found in, for example, the science section of the *New York Times* or in magazines such as the *New Scientist*. A larger view recognizes that almost any general journalist can find themselves covering a science and technology issue, and importantly, that there is an increasingly diverse set of online and social media outlets aimed at conveying information about science to their audiences (e.g., *Ars Technica*, *Live Science*, *Gizmodo*).

The recognition of a growing array of online information sources about science has led to renewed calls for science journalism to better define itself. A group of 50 science journalists and experts at the 1st Kavli Symposium on the Future of Science Journalism in 2014 noted the need to clarify their connection to direct communications from scientists, scientific institutions, industry, and other sources. These journalists wondered if these direct communications would employ the standards of the field or would serve conflicting interests. On a thorny issue, this group focused on a definition of science journalism, suggesting it involves:

1. Finding and interviewing scientific experts;
2. The use of scientific explanation and argumentation in its published work;
3. The use of what Dunwoody terms weight-of-evidence reporting, in which scientific evidence is assessed and weighted; and
4. The desire to connect science to everyday experience and important cultural, economic, political, and social contexts.

These four components clearly seek to situate science journalism as more than just transferring understandable scientific information to nonspecialist audiences. Instead, there is an articulation of a form of journalistic practice with the core values of verification and critique, which

ultimately seeks to hold science to public account. The list also implies that one main job of science journalists is finding appropriate sources. This does not exclude that some science journalism will rightly be of the gee whiz variety or will prioritize entertainment value or will see its primary usefulness as linked to science literacy.

History of Science Journalism

Since mass media channels have existed, stories about new technology and scientific discoveries have been produced. Dorothy Nelkin in *The Culture of Science Journalism* (1987) recounts how, as early as the 1830s, the London newspaper *Athenaeum* was publishing on the Geological Society of London, and the *New York Tribune* sold tens of thousands of copies of John Tyndall's physics lectures in 1872. It was a time of science hoaxes too, with the press in the 1800s writing about bat-like humans on the moon, and people living without eating (an early indicator of the role of sensationalism in science news).

As of 1845, *Scientific American* was founded—with *Popular Science Monthly* (1872) and *National Geographic* (1888) following soon after—and began to set down how journalism about science could be used to inform people about their world, fascinate them about the future, and be mindful of the values driving progress and the power of technology. *Scientific American* still takes pride in trying to be the first to pinpoint emerging scientific trends before the news reaches the general population.

Writers who have sought to describe the history of science journalism note that initial efforts were from scientists who wanted to broadly share their knowledge and discoveries. This showcases how science journalism practice, while situated in many traditional journalistic norms, also has a unique history of its own, impacted by the particularities of science and the evolution of the field of science communication.

There is much to learn from historical books written on these subjects (in particular, historian John Burnham's formative 1987 book *How Superstition Won and Science Lost: Popularizing Science and Health in the United States*). Dunwoody (2014) describes an example from late 18th-century Britain: Scientists at the time assumed

people would substantially gain from the inclusion of scientific information in their lives. Many scientists obliged by actively discussing their work in public forums. In turn, scientific institutions, it was thought, would gain from this publicity through increased appreciation and acceptance of their research activities.

The improvement of science literacy was central to this early mission. In the United States, leading American scientists from 1900 to 1930s pursued an agenda that science needed to be communicated widely for this very reason. Scholar Robert Logan (2001) describes some of the philosophies from this time, which included passionate arguments to communicate science so as to:

- Cultivate the idea of lifelong learning for citizens;
- Help people live healthier and longer lives by promoting scientific awareness;
- Encourage support for the scientific method as a strategy for public officials to assess complex public affairs choices;
- Help citizens and public officials better understand the connection between investment in science research and the United States' economic future;
- Improve public investment in science;
- Foster more interest in science as a career among youth;
- Enhance public goodwill and support for science among taxpayers; and
- Nurture a public will to support science as a non-partisan staple of national investment in the future of the economy and culture.

Many of the top-down approaches to these philosophies were eventually disputed as deficit models of public understanding of science were heavily critiqued, and the importance of bottom-up approaches to inclusion and public engagement were recognized. Science journalism would also have its own reckoning about being a cheerleader for science, as the importance of critical and independent stances on science became more widely recognized in the 1960s.

By the early 20th century, science had rapidly advanced to encompass a complex set of expert knowledge, which became less and less accessible

without schooling. With the development of specific training programs in science, a particular vocabulary, and reward systems based in research productivity, the communication of science to non-specialists became less of a priority. Scientists retreated to their peer groups, instead allowing popular science stories to be created by journalists. American scientists such as Edwin Slosson and Paul Heyl recognized the importance of journalists, and how they could broadly disseminate scientific findings. They even made appeals in the 1920s to news magnates like E. W. Scripps to create a science news beat.

Alongside the early efforts from scientists, there was a burgeoning subset of journalists interested in specializing in the coverage of science and technology. By some accounts, science journalism emerged as a viable profession in North America at the beginning of the 20th century, spurred on by postwar concerns, nuclear incidents, space programs, and biotechnology. The numbers of science journalists in many countries would continue to increase during the 20th century, with the amount of journalism on science and technology also growing.

Dunwoody, however, reminds us that, while any journalist can cover science, specialized science journalists have always been a small subset of the journalism profession. In addition, she points to research on Greek newspapers to highlight that the amount of general news coverage of science in Greece did not exceed 2.5% of total news (politics sat at 25% and sports 15%, in comparison). There are, of course, numerous other media outlets for science, and with the advent of online news contemporary science journalism began to diversify its approach.

Approaches

Today, it is well accepted that science and technology journalism produce a framework of expectations that gives public meaning to otherwise isolated scientific issues. Without this journalism, many of these science topics would never be widely discussed in public.

In her 1995 book, *Selling Science: How the Press Covers Science and Technology*, Nelkin argues that science journalism should help people to: (1) stay up-to-date on scientific advancements

and new technologies, (2) assess the appropriateness of scientific research, and (3) make choices when faced with competing scientific arguments related to their environment, health, and well-being. These three goals for contemporary science journalism, and criticism over whether they are being met, center on how science journalists can best turn scientific research into accessible stories for nonspecialist audiences.

Four Models of Science Journalism

Recently, scholarship has begun to address these expectations with the use of models to conceptualize and clarify the wider frameworks used to communicate science. For those just learning about science journalism, or for the analysis of thorny questions of its normative purpose and practical effectiveness, this approach is instructive for how it opens up the varying theoretical purposes of science journalism practice.

Various contemporary models of science journalism can broadly be grouped into two main categories: traditional models that view science as the legitimizing form of knowledge and aim at transmitting scientific knowledge to audiences; and more emerging nontraditional models that value knowledge outside of science and aim at presenting science information tied to its ability to engage people and build trust among groups. Such models represent one approach to conceptualizing how journalists might produce, and how audiences might respond to, contemporary science journalism. Importantly, they are only a point of reference; one intended to help us think about science journalism, and simply offer a representation of the complex processes of science journalism. The following is a summary of four models presented in a 2013 article by David Secko, Elyse Amend, and Terrine Friday.

Model A: Science Literacy (Traditional)

Much of science in the news media is event and publication driven, seeking to inform audiences about science. A new scientific paper gets published, and journalists cover it. This approach falls under a science literacy model, which seeks to “translate” scientific information for people and to provide the information needed to make

decisions in their daily lives. Such journalism is often driven by conflict and the “wow factor” (novelty).

For a journalist, this model involves the use of traditional journalistic norms, such as objectivity, and views audiences as lacking scientific knowledge (deficit model). It uses scientific experts as main sources. Model A is oriented to education, seeking to raise science literacy, or the level of understanding publics have about science, and thereby seek to gain popular support for science. Science in this context is fixed and certain—it can be used to make decisions and the scientific method justifies any knowledge presented.

Theoretically, this model represents a linear, top-down transmission structure where knowledge from scientists is provided to journalists, who translate it into accessible journalism. Versions of the science literacy model had been extensively critiqued for making people passive participants, avoiding their personal and contextual information needs, supporting uneven power relations between those viewed as having knowledge (scientists) and those that do not (audiences), and dismissal of other forms of (nonscientific) knowledge.

Model B: Contextual (Traditional)

Not all science journalism is driven by new research papers in scientific journals like *Science* and *Nature*. Some is focused on events, issues, concerns, and cultural realities tied to specific populations.

For a journalist, this contextual approach seeks to inform communities about science as it relates to their context(s). Model B still makes use of experts as its main sources, treating audience members as concerned spectators, and is there still a traditional approach to “top-down” information delivery (holding onto notions of knowledge deficits in audiences, and science as fixed and certain). But journalists working in this style acknowledge that science means different things in different geographic locations and social settings. This is an important acknowledgment, as context can shape how individuals receive, process, and respond to scientific information. This journalism pays close attention to the construction of messages as linked to the needs and situations of their audiences.

Theoretically, Model B wants a more cooperative relationship between science and the public, identifying audiences as able to gain knowledge quickly about relevant topics. However, while the contextual model seeks to increase knowledge and change attitudes, it has been criticized as just another version of the deficit model that places scientific knowledge above other forms of knowing (i.e., science and society remain separated as different worlds), where only a mastery of science journalism can bring peace to disputes. Audiences do not have any direct participation within this form of science journalism.

Model C: The Lay-Expertise Model (Nontraditional)

The main difference in the lay-expertise model is that it situates local knowledge as equal to scientific knowledge. The goal is to disrupt the idea that science–society relationships are the result of differing worlds, and that it is possible to incorporate the knowledge and interests of specific populations—their lay-expertise—in science journalism.

For a journalist, this model values knowledge in its own right, with science seen as limited and uncertain, requiring “expertise” from sources outside of science to examine issues and their social connections. This means working to empower local communities in the scientific process, diversifying sources to those outside science, asking nonspecialists to supply questions they want answered, and viewing stories as not solely scientific. Accuracy does not slip away, but this community dilemmas drives this journalism, as the community provides solutions to uncertain science, and journalists adopt a style that reflects active engagement. Scientists and experts only act as secondary sources, with their roles limited to providing background and context.

Theoretically, this model seeks to foster confidence that individuals have valuable knowledge to share on a scientific topic. However, there are challenges in this model. Critics suggest balancing expert, lay-expert, and nonexpert knowledge is impossible. They note that the inequality of information from different groups is a constant obstacle.

Model D: The Public Participation Model (Nontraditional)

In the age of social media and interactive journalism, it should not be a surprise that science journalists are seeking new ways to engage with people. Science is a slow process. The processes that drive scientific discovery, the consequences of choices, and the personalities involved, all point to the importance of science as a social activity. The public participation model attempts to make the scientific process more interactive and encourages public debate on scientific issues.

For a journalist, this model is less focused on science literacy, or any knowledge gaps that may exist, and instead wants stakeholder groups to be more involved in a scientific issue (especially policy issues) to build trust among these groups. Scientists here are not presented as someone special and science stories focus on the processes behind the science. The desire is to promote media channels for more active, nonlinear discussion, where it is made clear science can lead to both certainty and uncertainty but is definitely embedded in wider social issues.

Theoretically, this model is nontraditional as it wants to break from a linear transmission structure present in legacy journalism. The public participation model focuses on a holistic mapping of a multitude of stakeholder viewpoints, and aims to engage audiences in pluralistic debate. The public participation model has been subject to criticisms as well, such as addressing politics and policy issues over public understanding of science, and emphasizing the process of science while discounting the actual content. This approach is also only able to address smaller, particular audiences at a time.

Common Discussions in Science Journalism

A quick search will find hundreds of books, journal articles, pieces of journalism, commentaries, videos, podcasts, and social media posts on science journalism written during the 2010s alone. A quick snapshot of some of these themes is warranted to help understand today's science journalist and their challenges.

Science or Journalism First?

Science journalists are often asked where their allegiances lie. Many make it clear that they are journalists first, who happen to cover science, though in recent years an increasing number of science journalists have come to the profession with a scientific degree and/or laboratory bench training, in addition to journalism training or learning on the job. Viewed as specialist reporters they hold different values than their generalist peers, but often note their integrity and the need for the mental freedom that independence provides. Science journalists see themselves as solely responsible for the content and frame of their work, regardless of what they place first.

Scientist-Journalist Interactions

Reported research demonstrates that there is an interconnectedness between journalists and scientists—journalists need scientists for information for their stories, and scientists' need journalists to popularize their research. With journalists working under strict time pressure, accessibility is one of the main factors that draw these individuals together. Simply put, those scientists who are easily reachable or call journalists back are more likely to be used in stories. However, there appears to be a growing trend of scientists increasingly being strategically oriented to the media, where use of online media may reinforce this reciprocal relationship.

Are Science Journalists OK?

Similar to all journalism, science journalism continues to be in flux. For example, science sections at newspapers throughout North America and Europe have seen significant cuts, with fewer and fewer science journalists now holding full-time legacy media jobs. Research on the effect is scant, but the little that exists points to many science journalists now being on their own, working as freelancers and entrepreneurs. A 2013 study suggested that job satisfaction remained high. Of the 592 respondents giving information on employment, 51% were in full time staff positions (more than half for 10 years or less).

The Digital Age

As the Internet continues to gain importance as the main source of scientific information, and search patterns change, questions have naturally arisen about how scientists and audiences now compete with science journalists for the production of scientific narratives. In a special 2011 issue of the journal *Journalism*, scholar Stuart Allan discusses this new digital era, where direct and open engagement is possible, but is accompanied by the emergence of a 24/7 news cycle and an endless variety of rapidly produced science media content. Speed and brevity hold sway. Science journalists are expected to be multiskilled across numerous media platforms, while being able to separate facts from hype and misinformation.

Criticism of Science Journalism

During a time of increasing demand for online science content, science journalists continue to be criticized. Much of the research literature points to inaccuracy, sensationalism, a lack of methodological details, uncritical reporting, a focus on scientific progress that makes use of a narrow range of expertise, and inclusion in a cycle of hype. Some work suggests science journalists are ultimately unsure how their audiences make use of journalism to understand science. Worries about homogenous coverage also continue, being attributed to recurring sourcing practices (e.g., journalists consistently using the same sources), unlimited press releases, and time constraints that undermine in-depth coverage. Yet some scholars continue to show optimism over the potential to meet these challenges through improved understanding and innovation.

Challenges on the Horizon

Science journalists continue to produce excellent, inspiring work. They are well recognized for their enthusiasm and commitment to the societal value of science journalism. However, it is a time of peril and excitement, with questions over who should be considered a science journalist. Media organization affiliations are giving sway to hybrid careers where people work as scientists and freelance journalists, somewhat evoking the historical times described earlier.

Some see science journalism entering a new golden age. For instance, science journalism educators Thomas Hayden and Erika Check Hayden (2018, p.1) write, “there has never been more, better quality science and environmental journalism produced than there is today,” while acknowledging that “the careers of individual science and environmental journalists have never been more precarious.” Regardless, Hayden and Hayden see science journalists banding together to “assert the value of rigorous, factual, independent coverage and scrutiny.” Others raise more alarm about the cutbacks to news organizations in recent years and their effect on science journalism. Dunwoody (2014, p. 27) writes: “science journalism is an increasingly imperiled occupation that, perversely, is needed now more than ever.”

David M. Secko

See also Environmental Journalism; Health and Medical Journalism; New Media; Risk and News; Theories of Journalism

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SEARCH ENGINE OPTIMIZATION (SEO)

Search engine optimization (SEO) refers to the practices and strategies aimed to increase the visibility and traffic a website or a web page receives from search engine results. Search engines are one of the most widely used services to navigate the Internet and retrieve information from it. For instance, web pages and other content such as videos, photos, or images are shown and ranked based on what the search engine considers most relevant to users. SEO involves designing a website to make it appear in search engine results more frequently and more prominently. For news organizations, SEO is like displaying a print newspaper or a magazine on the front row of the newsstand. This entry discusses search algorithms, the use of SEO in journalism, concerns raised by SEO tactics and efforts to deal with them, and recent developments in search engine technology.

Search engines are an important source of the traffic to many news websites. According to the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, search remained a significant gateway to the news in many countries as of 2019, including Brazil, Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Turkey, and the United States. The American Press Institute reported in 2014 that about half of Americans said they received news in the

previous week from search engines and online news aggregators.

In general, the higher and more frequently a news website appears in the search engine results page (SERP), the more visitors it will have from the search engine's users. Researchers have found that the first Google search results page generates as much as 92% of all traffic from an average search.

As more people depend upon the web for news, search engines are becoming increasingly influential news gatekeepers. As a result, it is important for news organizations and journalists to understand the importance of optimizing content for the web and utilizing SEO. News organizations are even restructuring news production processes to deal with the new challenges they face because of news users' increasing reliance on search engines.

Search Algorithms

Search engines employ algorithms to find and collect information about web pages. Search engines use complex algorithms that can give access to resources users may not otherwise be aware of or familiar with. In general, a search algorithm is a problem-solving procedure that takes the user's word or phrase, sifts through a vast database of cataloged keywords with their URLs, and then returns a listing of best-matching web pages according to the search criteria.

Though specifics of search algorithms are not always made public, they generally take as input a sequence of words (search terms) and return as output links to web pages that contain the most relevant information the user seeks. Because search terms may be equivocal or applicable to multiple subjects, or because multiple people looking for the same information might enter substantially different search terms, search engines develop very particular sets of rules whereby they guide inputted search terms into proper directions to locate the requested information.

Any search engine has a crawler that collects information about all the content it can find on the Internet. Crawlers referred to as *spiders* visit web pages and index the information in a database. Search engine algorithms, then, identify, from a search's textual input, what to select from the search engine's index of the web to return an

output. These algorithms decide, from the multitude of web pages that contain some or all of the search terms, which to rank higher and which to rank relatively lower in the output. The decisions a search engine makes in this process inevitably prefer some information and rule out other information.

Search algorithms can be divided into three broad categories: on-page algorithms that assess on-page factors looking at the elements of a page (e.g., keywords in content or meta tags); whole-site algorithms that consider the relationship of site elements (e.g., architecture of pages, linking between pages); and, finally, off-site algorithms that examine the incoming links. All three types are generally part of a larger algorithm.

In general, the search results depend on the perceived quality of the page in accordance with the algorithm and a number of factors such as location, frequency of keywords, links or click through rates, apparent authority and trustworthiness of a website, number and quality of inbound and outbound links (for example, links going to and leading out from a website), and both connectivity with and popularity among social networks. For example, the PageRank of Google is a metric that assesses the importance of website pages by counting the number and quality of links to a page. Even slight changes in these choices can lead to significant differences in search results. Therefore, it is not unusual for one search engine to return different results from another search engine for the same search request.

SEO in Journalism

According to the Pew Research Center, visitors who arrived via a search engine accounted for at least 20% of the traffic to 11 of 26 top news sites studied in 2014. If a story's headline, URL, and metadata include the same keywords people are searching for, the story has a better chance of being found and read. While SEO appeared almost in parallel with the appearance of the first search engines in the late 1990s, SEO strategies only began to have a direct impact on journalistic workflow in many newsrooms in the 2010s, creating new challenges for media professionals and news organizations.

Many media outlets across the world (for example, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*,

CNN, the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Daily Telegraph*, to name a few) have recently employed SEO specialists to increase the visibility of their content and position their stories at the top of the search rankings. BBC trains all its journalists about basic SEO. Investing in the appropriate systems and training, news organizations can alter or modify their content to attract the interest of the bots and thus improve the exposure of their news stories in search engines.

Application of SEO practices to digital media outlets can be divided into three broad categories: On-page, off-page, and technical SEO. On-page optimization includes the management of all factors associated directly with a news website, such as keywords, appropriate content, internal link structure, and html elements. Many news publishers today around the world strive to create news rich in keywords: They create SEO-friendly titles, use metadata, include relevant keywords in the initial paragraphs (synonyms, plural variations, or other forms), and use multimedia content in the form of videos, photographs, podcasts, and so forth. On-page SEO also contains the page title (or HTML title tag), on-page headlines, description of web pages (or meta description tag), and URLs.

Off-page optimization includes all the actions performed outside the news website, such as link building or social signal strategy. For example, a news organization can obtain as many quality incoming links as possible or disseminate the news content via social media platforms. Finally, technical SEO may include actions such as the use of special formats for the mobile web, good information architecture, or an increase in website speed.

Given the increase of online news consumption and the dependence of the media outlets on digital platforms, news publishers constantly try to find techniques to improve the prominence and visibility of their stories in search engines and direct the traffic to their news sites. SEO practices reflect the essential needs of web users to find information, while also securing long-term promotion for journalism.

Criticism of SEO

Scholars have noted the power that search engines and the optimization for search ranking have by

bringing greater exposure to certain websites over others, and the political ramifications of this. Laura Granka has lamented a lack of transparency in many search engines and their algorithms, while Victor Asal and Paul Harwood (2008) have argued that understanding the mechanics of search engines dispels the notion “that the Internet is an egalitarian space” (p. 4).

Some news organizations and journalists attempt to deceive search engines using illicit techniques to intentionally improve search engine ranking. Those techniques are usually called *black-hat SEO* and do not follow the search engines’ guidelines. The techniques include, among others, keyword stuffing (filling a web page with particular words and phrases likely to be included in a search) and link farms (websites created to raise the search ranking of another site by linking to it).

Search engines deal with the attempts to game the rankings by constantly changing their algorithms. In 2011, Google launched the Panda update to lower the search ranking results of “low quality” sites in search results and to improve rankings for “high quality” sites. A 2012 update, Penguin, was in response to black-hat SEO tactics of so-called link schemes to send traffic from one website to another. In 2013, the Hummingbird update added contextual search, as Google had begun to look at the relationship between terms to interpret context.

Another dark side of SEO is that the dependence on SEO techniques may diminish publishers’ autonomy as well as the autonomy of journalism in general. Search engines may influence not only the news agenda journalists choose but also the way journalists write their stories. Although SEO is value-neutral, some worry that efforts to implement it in news organizations take away focus from delivering news in service of the audience and ensuring coverage of a range of topics.

Journalistic work can benefit when SEO is implemented consciously and professionally, however. The core of journalism is what content is covered and how it is created. Creating compelling, meaningful, and useful content will likely influence a news website more than any other factors. The content has to be characterized by reliability, interest, and quality. New techniques designed to ensure high ranking in search results

need to be cautiously implemented, keeping essential news values in mind. The need to pay attention to what the audience cares about cannot be downplayed. In a 2012 article describing SEO efforts at the BBC, Martin Asser claims that SEO is not just about increasing traffic to a story but also staying connected with the essential needs of web users, helping them find the information they need and want.

Developments in Search Engine Technology

The algorithms of search engines are constantly evolving, with artificial intelligence becoming a leading area in the evolution of SEO. In 2015, Google began using RankBrain, a search algorithm based on machine learning, to help push more relevant results to users.

In 2018, Google introduced a neural network-based technique for natural language processing called *Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers*, or BERT. BERT is designed to allow for searches using more complex or conversational language by incorporating a better understanding of how language is used and the context of individual words within searches.

Speakable (BETA) by Google Assistant is another signal showing the evolution of SEO. Speakable can return up to three relevant articles as a response to people’s questions about specific topics and provide audio playback using text-to-speech markup. Implementing such a markup can be lucrative for news organizations because when the assistant provides an answer, it also attributes the source and sends the full article URL to the user’s mobile device.

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See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism; Bots; Google; Internet: Impact on the Media

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SECRECY AND LEAKS

Government secrecy and the leaking of state secrets are not new, but have come to the forefront of attention in the United States in recent years during the presidential administrations of Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Previously, between 1917 with the passage of the Espionage Act through 2009, only one person had been convicted under the statute for leaking government documents to a news organization. Since 2010, the Obama and Trump administrations have prosecuted at least 15 individuals under the statute for such actions. Although no journalists have been prosecuted for government leaks through the first half of 2020, questions still arise about the competing interests of government secrecy and security versus freedom of the press.

This entry first discusses the U.S. government system for classifying documents and the use of national security as a justification for withholding information. Second, the entry looks at prosecutions under the Espionage Act. Finally, the entry turns to the legal and ethical considerations for journalists in regard to government secrecy, as well as concerns about the potential for government secrecy impinging on freedom of the press.

Government Classifications of Documents

In 1951, President Harry Truman passed an executive order creating a classification system of government information, resulting in the expansion of the amount of information deemed secret or classified, including at the state and local levels. David Davies (2006) called the executive order a “low point of press-government relations in the 1950s” (p. 860–861) as the relationship between the two parties began to be more adversarial. Whereas the press often practiced self-censorship during World War II, the new classification system led several reporters and editors to push against the withholding of information in peacetime, calling it unnecessary and against the values of a free press.

The U.S. government classification system includes three levels:

- “Confidential” is the lowest level of classification, which covers information that, if leaked, could damage national security.
- “Secret” classification covers information that could cause serious damage to national security.
- “Top secret” is the highest level of classification and covers disclosures of information that could cause exceptionally grave damage to national security.

Government officials and employees needing to view or otherwise use documents classified at any of these levels require clearance at the same level to do so.

National Security as Justification for Withholding Information

A common justification for government secrecy is the protection of information that could, if

released, cause damage to national defense and foreign relations. For example, in 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court was tasked with determining whether *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* could publish a Defense Department study detailing the history of U.S. activities in Vietnam that was leaked by military analyst Daniel Ellsberg. President Richard Nixon and his administration argued that a prior restraint, meaning preventing the newspapers from publishing excerpts of or the entirety document, was necessary to protect national security.

The Court in *New York Times v. United States*—what has become known as the “Pentagon Papers” case—ruled in a *per curiam* opinion that the Nixon administration had not overcome the “heavy presumption” against prior restraints. Justice Hugo Black wrote in a concurring opinion that:

[T]he word ‘security’ is a broad, vague generality whose contours should not be invoked to abrogate the fundamental law embodied in the First Amendment. The guarding of military and diplomatic secrets at the expense of informed representative government provides no real security for our Republic. (*New York Times v. United States*, 1971)

The Pentagon Papers case was far from the only instance of the government seeking to prevent a publication from publishing information with national security as the main justification. In 1979, a judge in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin issued a preliminary injunction on national security grounds prohibiting the publication of a story by *Progressive* magazine detailing how to build a hydrogen bomb. Several publications would go on to publish the information anyway as the injunction only applied to *Progressive*.

The federal government can also invoke national security as a reason to prevent disclosure of information in court. Under the state secrets privilege, the government can assert that it should not be forced to provide information during litigation when doing so would reasonably harm national security. The privilege can be a potent tool for the government to stop lawsuits because

if invocation of the claim succeeds, the case may lack sufficient grounds to proceed.

Espionage Act Prosecutions

Where government secrecy and freedom of the press come to a head is instances of the press publishing or broadcasting leaked government documents, raising questions about whether news organizations and reporters can be targeted. Although it has not been used to prosecute a traditional journalist who published leaked documents, the Espionage Act has been used more frequently in recent years to prosecute government leakers.

On June 15, 1917, two months after the United States entered World War I, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which prohibited the obtaining, recording, or copying of information that could result in the injury of the national defense and/or foreign relations. The act was also passed to target individuals seen as obstructing enlistment or causing disloyalty to the U.S. military.

In 1919, the Supreme Court upheld the convictions of three individuals viewed by the federal government to be dissenting voices and threats to the war effort. The Court in *Schenck v. United States* first upheld the conviction of socialist Charles T. Schenck, who circulated a flyer arguing that the draft violated the Thirteenth Amendment prohibition of involuntary servitude. In *Debs v. United States* (1919). The Court also ruled against Eugene Debs, who had delivered a public speech, which the Court found would have “the probable effect” of preventing military recruiting (*Debs v. United States*, 1919). Finally, the Court in *Abrams v. United States* (1919) upheld the conviction of Jacob Abrams and four other individuals under the Espionage Act after the group had thrown from a window two separate leaflets, one in English and one in Yiddish, denouncing World War I and the sending of American troops to Russia. The majority found that the Espionage Act criminalized the actions of these “anarchists,” “rebels,” and “revolutionists.” However, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. wrote a dissenting opinion in which he came to a different conclusion than he had in *Schenck* and *Debs*, ruling in favor of Abrams and holding that the First Amendment protects the right to dissent and disagree with the

government's viewpoints and actions. Justice Holmes also articulated the "marketplace of ideas" theory, writing that "the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution" (*Abrams v. United States*, 1919).

During the Obama administration, the Espionage Act began to be used more frequently to target the sources of government leaks. One such individual was Chelsea Manning, a former Army intelligence analyst, who in 2010 leaked over 700,000 pages of classified U.S. documents to WikiLeaks, a nonprofit organization known for publishing leaked government information. The documents included incident logs from the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, dossiers on Guantánamo Bay detainees held without trial, diplomatic cables from American embassies, and a video of a helicopter attack in Baghdad that killed two journalists. A military court found Manning guilty on six counts of violating the Espionage Act, as well as on 14 lesser charges in July 2013. On August 21, 2013, Manning was sentenced to 35 years in prison, with President Obama commuting most of the remaining prison sentence in January 2017. Manning was later jailed once again on contempt charges in 2019 after refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating WikiLeaks and founder Julian Assange, though she was released when the grand jury was dismissed in 2020.

Another leak case involved Edward Snowden, a former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor who leaked a trove of classified information to *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post* in 2013. The information that Snowden provided to journalists documented the widespread scope of U.S. intelligence agencies' surveillance efforts worldwide. The programs Snowden revealed fall generally into two categories: (1) domestic collection of telephone and email metadata authorized under sections 214 and 215 of the USA PATRIOT Act; and (2) generalized collections of communications authorized under section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). On September 2, 2020, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit held that the NSA's warrantless mass

surveillance of Americans' telephone metadata violated FISA and may have violated the Fourth Amendment, but the ruling was likely to be appealed. In the wake of the disclosures, Snowden fled to Russia in June 2013, where he remained as of mid-2020 to avoid possible prosecution in the United States.

In one case, James Risen, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist and author, was swept up in an Espionage Act prosecution by the Obama administration. In 2010, federal prosecutors indicted former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer Jeffrey Sterling, alleging that he had provided classified information for Risen's book, *State of War*. In 2011, then-U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder authorized a subpoena ordering Risen to testify at Sterling's trial. Risen refused, contending that he had a First Amendment right to protect his source. In 2013, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit overturned a district court order, which had prevented prosecutors from asking Risen to disclose the name of his source. After the Supreme Court declined to hear Risen's case, he faced potential jail time for contempt. However, the DOJ did not seek Risen's testimony during Sterling's actual trial. Sterling was ultimately convicted under the Espionage Act and sentenced to 42 months in prison. In January 2018, he was released after serving over 2 years of the sentence.

The Trump administration also targeted several leakers, continuing the trend started by the Obama administration. The first such prosecution concluded on August 23, 2018, when former NSA contractor Reality Winner was sentenced to 63 months in prison and 3 years of probation for leaking classified documents detailing Russian involvement in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, among other information. On October 18, 2018, Terry James Albury, a former Minneapolis Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent who leaked agency documents detailing surveillance of journalists, among other topics, was charged with two counts of violating the Espionage Act and sentenced to 4 years in prison.

Additionally, in March 2017, the CIA experienced its largest loss of confidential information in the history of the agency, with thousands of documents detailing the CIA's surveillance and hacking of electronic devices being leaked. Over 1 year

later, in May 2018, the U.S. federal government identified Joshua A. Schulte, who formerly worked for the CIA and NSA, as a prime suspect, charging Schulte with three counts under the Espionage Act. The Trump administration also charged U.S. Air Force intelligence analyst Daniel Everette Hale, who was accused of obtaining classified information illegally and disclosing it to a reporter. In October 2019, the DOJ charged Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) employee Henry Kyle Frese with two counts under the Espionage Act for leaking classified national defense information to two journalists, one at CNBC and the other at NBC News.

New York Times reporter Ali Watkins was swept up in the DOJ's 2018 prosecution of James A. Wolfe, the former U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) director of security. Wolfe agreed to plead guilty to one count of making a false statement to the FBI in connection to an investigation into alleged leaks to the press. As part of the investigation, federal officials secretly seized several years' worth of Watkins' phone and email records, potentially in violation of DOJ policies regarding the obtaining of journalists' records by law enforcement.

Perhaps the closest the federal government has come to prosecuting a news organization for its involvement in publishing leaked government documents was the May 2019 charges against Julian Assange, the founder of WikiLeaks. On May 23, 2019, the DOJ released an indictment alleging 17 counts under the Espionage Act against Assange. The indictment also included an additional count of violating the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (CFAA). According to the indictment, the DOJ claimed that Assange and WikiLeaks encouraged individuals with security clearances to leak classified information so it could be published.

The charges against Assange prompted significant concern from journalists and press advocates that the indictment was the next step toward prosecuting traditional journalists under the statute. For example, in a May 24, 2019, HuffPost article, Jane Kirtley, the Silha Professor of Media Ethics and Law at the University of Minnesota, said, "Whatever happens to Julian Assange could potentially happen to any journalist, anywhere—including someone who the government would

acknowledge has a more traditional journalistic role" (Robins-Early, 2019).

Legal Considerations for Journalists and Government Secrecy

There are three additional areas of law at the intersection of government secrecy and freedom of the press, each of which illustrate the complicated legal landscape around protections for and the right to publish information related to the federal government. The first is the reporter's privilege to protect journalists from having to reveal confidential sources or unpublished information. The 1972 Supreme Court case *Branzburg v. Hayes* brought the issue of a reporter's privilege to the forefront of national attention. Although the Court sided against the press, it was a limited decision that focused only on journalists appearing before a grand jury in relation to revealing confidential sources. The majority ruled that because citizens are not constitutionally immune from testifying before a grand jury under a subpoena, this same standard should be applied to the press.

However, the majority in *Branzburg* "[le]ft state legislatures free, within First Amendment limits, to fashion their own standards in light of the conditions and problems with respect to the relations between law enforcement officials and press in their own areas" (*Branzburg v. Hayes*, 1972). Known as "shield laws," several states have passed legislation providing an absolute or qualified privilege for reporters to protect their confidential sources and, in some cases, information. Other states recognize such a privilege in their state constitutions, common law, or court rulings. However, there is no federal shield law, though different federal circuits recognize the privilege in different ways. Additionally, in *Cowles v. Cohen* (1991), the Supreme Court held that journalists can face liability for violating an agreement with a source.

There have been some limited instances where journalists have been jailed for contempt of court after refusing to disclose their sources of leaked government information. In 2005, the D.C. Circuit upheld a ruling by a federal judge, who found *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller in contempt after she refused to appear before a federal grand jury tasked with determining who had

leaked the identity of CIA agent Valerie Plame. Miller spent 85 days in prison before Lewis Libby, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff, formally released her from a pledge of confidentiality. Miller then testified that she had two conversations with Libby about Plame, although she never wrote about her. Similarly, in 2006, federal prosecutors issued a subpoena to freelance blogger Joshua Wolf to appear before a grand jury. Wolf had made a video recording of a protest in San Francisco during which someone had struck and seriously injured a police officer with a pipe. Although the video had not been aired, Wolf refused to turn it over. The Ninth Circuit ultimately held that Wolf could not claim the reporter's privilege for nonconfidential material, leading the blogger to serve 226 days in jail for contempt. Wolf was released after he agreed to post the video on his website, though it did not depict who had struck the police officer.

A second area of law dealing with protections for journalists who publish leaked documents was involved in a string of cases decided by the Supreme Court in the 1970s and 1980s, including *Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn* (1975), *Oklahoma Publishing Co. v. Oklahoma County District Court* (1977), *Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia* (1978), *Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co.* (1979), and *Florida Star v. B. J. F.* (1989). These cases established what became known as the *Daily Mail* principle, which holds that a media organization should not be punished for disseminating truthful information of public significance where the media organization had no role in any illegality.

In the *Daily Mail* series of cases, the Supreme Court held to be in violation of the First Amendment statutes prohibiting the media from publishing certain lawfully obtained and truthful information, including (1) the name of a rape victim, (2) the name of a juvenile defendant, and (3) the confidential proceedings before a state judicial review commission. Although the press does not have an absolute right to publish truthful information under the First Amendment, the Supreme Court ruled that in certain cases, "absent a governmental need of the highest order," the press has a First Amendment right to publish (*Bartnicki v. Vopper*, 2001).

The Court also addressed the question "concerning what degree of protection, if any, the First Amendment provides to speech that discloses the contents of an illegally intercepted communication," but is also truthful information, in *Bartnicki v. Vopper*. The Court cited the *Daily Mail* line of cases and the Pentagon Papers, holding that "a stranger's illegal conduct does not suffice to remove the First Amendment shield from speech about a matter of public concern" (*Bartnicki v. Vopper*, 2001). The Court thus held that, at least in the particular circumstances of the case, the First Amendment right of publication exceeded the government's interests, therefore protecting the press from government punishment of publication where it did not participate in, but only received, the illegal interception of communications.

Finally, the right to publish has little value if there is nothing to publish. Public records laws play an important role in that regard by facilitating public access to government records. Public records laws generally impose a duty on agencies and officials to release a wide range of records related to governmental activity. In the United States, the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) governs access to records of federal agencies, while state public records laws govern access to records of state and local governments.

FOIA imposes disclosure obligations on federal agencies, but it does not apply to the president, vice president, Congress, or the federal courts. Access is not absolute, however. Agencies may withhold (1) properly classified material implicating national security or foreign policy; (2) internal agency personnel rules and practices; (3) information specifically exempted from disclosure by statute; (4) trade secrets and privileged or confidential commercial information; (5) inter-agency or intra-agency correspondence; (6) personnel and medical files when disclosure would invade someone's personal privacy; (7) certain material compiled for law enforcement purpose; (8) information related to government supervision of financial institutions; and (9) geological and geophysical information about wells. Agencies must respond to requests within 20 days, although agencies often have significant processing backlogs that well exceed this response time requirement. Meanwhile, every U.S. state has a public records law of

some sort on the books, as does the District of Columbia. Though the laws are similar in purpose, they can vary widely in the scope and level of access to records, applicable exemptions, fees, response time requirements, and enforcement provisions.

The press has played an important role in the development, use, and enforcement of public records laws in the United States. Virtually every day, news organizations produce stories based on public records, including daily police blotters, investigative reports, and long-form features. But journalists are not necessarily the most frequent requesters of public records. At least at the federal level, multiple studies indicate that commercial requesters tend to be the most prolific users of FOIA overall, often filing requests in an effort to resell the records for profit, gather intelligence on competitors, and better understand the regulatory landscape.

Ethical Considerations for Journalists and Government Secrecy

Government secrecy and the leaking of secrets is not just a legal issue but also has important ethical considerations for journalists. Journalism groups and news organizations have adopted ethics codes that implicate both government secrecy and interactions with anonymous sources.

The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) Code of Ethics says journalists should recognize their watchdog role in holding government accountable. This includes championing government transparency and working to ensure that all people have access to public records. The Online News Association says its members should be able to access information to the same extent as other news outlets so as to promote the principles of FOIA. Some news organizations have similar ethical provisions. For instance, the *Wisconsin State Journal's* Code of Ethics says it is the newspaper's responsibility to defend the First Amendment and the state's public records and open meetings laws on the public's behalf and to challenge efforts that would diminish such rights.

Interactions with sources is another ethical dimension. SPJ says journalists should evaluate the motives of sources before promising them anonymity, and that when sources are used

anonymously, news organizations should explain the reason for granting anonymity. SPJ also calls for journalists to provide anonymity to sources only when they face danger or retribution, and when the information cannot be obtained from another source.

Likewise, the Associated Press (AP) Statement of News Values and Principles says its journalists may grant sources anonymity only when three conditions are met: (1) The source is providing information instead of speculation or opinion; (2) granting anonymity to the source is the only way in which the information can be obtained; and (3) the source has proven to be reliable and would have access to information that is accurate. AP reporters must get approval from a supervisor before filing a story with an anonymous source, and the supervisor has an obligation to evaluate the material supplied from the anonymous source.

Government Secrecy Versus Freedom of the Press

Rhetoric by the Trump administration further raised the possibility that the federal government could, and perhaps would, target journalists for prosecution over the publication of government leaks. On May 16, 2017, President Trump suggested to then-FBI director James Comey that he should consider putting reporters in prison for disseminating classified information. During an August 4, 2017, news conference, then-Attorney General Jeff Sessions indicated that the DOJ was evaluating departmental policies regarding subpoenas for members of the press and suggested that the DOJ would consider targeting journalists as part of leak investigations. Finally, during a January 15, 2020, confirmation hearing, Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.) asked then-U.S. Attorney General nominee William Barr, "If you're confirmed, will the Justice Department jail reporters for doing their jobs?" Barr responded that he could "conceive of situations" where such actions could be taken as a "last resort," such as when a news organization publishes or broadcasts information "that will hurt the country" (Wemple, 2019).

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See also Censorship; First Amendment; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; Investigative Journalism; Pentagon Papers; Prior Restraint; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism; WikiLeaks

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SECTION 230, COMMUNICATIONS DECENCY ACT

Section 230 of the U.S. Communications Decency Act is the centerpiece American Internet law. It greatly limits the legal liabilities of those who facilitate and transmit others' content electronically. For this reason, it has encouraged everyone to participate in the Internet, enabled that medium to grow, and thereby allowed its electronic content to dominate communications. But for the same reason, it has engendered criticism and concern, particularly because of the almost unlimited freedom it has given large technology companies to grow and dominate the Internet, largely based on customer content for which, under Section 230, they have no liability. This entry examines pre-Internet laws and several early legal cases that led to the development of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act. This entry further examines the enactment of Section 230 of the Communication Decency Act and ongoing opposition to the Act.

Pre-Internet Law

To understand Section 230, one must understand preexisting law. Traditional publication law made practically everyone in the path of publication liable for unlawful or tortious published content,

such as statements or articles that were libelous or invaded someone's privacy. In the classic case of a newspaper that published a libelous article, this meant potential liability for everyone in the chain of publication—reporter, editor, publisher, even a newsstand operator.

The law distinguished between knowing participants in publication (the reporter, editor, and publisher) and mere distributors unfamiliar with the content. So distributors were liable only if they knew of the wrongful content. A newsstand operator was safe when the bundle of newspapers was plopped on the store's doorstep. But once someone told the newsstand operator (or other distributor) that a particular newspaper contained libelous content, it would face liability if it continued to sell the challenged material.

Under this broad publication liability system, publishers took care as to every item they published. News editors carefully edited reporter's copy, advertising managers checked out advertising content, and editorial page editors vetted reader letters before publishing them. Because wronged persons had full remedies against those in the direct chain of publication, distributors were rarely challenged. This publication liability system covered newspapers, magazines, books, and broadcasting, as well as less traditional media such as videotapes, electronic games, and recordings. A "common carrier" exemption excluded telephone companies from this system; common carriers were not liable for the content they carried.

Online Service Cases

Prior to the widespread commercial use of the Internet, several commercial online services introduced the public to electronic news and information. Two cases stemming from those services revealed the consequences of applying the traditional publication liability system online.

In *Cubby v. CompuServe*, the online service CompuServe was sued for libel based on an article, published on Rumorville USA, an online newsletter, which was included in CompuServe's Journalism Forum, one of the 150 forums that CompuServe made available to its subscribers. The court viewed CompuServe as akin to a distributor of publications, and thus liable only once

it had notice of tortious conduct, such as the allegedly disparaging messages carried on Rumorville USA. CompuServe evaded liability in that case, but the decision gave potential plaintiffs a roadmap—to make an online service liable, one only need give it notice of the illegal content it was carrying.

The next case, *Stratton Oakmont v. Prodigy*, went farther. The online service Prodigy, unlike CompuServe, engaged in some content screening. (Seeking to be family-friendly, it screened for, and excluded, content containing the so-called seven dirty words.) In assessing Prodigy's potential liability to a libel plaintiff, a court followed a similar analysis as in *Cubby v. CompuServe*, but found that Prodigy fell into the "publisher" category, because it had engaged in content editing. Prodigy thus was as much liable for the alleged libelous article as the article's author.

The *Stratton Oakmont* case came down in 1995, just as it was becoming apparent that the Internet, then still predominantly used by government and universities, would soon be opening up to broad commercial and public use. If *Stratton Oakmont* (and *Cubby*) were the law, Internet service providers could become directly liable for all of the content they carried. Under *Stratton Oakmont*, any service that edited content took on direct liability. And even if a service did not screen or edit content, as Prodigy did, a wronged party's notice could make a distributor liable under *Cubby*. To avoid liability, service providers would have to hire teams of reviewers to vet user content, and to be safe, they would have to take down all questionable and challenged content. This would give anyone bold enough to object an automatic veto on Internet content.

Enactment of Section 230

The nascent Internet service provider industry went to Congress and lobbied for the law that became Section 230. The industry asked for special rules making the traditional publication liability system inapplicable on the Internet. While the industry was concerned with the outcomes of both *Cubby* and *Stratton Oakmont*, the lobbying and debate focused on *Stratton Oakmont*, because its holding was so contrary to public policy—it penalized those who sought to improve content

more than those who did nothing. Congress listened to the industry and enacted a law with two key provisions—a liability exclusion for online service providers as to third-party content they carried, and a “Good Samaritan” provision that specifically approved of, and immunized, good faith content screening and editing.

Though Section 230 represented a major change in the law, it was approved with relatively little controversy, probably largely because the Internet service providers who lobbied for it were strong and united, and there was no countervailing lobbying effort. The discussions during congressional deliberations generally echoed the purposes set forth in the bill’s preamble: that it was necessary to enable the Internet and its promise for free and open communications by all.

Title

Section 230’s placement within the major legislation known as the *Telecommunications Act of 1996* led to a curious title. Another part of the Telecommunications Act sought to prohibit dissemination of indecent material on the Internet. That part, the Exon Amendment, was placed together with Section 230 into a chapter titled the “Communications Decency Act.” The Exon Amendment was challenged and found unconstitutional in 1997 in *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union*, leaving only Section 230 within the chapter named for its unconstitutional statutory neighbor. Section 230 is often referred to by the ill-fitting chapter title or its CDA abbreviation.

Terms

Section 230 is codified in the federal Communications Act; its full citation is 47 U.S.C. § 230. The section begins with a statement of congressional findings and policy, expressing the purpose of the act to promote the continued development of the Internet and interactive media, and to preserve its vibrant and competitive free market, largely unfettered by regulation. These precatory preamble has significantly influenced the interpretation of the act.

The operative subsection, part (c), contains two provisions: (c)(1), the basic immunity provision, worded such that online intermediaries may not

be “treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another,” and (c)(2), the Good Samaritan provision, immunizing actions taken in good faith to restrict or take down material. Further sections of the act define terms and set its limitations, including its nonapplication to intellectual property and federal criminal laws.

Because of the intellectual property exemption, Section 230 does not apply to claims of copyright or trademark infringement. Some courts have also classified common law right of publicity claims as exempt because of their intellectual property-like nature. Service providers have a different statutory immunity, in section 512 of the Copyright Act, enacted 2 years after Section 230, as part of the Digital Millennium Copyright Act. Rather than a blanket immunity like Section 230, section 512 sets up a notice-and-takedown scheme, protecting service providers while also providing a means for copyright owners to pursue online infringers. No special statute covers trademark infringement, so service providers continue to have potential contributory liability for their users’ trademark infringement once they have notice of the infringement.

Application of Section 230

In practice, Section 230 has immunized most activities of Internet intermediaries like service providers, search engines, social media sites, website, and message board operators, and similar providers, to the extent that they carry third-party content.

Two cases decided shortly after enactment of Section 230 interpreted its grant of immunity very broadly, and proved influential in shaping subsequent cases. The first, *Zeran v. America Online*, involved a post by an unidentified user on American Online (AOL) that made false and defamatory accusations against the plaintiff, Kenneth Zeran. He sued AOL (at least in part because he did not know the identity of the post’s creator). The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit held that Section 230 barred claims, like Zeran’s, seeking to hold a service provider liable for its exercise of a publisher’s traditional functions, such as deciding whether to publish, withdraw, postpone, or alter content.

Referring to the prefatory policy sections of the act, the court identified Section 230's key purposes as to not deter online speech by imposing tort liability on online intermediaries (since such liabilities would inevitably lead them to censor their customers' content), and to encourage service providers to self-regulate, taking advantage of the section's Good Samaritan provision. To Zeran's argument that AOL was a distributor (and hence potentially liable after notice, like CompuServe in *Cubby*), the court held that distributor liability was a kind of publisher liability, and all such liabilities were immunized by Section 230.

The second case, *Blumenthal v. Drudge*, tested whether Section 230 would immunize a service provider even when it approved and profited from the content at issue. AOL had paid for Matthew Drudge to create content for its service, and had retained contractual authority to approve or remove "Drudge Report" content. But when plaintiff Sidney Blumenthal sued AOL for defamatory content on the "Drudge Report" hosted on AOL, the court found AOL immunized by Section 230 even in these circumstances. All that mattered for Section 230 purposes, the court held, was that the content in issue was third-party content—"material disseminated by them [AOL] but created by others [Drudge]." The court characterized Section 230 as a "tacit quid pro quo" in which Congress exchanged immunity as an incentive for service providers to self-police the content they carry.

Scores of Section 230 cases followed *Zeran* and *Blumenthal*, but the vast majority of them followed their reasoning and results. Even the few notable cases that have not ruled in favor of service providers, often at early procedural stages of litigation, identified only narrow gaps in its immunity. The Ninth Circuit decision in *Fair Housing Council of San Fernando Valley v. Roommates.com, LLC*, for example, held that a provider may be liable for content if it prescribes or mandates a portion of the content that is challenged as tortious or otherwise illegal. By contrast, many decisions hold, and *Roommates.com* acknowledges, that providers are not liable if they provide only customary editing to a third party's content.

Opposition to Section 230

After its breath and effectiveness in shielding service providers became apparent, various parties began attacking Section 230, on different grounds. In *Wild West 2.0: How to protect and restore your online reputation on the untamed social frontier*, for example, Michael Fertik and David Thompson claimed that Section 230 left people defenseless from online communications, including anonymous disparagement and hateful harassment.

In 2018, Congress significantly restricted Section 230 for the first time, after the online classified advertising forums Craigslist and Backpage repeatedly used Section 230 to successfully defend themselves from allegations that human traffickers were using their services. Congress enacted FOSTA-SESTA, the Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act, and Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act, which created an exception to Section 230 that seeks to make website service providers responsible if third parties are found to be posting ads for prostitution on their platforms. As of April 2020, a constitutional challenge to FOSTA-SESTA was pending.

More general concerns about Section 230 grew as the Internet economy changed. When Section 230 was enacted, in the mid-1990s, the Internet was generally seen as an open and diverse medium, full of potential for everyone. By the second and third decades of the 21st century, many people had soured on its promises and focused instead on online content and practices that they found objectionable. Few critics directly criticized the core function of Section 230—allowing third party content free of the need for service providers to prereview all content and prohibit that which could be legally actionable. Rather, criticism focused on what critics felt Section 230 allowed or facilitated: (1) a content free-for-all, often with misleading (sometimes deliberately so), mean-spirited, or partisan messaging, and/or (2) the Internet business landscape, dominated by tech companies like Google, Facebook, and Amazon, so profitable and powerful that they were effectively insulated from government controls or user preferences.

Various changes to Section 230 have been suggested, including creation of a notice-and-takedown system similar to section 512 of the

Copyright Act; removing the Good Samaritan provision or modifying it to make intermediaries liable for their changes to user content; applying a common carrier standard (slightly more limited protection than Section 230); or making intermediaries liable for user content, but limiting remedies against them (for example, only injunctive relief). Some kind of “fairness doctrine” or ideological balance requirement has also been suggested, although such a change seems unlikely to pass constitutional muster.

Section 230 has significantly influenced the development of online communications and culture in the United States. Its successor, if there is one, will do the same.

Mark Sableman

See also Censorship; Editing, Online and Digital; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Internet: Impact on the Journalism; Libel; Telecommunications Act of 1996

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SEDITION ACT OF 1798

In 1798, the U.S. Congress passed four laws known collectively as the *Alien and Sedition Acts* regulating immigration, citizenship, and the rights of aliens, or noncitizens, in the United States, and setting legal limits on political speech. The Sedition Act forbade citizens from writing or speaking critically about the president and the Congress in a defamatory way. It was seen as an effort by the Federalist Party, headed by John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, to muzzle its opponents, the Democratic-Republican Party headed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and a violation of the freedom of speech enshrined in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

This entry first describes the political concerns and unrest in the years leading up to the Alien and Sedition Acts, as well as the political role of newspapers in the early United States. It then looks at the rationale for passing the Alien and Sedition Acts, opposition to the Sedition Act, and prosecutions under the Sedition Act. Finally, it discusses the impact of the Sedition Act on newspapers and free speech in the United States.

The Alien and Sedition Acts were the result of several cross currents at work in the early American republic. When drafting the U.S. Constitution, many delegates feared the federal government would hold too much power, threatening the authority of the individual states as well as the people’s civil liberties. In response, the first Congress passed the Bill of Rights guaranteeing the freedom of speech and the press in the First Amendment to the Constitution and asserting that any power not specifically granted to the federal government by the Constitution was reserved to the individual states in the Tenth Amendment.

In addition to apportioning power between the federal government and the states, the Constitution balanced power between the three branches of government. The goal of government, in part, was to maintain stability and insofar as it damaged people’s confidence in their rulers, criticism of the government as well as factions and political

parties were seen as destabilizing forces that should be limited.

In 1789, the year George Washington became president, the French revolution erupted. While most Americans initially welcomed the revolution's commitment to human rights, equality, and liberty, as the events in France became more chaotic, many Americans became disillusioned and fearful that its disorder would spread. In 1793, Edmond Genet, the French representative to the United States began to outfit privateers to attack British ships, with whom the French were then at war. In response, Washington proclaimed that the United States was a neutral in the conflict between Britain and France. Jefferson and Madison, however, argued that the president did not have the power to issue such a proclamation. Hamilton, in contrast, argued that Washington did have that authority.

Partially at the urging of Genet, Democratic-Republican Societies were formed to oppose Washington's neutrality proclamation. These societies viewed the French Revolution as the continuation of the American Revolution, opposed Hamilton's fiscal policies and saw Washington as a betrayer of the country. When farmers in western Pennsylvania rebelled against a tax imposed on them by the federal government, Washington blamed the Democratic-Republican societies for the unrest. Politically, the United States was beginning to cleave politically into two camps—the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans.

The Political Role of Newspapers

Like the very structure of government, in the 1790s, the role of public opinion and the people in governing was unsettled. The Federalists generally believed the people should vote in elections and then support the government and their leaders. Criticism reduced confidence in the governors threatening government stability. The Democratic-Republicans saw the public opinion and the press as safeguards against tyranny.

Public opinion was expressed and ideas debated through a wide range of vehicles including public gatherings, the submission of petitions to the government officials, meetings, parades, pamphlets, and newspapers. In April 1789, John Fenno

established the *Gazette of the United States* to serve as the voice of the Federalist government, then located in New York City. Until then almost all American newspapers were integrated into larger, more comprehensive printing operations. Their pages were often open to a large array of contributors. Many newspapers relied on the local government for printing contracts, so they were careful not to antagonize people in power. The *Gazette of the United States* was different. The newspaper was tied so closely to the Federalist government, that when the capital moved from New York to Philadelphia, the newspaper moved as well.

With the *Gazette* regularly publishing essays by Adams, Hamilton, and their supporters, politicians surrounding Jefferson and Madison felt the need to respond. In 1790, Jefferson cajoled Philip Freneau, a classmate of Madison's at Princeton University, to launch *The National Gazette*, which served as a platform for the Democratic-Republicans.

Neither the *Gazette of the United States* nor the *National Gazette* were successful financially. But the impulse for newspapers to ally themselves politically took hold. In 1794, Benjamin Franklin Bache, Benjamin Franklin's grandson, founded *America Aurora* in Philadelphia. The newspaper was notorious for its vituperative attacks on Federalist politicians including George Washington and John Adams. As more newspapers became politicized, leading politicians worried that governments could withstand the newspapers' assaults. Jefferson opined that public opinion was so powerful that even the worst government could remain in power with its support and without it even the best government would fail.

Passing the Alien and Sedition Acts

In 1794, John Jay, then the chief justice of the United States, led a delegation to Great Britain to resolve issues remaining since the end of the American revolution. Washington and Hamilton supported the treaty he negotiated. Jefferson opposed it, contending that its terms favored Great Britain at the expense of France. France also objected to the treaty. To avert war, in 1798, President John Adams sent a delegation to France. In what is called the XYZ Affair, the peace mission

failed. It appeared that war with France was inevitable, polarizing the nation.

Fearful that immigrants from France and Ireland would destabilize the U.S. government, the Federalist-led Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Sedition Act defined sedition as speaking, writing, or publishing false, scandalous, and malicious words against the government of the United States, either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States with the intention of defaming them. The rationale was that freedom of the press should not be extended to those who wanted to destabilize the government. While freedom of the press conferred the liberty of writing, publishing, and speaking a person's thoughts, that person was answerable to the party injured by those words, including the government.

Opposition to the Sedition Act

The Democratic-Republicans fought the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts with mass meetings and demonstrations as well arguing their case through newspapers and pamphlets. For example, George Hay, who defended one of the journalists indicted under the Sedition Act, asserted that any legislative control of the press would be an abridgement of its liberty. The Democratic-Republicans also argued that restrictions on the press would eventually lead to restrictions on the right to assemble, to petition the government and other civil liberties.

The most concerted opposition came in the form of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, passed by the legislatures of those states. Thomas Jefferson initially drafted the Kentucky Resolution. He argued that the acts violated the First and Tenth Amendments of the Constitution. Moreover, justifying the acts through the clause in the Constitution empowering the federal government to promote the general welfare gave the executive branch power not authorized by the Constitution. Jefferson contended that since the Constitution was a compact created by the states, when the federal government assumed undelegated powers, those laws were unauthorized and consequently void and of no force. The states had the right to decide the constitutionality of federal laws. Jefferson warned that if the federal government usurped

undelegated power, revolution and bloodshed could follow. The Kentucky legislature passed a milder version of Jefferson's draft, and called on the other states to declare the acts unconstitutional.

James Madison authored the Virginia Resolution urging repeal. He demanded that the states take the necessary and proper measures to maintain their authority and the liberty of the people. Although generally the judiciary checked the general government, Madison conceded, this case required the intercession of the states because the acts threatened the right to freely examine public characters and measures, which safeguarded every other right.

The theory that the states had the authority to judge the constitutionality of federal law and nullify those laws found to be unconstitutional was not embraced by the other states. Ten states condemned at least one of the resolutions. Only Tennessee joined Virginia and Kentucky in demanding the repeal of the acts. The Massachusetts legislature declared that the concept that each state could decide the unconstitutionality of laws undermined the idea of union and sapped the federal government of any authority.

Public opinion also initially supported the Federalist position on the Alien and Sedition Acts. In the elections of 1798, the Federalists maintained control of both houses of Congress.

Sedition Act Prosecutions

Between 1797 and 1801, at least 17 and perhaps as many as 28 indictments for sedition were initiated. Of the 17 best known cases, three were brought under the common law for sedition and 14 were charged under the Sedition Act. The first indictment for sedition was brought under common law against Benjamin Franklin Bache, the editor of *American Aurora*, in June 1798, prior to the final codification of the Sedition Act. Bache had printed a letter from the French foreign minister about the XYZ affair before it had been translated and released by the administration. Before the trial, Bache died of yellow fever.

The first person to be charged under the Sedition Act itself was Matthew Lyon, a printer who established a newspaper in Vermont in an ultimately successful effort to get elected to Congress.

Lyon was indicted on October 5, 1798, for publishing letters that purportedly defamed the president. Convicted on October 8, Lyon was fined \$1,000 and commanded to remain in jail until the fine was paid. Lyon continued to write from jail and later that year won reelection to Congress while still imprisoned. Eventually, Lyon's fine was paid through funds raised from leading Democratic-Republicans, including Jefferson and Madison.

Over time, in addition to editors, the Sedition Act was brought against a variety of people who criticized the Adams administration including James Bell, a tavern owner in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Benjamin Fairbanks of Massachusetts was prosecuted for erecting a liberty pole with a placard atop it denouncing Adams and supporting Jefferson.

The Impact of the Sedition Act

The Sedition Act expired on the last day of the Adams administration in March 1801. As an instrument of political suppression, it largely failed. Only a few newspapers closed, and editors charged with sedition continued publishing while their trials were underway. Some were able to make their voices heard even from jail. Far from stifling Democratic-Republican sentiment, the Acts stimulated it. Of the approximately 71 newspapers established in 1800, around 30 identified with the Democratic-Republicans. The Democratic-Republicans won the election of 1800 and when Jefferson took office, every major city and many smaller towns had a newspaper supporting his views.

While the Sedition Act expired, sedition, defined as criticism of the government and its officials, continued to be a crime at the state level. The defense against a charge of sedition laid out in the Sedition Act was eventually incorporated into state sedition laws. Those changes represented a broadening of the scope of free speech compared to the common law of sedition, which had traditionally been applied. As opposed to the common law, the Sedition Act only punished false speech that was maliciously uttered. Both the truth of the speech and the intention had to be considered. Moreover, juries decided both the facts and the

law in sedition cases. Under common law, juries only decided if the person was responsible for the offending words. Judges decided if the words were libelous. The last case of criminal sedition involving the federal government came when President Theodore Roosevelt unsuccessfully brought suit against the *New York World* and the *Indianapolis News* in 1909.

Elliot King

See also Democracy and the Media; Espionage Act; First Amendment; History of Free Expression, History of; Partisan Press

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SELF-PUBLISHING

The term *self-publishing* is used to describe processes used when an author publishes works of fiction or nonfiction without the use of a commercial publishing house, which typically buys the copyright of a creative work in return for royalties paid to the author. This entry describes key moments in the development of self-publishing,

from the invention of the printing press through to the current day when the affordances of 21st-century digital technology have allowed for more than 1 million self-published titles to be created in 2018. According to the 2018 Bowker Report, self-publishing is in the strongest growth period in its history.

For centuries, publishing depended on access to the means of mass production. This changed irrevocably after the development of digital means of production to the point that today the author, not the platform, can be the publisher. This entry examines early forms of publishing and the various forms of self-publishing through the centuries.

Early Publishing

For hundreds of years following the invention of the Gutenberg printing press in 1439, the costs associated with owning the means of production were prohibitive, so mass publication was provided by a limited number of publishing houses. The model for these businesses is to purchase the rights to a work from the author in return for royalties on sales. Royalty percentages are determined by the publishing house and the author (and the author's agent, if they have one). The commissioning editor coordinates peer review of the manuscript proposal and/or sample chapters before taking the proposal to an Editorial Board that determines whether the proposal is worth publishing. This decision is a professional judgment as to the projected sales of the published work. Authors are paid an advance on their royalties, based on minimum projected sales.

A second peer review, of the full manuscript, is organized when the manuscript is submitted. Authors are typically set up with a staff editor, who may make adjustments and structural changes to the manuscript and will organize production processes such as indexing. The house takes on the responsibilities and costs of designing, editing, printing, distributing, and marketing the book.

Vanity and Subscription Publishing

One of the earliest self-publishers was American inventor Benjamin Franklin, who had the financial means from his other businesses and

investments to use his own printing press for 26 years to publish his annual *Poor Richard's Almanack* from 1732. The book, an early form of personal journalism containing essays and an annual weather forecast, became one of the most popular publications in colonial America, selling an average of 10,000 copies a year. This form of self-publishing was known for many years as *vanity publishing* because the author published to a market without the work being evaluated by a commercial publishing house for its potential commercial success. Instead, the author paid a publisher to print and distribute a publication. For example, English author Jane Austen paid London publisher Thomas Egerton to publish her first novel *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811 after it was rejected by commercial publishers. In the 20th century, French author Marcel Proust paid for the publication of his early works after publishers declined to do so.

In the later 1800s, an early form of direct marketing emerged whereby subscriptions to the books were sold door-to-door by salespeople. *Subscription publishing* was considered a "low-class" method of publishing. It was the owner of a subscription publisher, American Publishing Company, who approached Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) in 1867 to compile a book from his *Sacramento Union* articles describing his travels in Europe, Egypt, and the Holy Land. The resulting book, *Innocents Abroad*, was sold door to door in installments.

Vanity publishing still exists today. It differs from self-publishing in that the author assumes all the risk and pays the publisher. While vanity presses do offer services like cover design and editing, the publisher typically owns the copyright to the work.

Zines

In the 1970s, self-publishing was popularized in various subcultures, especially in the United Kingdom. These publications called *zines* were first produced using inexpensive offset printing technology, which was also used to create alternative newspapers and underground comics. By the punk rock era of the 1970s, xerography had become commonplace, enabling fans to easily produce their own do-it-yourself publications for

distribution at concerts and in record shops. Zines differed from other publications through their heavy use of collage, paper cutouts, and a rough “undersigned” look. Today, printed zines continue to be produced alongside digital zines, which sometimes replicate the cut-and-paste aesthetic of paper zines.

Print on Demand

Self-publishing has been further enabled by advancements in technology, such as the development of desktop publishing software. Printed material was distributed by mail-order or via consignment in bookshops and was the forerunner of print-on-demand (POD). With POD, books can be published one at a time or in very small print runs. This means that publishers no longer have to commit resources and funds to large print runs or, maintain large inventories, and that the texts stored digitally could be made on demand indefinitely. POD has opened the market up to more small presses and independent publishers.

However, there is a disadvantage with this form of self-publishing: restricted distribution. Without the support of a traditional publisher, access to potential readers can be limited, as bookstores may be hesitant to stock self-published titles. Such titles carry a greater risk to the book seller because unsold stock cannot be returned to the publisher, and the biggest self-publishing service company, Amazon, directly competes with book stores for sales.

Online Publishing

Following access to the World Wide Web in 1989, a slew of new companies emerged to service those who wanted to self-publish. At first, this self-publishing was broadcast focused—for example, personal websites—but soon user-generated taxonomies emerged, such as weblogs, wikis, and syndications. Fan fiction, whereby enthusiasts publish their own fiction for other enthusiasts, also emerged as a genre.

Contemporaneously, weblog (blog) hosting services such as Blogger and Wordpress made it easy for people to instantly publish themselves on the Web without being able to write code. In more

recent years, weblogs have been redeveloped into e-books, such as *Julie and Julia: 365 Days, 524 Recipes* (2002). Mashable, a blog started by a self-publisher in 2005, generated revenue of \$2 million per month in 2017. In 2005, Reddit, a social news aggregation, web content rating, and discussion website, was launched. Registered Reddit members submit to the site content such as links, text posts, and images, which are then voted up or down by other members. Reddit is also on the video-sharing website YouTube, where users narrate curated versions of Reddit posts and comments.

Individual journalists have developed huge followings by sharing their views online, and alternative media such as Neiman Lab has flourished in the online environment. As of 2021, there are hundreds of blogs around the world devoted to journalism. Nonjournalists have also influenced public opinion through personal blogging. In fact, the top five influential blogs in 2020 were by technology billionaire Bill Gates, musician Alicia Keys, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, author Paul Coelho, and athlete Usain Bolt. These famous individuals, who have millions of people following their thoughts and opinions, self-publish directly to their audiences.

Big technology has responded to the emergence of user-generated content by engaging more with consumers. In fact, in 1995, Amazon began to publish user-generated content in the form of product reviews. These changes demonstrate the significant erosion of the traditional role third-party publishers in mediating between author and audience.

Crowdfunding for creative production became more common from 2009 when creators used social media platforms such as Kickstarter to seek financial support from by interested future readers or listeners. In 2020, Kickstarter reported on 12 journalism projects supported by backers.

Platforms like Lulu and Createspace (now part of Amazon), among others, provide authors with tools to format books, design covers, and convert PDFs to e-books. They also provide enhanced services such as editing and marketing for a fee. These platforms and their services allow authors to not only publish without the involvement of agents and traditional publishers but also to make their self-published print and e-books available globally.

The rising influence of social media provides further affordable promotional opportunities for self-publishing authors. Companies such as Smashwords and BookBaby assist writers in using social media to promote and distribute their work. Social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram can be used to market self-published works—and the peer review is subsequently done by consumers. This lack of professional peer review is perhaps the most significant difference between traditional and self-publishing because it means that the quality varies in terms of the writing and presentation. Self-published works may also not be subject to fact-checking and copyright checks that traditional publishers require.

The Commerce of Self-Publishing

Digital publishing lacked a payment mechanism until 1998, when pioneering publishers and authors began to sell books online. Sony released the first e-book reader in 2004, followed by Kindle e-Reader from Amazon in 2007, which came with a vast retail store attached. This meant that only an online distributor-retailer now stood between writer and reader. Kindle Direct Publishing (KDP) enables indie authors to sell the digital version of their books on Amazon.com (or other Amazon country websites). There is no charge to upload the file. Authors receive royalties of 35% to 70% of the sale price, depending on whether the book is sold on KDP or through another Amazon service called *KDP Select*.

Although this process brings authors three steps closer to their readers, content is still mediated by large corporations such as Amazon, Apple, and Google. The vast majority of “indie” authors earn their income from a single distributor-retailer, Amazon. In 2020, Amazon was by far the biggest player in self-publishing in the United States and the United Kingdom and growing swiftly in other countries where it has a presence. But other distributors of e-books are helping authors reach additional territories. For example, Kobo Writing Life supports self-publishing in a format whereby authors own copyright, set prices, and promote their products. PublishDrive is software for authors and publishers to distribute and manage e-books, print, and audiobooks, and

StreetLib is a distribution platform for e-books, audiobooks, POD books, online literature, comics, and magazines in any language.

None of the aforementioned platforms invest in the publishing process—neither do they license publishing rights. *The author*, not the platform, is the publisher.

The public’s increasing preference for mobile devices presents a challenge for self-publishing, as smaller screens are less suited for reading, and large documents can be unwieldy to download. Publishers continue to develop technological solutions, such as audio books. Services such as the Creative Penn and Authors Republic are devoted to the creation and distribution of self-published audio books. Another service, Findaway Voices, focuses on the digital production of audiobooks and reaches markets not served by Amazon. Future trends in self-publishing will likely focus on delivering visual content.

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See also Audio Journalism; Citizen Journalism; Social Media

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SELF-REGULATION

News media self-regulation is defined as a system of voluntary accountability of journalists to the public. It is based on agreed principles of

professional ethics and includes mechanisms of complaints review, monitoring, and conflict resolution in the field of their professional activity. Common elements of media self-regulation throughout the world are professional codes, press councils, and public editors, as described in this entry.

The interdependent reasons for a media organization to develop self-regulation include the following:

- to preserve editorial freedom from interference by media proprietors, advertisers, and the government;
- to advance market position by achieving higher media quality and standards than others while proving its own effective public accountability; and
- to help audiences access the media and engage with journalists, thus gaining public trust.

In the public eye, responsibility for keeping news credible rests with the media. At the same time, trust in the free media is not based on the belief of its “infallibility” in a democracy, but rather on skepticism, experience, and knowledge of how the media operate. Public trust depends on journalistic integrity and availability of effective self-regulatory complaint mechanisms. That is why those in the press react strongly when that trust is challenged by journalists who misbehave or betray the public, for example, by lying about facts or plagiarizing.

While the first elements of the self-regulation of the press came into existence at the turn of the 20th century, self-regulation has largely developed following World War II. Its popularity among journalists and the public was, in particular, a result of the conclusions of the work of the Commission of Freedom of the Press in the United States and the first Royal Commission on the Press in the United Kingdom in late 1940s.

Professional Codes

An important condition for media self-regulation is the presence of a full-fledged professional media community that recognizes itself as such and commits to specific behavior considered to be professionally correct for journalists and the media in

their daily activities. These ideas and values are codified in sets of ethical standards for good journalism, usually titled as codes of professional ethics or codes of conduct. They are typically adopted by the national associations of journalists after thorough consultations in search of consensus, or by media companies, with the consent of the reporters, editors, and managers. There also exist specific codes for particular types of media actors, such as broadcast journalists, press photographers, opinion journalists, magazine editors, comics magazine publishers, business media, and chess journalists.

Most of the codes provide general guidelines for good practice, and others also include specific recommendations. Some foresee sanctions for violations of their norms. These codes are constantly supervised and regularly revised.

The provisions found in the majority of codes from around the world relate to six core areas:

1. truthfulness in newsgathering and reporting;
2. fairness and impartiality in reporting (e.g., respect of copyright and/or right of reply, avoidance of conflicts of interest);
3. protection of free expression;
4. tolerance and nondiscrimination on the basis on one's personal characteristics, such as race, religion, or ethnicity;
5. respect for the sources and their integrity, accuracy, and privacy, including “limitation of harm,” which means minimizing harm to other's rights when reporting;
6. independence of journalists from outside influence, such as advertisers, while staying accountable to the public.

Search for truth remains the main value of journalism as a profession. The major global association of media workers, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), has proclaimed the Global Charter of Ethics for Journalists, setting out respect for the facts and for the right of the public to truth as the very first duty of the journalist. In the pursuit of the truth, according to the IFJ, the journalist shall, at all times, deem it their duty to faithfully “defend the principles of freedom in the honest collection and publication of news and the right of fair comment and criticism.” The journalist is called to “report only in accordance with

facts of which he/she knows the origin.” The IFJ further pledges that journalists shall not suppress essential information or falsify documents. If any published information is still found to be inaccurate, the journalist shall do the utmost to rectify it. These principles are shared by national associations that are members of the IFJ, as well as followed by the grounding documents of the national self-regulation bodies.

In the United States, the first nationwide code of ethics for the news industry was adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923. In 1926, the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), the nation’s most broad-based journalism organization, particularly dedicated to stimulating high standards of ethical behavior, adopted its own canons of journalism, under the title “SPJ Code of Ethics.”

Press Councils

Crafting a strong professional code is a start, but to work, there needs to be some mechanism in place, such as the press council (or media or news council). Press councils can be national or regional in scope, competent in the matters of all the media, or specifically designed for print, broadcast, and/or online. Each established press council is unique, the result of its country’s particular history and media environment.

Nevertheless, at least in Europe, press councils possess the following common features. They are self-regulatory nonprofit entities that are voluntarily set up by the media themselves—although usually given a high degree of operational independence. Despite possible state intervention at their start-up stage, they achieve independence as to their management and functioning. In actuality, a reason for their establishment is the threat of governmental regulation of the media. The best way to finance a press council that secures its independence is through clear procedures and transparent mechanisms. Ideally, there should be a diversity of sources of funding, with the largest contribution being made by the media industry, or shared equally by owners and journalists. In the countries in the early stages of developing self-regulation, a major role is played by international donors.

Press councils are collective bodies, often consisting of both professionals, appointed by the

founding media and journalists’ associations, and laypersons. Sometimes, when they function at a professional association, press councils are closed for participation of the latter.

The primary function of press councils is the administration of an agreed-upon professional code, which may include a set of complaint procedures. Through these, anyone can complain for free and without legal representation, thus helping generate trust in the quality and transparency of news. Another function of press councils is to maintain freedom of expression and pluralism of opinions in society, both in their decisions and other public activities.

The Alliance of Independent European Press Councils and the World Association of Press Councils are the main international umbrella organizations. They coordinate activities of their members and the exchange of information online and at regular conferences.

The practice of press councils in the United States is patchy and provides just two examples. In both cases, the councils did not have direct support from news organizations, relying instead on foundation support and individual donors. They are the Washington News Council, closed in 2014 after a 15-year run, and Minnesota News Council, which folded in 2011 after 41 years of providing public/professional adjudication of journalism disputes.

The Swedish Press Council, founded in 1916, is considered the oldest in the world; it receives about 300 complaints each year.

Public Editors

A significant number of media outlets worldwide hire—as an instrument of self-regulation—an independent public editor often called *readers’ editor* or *news ombudsman*. The role of public editors, regardless of the formal title they are given, is to investigate and reply to comments and complaints from the audience concerning published or broadcast news and feature stories. To do so, they enjoy administrative autonomy in the editorial offices, as they present the complaints to the appropriate persons on the editorial team in order to get answers or resolutions to those complaints. They also obtain explanations from relevant journalists and editors for readers, viewers,

or listeners and oversee the tracking of editorial mistakes and announce corrections. Public editors are usually guaranteed column space or time in their media to provide clarity about editorial decisions and processes, answer credible complaints, and point out when the news organization fails to meet its own professional standards and best practices. Public editors also responsible for explaining these standards both to the public and to editorial employees. Public editors may shuttle tips and story ideas from readers and viewers to the staff, so as to ensure that underreported issues and groups are given sufficient coverage. Often, the public editor is the person available to present the news outlet's accountability record to citizen, church, business, and educational groups.

Editorial standards editors, while not dissimilar to public editors, are typically less autonomous and lead efforts to maintain ethical practice throughout the newsroom, occasionally seeking to explain the workings of journalism to their audiences.

Although hiring a public editor can make financial sense (*The Guardian* in United Kingdom found that legal costs declined by as much as 30% once an ombudsman was placed there to find solutions to conflicts that otherwise could end up in a lawsuit), it is considered a luxury at a time when the traditional media industry is going through a decline. Many of the major U.S. networks and newspapers dropped the position in the late 2010s as a cost-saving measure, citing the rise of real-time feedback in social media.

The first newspaper public editor was appointed in 1967 to serve the readers of *The Courier-Journal* and *The Louisville Times* in Louisville, Kentucky. This experiment became known in other parts of the United States, in Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden and other European countries, the Mediterranean, and in Latin America, where similar public editors came to existence. This trend led to the establishment, in 1980, of the international Organization of News Ombudsmen and Standards Editors that comprises an active cohort of executives from around the world who handle editorial standards and editorial complaints.

Public editors within the individual editorial offices should be distinguished from national media ombudsmen, such as in Ireland, Lithuania,

South Africa, and Sweden. National media ombudsmen are usually affiliated with the national press councils and handle complaints regarding the editorial content of all participating news outlets from those who feel unfairly treated by the media. Public editors must be also distinguished from media critics (columnists and bloggers), who are influential scrutinizing voices on professional practice across all media, thus becoming an instrument of media literacy, or critical thinking on the matters of the media transparency and accountability. Media critics contribute to a better understanding by media users of how the news industry works, by explaining different types of media content and evaluating stories for truthfulness, reliability, and value for money. This allows the audiences—confronted with challenges brought about by the abundance of information and the proliferation of new forms of communication—make informed choices about content selection and use.

In publicly controversial situations, there may be also independent reports commissioned by media outlets but prepared by outside experts to review the practices in the newsroom. For example, during the 2004 U.S. presidential election, CBS News consistently reported on the poor record of the incumbent, President George W. Bush, in the Texas Air National Guard during the Vietnam War, relying on damaging documents that later proved to be false. An independent report, commissioned by the TV network, found serious flaws in the newsgathering procedures, which led to the resignation or firing of four news executives.

Self-Regulation of Public Service Media

Traditionally, public service media set the example for private media by providing a model for professional standards in reporting and for accountability in general. Likely, all public service media in the world today employ an editorial code and mechanisms of public accountability.

In the United States, the remaining full-time public editors of major news outlets are embedded in the offices of the Public Broadcasting Service and the National Public Radio. Following professional standards is a fundamental commitment for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the

United Kingdom, required under the agreement accompanying the BBC Royal Charter from 2017 (as well as earlier ones). In particular, the standards require using firsthand sources, checking and cross-checking facts, validating the authenticity of documents and other (increasingly digital) materials, and corroborating claims and allegations made by contributors.

Online Media

Originally designed for the printed press, self-regulation mechanisms spread in the 1990s to the broadcasting environment and since the 2010s to online media. With the widespread proliferation of propaganda-driven disinformation comes numerous new challenges for journalists, standards of journalism, and media self-regulation. Self-regulation of online content can be particularly difficult. Social media have no geographical frontiers in the virtual world: Bloggers and other authors can be hosted in countries far away from their target audience and outside of the reach of the self-regulatory body that would take the complaint and try to administer professional standards. Therefore, self-regulation of user-generated content and blogs often comes down to corporate self-regulation of the online platforms and major content providers. It can be in the form of an oversight board of laypersons and media professionals, awareness-raising on the standards applied, and/or special marks of the posts.

In Europe, self-regulation is strongly recommended by intergovernmental organizations as a key instrument of governance for online information and platforms. In particular, users of online media are to be informed about the possibility of addressing complaints to journalists, editors, or professional associations, similar to those existing offline. Internet service providers are encouraged to empower their users to report “fake news” or “hate speech,” make it known publicly, as well as voluntarily correct factually wrong content, publish a reply, and/or remove false or hateful content.

A number of media councils regulate online publications. For example, the United Kingdom’s Independent Press Standards Organisation oversees, in addition to traditional media, more than 1,100 online titles that are subject to the Editors’ Code of Practice.

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See also Advertising, Ethics in; Commission on Freedom of the Press; Conflicts of Interest; Corrections Policies; Ethics; Fact-Checking Movement; Fake News; Letters to the Editor; Media Criticism; Media Literacy; Ombudsman; Photojournalism, Ethics of; Plagiarism; Press Freedom; Privacy; Propaganda; Public Relations, Ethics in; Transparency; Trust in Journalism

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SENSATIONALISM

Sensationalism, a type of news reporting that emphasizes shock value over facts, is a key ingredient of what in the United States became known in the late 19th century as “yellow” journalism

(after a cartoon character). Yellow or sensational journalism is noted for stories that exploit, distort, or exaggerate the news. Sensationalism triumphs over factual reporting as stories are twisted into forms designed to attract readers and (more recently) viewers. The same style of sensationalized news reappeared in the muckraking journalism of the early 20th century, in the tabloid newspapers of the 1920s, and in print and electronic media in the years since.

Sensational news, however, dates back at least to the news sheets of the 17th century. Critics complained about an overemphasis on crime and disaster stories even then. The rise of the penny press popular newspapers in the 1830s often depended on sensational human interest stories offering graphic details even if the technology of the time could not provide matching pictures.

“Yellow” Origins

Yellow journalism achieved its peak fame in 1896 with the journalistic practices of competing New York City daily newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Newspaper sensationalism dated back much earlier.

In a sense, Benjamin Day and James Gordon Bennett introduced the idea of sensational treatment of news during America’s penny press era in the 1830s, thanks to their reliance on human interest stories. Everything and everyone, especially the underdogs of society, the butcher, the baker, the shoemaker, and especially the mistress or prostitute, was considered (and thus made) newsworthy. What Day and others did was to place emphasis on the common or unusual person (including those rarely covered in the news to that point) as he or she reflected the political, educational, and social life of the day. Their formula was to blend stories of murder, catastrophe, and love with elements of pathos to produce the human side of news. Pulitzer and Hearst built their publishing empires using this model decades later.

In the late 19th century, the development of yellow journalism reflected a society in transition. America was shifting from a predominantly rural to largely urban society. Fueled by a wave of immigrants from Europe, the nation’s cities grew by nearly one-third. At the same time, the United

States flexed its military might as the army evolved from a small frontier force to the army and navy that in 1898 challenged the remains of Spanish power in the Western hemisphere. As a result of war with Spain—one heavily promoted by Pulitzer and Hearst—the United States collected Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippine Islands. The victory had one unintended effect—it helped promote the belligerent nationalist tone of much of the American press.

Sensationalist yellow journalism became synonymous with the journalism practiced by Pulitzer and Hearst, and soon others as well. Pulitzer’s successful *St. Louis Dispatch* allowed him to enter New York journalism in 1883 with purchase of *The World*. Pulitzer’s *World* utilized modest typography with headlines in small light-face type that appeared above stories of murder, mayhem, and mystery, every bit as sensational as those of one of the then-popular police gazettes.

By September 1884, *The World* reached a circulation of 100,000; within 2 years, circulation soared to 250,000. When Pulitzer introduced the *Evening World* in 1887, the combined circulation of both editions was 374,000. Meanwhile, his Sunday edition alone reached 250,000 though half was advertising.

Pulitzer’s journalism soon affected the character of much of the nation’s daily press. He upset the status quo and furnished a new formula for the metropolitan daily by crafting a new concept of news, utilizing many illustrations, employing a crusading tone, and, though less obvious, revitalizing his editorial page and aggressively selling advertising space. His chief contribution was his invention of a formula that Hearst and others later adopted—sex on the front page and a kind of spurious morality on the editorial page.

Pulitzer helped introduce a new definition of sensationalism that, at its most basic, included self-promotion, an updating of the paper’s layout, and adoption of an aggressive reporting style. *The World*, for instance, regularly boasted on its front page about its high circulation figures and that it printed more advertising than any other paper in the country.

He made stunts a daily fixture in newspapers by 1890. They were often entertaining, sometimes educational, and nearly always attracted readers. His most ambitious was sending Elizabeth

Cochran, better known to readers as “Nellie Bly,” on a world voyage in an effort to beat the record of the hero of Jules Verne’s *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

Thanks to improving printing technology, Pulitzer also introduced colored supplements, including an eight-page comic section, in 1893. The highlight of this section was Richard F. Outcault’s “Hogan’s Alley,” a social satire that depicted life in a New York tenement. The leader of the gang was a one-tooth ragamuffin, “The Yellow Kid,” whom *World* printers clothed in a bright yellow dress. He would come to symbolize the Pulitzer-Hearst brand of sensational journalism in the 1890s.

During the 1890s, yellow journalism was founded upon what journalism historian Frank Luther Mott called “familiar aspects of sensationalism—crime news, scandal and gossip, divorces and sex, and stress upon the reprint of disasters and sports.” Its distinguishing characteristics included:

- often-huge headlines, in black or red, that “screamed excitement, often about comparatively unimportant news”;
- pictures, many without real news significance;
- impostors and such frauds as faked interviews;
- a Sunday supplement, with color comics (something adopted by many decidedly unsensational papers in the years to come);
- and a “more or less ostentatious sympathy with the ‘underdog,’ with campaigns against abuses suffered by the common people.”

This approach to journalism spread rapidly, influencing most metropolitan newspapers. And it clearly attracted an audience. Two types of readers, immigrants and women, were especially drawn to the yellow press. Department store advertising, directed chiefly to women in the home, also encouraged female readership.

Many who might otherwise criticize the “bottom feeding” approach of sensational news agreed that it served as something of an integrating force, helping to meld the flood of immigrants into the American mainstream. Attracted by the color and pictures, they soon learned to read the words. Further, many readers admired yellow journalism’s

crusades against privileged and powerful business and political interests, especially when they exposed corruption in municipal government. This motive soon morphed into the muckraking journalism of the early 20th century, which applied some of the content and methods of sensationalism to a concerted crusade against the malfeasance of big business.

The assassination of President McKinley in 1901 contributed to a decline in yellow journalism. In his first message to Congress, President Theodore Roosevelt said that McKinley’s assassin had probably been inflamed by reckless journalism that appealed “to dark and evil spirits.” A decline in both *The World’s* and the *Journal’s* circulation was further evidence of the public’s declining interest in old-style yellow journalism.

Muckraking and Tabloids

The years leading to World War I saw an important variation of yellow journalism. Called *muckraking* (after the muck rake in *Pilgrim’s Progress*), it was a kind of aggressive investigative reporting aimed at demonstrating the shortcomings of big business and its leaders appeared in books and magazines even more than newspapers. Muckraking authors and reporters hammered constantly at the shortcomings of the Gilded Age, often graphically demonstrating how wealth was produced from the hard efforts of working men and women.

Ida Tarbell’s multipart magazine series in *McClure’s* magazine exposing the methods John D. Rockefeller used to develop his Standard Oil monopoly (1904) and Upton Sinclair’s novel *The Jungle* (1906) are two often-cited examples of dogged reporting that looked under rocks and described things that needed change or the weak and defenseless that needed help. Child labor was one favorite target in an attempt to get children out of factories and into schools. The thriving Progressive political movement contributed to muckraking and gained useful ideas from it.

But following on years of yellow journalism, the muckrakers soon exhausted their readers as well. It is hard to maintain a state of ready awareness and crusading fervor all the time. Soon one social shortcoming seemed much like the next. Some readers found the constant barrage of

stories so overwhelming that it seemed nothing could be done to address the problems identified. By about 1912, the muckraker's time had passed.

The appearance of tabloid newspapers in several of the largest markets in the 1920s provided the next step in sensational news. Chief among them were the *New York Graphic* and the *New York Mirror*. The tabloid offered ease of handling and illustrations—but was built on story selection that emphasized crime and scandal. The tone of such stories was less that of the crusader than of the informer or tattletale. Tabloid stories were intended to titillate more than promote change. The sensational stories were designed to build circulation (which for many years they did) while attracting advertisers who, in turn, sought exposure to the huge readership of the new tabloid papers. The *New York Daily News* managed to sneak a camera into the execution of a murderer and ran the fuzzy resulting photo on its front page. Short, punchy headlines emphasized the most titillating aspects of *Daily News* stories.

Modern News Sensationalism

In recent decades, news sensationalism has continued in several different forms. Tabloid papers declined after 1980 as television, cable, and online resources drew readers from newspapers.

By the 1950s, television began to add its own version of sensational news. Requiring pictures to hold viewer attention, television stations early on discovered the visual excitement of fires, accidents, and both natural and man-made disasters. The old line “if it bleeds, it leads” all too often applies to both print and broadcast news which focus on the sensational rather than what may be more important in many cities. Local television news typically centers on stories of murder, robbery, and other mayhem, sometimes to the near exclusion of other stories.

A growing focus on celebrities and disasters across print and electronic news media in the late 20th and early 21st century suggests a different kind of sensationalism. Here the emphasis is on the personal as well as professional lives of show business and sports figures (and sometimes people in other occupations) to the detriment of reporting other, usually more important stories. “Gang” or

“crowd” reporting where masses of reporters and photographers all congregate around one story is an example. The televised trial of O. J. Simpson in the mid-1990s illustrated the lasting appeal of crime news and helped lead to the creation of Court TV, a cable network focused on such things. By the early 21st century, murders of children often dominated headlines in print and on the air for months thereafter.

In the end, sensational news reporting can be seen as pandering to the news audience's lowest concerns—fear (of crime or disease, for example) or morbid fascination (as with those struck by disaster, celebrities in a scandal, or murder victims). On the other hand, publishers and broadcasters often defend their sensationalized news as “giving the public what it wants”—there is an element of truth in the claim as circulation and viewership often increase when such sensationalized stories are covered—rather than what some critics argue the public may really need, such as important economic or political news.

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See also Celebrity and Fan Magazines; Criminal Justice and Journalism; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; Hoaxes; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN JOURNALISM

For centuries, women journalists have been harassed physically, verbally, and, more recently, online, simply for doing their jobs. Historically, women who dared to step out of the home's private sphere and into the male-dominated public realm of work faced sex discrimination as well as verbal and physical assaults. Women journalists have fought against misogyny, sexual harassment, and discrimination through lawsuits, public discourse, and online movements and protests. Still, sexual harassment today remains the most reported harassment complaint to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Women journalists who report abuse and discrimination on the job sometimes face retaliation, and some remain silent. Sexual harassment persists while feminist movements, including #MeToo, continue to resist. This entry discusses sexual harassment of and discrimination toward women journalists in the United States since the 1800s. It also looks at news coverage of sexual harassment from the time of its initial recognition in U.S. law to the exposure during the 2010s of numerous cases of sexual harassment involving journalists and powerful media figures.

Groundbreaking Women in Journalism

Sexual harassment is not a new problem for women journalists. From the early days of the press, women were present in newsrooms and print shops, and some faced abuse. Public records from the 19th century show women in the workplace endured discrimination, harassment, sexual assault, and rape. In the late 1800s, pioneering women journalists such as Nellie Bly and Ida B.

Wells-Barnett reported the news while bearing harassment, threats, and attacks. Elizabeth Jane Cochran, known professionally as *Nellie Bly*, worked for the *New York World* and became famous for her undercover expose that chronicled women's horrific treatment in a mental institution. Bly, who also wrote about her trip around the world, was criticized widely, including by men who believed women who worked outside the home were immoral and that journalism was too dangerous for women. Some told her to stop reporting and "go back to the kitchen."

Wells-Barnett, whose newspaper published accounts of violent lynchings to expose atrocities in the American South, was attacked on several fronts. A white mob burned down her Memphis newspaper, the *Free Speech and Headlight*. She was physically removed from a train for refusing to ride in a segregated car. After many death threats in the South, she relocated to New York City. Her 1892 book *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* revealed white men's repeated assault and rape of Black women in the South after the Civil War. She never stopped revealing the truth about racial crimes despite the attempts to intimidate and silence her.

In the decades following this groundbreaking work, women in newsrooms primarily were assigned to the "women's sections," which focused on the four "F's": food, fashion, family, and furnishings. But change was coming.

Lawsuits Break Barriers

While sexual harassment was part of women journalists' jobs for most of American history, women in the 1970s began legal actions to gain the right to work the same jobs as men. In 1970, 46 women who worked at *Newsweek* magazine sued their employer, claiming sex discrimination in hiring and promotion. At the time, a 52-member reporting staff included only one woman, while the rest of the women worked as researchers for male reporters. The women won the right to be promoted. In 1972, women at *The New York Times* also sued for sex discrimination, citing unequal pay and lack of hiring and promotion of women. These and other lawsuits against media organizations, including the Associated Press, NBC, Time Inc., *The Washington Post*, *Reader's Digest*, and *Newsday*, forced news media

companies to hire and promote more women, who flooded into heavily male-dominated newsrooms. Women found new opportunities to work as journalists, editors, and publishers. They also faced new venues for sexual harassment.

In 1974, journalist Lin Farley led a team that coined the term *sexual harassment* after students in a class she was teaching at Cornell University sought a name for what was happening to them in the workplace: unwanted sexual come-ons, unwanted physical contact, uninvited sexual jokes and sexual references, display of sexual images, and other discriminatory treatment. It took 12 more years, until 1986, for the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that sexual harassment was illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Anita Hill–Clarence Thomas Hearings

The first major public test of sexual harassment came in 1991, when lawyer Anita Hill testified before an all-white-male Senate Judiciary Committee considering the confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. Anita Hill, a lawyer who had worked for Thomas at two U.S. government agencies, the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, testified that Thomas had sexually harassed her at work. The hearings were nationally televised. Hill testified that Thomas repeatedly asked her to go on dates with him, talked about his sexual prowess, described pornography, and made crude sexual jokes in the workplace. The visual images of the hearings, with a lone Black woman facing intrusive and repetitive questions about the specifics of the harassment from an all-white male panel led by Senator Joe Biden, focused national discourse on sexual harassment. Finally, sexual harassment became clearly defined as unwelcome, persistent remarks, advances, physical contact, and/or demands based on sex. Thomas, who was eventually confirmed to the Supreme Court, disputed Hill's account and called the hearings a *high-tech lynching*. In 2019, when he launched his campaign for U.S. president, Biden said he regretted what Hill went through during the hearings.

After the hearings, public attention focused on sexual harassment and its consequences. Women

and men began to scrutinize such behavior as a hindrance in the workplace and felt more empowered to report it. Reforms, including state laws and the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1991, gave victims of sexual harassment more legal recourse. In 1992, dubbed "The Year of the Woman," more women were elected to Congress than ever before. The hearings and responses to them laid the foundation for the #MeToo movement.

#MeToo

Academic studies from the 1990s through the present day show a majority of women journalists report they have been sexually harassed while working in newsrooms and while reporting in the field. A 2018 study by the International Women's Media Foundation found two-thirds of women journalists had been harassed on the job, both in person and online. Many of them kept silent for years in fear of being doubted, told to tolerate it, labeled as troublemakers, receiving retaliation, or losing their jobs. However, a social media hashtag and other efforts helped provide a way for them to bond with others who had suffered the same kind of abuse and to call out their harassers.

In 2006, civil rights activist Tarana Burke created the #MeToo movement to raise awareness of sexual assault and abuse and to support and advocate for survivors. A decade later, women in Hollywood began using the #MeToo hashtag on social media to draw attention to sexual abuse by film producer Harvey Weinstein and other men. Women in the journalism industry also had begun to speak out about harassment and abuse in their profession. In 2011, CBS journalist Lara Logan recounted being sexually assaulted by a mob of men while reporting the fall of Hosni Mubarak in Cairo's Tahrir Square. That same year, Lynsey Addario, a *The New York Times* photojournalist, recounted being kidnapped and sexually assaulted while reporting in Libya. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), 15% of women journalists worldwide have experienced sexual violence connected with their jobs. CPJ's website offers advice on ways to mitigate such attacks.

In 2016, Fox News anchor Gretchen Carlson filed a sexual harassment complaint against Roger Ailes, CEO of the cable news network. Several other women journalists at Fox News later spoke

out about Ailes's decades of sexual harassment. Ailes eventually was removed as head of the network, which settled Carlson's lawsuit for \$20 million.

In 2017, a "Shitty Media Men" list, an anonymous crowdsourced spreadsheet, circulated among women journalists, accusing specific men of sexual misconduct and leading to the investigation and firing of several of the men named. More women began to post on social media under the #MeToo hashtag and speak publicly about harassment in journalism. In this climate of #MeToo activism and women's public pushback, several other prominent media men were fired or forced out of their jobs for sexual misconduct. They included Charlie Rose of CBS and PBS; Matt Lauer of NBC's Today show; Bill O'Reilly of Fox News; Les Moonves, chairman and CEO of CBS; Michael Oreskes, a former *The New York Times* editor who headed NPR's news division; Robert Moore, managing editor of the *New York Daily News*; Mark Halperin, a veteran political journalist; and dozens of others. By firing these men, journalism organizations demonstrated they would no longer tolerate sexual harassment and abuse. Still, some women journalists continued to fear judgment or retaliation from colleagues and supervisors for speaking up. Some, according to studies, said they simply left the profession rather than tolerate sexual harassment.

Cyberharassment

Gendertrolling is a term coined by author and editor Karla Mantilla to describe online threats and harassment of women. Men are harassed online as well, but primarily because of their opinions or ideas, while women often are attacked simply for having an online presence. Researchers have found that women journalists, often required by employers to operate social media accounts, are three times more likely than male journalists to be harassed, showing that misogyny is entrenched in cyberspace. Women journalists risk their safety and emotional well-being every day.

A 2016 video featuring two sports journalists, Julie DiCaro and Sarah Spain, shows unsuspecting "regular guys" reading violent, harassing tweets that the journalists received. The words are shocking. "One of the players should beat you to death

with their hockey stick like the whore you are," reads one tweet. Another targets DiCaro for writing about her personal experiences: "I hope you get raped again." The climate of online abuse can subject women journalists to emotional distress and humiliation. Sometimes, it forces them to exit social media platforms, effectively silencing them. Jessica Valenti, a columnist for *The Guardian* newspaper, temporarily abandoned Twitter in 2016 after a rape and death threat against her 5-year-old daughter. Social media companies have done little to curb online abuse, so journalists are forced to accept gendered attacks as part of their jobs.

Threats of violence may cause journalists to avoid reporting certain stories, therefore damaging press freedom. Online attacks are no exception. Women journalists of color face online racism as well as sexism. The Committee to Protect Journalists has documented cyberharassment of women journalists across the world and found a majority fear for their safety because of online abuse. Some women have left journalism jobs because of the constant threats and pressure. One organization fighting against online abuse is Troll-Busters, a nonprofit that provides support and protection for women writers and journalists targeted with cyberharassment. However, social media companies continue to protect the free speech of harassers when confronted with user abuse. Recently, some individuals have challenged the rights of harassers and have won. In December 2019, a man was charged with assault for sending journalist Kurt Eichenwald a tweet with a strobe GIF that triggered his epilepsy. Twitter suspended Martin Shkreli, a hedge fund manager later convicted of securities fraud, after he posted lewd tweets about journalist Lauren Duca. Twitter also suspended far-right-wing writer Milo Yiannopoulos after he incited his followers to post sexist and racist tweets about comedian and actress Leslie Jones.

Despite some progress in wage equality, women in journalism continue to be underpaid compared with men. A 2019 study by the Washington Post Newspaper Guild showed women in the *Post's* newsroom earned less than men with the same duties, with women of color earning \$30,000 less per year than white men. Journalists under 40 had the widest gender disparity in pay. In the magazine

industry, women also received lower compensation than men doing the same jobs.

With exposure to in-person and online harassment and lower compensation than their male counterparts, it is no wonder women often leave the journalism profession. *The American Journalist in the Digital Age*, a 2013 study, showed that men and women enter the journalism profession in equal numbers, but that after 5 years, women leave at higher rates than men do. Women say they leave journalism because of lower pay than men, lack of opportunity for promotion, lack of mentoring, and inflexible job schedules, according to a 2007 study published in *Newspaper Research Journal*.

Women Journalists and Allies Expose Harassment

Brave women journalists have exposed wrongdoing since the days of Wells-Barnett and Bly. It is only fitting that in many cases women journalists exposed some of the worst sexual harassment offenders of recent years. Megan Twohey and Jodi Kantor of *The New York Times* won the 2017 public service Pulitzer Prize for breaking the story of Harvey Weinstein's long-standing abuse of women in Hollywood. They shared the prize with Ronan Farrow of *The New Yorker*, who also reported on Weinstein's misdeeds. Kim Masters of the *Hollywood Reporter* subsequently reported on Weinstein and other Hollywood men accused of sexual misconduct, including harassment against her. In 2017, Irin Carmon and Amy Brittain of *The Washington Post* revealed the sexual abuse allegations that brought down Charlie Rose of CBS and PBS. Emily Steel, a *The New York Times* business reporter, reported with Michael S. Schmidt in 2017 on allegations against Bill O'Reilly that led to multimillion dollar sexual harassment lawsuit settlements and O'Reilly's firing from Fox News. In 2015, Maryclaire Dale, an Associated Press reporter, exposed accounts that comedian Bill Cosby had drugged and raped women.

Tracy Everbach

See also Bly, Nellie; Feminist News Media; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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SHIELD LAW

Journalists sometimes get information from sources who do not want to be identified in news stories because they fear retribution or embarrassment. Often, this information helps journalists uncover illegal or unethical behavior by people in powerful institutions. Many journalists adhere to a long-standing professional tradition of protecting confidential sources' identities, so that these and future sources will trust reporters with sensitive information. However, if the source's information indicates the source may have information relevant to a crime or helpful to a civil litigant, the journalist may receive a legal order to reveal the source's identity. Such situations create conflicts between journalists' professional standards and their duties as citizens to obey valid legal orders or risk consequences such as large monetary fines or imprisonment.

Because journalists often are seen as performing a service in a democratic political system by informing the public about what powerful institutions are doing, legislative bodies sometimes provide protection for journalists' relationships with sources through statutes known as *shield laws*. These laws are designed to help resolve conflicts between journalists' professional duty to protect sources and the justice system's need for truthful information. In general, shield laws give journalists a right to conceal source names and other

unpublished information unless there is no alternative source and the information is important and relevant to a legal controversy. This entry discusses the protection offered by shield laws and the limits of these laws when digital communications are involved.

In the United States, the Constitution's First Amendment states that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," but whether that means that journalists cannot be required to identify sources is disputed. There is no national statute protecting journalists and their sources, although the U.S. Congress has considered such legislation at various times. Support for a federal shield law withered after WikiLeaks revealed thousands of U.S. military and diplomatic documents on its website, leading to fears that a shield law would protect that organization and similar ones.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Branzburg v. Hayes* in 1972 that journalists had no constitutional right to conceal information from criminal investigatory bodies known as grand juries. However, the nine members of the Court were almost evenly divided on the issue and left open the question of whether journalists could conceal sources from courts in criminal trials and civil cases. The Court also invited Congress and state legislatures to provide such protection through statutes. The court decision was followed by a sharp rise in the number of subpoenas issued to journalists nationwide.

In the lower federal appellate and trial courts, the divided opinion in *Branzburg* led many judges to rule that the First Amendment provides limited protection to journalists seeking to conceal the names of confidential sources and other unpublished information. However, not all federal appellate jurisdictions recognize the privilege, and there is disagreement among those that do about who and what are protected. The federal courts' privilege rulings also have little effect on state courts and vice versa.

Each of the 50 states has its own legal system that is separate from the federal system yet coexists with it. Maryland in 1896 became the first state whose legislature passed a shield law for journalists; there are now 38 state statutory shields plus one in the District of Columbia, a city-state that comprises Washington, the national

capital. New Mexico and Utah courts have adopted statewide evidence rules that include prohibitions on forcing journalists to identify sources unless certain conditions exist. In the states without legislatively created shield statutes, courts in most have recognized some form of limited protection for journalists through case law interpreting the First Amendment or state constitutions. A federal evidence rule instructs federal courts to consult common law, including state court decisions, to determine whether a privilege not to testify exists.

Specific statutes to protect journalists from being forced to reveal their sources to investigators or courts are rare outside of the United States. Other nations that give journalists at least some protection from official coercion usually do so through court interpretations of constitutional guarantees of press freedom or through general codes of evidence or court procedure. Russia's Federal Law on the Mass Media is one of the few national laws providing for source protection, and many nations from the former Soviet Union have adopted similar legislation. However, the law allows the government to require news organizations to reveal sources if needed for a criminal investigation, and Russian journalists have found the protection to be stronger on paper than in reality. A change in Russia's Criminal Procedure Code in the mid-2000s made it harder to punish the media for refusing to reveal sources.

International law also recognizes a limited right of journalists to protect sources. The European Court of Human Rights in 1996 interpreted the European Convention on Human Rights' Article 10, which guarantees freedom of expression, as providing journalists with the right to conceal source identities. Also, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia recognized a limited right of war correspondents to keep their sources confidential in 2002 and affirmed the decision in 2005.

Who Is Protected

One of the most vexing problems with creating a legal privilege is defining the word "journalist." In *Branzburg v. Hayes*, the U.S. Supreme Court stated that the First Amendment press clause protects the rights of all individuals equally, whether

or not they work for the institutional press. The Court said it would be highly difficult to define a group called "journalists" that would receive extraordinary First Amendment protection because journalists were not licensed or otherwise remarkable from other citizens who might inform the public about current events. Legislation, however, allows a government to define special classes of people who receive benefits, as long as the legislation does not strip from other people rights guaranteed by the federal or state constitutions.

In the case of journalist shield laws, U.S. states have taken several approaches to defining the class of persons who can conceal sources of information. Some, like Colorado, extend protection to persons employed by the traditional print media, wire services and news and feature syndicates, and electronic media, including broadcasting stations and cable television systems. Other states, such as Nebraska and Oregon, use the same list as Colorado and add persons who publish books and pamphlets. Maryland includes specific media like Colorado but also includes persons associated with "any printed, photographic, mechanical, or electronic means of disseminating news and information to the public" (Reporter's Privilege Compendium). Other state shield laws are vague about who is protected, saying it may be anyone connected with an organization involved in producing news or just "the news media." Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Texas, and West Virginia require that persons seeking protection from subpoenas be earning income for journalistic work before they can claim to be protected by those states' laws.

State courts tend to narrowly interpret shield laws or other privileges because they may impede the judiciary's search for truth. Therefore, it may be preferable, from journalists' viewpoint, to have broad definitions in the legislation. For example, in 2005, a federal appellate court determined that the Alabama shield law did not protect a magazine writer because the law did not specifically mention magazines. However, in that case, *Price v. Time, Inc.*, the court determined that a limited First Amendment privilege protected the writer from revealing his sources.

Newer state laws and amendments to older laws include specific protections for persons who produce news on the Internet or "online" or have broad catch-all provisions for persons working for

electronic media. Questions remain about whether bloggers or other Internet-based communicators without ties to traditional media organizations are protected by existing shield laws or case precedents. In 2006, a California state appellate court determined that an Internet magazine, or “e-zine,” was protected under the state shield law even though the law did not mention Internet-based publishers. However, a federal court in Oregon and the New Jersey Supreme Court both rejected bloggers’ claims that they were protected by laws in those states, saying their activities and profiles did not comport to common characteristics of professional journalists.

What Is Protected

All of the American state shield laws protect journalists from being forced to reveal the names of confidential sources. About two thirds of them also protect unpublished information that might not have been obtained in confidence, such as reporters’ notes, unpublished photographs, and outtakes from television stories. It may seem counterintuitive to protect journalists’ work product, particularly when it is nonconfidential, but many journalists would argue that the added protection makes sense. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, in his dissenting opinion in the *Branzburg* case, suggested that reporters needed protection from subpoenas not only to keep news flowing from sources to reporters to the public but also to protect the press’s independence from government interference. Going a step further, protecting the press from subpoenas for all types of information would enhance its independence and keep it from being forced into becoming an unofficial investigative branch of the government. Journalists have also argued, and courts have sometimes agreed, that news organizations are uniquely vulnerable to subpoenas because they gather information and broadcast that fact, creating an undue burden for the media.

Some states, including Louisiana, New York, and North Carolina, specifically protect “nonconfidential” information. Other states, however, imply such protection by listing the types of things protected, including notes, documents, photographs, films, recordings, tapes, and reports, to use one example from Colorado. Other state laws

simply say that journalists do not have to disclose “any information” or something similar. Personal observations of criminal activity generally are not protected.

Scope of Protection

In the *Branzburg* decision, Justice Stewart’s dissent argued that the government should not be able to order journalists to appear before grand juries without first showing that the information being sought was highly relevant to the investigation, critically important, and unavailable from other sources. Federal courts interpreting the federal constitutional privilege often use the Stewart three-part test for balancing the needs of journalists and those seeking information from them. The test is included in most state shield laws. The test creates a qualified or limited privilege, meaning that unless someone can satisfy the test’s three requirements, they cannot require a journalist to testify or provide documents.

Some shield laws, however, including those in California and Nevada, do not have qualifying language and thus can be read as absolute. These laws do not provide exceptions to the rule that journalists cannot be forced to cooperate with officials or civil litigants. While this is true in theory, it is not always true in practice. In California, for example, the state’s highest court ruled in *Delaney v. Superior Court* (1990) that journalists could be required to testify whether failing to do so might harm a defendant’s constitutional right to a fair trial. In Nevada, the state Supreme Court ruled twice that the shield law had been superseded by another state law requiring disclosure before reversing itself in 2000 and finding that the law created a qualified privilege, despite its absolute language. New York’s shield law is a bit of a hybrid, providing absolute protection for confidential information and qualified protection for non-confidential material.

Digital Age Complications

A 2017 report by UNESCO raised serious concerns about the efficacy of protections for journalists around the globe. The report noted that many countries used anti-terrorism laws and other national security measures to override protections

for journalists. Meanwhile, enhanced surveillance powers and methods meant that officials in many countries could monitor phone and email traffic of journalists and their sources, often with no notice to those being monitored. The report warned that laws designed to protect journalist-source relationships were rapidly becoming outdated in most nations because they did not deal with new technologies and surveillance methods.

In the United States, state shield laws generally are silent on whether journalists have a right to be informed if their phone and email records are searched without their knowledge in pursuit of someone who leaked classified information to the press. Federal case law is also limited and generally denies journalists the right to intervene against searches of their electronic communication records.

In response to concerns about monitoring by government officials, some journalists have turned to encrypted email apps such as WhatsApp and Signal. However, an indictment against a U.S. Senate staff member accused of leaking classified material to journalists revealed that government officials had figured out how to obtain his WhatsApp and Signal messages through gaps in the encryption. A computer system known as SecureDrop was believed to be more effective at protecting communications between journalists and sources, but it was complicated to use and relatively expensive, limiting its adoption to mostly well-established media organizations.

Conclusion

Shield laws protecting journalists from being forced to reveal sources or to provide documents to courts or investigators are largely an American phenomenon. These state laws generally define who is protected and whether those persons may also conceal information such as notes, photographs, and outtakes that are not confidential. The laws generally are qualified, allowing people seeking information from journalists to persuade courts to order the journalists to cooperate. Even those that are absolute in tone have not been interpreted that way by courts.

As the Internet has become more of a news outlet, tensions have arisen over whether persons associated with new media fit the definition of

“journalist” in state shield laws. Some states specifically include persons reporting online under definitions of who is protected, but in other states, courts have struggled to determine when a blog or other online publication fits the definition of journalism.

The same new technologies that are allowing more people to assume the role of journalists in informing the public also may make it easier for government officials to track communications between journalists and sources through cellular telephones and emails. There are concerns that laws meant to protect the confidentiality of reporter-source relationships are not equipped to deal with new challenges posed by technology and anti-terror laws. Technology may also be the solution to the problem, but most efforts to create encrypted messaging solutions have not proved up to the task.

Anthony L. Fargo

See also Blogs and Bloggers; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; International and Comparative Journalism Law; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Russian Federation; Secrecy and Leaks; Theories of Journalism; War Correspondents

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SHORTWAVE RADIO

Shortwave radio is a means of broadcasting over great distances, one that has been used for decades for international propaganda. Since the late 1990s, depending on the service, shortwave has been increasingly superseded by satellite-distributed broadcasts and audio streaming on the Internet.

Origins

Experiments with shortwave radio transmission date to the early 1920s, with much of the important work being done by amateur or “ham” operators. Guglielmo Marconi and other radio innovators also played a part in the technology’s development. Pioneer American AM station KDKA in Pittsburgh established an experimental shortwave transmitter in Nebraska in the early 1920s to try retransmitting its signal to the west coast—and farther. A few other stations did likewise, but the limited number of shortwave receivers held back development. Amateur operators sent the first shortwave signal across the Atlantic in 1923. Shortwave was also used for long-distance telephone service across oceans—transatlantic service opened in 1927.

Shortwave came to be called *short* as it was developed because its wavelengths (associated in numerous specific bands within the 3- to 30-MHz portion of the spectrum) are shorter than the long wavelengths then widely used. Shortwave today is also called high-frequency radio.

Shortwave broadcasts proved themselves in tropical climates in the late 1920s where standard (AM) radio signals were often blotted out by atmospheric interference. Furthermore, the shortwave transmitters needed less power to disseminate a good signal than did the standard stations. By the 1930s, shortwave broadcasting was becoming an established presence in many tropical areas.

Journalism on the Air

Shortwave became a vital part of global journalism in the late 1930s as a growing number of foreign correspondents used the technique to send their reports to and from various continents, especially between Europe and the United States. This was innovative technology at the time, and it amazed American listeners to be able to hear Hitler or other European leaders, as well as American correspondents, broadcasting live rather than by means of delayed recording.

CBS led the way in applying shortwave technology among American networks. Cesar Saerchinger arranged all sorts of CBS broadcasts from Britain and Europe, most of them focusing on cultural or entertainment events and venues. NBC’s Max Jordan covered Europe in somewhat the same way, slowly moving from arranging light fare to covering hard news. A young Edward R. Murrow, replacing Saerchinger in 1938, began by simply continuing what his predecessor had done—until events forced a change.

During the September 1938 Munich crisis, Murrow worked with a number of stringers to pull together reports for the network (always referred to simply as “New York”), providing the first multicity roundups of reports from journalists in Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Paris, and London, where he was based. This involved working closely with European broadcast organizations, split-second timing, and “getting air” from New York. Back in New York, H. V. Kaltenborn virtually lived in a studio for a month, catching breaks and sleep as he could. Only in that way could the multilingual journalist provide running commentary as well as translations of important overseas broadcasts given the time zone differences between the continents.

But shortwave transmissions could be notoriously unpredictable, as weather conditions, time of day, and other factors could make a voice fade and then get louder and then fade again—if static didn’t obliterate the material entirely. So while broadcasts could be carefully scheduled, and laboriously prepared, they did not always get through. This was a problem of the physical properties of the spectrum used by shortwave signals and could not be overcome. It troubled international radio links for decades.

By the early 2000s, many broadcasters had abandoned shortwave service to some parts of the world. The BBC World Service, for example, now relies on web-based service for North America, Australia, and New Zealand, where high penetration of computers and web access makes such an approach viable as well as far less expensive (not a minor factor as budgets and personnel came under pressure to cut costs). German shortwave broadcasters, among others, soon followed suit.

International Services

Starting in the late 1920s and accelerating over the next decade, international shortwave served a variety of purposes. One was to link distant colonies to the home country, something the Dutch first accomplished in 1927, and the French began in 1931. The British Broadcasting System inaugurated its “Empire Service” in 1932, tying worldwide colonies to the mother country. In 1935, King George V was able to send a Christmas message to the whole Empire using shortwave. A closely related purpose was to broaden interest in and the appeal of a nation’s culture—indeed, this turned out to be the most lasting role of shortwave transmission. Carrying the music, art, language, and history of a country to listeners elsewhere was a continuing appeal of the service. In 1933, Radio Luxembourg began a commercially based music and entertainment service that proved hugely popular when European domestic systems were devoted to culture and highbrow entertainment. The appeal of this station troubled other countries who could do little about it.

Probably the best known rationale for shortwave broadcasts was for political or religious persuasion. Radio Moscow was one of the first international broadcasters to utilize shortwave when it began service in 1929, soon joined by most European Nations. What little U.S. international radio there was in the 1930s was in the hands of private operators, including networks (NBC was particularly active) interested in expanding markets and religious broadcasters seeking converts while retaining those already in the fold. There was little interest in shortwave listening within the United States.

With Europe spiraling toward war, shortwave propaganda broadcasts from Germany and Italy

began a veritable “radio war” with British and French radio services. In early 1942, the official U.S. shortwave Voice of America began operations. And during the fighting yet another role for shortwave appeared—so-called Black propaganda stations that while originating outside a country were made to sound as though domestic dissidents were broadcasting to their fellow countrymen. Propaganda services reached a peak during World War II with all fighting powers adding to the on-air cacophony. Some countries sought to “jam” reception of the enemy broadcasts by transmitting noise on their channels. “Tokyo Rose” broadcast to American troops from Japan and “Lord Haw-Haw” to allied forces from Berlin in an attempt to weaken their fighting morale. They encouraged tuning in by playing the latest popular music among the propaganda rants. In many cases, the fighting men enjoyed the music and ignored the rest.

The cold war between the late 1940s and 1990 made international shortwave radio even more intense. The Voice of America sought to counter the growing broadcasts from the Soviet Union and its satellite nations, all of them transmitting in many different languages. The United States also began (but hid their official funding of) Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which targeted their news and cultural programming to Eastern Europe and Russia, respectively. New voices were heard—China became an important international broadcaster in its own and many western languages. Albania provided its own shrill version of communist propaganda. Some neutral nations—India among them—broadcast their own views.

The end of the cold war drastically changed international shortwave as traditional enemies began to work together. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty essentially merged and began to operate out of cities they had once targeted and extend their programming into the Middle East. The United States began transmitting other shortwave (as well as FM) radio services into the same region, plus less successful shortwave transmissions into Cuba (Radio Martí) and China (Radio Free Asia), both of which were heavily jammed by their target country’s governments.

At the same time, evangelical Christian stations greatly increased their shortwave transmissions, often using many more languages (more than 100) than official government services. And a growing

number of advertiser-supported commercial services targeted Africa and other regions lacking entertainment (chiefly music, which travels well across borders and cultures) in their own domestic service.

By the 1990s, the benefits of direct satellite broadcasting became increasingly apparent and shortwave transmissions began to decline in favor of the newer technology. The arrival of the Internet in the mid-1990s and its accelerating availability over the next decade created yet another option for effecting international communications at far less cost than big and expensive shortwave transmitters.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Audio and Video News Services; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Satellite News Ggathering; Streaming Media; U.S. International Communications

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SIMULCASTING

To simulcast is to provide the same program at the same time over two or more electronic media (broadcast, cable, or satellite) channels—a

simultaneous broadcast. Most typical is simulcasting of broadcasts over an AM and FM station in the same market, or over both a radio and a television station. But there are many variations, and the most common today is a radio station simulcasting its signal over the Internet. The relevance of simulcasting to journalism is found most strongly in sportscasting.

Origins

The first widespread use of simulcasting in the United States utilized AM and FM stations in the late 1940s. As the new FM service developed, network and AM broadcasters argued that the most efficient way to build its audiences was with popular AM program fare, both news and entertainment. Given that the new service had little or no money to invest in program personnel or content, the idea made some sense. Of course simulcasting also obviated any reason for consumers to buy FM receivers given their existing radios could provide all the available programming. Indeed, some critics argued simulcasting was really just a plot by the AM business to prevent FM from developing into a competitor. Further, the American Federation of Musicians struck many stations, arguing that musicians should be paid twice if their performances were going to be carried on both AM and FM stations.

The musician's demand was finally resolved among the parties, but the larger AM-FM simulcasting issue took longer, put to rest in the 1960s with a series of “nonduplication” decisions by the Federal Communications Commission. These required colocated AM and FM stations to program at least half their time on the air separately. The policy argument held that simulcasting was a waste of spectrum space. Broadcasters argued their programs were none of the government's business. But the Federal Communications Commission decisions were upheld despite numerous court appeals. By the early 1980s, the now independently programmed FM business surged ahead of AM listening nationwide—and by the early 21st century accounted for nearly 80% of all radio listening.

Another application of simulcasting came in the late 1950s with experimental stereo radio

broadcasts, usually of music. Before Federal Communications Commission approval of FM stereo technical standards in 1961, colocated AM and FM stations could share a broadcast with one providing the left sound channel and the other the right, though their quality was unequal. Likewise, a television and radio station (ideally FM, so both audio channels were of the same quality) could provide, say, right and left stereo channels of a music performance. An early British example came in 1974, when the BBC broadcast a recording of Van Morrison's London Rainbow Concert simultaneously on both its BBC2 television channel and on Radio 2. American public television and radio stations were the most likely to offer such broadcasts, especially when airing a live concert.

Broadcast and Internet Simulcasting

WXYC, a student-operated station at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, began simulcasting its off-air (broadcast) signal on the Internet on November 7, 1994, using technology developed at Cornell University. It claims to have been the first radio station in the world to offer a concurrent Internet simulcast of an off-air signal. Many stations soon followed suit, and by the early 21st century, such simulcasting (also termed audio streaming) had become common, aided by the spread of broadband connections. Listeners could tune in to stations well beyond off-air listening range. Satellite radio services also simulcast their hundreds of channels of music and talk programming for subscribers over the air (to special receivers) and on the Internet.

In September 2006, CBS became the first network to offer a live simulcast of its evening news broadcast over the Internet. CBS also made the CBS Evening News available as an on-demand program accessible after the simulcast and allowed viewers to build their own broadcast online by choosing individual reports from each program.

Sports

Professional sports events often feature simulcast play-by-play broadcasts on radio and television. Typically, one or two announcers provide coverage on both media. The practice was common in

the early years of television when many people lived far from a station, but since the 1980s, most teams have employed separate on-air personnel for television and radio coverage. Chick Hearn and Rod Hundley were the last broadcasters in professional basketball to simulcast. In baseball, Vin Scully continues to simulcast the first few innings of games. By the early 2000s, the National Hockey League had two remaining teams of broadcasters that simulcast: Daryl Reaugh and Ralph Strangis (in Dallas) and Rick Jeanneret and Jim Lorentz (in Buffalo).

In December 2007, a professional football game between the New England Patriots and the New York Giants was carried on the NFL Network (which is available on cable in fewer than 40% of the nation's homes) and was simulcast on both CBS and NBC, thus reaching virtually every television home.

Changing Technology

As a part of American radio industry consolidation and cost-cutting efforts since the mid-1990s, simulcasting has often involved transmitting the same programming over multiple stations owned by the same entity. Talk and music programming heard in one market may be presented in others at the same time, sometimes using a centrally located announcer or newscaster using voice tracking technology.

Cable television systems simulcast network programs. On some cable systems, analog-digital simulcasting (ADS) means that analog channels are duplicated as digital subchannels. Digital tuners are programmed to use the digital subchannel instead of the analog. This allows for smaller, cheaper cable boxes by eliminating the analog tuner and some analog circuitry. The primary advantage of analog-digital simulcasting is elimination of interference and, as analog channels are dropped, the ability to transmit 10 or more standard definition television (or two high definition) channels in their place. The primary drawback is the common problem of overcompression, which can result in fuzzy pictures or pixelation (breaking up of the image).

Simulcasts using satellite links raise a different challenge, as there is a significant delay because of

the uplink and downlink distances required (nearly 50,000 miles round trip). Likewise, any simulcasting involving video compression also has a significant additional delay, which is noticeable when watching a local signal from a direct broadcast satellite.

One other application is common in Canada because of heavy viewing of American television programs along the common border. Signal substitution (also known as simulcasting, sim-subbing, or commercial substitution) occurs when a cable or satellite company inserts the signal of a Canadian television station onto the channel of an American station that is showing the same program at the same time. Canadian cable and satellite operators only perform commercial substitution when requested to do so by a Canadian network or station—in which case by Canadian law, they must comply.

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See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Streaming Media

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SINCLAIR BROADCAST GROUP

Sinclair Broadcast Group founder Julian Sinclair Smith began with one FM radio station in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1971, and since then, his family has built one of the largest media corporations in the United States. Julian was an engineer who decided to go into business for himself and created the Chesapeake Television Corporation. The Sinclair Broadcast Group was founded in 1986 and went public in 1995. The group is traded on the NASDAQ Global Select Market under the ticker symbol SBGI (Sinclair Broadcast

Group, Inc.). The company owns, operates, and/or provides services to 191 television stations in 89 designated market areas. Sinclair's rise coincides with the decisions of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) on ownership rules. This entry examines Sinclair Broadcast Group's origins, its battle with the FCC, its expansion, and the ethical concerns that continue to be raised by the Sinclair Broadcast Group.

Early Years—Origins of a Behemoth

Julian Sinclair Smith purchased one of the first UHF stations, WBFF-TV in Baltimore, MD, in 1971. By 1986, he and his four sons, David, Fred, Duncan, and Rob, had acquired two more UHF stations, one in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and one in Columbus, Ohio. The family appointed Robert Simmons as the President and CEO of the company.

The 1990s was a period of growth for the Sinclair Broadcast Group. Newly hired CEO, David Smith, found a way around FCC ownership rulings. He created the country's first major market local marketing agreements (LMA) with WPTT-TV in Pittsburgh. This enabled Sinclair to program a second station in the market where it already owned a station. In 1994, Sinclair acquired four stations plus two LMAs in Milwaukee and Baltimore. By the end of the next year, Sinclair Broadcast Group consisted of 18 TV stations in 12 markets. The company realized US\$111.5 million in fund future acquisitions. David Smith attempted to buy as many broadcast stations as possible, concentrating on secondary markets, including Memphis, St. Louis, and San Antonio where operation costs were not as expensive as the costs to run stations in New York or Chicago.

Sinclair Broadcast Group has battled with the FCC since the deregulation of the industry began in 1996. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 overhauled the existing regulations of telephone and broadcasting. The deregulation enabled more competition in local areas, by removing restrictions on media ownership and resulted in consolidation within the industry. The new regulations forced local carriers to share their communication facilities with competitors at established fair and equitable rates. Before the Telecommunications Act, a single corporation could not own more

than 12 stations and was limited in their reach. The companies were limited to reaching 25% of the households in the United States. Sinclair Broadcast Group continued to acquiring stations and purchased River City Broadcasting. The acquisition of River City Broadcasting expanded the company into radio. At the end of 1996, Sinclair owned 28 TV stations in 21 markets and 23 stations in seven markets. The company's growth helped expand its profit margins.

In 1998, Sinclair doubled its size with acquisitions of Heritage, Sullivan Broadcasting, and Max Media. It had now become one of the largest television broadcasting companies in the United States, with 59 TV stations in 39 markets. It also became one of the top 10 radio broadcasters with 51 radio stations in 10 markets.

Digital Battle With the FCC

Sinclair had become a force to be reckoned with by 1999 by divesting its radio group to focus on television, anticipating the launch of digital television. The company moved their headquarters from WBFF studios in Baltimore to a new location in Hunt Valley, Maryland. Sinclair Broadcast Group campaigned to change digital television transmission standards when the FCC was considering the transition from analog to digital. The FCC intended to make 8-VSB the standard but Sinclair argued that the quality of the reception was unacceptable for indoor antennas and pushed for the Coded Orthogonal Frequency Division Multiplexing (COFDM) standard, which was also Europe's predominant method of DTV delivery. Sinclair wanted the FCC to test the two transmission signals and chose the superior version or at least let broadcasters choose between the 8-VSB standard and the COFDM. Sinclair conducted demonstrations at six sites in Baltimore to demonstrate 8-VSB's indoor reception problems and documented reception problems at 34 other sites. After a successful demonstration of the COFDM transmission to Congress, the FCC continued with their demand for the 8-VSB. FCC engineers concluded that 8-VSB transmission and tower construction would be less expensive for broadcasters. In the final ruling, the FCC conclusion stated, "We believe that the course we are taking will provide the certainty that many broadcasters, equipment

manufacturers and consumers need to invest with confidence in new technology while at the same time preserving the flexibility to accommodate innovation and experimentation. In doing so, we believe our decision will provide many benefits to American consumers."

In 2006, television stations were required to transition from analog to digital transmission. Congress authorized the distribution of an additional broadcast channel to every full-power TV station that the station would be able to launch a digital broadcast channel while simultaneously continuing analog broadcasting. It wasn't until 2009 that the stations stopped broadcasting analog transmissions.

Duopolies and Expanded Reach

In 1999, the FCC permitted duopolies in large markets but forbade them in areas with small number of stations, LMAs. Previously, the LMAs were exempt from any operator's ownership tally. The FCC rules forbid one company to control two TV outlets in markets containing fewer than eight separately owned stations. The 1999 decision made several of Sinclair's LMAs out of bounds. Sinclair would have been forced to divest their LMAs in Columbus and Dayton, Ohio; Charleston, South Carolina; and Charleston, West Virginia; if the federal judges upheld the decision. Sinclair's defense insisted that the "voice test" was a drastic solution that failed the U.S. Supreme Court's "strict scrutiny" test, which requires infringements on free-speech rights to be defined in narrow terms. The FCC ruled that the "public interest" standard must be applied to justify media ownership rules.

The battle with the FCC was unsuccessful. CEO David Smith commented, "We knew that asking a court to reconsider its original decision is generally an uphill battle. We remain gratified that the court initially ruled in our favor in finding that the FCC's duopoly rules were arbitrary and capricious" (McConnell, 2002, p. 20). Sinclair would spend the next two decades challenging the FCC's ownership rules.

The 2000s opened with the 9/11 attack, the national economy went into recession and with it the greatest decline in advertising spending since Sinclair's founding. The economy slowly improved and Sinclair's Board of Directors

approved the company's first ever common stock dividend. By 2005, Sinclair completed the build out of its digital television platform and provided multichannel video programming distributors, such as cable and satellite and telecommunications companies, with programming and became the first broadcaster in the United States to request retransmission consent agreement fees. The fees provided a new revenue stream and the company built a war chest for reinvestment and acquisition. After reshuffling their network affiliations, Sinclair becoming the largest FOX affiliate group in the United States.

After the 2008 recession, Sinclair began a wave of industry consolidation. In 2011, the company purchased Four Points and Freedom Communication stations. Three years later, Sinclair had acquired 109 stations, adding over US\$3 billion in assets. The company also launched new programming distribution and network content material. Sinclair claims it was producing 2,200 hours of local news per week, making the company the largest producer of local news content in the country.

From 2004 to 2014, Sinclair went from 62 stations to 167 stations, eclipsing the next rival, Nexstar by 59 more stations. Sinclair was in 77 markets, reaching nearly 40% of the U.S. population. In 2015, Sinclair created *Full Measure with Sharyl Attkisson*, a Sunday morning national news program and the COMET network, the first ever science-fiction over-the-air multicast network that is partnered with MGM. By the next year, Sinclair expanded its live sports programming and created the network STADIUM.

In 2017, the company appointed their third CEO and President, Christopher Riley. His appointment launched the company's first mission statement, "Connecting People with Content Everywhere". That same year, after the National Broadband Plan Spectrum Auction, mandated by Congress and the FCC, three station licenses were sold in Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Milwaukee for US\$311 million. And in 2019, the company acquired 21 regional sports networks at a value of US\$10.6 billion.

As of March 2020, Sinclair operates 191 TV stations, 607 channels, operating in 89 markets. The company continues their technological assertiveness with three technology groups within their company. One Media, Acrodyne, and Dielectric are subdivisions implementing

technical solutions and innovating new platform technologies.

Controversial Ethical Practices

The reach of Sinclair has resulted in critical evaluation of its practices. Sinclair attempts to concentrate its editorial control from its headquarters and expand its message to its affiliates. Sinclair produces and distributes mostly conservative-opinion segments, called News Central, about national and international affairs, for its local affiliate newscast. Sinclair describes the segments as a cheaper way to offer news. The partisan stance of the company is often camouflaged within newscasts as news stories. Many Sinclair viewers may not know the source of the information or recognize the name of the owner of their local affiliate but instead connect the information to the network (ABC, CBS, NBC, or FOX). Scholarly critics believe this disconnect between viewers and the affiliate ownership has implications for civic discourse, particularly if issues of media bias or local news coverage cause the news consumer to be unsure of the credibility of local news stories.

The conservative practices and ethos of the company are visible in the programming of the local affiliates. In 2004, Sinclair pulled an episode of *Nightline*, on which Ted Koppel read the names and showed the faces of dead U.S. soldiers, from all eight of its ABC affiliates. Just before the 2004 presidential election, Sinclair attempted to force its station to air a documentary that featured Democratic candidate John Kerry in an unfavorable light, accusing Kerry of worsening the plight of Vietnam prisoners of war because of his "Winter Soldier" crusade during the war.

In 2016, President Donald Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, admitted that the presidential campaign struck a deal with Sinclair to guarantee favorable coverage in return for access.

The FCC fined Sinclair US\$13.3 million for running paid programming during news programs without disclosure of its sponsors. It was the largest fine ever proposed for violation of the FCC's sponsorship identification rules. Preproduced 60- to 90-second stories from the Huntsman Cancer Institute aired during news programs to look like independently generated news coverage.

In 2017, the FCC denied a merger of Sinclair with Tribune Media Company. The merger, a

US\$3.9 billion deal, would have given access to 73% of the U.S. households. The merger attempt launched an internal investigation of the FCC over decisions made by FCC chair, Ajit Pai, because of the appearance the deal was significantly more beneficial for Sinclair. Sinclair's close ties with President Donald Trump added to the controversy. President Trump called the FCC's decision not to approve the deal "sad and unfair" but critics cited that the conservative company would provide favorable news coverage to the president. Sinclair stations required their stations, which include local affiliates of all four major broadcast networks, to air "must-run" segments produced by a former Trump official Boris Epshteyn, a conservative pundit.

In 2018, Sinclair was heavily criticized for its editorial control of its local television stations. Sinclair news anchors were required to read identical promo ad script criticizing, "False news and fake stories." A viral video posted by Deadspin revealed Sinclair's practice.

In the aftermath of the viral video, it was revealed that Sinclair would question job applicants about their positions on abortion and other political issues. Some applicants were turned down if they were "too liberal". News directors were solicited for donations to Sinclair's political action committee. The company has a political action committee supporting conservative agendas, notably deregulation of the media. This form of politicking is similar to the partisan newspapers of the 1800s, when newspapers openly propagandized for a particular political party. The papers were rewarded with patronage jobs or government printing contracts; for Sinclair, the partisan activity was meant to lobby the Trump administration to greenlight the Tribune merger.

A study by Kyla J. Hedding, Kaitlin C. Miller, Jesse Abdenour, and Justin C. Blankenship (2019) identified a "Sinclair Effect" on local news. Sinclair stations are more likely than non-Sinclair stations to employ sensational "palace intrigue" frames, partisan sources, and commentary. The study concluded by saying, "Media conglomerates, while invisible to the average news viewer, have the potential to exert ideological, operational or professional influence on local news organizations, in which Americans place a great deal of trust."

Dean C. Cummings

See also "Broadcast, or Broadcasting"; "Federal Trade Commission (FCC)"; "Media Conglomerates"; "Media Markets"; "Media Ownership"; "Telecommunications Act of 1996"

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SKY NEWS

Sky News—Europe's first 24-hour news channel—began life on February 5, 1989, one of four channels launched by Australian-born media magnate Rupert Murdoch. Based in London, the channel represented a challenge to the two main public service broadcasting news services run by the BBC and ITN. Thirty years on, Sky News is recognized as a quality news service providing extensive national and international news equal to that provided by the BBC and ITN. This entry discusses the channel's history and ownership, its attempts to balance breaking news with more in-depth stories, its reputation, and its potential future direction.

Launch

Whatever the commercial risks of the overall project, Rupert Murdoch was taking a particular risk in launching a news channel that would have to compete against, and inevitably be compared with, the two highly regarded existing British television news services run by the BBC and ITN (the news provider for the main commercial network ITV). Both services, steeped in the culture of public service broadcasting, were regarded as among the leaders in global broadcast news. Murdoch's only previous experience of TV news was in the rough and tumble of the highly competitive television environment of Australia in which the three commercial channels sought to compete

more in terms of sensation than serious news content.

The man Murdoch recruited to launch the channel was John O'Loan, a highly experienced journalist who had spent the previous 15 years working for two of Australia's commercial news channels. O'Loan arrived in London in August 1989, facing the monumental task of starting a 24-hour news channel from scratch in just 6 months, knowing he had to create a way of doing television news that was distinctive from that of both the BBC and ITN. With that in mind he hired journalists not just from the two broadcasters but also from radio and from newspapers. These journalists, he believed, would bring new styles and approaches to the business of television news.

Controversy and Fears

Because of Murdoch's buccaneering reputation, and in particular because of his controversial ownership of the tabloid *Sun*—which only 2 years previously had been involved in a lengthy and toxic dispute with British trade union—there were fears that Sky News would be a tabloid news service with a notably right-wing stance. One of its first presenters, Frank Bough, suggested that the channel would be best compared to the mid-market *Daily Mail*, leading media commentator Steve Barnett, to observe that should this formula not work then the channel could be forced to adopt the more sensationalist news values of Britain's best-selling down-market tabloid, the *Sun*.

In their 2009 article "Towards a 'Foxification' of 24-Hour News Channels in Britain? An Analysis of Market-Driven and Publicly Funded News Coverage," Stephen Cushion and Justin Lewis sought to investigate whether Sky News had indeed become, in their words, "Foxified" (following the model of Murdoch's Fox News channel in the United States). They defined this as sensationalist news values (as opposed to public service news traditions), speculation as opposed to factual reporting, and partisanship as opposed to impartiality. They categorized stories as either "tabloid" or "broadsheet"—a rough and ready, but sufficiently robust distinction (used by other scholars) to analyze the extent to which between 2004 and 2007 Sky News's overall coverage

differed from that of the BBC's 24-hour news channel. Their finding was that there was little difference between the news agendas of the two broadcasters.

Breaking News

Another aspect of the tabloidization charge related to what critics saw as Sky's overuse of the "Breaking News" on-screen moniker. In a separate 2009 article, Lewis and Cushion found that BBC News's channel used the moniker on 7% of their news items compared with Sky, who used it on 14%. The researchers suggested that the growth of the "Breaking News" concept symbolized a preference for style over substance—what they called giving news a constant feel of "newness," irrespective of whether or not it was.

But the "Breaking News" caption was about more than just about giving a sense of the newness to the channel's output. Rupert Murdoch, more than most, was aware that a 24-hour news channel would never make money (or at least that was the case until the invention of Fox News). Sky News had a different purpose. Murdoch knew that his new television network would need to win over, and then maintain the support of, the regulators, the politicians, and other sections of elite opinion. Capturing this audience was as important—if not more so—than capturing a significant audience share. An important way this was achieved was by the "Breaking News" ticker-tape at the bottom of the screen.

O'Loan has said he knew that in the offices of the people Sky News wanted to reach, televisions would be on without sound and the "Breaking News" caption was a way of capturing and holding the attention of this audience. The success of this strategy was evidenced in a British Government investigation into the BBC's news channel, which observed that most newspaper newsrooms and government offices had their televisions tuned to Sky News with the sound turned down, rather than tuning them to the BBC.

Impartiality

Critics were also concerned about the extent to which Murdoch's ownership of Sky News would result in a Fox-style right-wing slant to

the news. O'Loan has reported that in his 5 years at the helm, Murdoch made only one editorial intervention—to complain about the way the channel was presenting the weather. And despite the suspicions of the critics, most observers, both academic and professional, have agreed that Sky News' political coverage has been even-handed. Backing for this came during the 2010 general election, when some Labour Party supporters claimed that Sky News was anti-Labour; the claim was rebutted by left-wing journalist Mehdi Hasan who, writing in the Labour-supporting *New Statesman*, said there was no evidence whatsoever to suggest that Sky News was biased against Labour.

Audiences

Sky News's budget has always been significantly lower than that of the BBC. Nonetheless, over the years, Sky News has garnered many industry awards and plaudits (it has won the Royal Television Society's News Channel of the Year Award 13 times). Writing in 2009, media commentator Steve Hewlett, who had held senior editorial positions with BBC and ITV, noted that Sky News was widely recognized as a service of genuine quality.

Despite winning awards and reaching elite audiences, for the first few years of its existence, Sky News barely registered in terms of the general audience, sometimes achieving viewing figures that registered as zero in the ratings survey. Its breakthrough came with the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, which established in the British audience the "habit" of turning to 24-hour news when there was a major news story breaking. The boss of rival channel ITV, Chris Shaw, observed "extraordinary things happened to TV news" as people became addicted to rolling war coverage, with Sky News "the clear victor," increasing its audiences by a factor of seven.

In 1996, the channel's weekly reach in Britain had been around 3 million, but 2 years after, the Iraq War that figure had increased to 11 million. Since that time, its viewing figures have remained fairly constant with approximately 7% of U.K. adults citing Sky News as their most important source of news (this figure includes the audience for the channel's comprehensive website).

Just News?

One issue that successive editors of Sky News have battled with is how to strike the balance between providing rolling news and offering a service which gives more breadth and depth to the news. Initially, the channel attempted to do this by running news for the first 30 minutes of the hour and then switching to feature programs in the second half hour. But in the early days, the Sky network was faced with a titanic battle for survival with a rival satellite broadcaster, BSB, and although it offered no real news service (just 2 minutes of “rip and read” headlines), the network’s overall losses meant that Sky News had to cut its budget by 10% and ditch its feature programs to become just a rolling news service.

O’Loan has said his only regret was that he was never able to sustain the sort of in-depth coverage that he thought would add significantly to the channel’s coverage. In 2005, Nick Pollard, who was by then at the helm of Sky News, tried to resurrect the idea of including non-news programming. He created a series of new programs, including a daily *World News Tonight* program with James Rubin, a former spokesman for the U.S. State Department, billed as an “hour of analysis and context.” But just 3 months after the relaunch, low ratings forced the channel to return to its previous diet of rolling news and Pollard moved on to pastures new.

Ownership

Big changes were to come in 2018, not in terms of Sky News’s content but in terms of ownership when Murdoch ceded control of Sky as part of a restructuring of his wider media empire. He was hoping that 20th Century Fox, which he then owned, would be able to take over the 61% of the Sky TV empire that was not under his control. However, after a tortuous 2-year battle, he was eventually outbid by the American telecoms giant Comcast, which also controlled NBC. During the battle, the future and independence of Sky News played a crucial role in the takeover battle, with the U.K. government intervening to secure the news channel’s long-term viability. When Comcast finally won, they were required to pledge that they would maintain Sky News current funding for at

least 10 years and were obliged to establish an independent board to oversee its editorial policy.

Viewers’ Verdict

Over the 30 years of Sky News’s existence, it has gained a solid reputation for providing fast and reliable news on a par with the best of British public service broadcasting news. Perhaps most striking, in terms of marking its achievements, were the results of 2019 research undertaken by the UK’s media regulator OfCom for its annual news consumption report. It asked those who had nominated the two 24-hour news channels as their main source of news and had a positive view of them, their opinions on a number of qualities. Of Sky News regular viewers, 80% said it was “high quality” compared with 79% for the BBC, 76% said it was accurate compared with 71% for the BBC, 73% said it was “trustworthy” compared with 71% for the BBC, and perhaps most markedly of all (given the controversies at its launch) 68% said Sky was impartial compared with just 59% of BBC regular viewers. This may have partly reflected controversies that have surrounded the BBC’s political coverage since 2016.

Going Forward

The question that Sky News has wrestled with down the years—whether it should attempt to be more than a rolling news service—never really went away. Sky News head John Ryley has outlined what he saw as Sky News’s mission in announcing a move away from being only a rolling news channel to one covering debate, discussion, and opinion. The channel’s audience may support this move, given that a majority told Ofcom in its 2019 survey that Sky News provided “a depth of content and analysis not available elsewhere.” So after a number of attempts to shift Sky News away from simply being a rolling news service to providing more depth and analysis, with its funding assured for the foreseeable future, this time round it might just succeed in achieving something that its first head wanted to do more than 30 years ago.

Ivor Gaber

See also British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); British Broadcasting Regulation; British Commercial News Broadcasting; Comcast; Murdoch, Rupert

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SNAPCHAT

Snapchat is a multimedia messaging application that features the ability for users to take photos and record short videos to send to contacts. When

a user sends a message, or *snap*, using the default settings, it automatically disappears from the recipient’s device once it is seen. A feature called *Snapchat Stories* lets users share longer posts that are automatically deleted after 24 hours.

By 2020, Snapchat was reported to have more than 200 million daily active users. The app is especially popular with members of Generation Z (those born after 1996), and journalists have begun to incorporate it in their reporting practices. This entry discusses the history of the app, its use by news organizations, and research on the app and its relationship to journalism.

While students at Stanford University, Evan Spiegel, Bobby Murphy, and Reggie Brown launched a photo app in 2011 that was originally called *Picaboo*, before Spiegel and Murphy relaunched it 2 months later as Snapchat. Brown filed a lawsuit alleging they pushed him out of the company without compensation. In 2014, Spiegel and Murphy settled the lawsuit with Brown for \$157.5 million, with Snapchat releasing a statement giving Brown credit for the original concept for the app. In March 2017, Snapchat’s parent company Snap Inc. became a publicly traded company valued at more than \$30 billion, although in more recent years that valuation fell by a considerable amount.

Like other social media platforms, Snapchat has faced criticism concerning data sharing, privacy, and transparency. In May 2014, the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) brought charges against Snapchat alleging the company misled users when it promised that messages sent through the service would disappear. In actuality, third-party apps allowed users to save photo and video messages they received through Snapchat. The FTC also said Snapchat deceived consumers over the amount of personal data it collected and the security measures taken to protect that data from misuse and unauthorized disclosure. The settlement prohibited Snapchat from misrepresenting its enforcement of privacy, security, or confidentiality of users’ information. In addition, the settlement required Snapchat to implement a privacy program monitored by an independent professional for the subsequent 20 years.

The app itself has evolved to feature more than messages that disappear when they are read. In

October 2013, Snapchat launched Snapchat Stories, allowing users to see photos and videos of their friends and organizations they follow for a 24-hour period. Two years later, Snapchat created Official Stories for verified brands and influencers. Around that time, organizations such as CNN, ESPN, Vice Media, Comedy Central, BuzzFeed, and others began using Snapchat Stories to share information catered to their followers. In August 2016, Instagram launched its own, similar-looking Instagram Stories.

In January 2015, Snapchat launched Snapchat Discover, which resembles an interactive magazine and includes video and text articles from selected publishers. In Discover, news organizations such as *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* would share short segments or feature information with longer stories. In November 2016, Snapchat added the magazines *Entertainment Weekly* and *Essence* to its Discover service to provide more coverage of entertainment, lifestyle, and politics. In June 2020, Snapchat added a news aggregator in the Discover tab called *Happening Now*, with stories categorized under topics such as politics, entertainment, and sports.

As of 2015, 41% of smartphone users aged 18 to 29 used apps that automatically delete sent messages, such as Snapchat, according to Pew Research Center. By the end of 2015, Snapchat's format included videos with accompanying text-based articles, graphics, and links to additional digital content. While minor updates have been made to the interface and display, Snapchat today looks and operates similarly to the way it did in 2015.

There are challenges to using Snapchat for journalism, because Snapchat content is only available for a limited amount of time before it disappears. As Snapchat posts stories on a temporary basis, followers are encouraged to view the content close in time to when it was created, and content cannot always be located when a viewer wants to revisit it.

Snapchat was quickly integrated into newsrooms because of its reach. Snapchat, like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, has a live function that news organizations use to stream events or give feedback in real time to their audiences. In

addition, Snapchat QR codes allow users to quickly follow news organizations that bear the Snapchat Ghost logo. These organizations included early adopters CNN, NBC's *Today* show, NBC Sports, Vice, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*. In 2018, many news organizations became part of Snapchat Partners, an organization that allowed them to mix their own content with content that users share publicly using the Our Stories feature. The Our Stories feature allows partners to reuse this content on their own websites and social channels.

Paul Bradshaw published a guide in 2016 on how journalists can integrate Snapchat Stories into their news work with professional consistency. The guide highlighted how Snapchat allows journalists to download snaps to use or share on other platforms later. Using Snapchat requires understanding the app layout and adjusting to updates, including changes to the length of time material can appear on Snapchat and how the algorithm prioritizes content. The platform thrives on being informal, which has been a challenge for reporting and sourcing.

The Reuters Institute released data concerning data and messaging applications, including Snapchat, in 2019. It found platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger were growing rapidly among those older than 25, but Snapchat and Instagram resonated most with those 18 to 25 years old.

Journalism scholars have examined changes in journalism practice resulting from the introduction of digital technologies and social media. However, research specifically dealing with Snapchat and journalism, including how journalists and news consumers interact with and use the platform, has surfaced only recently. Studies have identified the promotional and relational aspects of Snapchat, the frequency of hashtag use, and how people use the platform to share content.

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See also Facebook; Instagram; Social Media; Twitter; WhatsApp

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SOCIAL JUSTICE JOURNALISM

Social justice journalism is a genre of journalism that emphasizes injustices and inequalities in society. Depending on the model of news organizations, social justice journalism might also advocate for social change and justice.

Since the new millennia and around the world, there has been a rise in social movement and protest activity. These movements call attention to social injustices and disparities that exacerbate inequalities around the world. However, beyond the viral discussions on social media that accompany most of these recent movements, various forms of journalism can play an essential role in pushing forward social justice, by bringing light to social injustice, educating publics, and pushing forward solutions-centered narratives that challenge rather than maintain the status quo.

Traditional journalism's foundations were rooted within what many scholars now view as a faulty premise of objectivity, fairness, and accuracy. This includes the idea that journalists can neutralize their position in their reporting, that "both" sides of the story should and can always be reported, and the idea that there are only two sides to begin with. The concept of objectivity helped build the reporting techniques and traditions that characterize the science of reporting in traditional journalism.

While achieving objectivity is a noble goal, journalists, editors, and newsrooms often fall short. He said/she said journalism can only create an illusion of fairness, especially when not everything everyone says is true. In addition, journalists are not actually capable of getting the perspectives of everyone and everything in a single news story. These strategies have consequences. A canon of literature indicates that news coverage does not fairly represent some groups, communities, issues, and institutions. In many cases, marginalized groups are represented negatively and stereotypically, and these representations have a lasting negative impact on the people they portray, public perceptions, opinions, and policies.

The shortcomings of journalism have encouraged both expansion within the traditional model and beyond the traditional newsroom. To expand on the coverage of social issues, social grievances,

and, in some cases, social movements, a branch of journalism—social justice journalism—centers the discovery and narratives of social issues. Social justice journalism has various manifestations, but most work as an effort to expose issues that do not rise to the forefront of news cycles, to explore the parameters of social issues that are not expanded upon in traditional journalism, and to actively participate in creating justice by uncovering injustice.

Importantly, the term has only recently appeared in discourse about journalistic practice, and there are various perspectives on the boundaries of social justice journalism, as well as distinct differences in how social justice journalism looks within and outside the traditional press. In other words, social justice journalism serves as a genre of reporting within the traditional journalism framework and a type of journalism that caters more specifically to affected communities and social justice movements. Conceptualizations of social justice journalism also include elements of other genres of journalism that seek to remedy the shortcomings of traditional journalistic models and routines, including community, advocacy, solutions, and constructive journalism. What follows is a discussion and comparison of social justice orientation within mainstream media, alternative media, activist and ethnic media, and social media.

Social Justice in Traditional Journalism

The foundation of journalism includes an ethical commitment, which creates expectations for what journalism is supposed to be. Journalism is supposed to be comprehensive and loyal to the public and to serve as a check on those in power. Journalists play a variety of roles in society, such as disseminators and interpreters of information, and adversaries or watchdogs of governmental actions and institutions. From a normative perspective, the ideology of good journalism and the role designation of journalists weave at least some components of social justice-oriented reporting into the fabric of traditional journalism.

However, for decades, critics and scholars of news media have concluded that mainstream forms of journalism have routinely suppressed the voices of marginalized communities and dissent

from citizens. For example, news coverage of Black and Indigenous rights protests has a lengthy history of being represented in denigrating, demonizing, and marginalizing ways. These negative patterns of representation of movements that bring light to social issues continue in the present day. Industry norms, newsroom culture, general routines, practices that accompany the production of news, and the illusion of and alliance to the concept of objectivity each contribute to the patterns that ultimately show how marginalized people, groups, and issues go unheard or poorly represented in the press. Problems related to professionalism, objectivity, and perceptions of neutrality that circulate in journalistic communities contribute and sustain these patterns.

As it appears within the framework of traditional journalism, social justice journalism is a dedicated effort of storytelling that supplements the aforementioned shortcomings. Social justice journalism is a genre or beat of journalism focused on highlighting a social issue, collective action, demands for change, and solutions and remedies for social ills and injustice. The exposure of discrimination and exploitation is central to social justice journalism and generally includes topics related to inequities in the topics such as criminal justice, health, racism and racial inequalities, civil rights, health, immigration, and environmental issues.

Because many of these topics and issues are routinely underexplored in the mainstream press, attention and exposure are at the core of social justice journalism. Journalists often feel they contribute to the mission of social movements and advocacy entities just by giving visibility to the issue. Exposure is critical; news coverage is often on the frontlines of exposing audiences to social issues. Such efforts can spark outcries, revitalize social movements, and rejuvenate political activity among citizenry. Such was the case in 2019 in U.S. territory Puerto Rico. The *Centro de Periodismo Investigativo* helped expose behind-the-scenes conversations among high-ranking political officials (including the governor) that included sexist, racist, and homophobic commentary. The coverage was key to igniting an extended and massive citizen uprising. Another example is the work of *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reporter Raquel Rutledge work. Rutledge spent extensive time

uncovering harmful working conditions faced in the coffee industry, exposing workers' routine exposure to diacetyl, a carcinogenic chemical. After renewed attention to police brutality in the United States, many noted that there was not a comprehensive record of police use of force or victims of police-involved shootings. Both *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post* produced social justice journalism projects and public databases that sought to remedy this problem and bring light to the pervasiveness of the issue. *The Washington Post* journalist Susan Ferriss's work also raised attention to the protocol of invasive searches by U.S. Customs and Border protection officers and other federal agents.

The 1619 Project, spearheaded by Nikole Hannah-Jones, is another example of social justice journalism appearing in the mainstream. The project was launched as an insert in *The New York Times* on the 400-year anniversary of the arrival in the colonies of the first African slaves. This project illuminated the horrors of slavery in the United States and connected this history with the institutional and systematic challenges and disparities that Black people face.

As shown by these examples, social justice journalism, as it is produced within the mainstream, is often deeply connected with investigative journalism efforts. Investigative journalism also of investigative journalists that produced social justice journalism include, for example, those that helped expose the Panama Papers, an expansive record of an illegal offshore finance industry that benefited powerful and wealthy individuals for decades. After the papers were published, investigations were held in more than 75 countries, protests against corruption were held around the world, and several elites, politicians, and celebrities were investigated and prosecuted. Stories from *The New York Times* journalists Jodi Kanton and Megan Twohey, and Ronan Farrow, writing for *The New Yorker*, exposed the abuse of Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein. The stories highlight the sexual assault and harassment accusations from numerous women, which ultimately led to Weinstein's arrest and conviction. These stories were also catalysts for the modern #MeToo movement. Pulitzer Prize-winning series named as investigative series have brought light to police misconduct, drug trafficking, labor issues, and

abuses of power by elites. These projects are also connected with social justice journalism.

Alternative Media and Social Justice Movements

Given the shortcomings of traditional media, marginalized people, entities, and movements often benefit from alternatives to the mainstream, which can include digitally native, alternative, and ethnic media news outlets. Alternative media amplify awareness about social justice issues and center marginalized voices. These news organizations often overtly depart from the ideological position and paradigm of “objectivity,” and instead (re) position narratives and arguments to serve a particular social justice issue or marginalized group. Such organizations thereby utilize journalistic practice to represent the people and momentum of a movement. In the stratified digital sphere, alternative media are often a collective of media organizations, united by interest in a particular ideological position that typically also aligns with a social justice issue and solidarity. Adbusters, for example, is a group of global media makers, journalistic and artistic, that critiques consumerism and capitalism. Democracy Now! follows a more traditional journalistic approach to the production of content but focuses primarily on social injustice and activism.

From this perspective, social justice journalism also assumes a corrective position to traditional journalism, emphasizing specific issues, problems, and solutions; pushing against hegemonic power structures; and centering the voices from marginalized communities.

Oftentimes, journalists within this framework of social justice journalism are connected with or embedded in issues, affected communities, and movements. This means reporters are usually connected community members and are sometimes involved in other advocacy efforts. Journalists have extensive knowledge of the innerworkings of the community’s networks, dimensions of the problem and how it affects the community, and access to movement leaders and advocates. Journalists are thus able to acquire expertise and access to community perspectives. This is unlike the episodic traditional journalism that often utilizes parachute models with issues considered

fringe or communities considered marginalized. Journalists producing activist media are active members of the communities they report for.

Social justice journalism in the context of alternative media utilizes a notably different business model than traditional newsrooms. While traditional newsrooms are designed as businesses that make profits, social justice journalism’s business model is community oriented and serves as a mechanism that connects people with the information and resources needed to unravel in justice. As such, alternative media publications and periodicals show up in variety of forms, including newspapers, magazines, journals, radio and television broadcasts, and zines.

Activist and Ethnic Media as Social Justice Journalism

Activist and ethnic media publications are also forms of social justice journalism, and what follows is a brief and thus incomprehensive illustration of how these presses and publications have worked to promote social justice by providing the narratives of change that were absent in mainstream press publications. Activist and ethnic presses have a rich history in documenting the trials that accompany major social changes around the world.

Such was the case with the abolitionist movement in the United States. Unable to have Black voices heard in the mainstream press, *The Freedom’s Journal* was created to “plead our own cause”—a declaration central to Black presses still today. Early Black newspapers and publications focused on public discussion of colonialization, slavery, and elevating Black people in the United States and beyond. These publications were useful in educating and mobilizing communities. The *Chicago Defender*, founded in 1941, included central information for Black communities during turbulent times that went unconsidered and unreported in white-run mainstream presses. Papers like the *Chicago Defender* notably housed many of the debates about ways in which Black people would achieve civil rights.

The social justice journalism in support of women’s rights found its roots in Black publications, with Black women like Maria Stewart at the helm. In general, women also struggled to gain

access to the power of the mainstream press and were privy to a series of struggles that sought to silence their voices. But, as the Civil War approached, tensions between abolitionists and suffragists mounted, and white feminists began a legacy of publications that emphasized women's rights and reimagining the role of women in society, with varying and sometimes contradictory levels of progressiveness. Today, organizations such as The 19th (www.19thnews.com) continue the work of amplifying the voices and concerns of women and gender diverse people. This media outlet takes a new approach to digital news production, reporting news with gender, identity, and politics in mind, but also avoiding editorial and opinion articles in an effort to remain nonpartisan.

The first U.S. Native American newspaper, *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828), was a bilingual publication that advocated against the Indian Removal Act of 1930. Today, the publication remains a multiplatform publication that serves the Cherokee community. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender communities have also utilized advocacy models of social justice journalism to advocate for recognition and equality, and create and form communities.

Advocacy-centered models of social justice journalism often reimagine traditional ideas of sustainable business models. Many publications have short life spans, fueled by volunteerism and personal dedication but lasting only few months or years. Others have a decades-long history of serving communities and addressing social justice issues. The advent and adoption of digital technologies revolutionized opportunities for social justice journalism to flourish. The role of information technology in media for social justice in society is unmistakable. New technologies and communication channels expanded the breadth of all forms of media and allowed new ways for people and journalists to harness the media power needed to liberate communities. In the context of activist and ethnic media, journalism for social justice continues to thrive online, and advocacy remains essential for many online publications. Social justice journalism has played an important role in unraveling, documenting, and validating some of the world's most egregious human injustices.

Social Justice Journalism in a Digital Age

The creating, adoption, and accessibility of new technologies like cell phones, high-speed Internet, and social media have also drastically change how we understand journalism and journalists, and how social movements and advocacy function. New iterations of social justice journalism are intimately tied to this shift in media production and access. Social media have helped connect communities and movements in unprecedented ways. The viral spread of videos that document the human tragedies that accompany injustices of racism, sexism, homophobia, and ableism have been pivotal for pushing public awareness about social inequalities. Hashtags have helped link conversations across social media platforms and networks, giving organization and structure to mediated public discourse and citizen reporting. Social media posts connected to this hashtag activism offer updates, mobilization information, editorials or opinions, and other features that are characteristic of social justice journalism. Data from social media users around the world were a critical part of empowering publics across time and space, and social media have been at the helm of connecting some of the massive protests in recent years such as the Arab Spring, which included protests against oppressive governments and social inequality starting in Tunisia in 2011 and spreading across many countries; the 2017 #MeToo movement, which pushed against sexual abuse and violence; and March for Our Lives movement (#enoughisenough) that followed the Parkland, Florida, mass shooting at a high school in 2018. Social media were also essential facilitators for the Black Lives Matter movement, which principally pushed against racism and police brutality. The 2014 killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, thrust the social movement popularly referred to as the *Black Lives Matter movement* to the forefront of public attention. Social media helped drive mainstream media attention to the social justice issue, and as such, social media have become an invaluable resource for the further production of social justice journalism.

It is important to note though that in the mainstream press, attention is cyclical and is often driven by human tragedy. In other words, more press attention is granted when violence

and injustice must be elevated and amplified by networked media and on social media. But this does not necessarily constitute social justice journalism. Scholars have shown that while social movements benefit from the exposure, the coverage in traditional media often pushes forward a narrative that marginalizes or demonizes social movements, collective action efforts, and movement demands. But for some issues, coverage is more negative than others, and so the degree to which the mainstream media contributes to really representing the breadth of a social justice issue and its movement is contingent. As such, while social media help facilitate attention to social justice issues and advocacy, the resulting mainstream coverage is not the equivalent of social justice journalism.

Technology accessibility, adoption, and advancements have diversified the media landscape and upended the stronghold traditional media organizations used to have on disseminating information. Media creators across a broad spectrum have been able to contribute to the public narrative and discussion through digital means. This shift requires us to rethink what journalism is and diversify our understanding of how journalism can center and prioritize the human condition and contribute to its democratic role. Social justice journalism offers an opportunity to emphasize the importance of journalists as watchdogs for democracies and is aimed at eradicating injustice. Journalism within the mainstream, in alternative spaces, for specific communities and about specific issues are essential forms of social justice journalism that can be seen in the media landscape today.

Danielle K. Kilgo

See also Advocacy Journalism; Alternative News Media; Constructive Journalism; Ethnic Press; Investigative Journalism; Solutions Journalism

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SOCIAL MEDIA

The primary functions of social media are for individuals to create a profile, build connections (e.g., friends or followers), and to communicate with those connections through the site. Today, social media are prolific in part due to their presence as mobile applications (apps) on cell phones, as well as their ability to be accessed through the Internet.

Arguably the first social media site was SixDegrees, launched in 1997. SixDegrees had users identify family and friends and operated from the idea that there are only six degrees of separation between people around the world. Users could log in to the website and see how their connections spread out through their network. The site never gained traction and was shut down in 2001. It would open the door for other attempts at social media, however, such as Friendster in 2002, MySpace in 2003, and Facebook in 2004. With Facebook came a large shift in how individuals engaged with and conceived of social media; Friendster had a decidedly interpersonal slant, and MySpace had been born out of the music industry. Facebook would, from its earliest years, be used not just for networking with friends, but for the organization of groups to discuss a wide range of topics. When Facebook went public in 2006, greater shifts were seen wherein the creation of Pages for anyone from celebrities to politicians to news sources created the opportunity to connect with users and share content. Facebook—along with Twitter, founded in 2006, and Instagram, launched in 2010—represent the core commonly used social media sites today.

In a review of the past decade of technology trends, a December 2019 report from the Pew Research Center noted that roughly 72% of adults in the United States are users of social media and turn to social media not only to connect with friends and family but also to read the news and engage with politics. In an increasingly digital world, it is important to reflect on the role of social media within journalism, taking account of key sites, practices, and challenges that can be faced.

Facebook

Since its inception in 2004, Facebook has grown to over 2 billion monthly active users. Facebook is a social media site where individual users can connect and communicate with friends and family by sending “friend requests.” Facebook users are also able to “follow” public organizations, famous personalities, and other notable public figures through their Page. Facebook’s ecosystem offers a plethora of communication tools for journalists to employ, such as Pages (a profile for journalists or news

organizations), Facebook Live Video (livestreaming of content), Instant Articles (distribution of news directly through the site), and Stories (a feature that allows short videos or images that can link to additional news content from the top of the newsfeed).

The Pew Research Center also stated that as of 2019, 55% of American adults get news from Facebook compared to that of 2018, which ranked at 43%. Even though Facebook can satiate the news diet for its users, it also gratifies journalists in different aspects.

Facebook offers news organizations the opportunity to engage with the public through sharing their content, which subsequently drives more traffic to their website, creating a mutually beneficial partnership between news organizations and Facebook. Pages are not just for news organizations; individual journalists can also have a Page on Facebook. By creating a Page, freelance and individual journalists can interact with their potential audience within their community by talking to followers about recent work they have published in different outlets, while also gaining insight on Facebook user’s opinions about topics they are researching for future publication. Facebook offers an ambient environment for journalists so they can monitor new trends of collective intelligence—loosely organized groups of people who work together electronically to communicate, share specific knowledge, and discuss events—while tapping into immediate access of information (see Hermida, 2010). Collective intelligence is analogous to the notions of crowdsourcing, peer production, wisdom of crowds, and wikinomics. Essentially, today’s journalists are able to monitor Facebook as a part of their daily newsgathering routine.

Facebook not only allows journalists to obtain immediate access to information, but it is also utilized as an official news source. Depending on the subject matter, it is not uncommon for individual citizens to be directly quoted in news stories based on comments or videos shared on the site. Facebook is a platform that provides a large variety of sources that journalists might not have been able to access before, whether it be users livestreaming events that provide video and/or audio for a breaking news story (e.g., protests, terrorist attacks) or commenting in response to news

shared. Journalists can engage more directly with the public and can draw on their resources to offer a more in-depth look at the news.

Twitter

Launched in 2006, Twitter is a primarily text-based social media site that relies on short-form limits (originally 140 characters, now 280). On Twitter, users can “follow” other accounts, which allows their posts to be shared in a common feed, similar to Facebook. Twitter accounts can be made private, limiting access to tweets to just one’s followers, or public, allowing anyone who knows a user’s Twitter handle to view their tweets. Public accounts are ideal for news organizations and individual journalists to gain new followers and to connect with their broader audience. While one of the lesser used social media sites overall with roughly 300 million active monthly users, those who do use Twitter often cite the app as a primary location for their daily news consumption. Twitter’s popularity as a news source is highest with 30- to 49-year-olds and 18- to 29-year-olds (Pew Research Center, 2018).

The posts made by users on Twitter are called *tweets* and can include the attachment of a link to a website, a picture, GIF, or short video in addition to the 280 character-limit text. Users can “like” a tweet (previously called *favorite*), “retweet” or share a tweet, and comment (respond) to a tweet. Users are encouraged to use hashtags in their posts (e.g., #breakingnews) to identify the core content as a way to connect with other users on the site.

Hashtags and other commonly used words or phrases in tweets are identified as “trending topics” on Twitter, which can be viewed based on the country one is in. Hashtags can help to give attention to key topics in the news as well as generate topics that subsequently may be covered in the news (e.g., #MeToo). Of concern is the potential for trending topics to spread misinformation, particularly during or immediately after breaking news stories (see “Challenges” section later in this entry).

In addition to everyday people engaging with breaking news on Twitter, the site has created the opportunity for journalists and publishers to build relationships with their consumers. While

the most followed accounts on Twitter are primarily celebrities, the CNN Breaking News Twitter account (@cnnbrk) was identified as the 15th most followed account on Twitter as of June 2021 with over 61 million followers; CNN’s main account (@CNN) was ranked #21 with 53.7 million followers, followed by *The New York Times* (@nytimes) account ranked at #25 with 49.8 million followers. Internationally, BBC Breaking News (@BBCBreaking) ranked #27 with 47.8 million followers. Twitter can also be useful for freelancing journalists, who seek a platform to share their content created with followers beyond the primary publisher.

Instagram

Instagram launched as a mobile app in October 2010, filling a gap in the existing social media market by relying on images and videos instead of text. While Facebook incorporated all three components, and Twitter led with text as most important, Instagram put the visual front and center, encouraging users to apply filters to square images. Users of Instagram create a short profile and post their own images and/or videos. They can follow other accounts that subsequently populate their newsfeed and can use the “Explore” tab to view popular posts across the site. Unlike Facebook and Twitter, Instagram is primarily a mobile app, although users can access and view content from the Internet as well. In 2012, Facebook acquired Instagram, allowing users to link content shared on Instagram to their Facebook profile. As a result, several newer features of Facebook are also on Instagram (e.g., livestreaming, stories).

Compared to Facebook and Twitter, Instagram has been used to a lesser degree for the news. However, Instagram is one of the most popular social media sites for young people today, with over 1 billion active accounts on the site (more than double that of Twitter). Facebook, as the owner of Instagram, saw the potential to connect to a broader audience, and in 2019 instituted Instagram Local News Fellowships as part of the broader Facebook Journalism Project. This allowed journalism students to intern in newsrooms to help publishers grow their Instagram following.

One of the most popular features on Instagram is the use of interactive Stories, which has over 500 million daily active users. In an interactive story, a journalist can pose questions, polling users on anything from what news they would like to see more of to their opinion on a preselected topic. Another popular feature on the site is Instagram TV (IGTV). On IGTV, users can upload longer, vertical videos to the site. IGTV creates the opportunity to embed longer segments from televised broadcasts to share with a digital audience. Journalists and publishers also can rely on the use of geotagging to increase the reach of their content on Instagram. Geotagging allows a user to identify the location of their post, which can increase the visibility of the content when other users on the site search that location. Unlike Twitter and Facebook, users cannot embed hyperlinks directly into a post on Instagram. However, they can include a hyperlink in their Instagram biography (bio) that allows followers to learn more about content off-site. For news organizations, using external services to allow them to link to multiple stories from their bio can be useful.

Challenges

According to a Pew Research Center October 2019 report, one in five adults in the United States receive their news through social media, overtaking print newspapers. With this rise in consumption comes a need for journalists to be aware of the concerns that exist with social media use. These include but are not limited to fake news, fake accounts, unknown algorithms, fragmented audiences, and an increased opportunity for citizen journalists to provide access to content outside of the industry standard, creating uncertainty about breaking news stories.

Fake news can be understood as content shared online that lacks a foundation in reality, viewed as deliberate misinformation to the public. Fake news stories range from over-the-top human-interest stories to important political issues (e.g., the 2016 U.S. presidential election and Brexit). One of the greatest benefits of social media (reach) becomes then a challenge as users struggle to know which news they see is real. In response, sites like factcheck.org and snopes.com have

gained in popularity so Internet users can verify if what they are reading is real.

The concern of “fake news” was attached to Facebook after the 2016 U.S. presidential election, wherein it was revealed that several of the most popular news stories shared on the site in the lead up to the election contained misleading and sometimes false information. Facebook has faced increasing pressure since to protect the data of its users, delete fake accounts, and to fact-check impugned news articles. Twitter also faced backlash over the spread of fake accounts (e.g., bots) and fake news on the site, facing scrutiny for how the site has been used during elections around the world. The ability for hashtags to go viral as a result of these fake accounts has been the topic of debate. During the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kentucky, the effects of fake news were on full display, when an account tweeted that they had “shredded a box of Republican mail in ballots.” Retweeted out almost immediately, the message spurred the hashtag “#StoptheSteal,” and even though the account was suspended shortly after, flagged as a bot, the message would subsequently lead to a recount of votes, delaying the final results of the election by days. Instagram is also not immune to fake news concerns, having recently dealt with “deepfake” videos (i.e., videos that have been altered to distort reality) and edited images that are shared on the site. One example of this was a video of Representative Nancy Pelosi wherein she appeared to be drunk; it was revealed that the clip came from a video that had been slowed down and altered to create the appearance of inebriation. In January 2020, Facebook announced a new policy aimed at the identification and removal of deepfake videos, highlighting the continued need to modify and extend the parameters of acceptable content on social media as misinformation can spread easily online.

In 2009, Twitter worked to combat fake accounts trying to represent organizations and people through the site by introducing “verified accounts”—if an account was verified as real and belonged to the person or organization that claimed to run the profile, Twitter would place a blue and white checkmark next to the username (e.g., @nytimes is the verified account for *The New York Times*). Other sites (e.g., YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook) have since added

similar verification markers, meant to help users know the content shared is real. While this helps to combat misinformation from well-known accounts, the ability for fake news to spread from lesser known accounts remains an issue. In recent years, Facebook and Twitter have both taken greater steps to verify accounts and news shared, with the opportunity for users to flag suspicious activity.

The ability for social media sites to manipulate what users see is also an increasing challenge faced by journalists and news organizations today. While a newspaper may create content to share through sites like Facebook and Twitter, there is no guarantee that users will see it due to algorithms and other unknown, often proprietary reasons. The Pew Research Center, in an October 2019 report, highlights this issue in noting that 88% of Americans are aware that social media can control what news they see and that 62% believe social media sites have too much control, resulting in a worse mix up of news.

The sorting algorithm is another issue Facebook users face when using the platform. The sorting algorithm is one of the most popular forms of algorithms on social media networks. The sorting algorithms collect as well as examine input data to create a streamlined output for users (see Johnson, 2017). In other words, users' data creates users' personal streamlined "News Feed," which reflects the personal interests of each user of a given site. Individualized news feeds create a barrier for journalists because there is not a free-flowing marketplace of ideas. Instead, users have their filtered realities online and can easily miss a news article that appears in the News Feed of one user but not another. Until a story more broadly trends on social media, the chances that a user knows about that content are decreased as a result.

A final challenge of social media is users taking on the role of citizen journalists. The ability for any user of social media to share news online can, at times, privilege speed over accuracy. One such example was the Boston Marathon Bombing that occurred in 2013. News of the bombing and images from users who were in attendance were shared and reshared as it became a trending topic on Twitter. Users began to speculate, using images shared by other users, about potential

suspects in the bombing. False claims were made and retweeted through the site, leading to a misidentification of who was responsible for the bombing. This kind of citizen journalism has grown increasingly common on social media sites like Twitter, wherein users can engage with messages and create viral opportunities for connecting with more people around the world on a given topic.

Future Directions

Increasingly, younger users of social media have shifted away from the core sites (e.g., Facebook) in favor of new technologies that offer features they find to be more appealing. Indeed, as social media users become increasingly concerned with issues related to privacy and fake news, new social media can fill in to create opportunities for publishers to connect with a new generation of consumers.

Snapchat is an image and video-based social media application. The niche of the site, when released in 2011, was that posts ("snaps") were ephemeral instead of staying constant on someone's profile; users would have one chance to watch the short video or view an image (anywhere from 1 to 10 seconds) before it disappeared, unable to be retrieved. Snapchat would later allow users to save posts, which would alert the creator of the original snap. The addition of the "Discover" feature in 2015 created the opportunity for news organizations to capitalize on the use of Snapchat; sites like CNN are able to have "channels" that Snapchat users can watch for video content to take in the daily news. A report from the Pew Research Center in 2018 suggests Snapchat is used more than twice as much for news consumption for 18- to 29-year-olds compared to older generations, suggesting that the site is an opportunity to connect with a younger audience who may be less likely to watch the news in more traditional formats.

TikTok, launched in 2017, is a video-sharing platform, and one of the newest social media apps, with over 500 million active users. Users can share original video content ranging from 3 to 60 seconds, depending on the type of content. A heavy amount of the content on TikTok overlays a user's own video with music or audio from

viral clips. Users can click through a video to see other content that relies on the same audio or music across the site. TikTok has emerged as a branding opportunity for individual reporters and news organizations, although some organizations (e.g., NBC News) are sharing news through the app as well. Meanwhile, *The Washington Post* has engaged the meme-culture of the site by sharing videos that use common hashtags and audio clips as opposed to curated news stories. TikTok, like Snapchat, is geared toward younger audiences, with the majority of users between 16 and 24 years of age.

YouTube, founded in 2005, is a video-sharing platform that straddles the line of social media but is often included in reports on social media use. In their 2018 report on social media consumption, the Pew Research Center noted that YouTube had seen one of the largest increases in users that got their news from the site, up by 6%. On YouTube, accounts in good standing can post videos up to 12 hours in length, while all users have the ability to upload videos up to 15 minutes long. YouTube has provided the opportunity for segments from shows (e.g., *The Today Show*) to be shared digitally sooner after they air, increasing the reach of news produced. Several news organizations have also created content solely for digital purposes that they share through their account with subscribers. In 2011, YouTube added YouTube Live as part of the site, which allowed users to livestream content to their subscribers. News organizations like C-SPAN, Fox News, and USA Today have used the livestream feature to connect with viewers on the site. Unlike other social media, YouTube has also emerged as a cross-generational site, used as much by young adults as older generations, increasing its value for journalists to connect with a diverse audience.

Final Thoughts

Social media have become an everyday tool for communication by hundreds of millions (and in the case of some sites, billions) of people worldwide. The immediacy, spreadability, and reach of many of these sites make them ideal for journalists and publishers to connect with potential consumers, benefiting both the publisher and social media site. With each new site launched, additional

benefits and challenges for journalists and publishers arise. By attending to the features of those sites that can enable opportunities to connect and share the news, journalists can stay current and reach a broader audience than if they used traditional sources of media consumption.

Natalie Pennington and Serena Hicks

See also Citizen Journalism; Facebook Snapchat; Fake News; Snapchat; Twitter; YouTube

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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND JOURNALISM

The term *social movements* is generally used to refer to organized campaigns developed by citizens focusing on a particular topic, often political or social in nature. These movements can take place in small, local communities or across nations. Modern social movements utilize technology to mobilize large groups of people and to spread the word about their efforts. This entry traces the development of several social movements and discusses social movements' relationship with the media, journalists, and technology.

Social Movements

Social and political change has occurred worldwide due to the efforts of those involved in social movements. In the United States, women's suffrage, the growth of labor unions during the Industrial Revolution, and laws to protect the civil rights of Black people all resulted from social movements. Worldwide, movements have changed governments, driven out leaders, and brought sweeping social change. Movements differ from

protests in that they are sustained, organized, and long lasting.

In Europe in 1848, unrest regarding years of economic depression and difficult living conditions led to a series of revolutions dubbed the “People's Spring.” Across Europe, citizens banded together in cities and capitals to force governments to embrace democracy. These movements had some short-term successes, and one outcome of this movement was Karl Marx's creation of the Communist Manifesto, which would eventually fuel the movement for communism. Ultimately, the monarchies and governments of Europe remained largely intact, but this movement inspired, at least in name, the Arab Spring. However, the Arab Spring movement had modern tools to hasten its spread.

The Arab Spring, a series of uprisings against authoritarian governments in the Middle East and North Africa that began in 2010, was similar to the People's Spring in that it stemmed from citizens' unrest over living conditions and treatment by governments, and also that it spread beyond the borders of one nation. Modern technology afforded the ability to spread movements both within and outside of the affected areas through the use of Internet and mobile applications. The movement began with a protest in Tunisia that led to that country's authoritarian dictator fleeing the country. Word of this act spread quickly via news reports online, and organizers were able to activate large groups more quickly thanks to email, SMS, and Twitter. Via Twitter, journalists and citizens around the world were able to watch the protests unfold in real time. Similar protests spread quickly and led to regime change and even civil war in some nations.

In the United States, as well as in other Western nations, many different movements since 2000 have focused on social and political policy change. Beginning in 2011, the Occupy Wall Street movement was born in the United States. Occupy Wall Street was focused on economic inequality and resulted largely from the 2008 financial crisis. Protestors of various backgrounds and political leanings camped out on Wall Street in the heart of New York's financial district to draw attention to economic policies that led to drastic inequalities among citizens. Although this movement was focused on the United States, it was likely inspired

by similar acts of protest and occupation occurring across Europe.

One of the most well-known social movements in the United States is the Black Lives Matter movement, which grew out of the 2012 shooting death of unarmed, 17-year-old African American teenager Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida. Martin was killed by a member of the neighborhood watch, George Zimmerman, who in 2013 was acquitted of the crime. The movement was started by three women, Opal Tometi, Patrisse Cullors, and Alicia Garza, to raise awareness of violence against African Americans and address the systems that have led to and support this violence.

Tools of the Black Lives Matter movement have informed organizers of subsequent movements, including the #MeToo movement and Moms Demand Action. Both of these movements were also created by women to address social issues that impacted their ability to live full and safe lives. Tarana Burke began using the phrase “me too” in online blog posts in 2006 to call attention to sexual violence perpetrated against women, but the use of the #MeToo hashtag on social media took off in 2017 in response to reporting on sexual assault allegations against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein. As revelations of sexual harassment and assault by other powerful men in Hollywood and other industries followed, the hashtag became the name of a movement against sexual violence.

The Moms Demand Action movement was started by Shannon Watts the day after the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in 2012. This movement also began online, on Facebook, and has since developed a strong following on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, as well as leading to local chapters of members who meet in person in all 50 states. These movements, Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, and Moms Demand Action, represent an important shift in social movements—their ability to grow from online environments to real-world communities of people working for a common cause. Their ability make this shift is related to their relationship with the media.

Journalism

Social movements depend on the work of journalists in order to be successful. Indeed, before

the Internet, information spread to the masses largely via mass media. In those times, getting the attention and interest of journalists was critical to spreading the word regarding a movement’s platform. However, getting the attention or interest of a journalist was not the only hurdle. Activists and organizers also had to get the support of the journalists’ editors and news organization in order for their message to get out.

Journalists at traditional media outlets must work through editors in order to publish their reports. Editors work for media companies, and even in democratic countries, special interests can put pressure on news organizations to squash coverage or influence what is covered. In addition, news organizations depend on having audiences and, in most cases, advertisers, whose willingness to subscribe or advertise could be influenced by their satisfaction with the news being covered. For example, during the civil rights movement in the 1960s, mainstream news organizations were largely staffed by white males, while their leadership was largely white and male as well. Institutionalized racism and a lack of understanding between journalists and the people they were covering would influence how reporters covered protests in local communities during this era.

In the United States, the news media and communities have become more diverse, and with the evolution of the Internet, reporting is not solely in the hands of the mass media. However, it cannot be overlooked that many social movements occur in countries where there is no democracy or free press. In some nations, reporters may work for government-controlled media that could choose not to report on movements that they prefer not spread, or report mistruths about activists and protestors.

Hong Kong, a semiautonomous Chinese city, once had a reputation as one of the most open Asian cities for flow of news and information. However, in the 2000s, more journalists reported self-censoring due to pressure from China, which in recent years has moved to restrict Hong Kong’s freedoms. During protests in Hong Kong in 2019 over plans to allow extradition to Mainland China, Chinese reporting often sharply differed from that of the world press and some journalists

in Hong Kong. In cases such as these, individuals looking for truth regarding protests and social movements must turn to trusted sources to determine what is happening. In today's media landscape, trusted sources often include information consumed or discovered via social media platforms.

Social Media

Modern social movements use social media to amplify their message and connect with audiences. As evidenced particularly by the Black Lives Matter, Moms Demand Action, and #MeToo movements, online discussions can lead to real-world, organized action. These movements have high-profile sponsors and volunteers and have influenced policy in communities across the United States.

The Internet is fallible and, for some groups, inaccessible. Even for those with a smartphone, Internet access is not free and, for some marginalized communities, often those most impacted by the work of social movements, it is out of reach. Some of the world's poorest citizens, those most victimized by unethical regimes, do not have access to the Internet. In addition, governments and big companies can limit or shut down Internet access. However, in an increasingly globalized world, journalists and citizens who wish to chronicle events are more easily able to travel and capture video and reports of what is happening in communities. Further, this information is not dependent on mass media to be spread. Those who do have access to the Internet can read and share content rapidly.

This sharing of information happens millions of times per day, across dozens of social media platforms. Students attending a rally in the United States can livestream video of the event to be viewed by friends and family worldwide. It is not uncommon for individuals with such video footage to be contacted by mainstream media outlets and asked to share their content via traditional media channels, or online. In this case, what is shared socially is amplified by the coverage from mass media. In addition, police dashcam or bodycam footage is often shared by activists in the Black Lives Matter movement to draw attention to acts of police brutality toward African

Americans. In this situation, activities that were previously unaccounted for are not only captured, but there is a mechanism through which to bring attention to them.

Many news organizations in the United States have seen declines in viewership, subscriptions, and attention. However, many journalists have an active presence on social media that can provide an opening for their work to be seen by those who are united by their views on an issue. A journalist covering an event can simply post to social media using a hashtag associated with a topic and link to the online version of their story to broaden its reach among those interested in the issue. Journalists with large social media followings can bring significant attention to their stories. The ability for people to discover content via hashtag is significant for the spread of social movements but can also lead to the spread of misinformation.

Users on social media can read information in posts delivered to them in a newsfeed. The information in the newsfeed differs by platform. It generally comes from people the user has chosen to connect with but can also include posts from advertisers. Researchers have shown that users rely on peripheral cues when determining the credibility of such content and often miss or disregard the source of the content. This reliance on cues has led to the spread of false information online, including false information about social movements. Some sources of false information are nefarious, or politically motivated. However, much false information is simply opinion read as fact or the work of writers who have not properly researched their topic.

Kate Keib

See also Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Social Justice Journalism; Social Media

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SOLUTIONS JOURNALISM

The term *solutions journalism* was used before the turn of the 21st century but gained popularity and legitimacy among journalists and journalism scholars in the years after the 2013 launch of the independent, nonprofit Solutions Journalism Network, which defines the practice as rigorous reporting on responses to social problems. In other words, solutions journalism is evidence-based news reporting that focuses on how people are working to solve problems rather than focusing solely on the problems themselves.

This entry begins by defining solutions journalism more thoroughly. Then, it provides a justification for such an approach and acknowledges criticisms of the approach. Examples are provided of news organizations and individual news stories that exemplify the practice. Finally, the impact of this journalistic approach is discussed.

Definition of Solutions Journalism

Solutions journalism news stories focus on what people are doing to effectively address social problems. For example, in 2020, mainstream news outlets focused their coverage on the death toll of the global COVID-19 pandemic and its accompanying social hardships and economic fallout.

Proponents of solutions journalism acknowledge that exposing society's ills is a core function of the news media, but they argue that informing the public of society's successes, or at least of legitimate attempts to solve problems, are equally as important. Solution-based stories on the pandemic focused their attention on what individuals, organizations, or institutions were doing to reduce the number of people infected by the virus and ease its widespread impact. By flipping the frame and reporting on responses to problems rather than solely on the problems themselves, journalists aim to empower audiences and push society forward.

The Solutions Journalism Network—which supports the practice by training journalists and collaborating with newsrooms and universities across the globe—says that in order to qualify as solutions journalism, a news story must include certain qualities. A story must describe a response to a problem, include evidence that the response is working, provide insights that can help others, and discuss the limitations of the response. Academic research has bolstered those criteria, detailing that the response must make up the bulk of the story rather than be tacked onto the end, for example. The Solutions Journalism Network also has identified what they call imposter stories; for example, a story that simply praises a single individual's good deed would not qualify as a solutions journalism news story. A good idea for a potential solution would also not meet the criteria, as solutions stories must document responses that have already shown signs of progress.

Justification and Criticism

Solutions journalism is one of many types of journalism identified by scholars and practitioners worldwide in recent years. The development of so many new journalistic approaches indicates a dissatisfaction with conventional journalistic norms and practices. Indeed, scholars and practitioners have coined several terms describing forms of journalism that highlight a commitment to social responsibility, such as civic journalism, public journalism, peace journalism, advocacy journalism, constructive journalism, and more. Like these similar forms of news, solutions journalism was born in part to serve as an antidote to the negativity bias present in mainstream news. A large body

of literature has documented that the mainstream news media focus on problems and conflict and such coverage has a detrimental impact on individuals' mental and physical health, attitudes, and behaviors. Specifically, consuming mainstream news—especially television news—can cause individuals to feel anxious, depressed, and stressed.

In addition to the overabundance of negative news, the journalism industry has faced substantial challenges in recent decades. The business model based on print advertising collapsed with the growth of the Internet, resulting in a significant number of layoffs and newsroom closures. Levels of public trust in the media have steadily declined in recent decades, at least in most Anglo-Saxon countries. Further, political partisanship has grown more extreme and media criticism more rampant. While U.S. president, Donald Trump frequently referred to journalists and news organizations as *the enemy of the people*. Solutions journalism offers a response to a lengthy period of journalistic disruption and disillusionment.

Some have expressed skepticism of solutions journalism on the grounds that it is a slippery slope to publishing purely positive news at best and propaganda at worst. Critics are concerned that solutions journalism might delegitimize the longstanding watchdog function of the press, which involves holding the powerful accountable by exposing corruption and other misdeeds. Proponents say these critics do not fully understand the practice and insist that solution-focused stories, when done effectively, are not feel-good stories but rather are critical examinations of societal problems that have widespread social significance.

Solutions journalism strives for the journalistic ideal of objectivity, at least inasmuch as objectivity is possible. Solutions journalism, and similar genres, ascribe to the media sociology perspective that journalists are not detached observers who simply report facts, but rather play a role in shaping stories. Solutions journalists take a more active rather than passive role by framing their stories in terms of possible solutions rather than sustained conflicts. Some critics call this bias or advocacy, but proponents of solutions journalism argue that all journalists shape the stories they report and choosing to focus on a solution is no more or less

objective than choosing to focus on a problem. Further, solutions journalists say that adhering to the Solution Journalism Network's standards for writing a solutions story—that being a rigorous, evidence-based approach—limits bias or advocacy.

Perhaps more valid criticisms than that solutions journalism veers too close to advocacy are that such stories might cast issues too simplistically, as many problems are complex and do not have clear solutions, and that leaders of nondemocratic societies might encourage the publication of pro-government stories under the veil of solutions journalism. This style of reporting is not a cure-all for journalism's problems, and it might not be appropriate for all news stories, such as breaking news, or in all journalistic landscapes, such as in countries without a free press.

Examples and Impact

Examples of solutions journalism can be found in news outlets on every continent. The Solutions Journalism Network's Story Tracker, a database that houses solutions-oriented news stories, included nearly 9,000 stories from 173 countries in mid-2020. Journalists are practicing this approach in countries such as South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, China, Colombia, and more.

The approach is perhaps the most popular in Europe, where the term *solutions journalism* is often used interchangeably with constructive journalism. The U.K. magazine *Positive News* is credited as being the first news outlet dedicated to publishing constructive news. French nongovernmental organization Reporters d'Espoirs (Reporters of Hope) launched a group of journalists and media professionals dedicated to promoting solutions journalism in 2003. In Denmark, DR, or the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, hosts a radio show centered around solving problems in the community. Dutch news website De Correspondent launched in the Netherlands in 2013 after raising more than 1 million euros in 8 days to finance its work in constructive journalism. The news platform replicated its crowdfunding success in 2018, when it raised more than \$2.6 million in 30 days to fund a counterpart English-language website, The Correspondent. The English-language site launched in September 2019 but

discontinued publishing new articles as of January 2021. Early supporters of The Correspondent had expressed disappointment with the decision to keep the new site's headquarters in Amsterdam after the fundraising campaign gave the impression it would be based in the United States.

Other European news outlets that publish solutions journalism include SVT in Sweden, *Tages-Anzeiger* in Switzerland, and *Perspective Daily* in Germany, among others. More well-known news organizations in Europe have also shown a commitment to solutions journalism. The BBC began publishing solutions-oriented news under the title BBC World Hacks after the United Nations called on the media giant to do so. And British daily newspaper *The Guardian* launched a series called *The Upside*, which publishes solutions-focused news stories. *The Guardian* reporter Sarah Boseley received the Future of Journalism Award, given by the Solutions Journalism Network and another independent center called the *Constructive Institute*, in 2019 for her story "The Big Sleep," which investigated how the Democratic Republic of Congo, one of the most troubled countries in the world, had all but eradicated the tropical disease called *sleeping sickness*.

In the United States, news outlets big and small are experimenting with solutions journalism, many of them in conjunction with the Solutions Journalism Network. *The New York Times* launched a series in 2010 called *Fixes* that publishes solutions journalism stories covering topics such as the opioid epidemic and other health care issues, incarceration, and racial injustice. *The Seattle Times* has published solution-oriented stories about problems plaguing the education system in Washington state since 2013. Its journalists have reported on approaches to improve school discipline, parent education, and math instruction. In 2018 and 2019, *POLITICO Magazine* launched two series, *What Works* and *What Works Next*, that included articles about a Houston-based health app preventing flood damage, a successful Baltimore after-school program, and millennials' unique responses to societal problems.

Solutions journalism appears to have a promising impact, both economically and socially. Utah's *Deseret News* adopted a solutions focus as a way to increase readership after a number of layoffs. In 2013, it became the fastest growing newspaper in

the United States based on circulation. After training its reporters in solutions journalism in an effort to refocus its coverage, the *Montgomery Advertiser* in Alabama reported an increase in pageviews and engagement time on its solutions stories in 2018. Several newsroom projects centered around solutions journalism have received grant support, such as the *Arizona Daily Star*'s 2018 piece, "Fixing Our Foster Care Crisis."

Academic research regarding solutions journalism has mostly suggested that these types of stories engage news audiences. Although research has traditionally indicated that audiences are attracted to shocking stories, exemplifying the "if it bleeds, it leads" adage, and attention-grabbing headlines have become increasingly popular in the age of clickbait, other research suggests that although news stories with high levels of conflict attract audiences, at least initially, the excessive amount of negatively skewed news has also caused audiences to become apathetic to human suffering and to disengage with the news entirely. Compared to news stories focused on conflict, experiments have revealed that solutions stories can cause readers to feel more positive and have greater intentions to engage with the content. Several studies have also shown that those who read solution stories report higher levels of self-efficacy, or the belief that they can contribute to the solution themselves. Some studies have shown further benefits of solutions stories such as increased intent to share the stories or to act in a way that supports the solution, but these results have not been conclusive.

Although most early research has focused on the effects of text-based solutions journalism stories among adults, some scholars have examined solutions journalism as it relates to the photos published alongside text stories, its effects on children, teaching solutions journalism to university students, and journalists' own perceptions of the practice. Journalists in the United States reported favorable attitudes toward solutions journalism in a 2016 survey. Although existing research paints an optimistic picture for the future of the practice, more work needs to be done before conclusions can be drawn about the impact of this approach.

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See also Constructive Journalism; Europe; Framing; News Audiences, Decline of U.S.; News Avoidance; News Values; Objectivity; Peace Journalism; Social Justice Journalism

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SOURCES

Journalistic sources are defined as actors who journalists get information from using newsgathering techniques such as interviews and observations. This information can include quotes, background information, story suggestions, or eyewitness accounts. Sources are therefore actors

outside the news organization itself who provide information subsidies and can be actors who are interviewed by e-mail, in person, or by telephone, as well as documents containing relevant information. This entry discusses the types of sources and their use in the news process, ethical and legal aspects of sourcing, power in journalist-source relations, the use of online sources, journalists' verification of sources, and audiences' views on journalistic sources.

Sources can be differentiated into types, which some authors classify in a source hierarchy based on perceived trustworthiness from the perspective of the journalist. The most trustworthy sources are official sources such as ministries and other government institutions, followed by professional sources, which include, for example, nongovernmental organizations or companies from the economic sector. The third type is nonprofessional sources such as citizens who are not in the public eye for professional reasons. A fourth type, actors from the media system itself such as correspondents and news agencies, can be added. This classification is based on the proximity to journalistic standards that sources usually exhibit when presenting information. Official and especially journalistic sources are used to adapting their communication style to the needs of journalists. Nonprofessional sources such as private citizens, on the other hand, usually do not take journalistic demands into account when posting reports of their experiences on social media platforms.

In journalism research, as early as 1979, Herbert Gans postulated that it was sources that led journalists to the topics of reporting. Zvi Reich called sources the *cornerstones* of journalistic activities such as detecting, researching, and verifying news. They provide journalists with information and thus the raw material on which further reporting is based. As a rule, it is sources, not journalists, who witness events that are potentially worth reporting. In academic definitions of journalism, sources also play a prominent role: Denis McQuail defines journalism as construction and publication of contemporary events based on reliable sources. Journalists need sources, especially when facts are not verifiable or are controversial. Sources can be used to manifest the facts and lend authority to information.

Sources in the News Process

Despite their ascribed importance, in journalism research, sources were somewhat underrepresented for a long time. The theory of news values and research on gatekeepers and social psychological approaches conceptualize news decisions from the perspective of journalists without placing sources at the center of consideration. Activities of journalists in relation to sources are often summarized under the terms of newsgathering or sourcing. Also, theories of news production localize sources mainly at the beginning of the process as suppliers of information, which are consulted by journalists.

As a result of the sociological turn in journalism research, journalists were then increasingly viewed in an organizational context and the idea of an autonomously acting gatekeeper who selects sources was rejected. With this change of perspective, the sources of information inevitably move more into the focus of interest, although the actual relationship to sources is only present in an approach that places sources in the context of social interactions. In reciprocal models, the relationship between sources and journalists is described as a process of exchange and ongoing social relationship, in which the gathering of information is not a single event but the result of complex interactions between the two actors. This process of “finding the truth” is described as epistemology of news reporting, which is defined by rules and routines that operate within a social setting, and determines how journalists obtain their knowledge. Knowledge is not understood as the product of an objective and rational analysis of reality, but as the result of an intersubjective negotiation process. Barbie Zelizer refers to the place where meanings are constructed, shared, and redefined as the interpretive community of journalism. According to this approach, the relationship between journalists and their sources can be described as a negotiation of meaning between multiple groups, each of which is located in different interpretative communities with their own patterns of interpretation.

Ethical and Legal Aspects of Sourcing

In this negotiation, journalists have the obligation to protect their sources. Source protection is a

central component of numerous codes of ethics, according to which it is always wrong not to protect the source. This ethical responsibility toward journalistic sources is, however, also legally anchored in some countries in the form of the so-called *shield laws*. In Sweden, for example, journalists can be prosecuted for disclosing their sources.

Source protection as a legally protected good is the exception rather than the rule; nonetheless, journalists face potential sanctions if they do not protect their sources. Without certain protective mechanisms, potential sources could be deterred from passing on important information to journalists, who would then no longer be able to adequately perform their task as the fourth estate. The protection of sources gains special importance in the case of whistleblowers where investigative reporters and sources collaborate to reveal abuses of power. For journalists, this kind of reporting can pose challenges, such as the establishment of secure communication channels and considerations about surveillance of their own activities.

Power in Journalist–Source Relations

In the description of the relationship between sources and journalists, a substantial part of the literature has focused on which voices get heard in the news. In many cases, this research is framed under the label of power and examines dependency in the relationship between sources and journalists. The power relations between reporters and their sources depend on various contextual factors: the story itself, the source, and social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. Thus, the reporter–source relationship can range from a goal-oriented exchange of information to a struggle for the sovereignty of interpretation in the presentation of information.

The level of dependency on sources can be differentiated according to the stages of news production. In the news discovery phase, the agenda-building theory assumes that issues arise in an interplay between media, politics, and society. Particularly in routine reporting, journalists are guided by planned events such as press conferences or press releases and news agencies and tend to remain passive. In the news selection phase, not

only the perceived relevance of an issue contributes to the decision to select it for coverage, but also the availability of sources and the accessibility of information. Sources who adjust their information to journalistic needs are, therefore, privileged in news reporting.

In the newsgathering phase, sources gain in importance because journalists try to identify additional perspectives and cross-check previous information. In the presentation phase, Gaye Tuchman described strategic rituals journalists use to preserve objectivity. Sources play a major role in these rituals. For example, they enable journalists to distance themselves from the information displayed in the journalistic piece.

Empirical research on the relation between sources and journalists has often referred to the tango-metaphor to ask who exerts greater influence in shaping the news. Gans stated that sources usually lead the tango. More recent studies found power relations to be dependent on context factors such as cultural differences, the kind of story journalists cover, and working conditions of journalists. However, most studies agree that authoritative sources such as government officials or academic experts dominate the news. Citizens are mainly present as eyewitnesses in crisis events, breaking news situations, or to represent the public opinion in vox pops. In routine coverage, citizens only play a minor role.

Digitalization and Journalistic Sources

The rise of digital media has significantly changed the relationship between sources and journalists. First, sources no longer depend on journalism to spread their messages to the audience. For example, populist politicians heavily use these new possibilities to communicate directly. This also has consequences for power in the relationship between sources and journalists, because sources can bypass the filter and journalistic coverage is not the only channel to reach a broader audience.

Second, the ability of journalists to access content generated by users dramatically increased. The availability of user-generated content as potential raw material and the presence of diverse voices online led scholars to assume that journalistic coverage would begin to include more

nonelite sources. However, this optimism was not fulfilled as user-generated content often does not fulfill journalistic standards, which increases the hurdle to be integrated in news coverage. Some studies have noted an increase in social media in the news, but also stated that this material is mainly used to illustrate opinions of a range of sources. Other studies have found that journalists seldom base stories on online sources and rather use them as a supplement. Overall, the impression prevails that journalists, at least in routine reporting, use digital tools only as a new access route to established sources.

Third, social media not only offer unlimited access to raw material but also pose the challenge of how to determine the trustworthiness of sources and the credibility of their material. Techniques such as geo-location of pictures or forensic processes to identify fake videos are incorporated in newsrooms or offered as a service by external organizations. Additionally, not only the direct use of social media material is problematic with regard to verification, but also using social media as a tool for story detection in the sense of ambient journalism involves risks for journalists. Large-scale disinformation campaigns could bias the public opinion journalists perceive when monitoring social media.

Verification of Journalistic Sources

Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel describe journalism as a “discipline of verification,” which has developed norms such as objectivity, rules, and routines in the collection, selection, and presentation of valid information. Journalists need to determine if a source tries to be accurate and honest, or if they only offer self-serving information. Verification is essential for the ability of journalism to provide fair and accurate reporting. The drive for accuracy is a core value of journalism and defines acceptable professional behavior in the sourcing and presentation of information.

In the context of digital media, journalism must develop strategies to deal with the speed and abundance of material on social media platforms. The conflict between accuracy of information and speed of reporting is particularly present in the online context. Breaking-news situations are the point of culmination when the flow of

information is usually chaotic and contradictory, and journalists' verification efforts are also visible to recipients. According to the findings of some studies, verification is neglected in these crisis situations and verification is only carried out after publication.

The standards for assessing the trustworthiness of sources from the perspective of journalists have apparently changed as a result of social media. Since verification is a very time-consuming and resource-intensive process, several authors have identified alternative ways in which journalists can arm themselves against attacks on their objectivity without having to investigate every last detail of information. Studies dealing with the process of verification have found that in many cases, journalists rely on trust relationships with sources to shorten the process of verification. Other studies have tried to investigate the steps journalists follow when verifying sources.

Audience Perspective on Journalistic Sources

Sources do fulfill different functions for journalists in the phase of news discovery and gathering but also in the phase of news presentation. Journalists use sources to fulfill the norm of objectivity, which requires the presentation of supporting evidence and conflicting possibilities. How transparent journalists are with regard to their sourcing practices differs, and this in turn affects the audience.

How the audience views journalistic sources is not at the center of journalism research and has received less attention compared to journalistic sourcing. Nonetheless, journalists' handling of sources is crucial for the audience's evaluation of the quality of journalism. In general, the news audience seems to value quotes, the mentioning of sources, their proximity to the news event, and a high status of the source. On the other hand, some types of sources such as public relations are rated as untrustworthy in general. If sources provide uncertain information that is nonetheless newsworthy, journalists have to solve the dilemma by providing the audience with enough information to judge the source and at the same time avoiding the impression that the whole journalistic piece is untrustworthy. In this case, transparency about

sources can evoke uncertainty on the side of the audience.

With regard to online sources of information used in news stories, empirical evidence is mixed suggesting that the audience do not perceive the use of off-line sources as more credible than online sources. Only very eye-catching displays of social media posts within a story, such as screenshots of tweets, might negatively influence the credibility. Additionally, the need for transparency seems to differ between online and off-line recipients of news. People who regularly use online news expect journalists to disclose more details about sources than off-line users do.

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See also Fake News; Fourth Estate; Gatekeeping; New Media; Sources, Anonymous; Trust in Journalism

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SOURCES, ANONYMOUS

From the perspective of journalists, the anonymity of sources can have at least two meanings: First, a source can be anonymous in the sense that its identity is not known to the journalist. Second, the source can insist on anonymity in reporting, but disclose itself to the journalist. In literature, the phenomenon of anonymous sources is treated under various headings. One of the most prominent is unnamed sources, which describes sources who do not want their names to appear in journalistic coverage. Other terms, such as distant sources, refer to sources that are at least partly anonymous for journalists. This type of source is mainly characterized by the fact that journalists usually do not have the opportunity (or the interest) to meet the actors personally. Instead, their content is researched via digital media and integrated into the news.

Both forms of anonymity have consequences for journalistic norms and practices as well as for

the public’s perception of journalistic reporting. In journalism research, especially how journalists deal with unnamed sources and ethical debates underlying their use have been examined. With regard to sources anonymous to the journalist, research has extensively examined social media sources in the news, how they are verified, and the consequences of using anonymous (citizen) sources for the relationship between journalists and their audience. This entry discusses the opportunities and challenges of sources anonymous to the journalist and sources unnamed in the coverage and describes how anonymity affects journalistic processes.

Anonymous Sources and Journalistic Norms

Anonymous sources are important to journalists’ role as independent watchdog because they can allow for a fuller exploration of a story and offer alternative viewpoints on positions articulated by those speaking on behalf of organizations or political parties. This kind of sensitive information is often communicated only under the shield of anonymity and thus offers the journalist a possibility to access otherwise unobtainable information. Criticism of the use of anonymous sources is particularly ignited in cases where the use of anonymous sources has led to false and distorted reporting.

Journalists are called upon to protect their sources and yet be as transparent as possible to the public. This dilemma already plays a major role in everyday source work, but it becomes even more pronounced with anonymous sources. The individual journalist makes himself or herself vulnerable because he or she cannot shift responsibility onto the source by naming it. Instead, the journalist is taking an active role by granting anonymity to the source and acting as the only authority accountable for the information presented. This has several consequences both for the relationship between journalist and source and for journalistic reporting as such.

First, at the level of journalistic reporting, strategic rituals to ensure the journalist’s objectivity, such as the presentation of different points of view or transparency about the sourcing process, are no longer applicable, because it is not possible to name the source. Instead, the journalist must

personally ensure the correctness of the facts. In the event of an error, responsibility for the incorrect coverage falls directly back on the journalist. The risk for the journalist is increased, because of the high interdependence with the source and concerns that the source could take advantage of the anonymity granted by the journalist to manipulate the journalist or news organization.

Second, in their relationship with anonymous sources, journalists have to develop mechanisms to cope with this risk. In the case of distant sources, journalists often use cross-checks or digital methods of verification. In the case of anonymous sources, it is crucial that a relationship of trust already exists between the journalist and the source, which is based on previous experiences and reduces the journalist's uncertainty about relying on the source for reporting. This is particularly prevalent in the case of whistleblowers, where verification by cross-checks is restricted. However, also in routine reporting, journalists regularly rely on (background) information from sources they are not allowed to name in their coverage.

How often journalists are confronted with the challenge of anonymity is dependent on the area they are working at. Compared to most news reporters, investigative journalists more regularly deal with anonymous sources. Political journalists often use background information from politicians in their reporting without naming them. In a historical analysis of norms surrounding the use of anonymous sources displayed in guidelines and textbooks, Matt Duffy found that anonymous sourcing was not always an accepted practice but gained acceptance in the 1970s, while few textbooks offered guidelines how to cope with anonymity of sources.

Third, if one takes a closer look at distant sources, where journalists often do not know the name of the source themselves, additional conflicts of norms arise. The central question here is the relevance of the material supplied by the source and how this relevance is weighed against the anonymity of the source. In other words, the journalist must decide whether the source's information is so relevant that the limited possibility of verification can be accepted. Studies have shown that not only relevance but also temporal factors such as the dynamics of news situations play a

role for the publication of such information. The use of distant sources is common in crisis reporting, where reports have to be made in the shortest possible time from inaccessible areas. However, the problem of how to cope with distant sources is also present in routine reporting, albeit in a different form. Especially in the case of entertaining content with low social relevance, verification is sometimes dispensed with and the material is integrated with a general reference to online networks without questioning the anonymity of the source.

Online Sourcing and Anonymity

Even though journalists had already used sources that they could not meet in person before digitization, the amount of material available has grown exponentially through the Internet. In research, this form of material is often referred to as *user-generated content* (UGC) and describes content created by nonprofessional communicators that is (partially) publicly accessible. By definition, UGC is characterized by the fact that the material does not come from sources that belong to the circle of established sources of journalists. As a rule, the source is, therefore, not already known to journalists, but the source does not necessarily have to be anonymous either.

One can differentiate between various degrees of anonymity of UGC, which also have an impact on journalistic processes. First, users can hide behind a pseudonym and not reveal any personal information even when asked. For journalists, this form of source is at best sufficient as a starting point for further research. Second, users can refuse to reveal personal information, but provide evidence that prove their presence at a location by photographing street signs or current newspapers. Third, users can disclose all information, and their anonymity can only be based on the fact that journalists are not able to meet them in person. This form of source is best used by journalists because it already meets many journalistic standards.

However, there might be situations where the anonymity of sources is not decisive for journalistic sourcing. For example, if journalists report on areas that are not accessible to them, it may not be individual tweets or posts that are of interest, but an impression that is created by a mass of tweets with similar content. Whether the individual

sources are anonymous or not is irrelevant at this point. Additionally, the importance of anonymity varies with the expectations journalists have of the source material. When it comes to finding topic ideas and drawing attention to certain events, the anonymity of the source is less problematic. However, when it comes to verifying information or when the source provides exclusive information, the anonymity of a source poses a problem for journalistic norms such as the reliability and verifiability of information.

Whistleblowers as Anonymous Sources

Whistleblowers represent a special form of source that guarantees journalists exclusive information. These sources enable journalists to fulfill their control function to a special degree, because they provide insights into structures and contexts that are otherwise not visible to journalists. Whistleblowers witness wrongdoing and feel the need to turn to an outsider to correct the perceived violations under a significant personal risk. Legally, whistleblowers are often not protected, and they may be prosecuted after their revelations if their identity becomes public.

Media studies that have focused on whistleblowing as an act of publishing internal information through news media have looked at relationships between journalists and whistleblowers, how journalists decide which information to publish, and effects of third-party interests on journalistic work as a result of revelations by whistleblowers. For journalists, whistleblowers represent a special challenge due to the uniqueness of the process and ethical questions. Whistleblowers want to make authorities responsible for their actions; however, their motives are often unclear and can range from promoting the common good to revenge campaigns, which makes judging their trustworthiness crucial. Whether a whistleblower is trusted depends on factors such as fairness to the target and motivations for disclosure and is heavily determined by a process of trust building through frequent contacts.

From the perspective of the sources, the disclosure of information also involves a considerable risk, which is further increased by digital communication. Paul Lashmar questions whether the Snowden revelations and the subsequent

discussion about mass surveillance have led to sources being deterred from talking to journalists because they are more aware of surveillance capabilities by authorities. This addresses the problem that journalists are not always able to guarantee the anonymity of the source and the general dilemma of source protection and publication of information relevant for society.

Anonymous Sources From the Perspective of the Audience

Not naming sources in journalistic coverage has consequences not only for journalistic practices but also for how the audience perceives journalism. On the one hand, journalists who use unnamed sources such as “government officials” display their connectedness to influential people and might gain authority themselves. On the other hand, journalists who regularly rely on anonymous sources are quickly suspected of being in cahoots with sources and of concealing the true motives of the source. In the case of unnamed sources, the audience is left with no option, but to trust the information reported by the journalist. As this trust becomes more difficult to gain and practices such as citizen or collaborative journalism establish a cultural shift toward transparency, the use of anonymous sources must be justified to the public as well as within the journalistic organization.

Despite their importance for journalistic practices, research on the use of anonymous sources is scarce. Much of the research refers to legal aspects of source protection and the frequency with which journalists use unnamed sources. How the audience perceives unnamed sources is seldom examined, except in studies noting that the credibility of journalistic pieces is harmed by the use of unnamed sources. In general, there is a need for research on how the audience perceives source attribution in general, the estimated trustworthiness of different ways to incorporate anonymous sources, and the effects on general attitudes toward journalism. This is especially true for changes in audience behavior due to the use of anonymous sources. For example, does the lack of naming the source encourage recipients to search for information themselves, thus promoting a more self-contained approach to news? Or, on the

contrary, is it the case that not naming the source leads to reactance to the news content and increases distrust in journalism?

In the case of distant sources, journalists often do not name the source and use rather broad categories such as “Internet” to describe the origin of the source. Social media material is used by journalists to fill the news vacuum after breaking news, to report on crisis areas, or as a substitute for vox pops from the street. In recent years, journalism research has dealt extensively with this type of source and examined on a content level and from the perspective of journalists how social media material is integrated into news reporting. The general assumption is that social media are an enrichment for journalism, complement the repertoire of sources, and increase interactions between the audience and journalists.

Little attention has been paid in research to the difficulties associated with using social media sources. This becomes particularly evident in the case of anonymous sources that could not be clearly verified by the journalist. In these cases, journalists sometimes use a disclaimer in their coverage indicating that the information could not be completely verified. In doing so, they follow the norm to be transparent about sources but at the same time distance themselves from their responsibility to report accurate facts. The task to evaluate the origin of the source is transferred to the recipient of news. There is some empirical evidence that this practice increases the recipient’s uncertainty about the reported facts, but more research is needed on how the audience perceives unverified anonymous sources in the news.

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See also Ethics; Fourth Estate; Investigative Journalism; Secrecy and Leaks; Social Media; Sources; Transparency

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SOUTH AMERICA

Journalism in South America encompasses myriad forms and functions, making simple generalizations impossible. However, some trends have been observed across various nations in recent years that have impacted the regional panorama

of the continent's news media, including the following: a digital transformation that has radically changed South American approach to news; political battles for new legislation to shift ownership patterns; grassroots movements to demand more pluralism and a wider representation of perspectives; a decrease in public trust in media; and worsening conditions for the exercise of independent journalism, as media-state relations deteriorate in numerous countries.

The Evolving Press Models of News

Journalism has a long history in South America. While forms of mass communication existed before colonial powers arrived by the late 19th century most South American nations had established Spanish- and Portuguese-language presses. Hybrid press models melding partisan and commercial funding mechanisms would emerge and blend in South America during much of the 20th century. One model was in the tradition of European partisan press, whereby journalists acted as advocates for particular political or ideological perspectives, infusing articles with opinion, rather than remaining neutral observers. Here, journalists had "missions": to espouse certain political views, earn public support for a government or political party, and promote or interpret certain political realities. Political conflicts played out on front pages, or could even birth new outlets, as researcher Silvio Waisbord noted was the case in Colombia, including *El Espectador* in 1887 and *El Tiempo* in 1911. Political leaders became publishers and editors, such as Argentinian Bartolome Mitre of *La Nación*. The idea of journalists as active advocates or political militants continues to some extent, in various parts of Latin America. Outlets directly tied to partisan interests and transparent in their ideological loyalties exist among South American newspapers and broadcasters, particularly in countries where political parties are strong, as in Colombia and Uruguay. However, by the early 20th century, another model had arrived to the continent.

The second model of journalism adhered more to one seen in the United States, emphasizing a separation away from official influence

over content and toward an "objective," information-centered style of reporting, whereby markets generate revenue for news outlets. In comparison to the partisan model, newspapers were commercial enterprises geared for mass audiences, rather than select sectors. Waisbord discussed how this model arrived on the heels of global transformation, as a wave of globalization swept Latin American countries. New communication technologies and media services—such as photography, film, and wire services—and reorganization of newsrooms pushed transformation, as did a shift toward commercial logics to maximize audiences. At the same time, a growing middle class, emerging private sector, and spread of market research influenced the adoption of a business model. Various newspapers shifted to a version of this model, including Argentina's *La Nación*, Chile's *El Mercurio*, O Estado de São Paulo of Brazil, and *El Comercio* of Peru.

However, in South American newsrooms, the U.S. model of the journalist as an "impartial" purveyor of so-called "objective" information did not fully consolidate. The state remained an important variable in how journalists and media professionals could ply their professions. Media organizations' abilities to survive without important government subsidies and favorable regulatory decision making in the face of limited market potential and economic and political upheaval was precarious. After various Latin American nations began nationalizing important advertising sectors, such as telephones, airlines, electric companies, and mining industries, the state had more financial control over media. Democratic instability could mean contentious relations with various governments, and those who found their editorial line at odds with regime leaders could find their organization censored or closed, as was the case with *La Prensa* and Argentinian President Juan Perón's administration in the early 1950s. Other times, media executives formed tight relations with political actors, in the name of partisanship, national security, and economic policy. During the Salvador Allende presidency in Chile in the early 1970s, the daily *El Mercurio* called for the overthrow of the president. In Brazil, top newspapers supported a 1964 coup d'état.

Alternative and Community Media Versus State Media

In contrast to mainstream media, South America's alternative presses have functioned under various types of regimes in previous decades, as alternative voices to the political, economic, or social "dominant orders," as Waisbord (2011) described them. Community radio networks in Bolivia owned or affiliated with mining unions or miners have served important functions in regions where geography, poverty, and illiteracy affect media access. Still its effects have diminished as it was limited to specific geographic areas.

Starting in 2007, civic society groups, emerging without government support, have successfully lobbied for legislative and political changes in media systems. Indigenous and underrepresented groups, students, and academic and diverse professionals tried to secure wider representation in news content. Maria Soledad Segura and Slivio Waisbord explained that these civic society proposals provided an unprecedented but cautious opening for citizen participation in media policy development, especially in Argentina, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, shaping the public discussion, public opinion, and government agenda. These efforts resulted on the creation or reemergence of state or public media in at least seven South American countries. In 2015, Daniela Inés Monje reported that Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela showed an increase in public TV and radio stations and developed new audiences.

Despite these advancements, most of these new public media business models had strong government dependencies in terms of control, content, and financing. With the exception of Uruguay, which Reporters Without Borders considers a "regional model" for its 2007 and 2014 broadcast legislation that allowed for more access and a Communication Council independent from the government, these laws and regulations failed to deliver on the promise of pluralism in the news, but not in other cultural areas. In most South American countries, the public media remains closely aligned with the government and has problems including opposition voices or dissidents in their news segments, analysis, and opinions. In extreme cases, the public media have created

weekly programs such as "Aló Presidente" in Venezuela, or "Enlace Ciudadano" in Ecuador, with the only purpose to applaud government performance.

In a more positive direction for press freedom, some of these civic society proposals, helped by international organization recommendations, have had an impact on decriminalizing journalism practice in several Latin American countries, such as no longer punishing journalists with prison sentences for defamation or slander. Uruguay is the most successful example since its 2009 reform which decriminalized many press offenses such as the defamation of public officials.

Watchdog Journalism

One important shift that occurred in South American journalism in the late 20th century was the shift of watchdog reporting to mainstream media. Watchdog media are those that critically scrutinize events, issues, and power actors to publish information others would not want in the public eye. In regions struggling with deep inequality, a weak rule of law, and ongoing political or economic instability, such reporting has important roles in ongoing processes of democratization. Watchdog media have brought attention to human rights abuses and breaches of civil liberties, high-level corruption, mismanagement, and other wrongdoing. Such reporting can lead to government investigation, judiciary proceedings, resignations, or jail time for those found guilty.

Waisbord chronicled various examples of watchdog reporting in South America. Reporting by Peruvian newswEEKlies such as *Caretas* on high-level corruption and state-sanctioned killings in the 1980s and 1990s (others implicated the administration of then-President Alan García in fraud) was one of them. Brazil's *Folha de São Paulo* covered high-level corruption, plans to buy votes toward presidential reelection, and payoffs in construction of a railway. Argentine media unveiled official involvement in human rights abuses, illegal weapons sales, and homicide within military ranks. And Colombian outlets like *El Espectador* and *Cambio 16* showcased terrorism wreaked by paramilitary forces and drug cartels, and secret dealings between those forces and public officials.

Observers of Latin American journalism attribute the emergence of muckraking and more assertive forms of reporting in the region to influences operating simultaneously within, between, and external to newsrooms. Increases in private sector advertising, decreases in partisan direct controls, and continuing democratization allowed space to report on official misconduct. As audiences responded to publications of scandals, market competition increased, spurring further publication of official misdeeds. Politicians noted the growing importance of such stories in election outcomes, and strategic release of information could work to derail opponents or lend a hand to allies. In other cases, journalists' focus on public sphere values changed newsrooms. These "newsroom entrepreneurs," in writer Sallie Hughes's words, steered newsroom coverage in new directions; organizational ideologies influenced reporting toward, or conversely, away from particular political and economic power actors.

A shift to digital platforms in recent years has also aided a proliferation of investigative and in-depth journalism outside of mainstream and in some cases to the funding and training of regional and international organizations. Some examples are Ojo Público in Perú, Ciper in Chile, Chequeando in Argentina, Agencia Pública in Brazil, La Silla Vacía in Colombia, Armando Info in Venezuela, and Blueforesta in Bolivia.

Audiences and Digital Access

The use of digital technology has changed the way many South Americans consume news. According to United Nations estimates, the population of South America by the end of 2019 was over 428.8 million, with Brazil (211.7 million), Colombia (50.5 million), and Argentina (49.9 million) forming the most populated countries. More than three fourths of the continent's populations live in urban areas. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela, the percentage of the population living in urban areas is even higher. Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Ecuador have somewhat larger rural populations, comparatively. By 2019, almost 70% of the South American population were online, up from 50% in 2014. A 2019

analysis of Argentina, Chile, and Brazil done by the Reuters Institute of Journalism revealed that online was the main news sources for around eight out of 10 digital consumers, although seven out of 10 also used TV, and three out of 10 used print. But despite these advances, broadband access and use still remains elusive for many. Together, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay still need to connect 145.4 million people, according to the United Nations. The South American region has the highest level of inequality, and one of the least affordable mobile Internet service for the poorest 20% of the population reported the State of Mobile Internet Connectivity in 2019.

For most of Latin America, cellphone technologies provide a gateway to the Internet. Ninety-five percent of the Latin American population is covered by a 3G or higher mobile broadband network. Almost eight out of every 10 persons in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil access the news from their smartphones. And, online news is now the main source of news for Latin America, reports the Reuters Institute of Journalism. More than four in 10 (42% of the population) in Chile and other Latin American countries prefer to access news through social media. Facebook is the main social media platform for news, but Instagram and WhatsApp use is increasing in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In Brazil, more than half of the Internet news users prefer WhatsApp for news, while a quarter use Instagram.

Following the example of other global news media, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil news media companies have started to shift their content distribution from social media and aggregators to reader payment under the promise of more quality reports. Despite recent media campaigns, the percentage of South Americans who pay for digital journalism remains low, reaching only 9% in Chile, 11% in Argentina, 17% in Mexico, and 27% in Brazil (Statista 2021). A positive note for press, radio, and television is that South America has better financial expectations regarding the process of digital transition than the traditional media in North America and Europe, concluded Francisco Campos-Freire and colleagues in a 2017 analysis of the media trends of 19 Latin American countries.

Ownership and Call for Pluralism

Many Latin American media scholars agreed that since the beginning of the 21st century the legislative and policy reforms to communication policies in most of Argentina and Ecuador did not tackle the systemic problem of media concentration, as they mainly targeted “unfriendly media.” Advertising and audiences are now concentrated in very few companies in most parts of the region. Researchers agree that media concentration reduces the “market of ideas,” and the diversity of perspectives necessary for citizens to be able to have a meaningful participation in a democratic process. Corporate sector and family-owned businesses control most of the news media in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, concluded the Media Ownership Monitor and several annual reports from Reporters Without Borders, and the owners are using this outlet to influence public opinion as if it were “capital.” This type of consolidation, explained Marquéz Ramírez, is not only the result of the market free flow; it is linked to politics and alliances with strong governments, which historically have provided protection, benefits, contracts, and subsidies to their media allies.

In Argentina, from 2015 to 2019, President Mauricio Macri’s deregulation decrees eliminated restrictions on concentration in big media groups. As a result, the Media Ownership Monitor (MOM) from Reporters Without Borders reports that with the exception of the Clarín TV network, most popular TV stations are now owned by foreign investors. Only four media conglomerates control more than 45% of the Argentinian audience, while Group Clarín controls 25%. In Colombia, the MOM warned in March 2018 that the TV and the Radio had the highest level of media concentration, with 80% of the audience divided between four private TV channels (Caracol, RCN, city TV, and RCN Telenovelas). Three media groups control 57% of the content that society can access on radio, TV, online, and print media. Reporters Without Borders identified the media intertwined with business empires and politics.

In Peru, 6 of the 10 media groups are in the hands of family-owned corporations, which are not directly involved in politics, but have different economic interests, according to the 2016 MOM.

El Comercio Group concentrates 80% of the print circulation and almost 80% of the readership. In addition, 68% of the estimated online news audience in the country is in the hands of a single group.

Chile, one of the countries where population still prefers reading the news, faces a print press duopoly with *El Mercurio* y Copesa managing more than 95% of the circulation. Brazil’s top four media groups concentrate more than 70% of the national audience on TV, radio, print, and online, reported the 2017 MOM. Journalists from both countries complain that the owners of these companies are connected to most of the targets of investigative journalism, making their job almost impossible.

Media–State Relations and Public Trust

Several case studies illustrate changing media–state relations. Neopopulist presidential administrations such as former Argentinian president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, former Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa, and former Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez each spearheaded successful smear campaigns against what they perceived as opposition press, using their own social media accounts. These strategies, which also included bypassing the traditional press to communicate directly with their constituencies, resulted in significant portions of the population not trusting the traditional news outlets agreed Vigón, Juliet, and Martínez-Bustos. In Chile, the Social Barometer Surveys showed a decrease in print and TV news confidence in favor of radio and social media, coinciding with a corporate news coverage of the 2019 weeks-long street protests that sided mostly with the government of president Sebastián Piñera, and failed to acknowledge state violence until international organizations reported it. Importantly, despite these setbacks, audiences in many South American countries such as Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay still have a higher trust “on most of the news, most of the time” than the audiences in the United States had during the 5 years prior to 2020.

South American news media are also seeing less public trust from their audiences, following trends seen in other regions of the world. Since 2010,

Reuters and Reporters Without Borders annual studies have reported a significant decline on the level of the confidence in the traditional news outlets in most of the South American countries. A variety of factors have contributed to this trend across this vast region. The success of neopopulist rejections of an independent press in favor of “speaking directly with the people” via social media reflected what theorist Manuel Castells calls “mass self-communication,” a new form of historical communication of global society digitally connected by networks.

During 2018 and 2019, the rise of “fake news” during election times also impacted journalism and trust in news media. In a 2019 Reporters Without Borders survey, Brazil registered the highest index, among 38 countries, showing concern about misinformation. Eighty-five percent of the Brazilian participants said they worried about what is real and what is false on the Internet. In Chile, it was 67% and in Argentina 62%. Another worrying factor has been the increase in the number of South American people who actively avoid the news. Argentina leads with 45% avoiders, followed by Chile (42%) and Brazil (34%).

Practicing Journalism

Across the continent, numerous problems exist for the practice of journalism according to Western standards of a free press, from corruption to impunity and even government violence. These barriers and threats manifest themselves in different ways depending on the country. In South America, in countries such as Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil, journalists risk their life when investigating corruption or drug issues. The Bolivian government of Evo Morales (2006–2019), and the Venezuelan governments of Hugo Chavez (1999–2013) and of Nicolás Maduro (2013–), have journalists “under constant pressure” as they use “all possible means to censor independent media outlets,” as concluded in the *2019 World Press Freedom Index Summary* from Reporters Without Borders. In contrast, defamation laws in Ecuador and Perú are still used to threaten, intimidate, and prosecute journalists covering corruption and other investigative stories, especially in remote parts of the country. An exception is Uruguay, considered a regional model. Policy reforms such as the

decriminalization of media offenses or the community broadcast regulations have contributed to create a more plural and favorable “environment for journalism,” Reporters Without Borders reports. As a result, the *2019 Freedom and the Media* report identified only the Chilean and Uruguayan Press as “free;” while the Ecuadorian and Venezuelan Press were “not free,” and all the rest, including the press in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia, were considered “partially free.”

Challenges for Free Press: Violence, Media Concentration, and Clientelism

The Western ideal of a press free from state bonds and located within a context of democratic institutions working in the public interest has for decades mixed with European values regarding socially responsible presses in South America. By the late 20th century, many countries overcame periods of authoritarian rule, and direct threats to journalists (such as kidnappings and killings) faded somewhat as democratic administrations came to power. Liberal market policies prompted growth of private sector advertising, and various news organizations gained a measure of economic distance from the state for a while. The emergence of investigative media outlets has increased independence and regional collaboration. At the same time, Argentina and Uruguay have decriminalized their defamation laws.

Various scholars and watchdog groups have argued, however, that during the first two decades of the 21st century and despite the already mentioned advances and, with the exception of Uruguay, the overall climate of South America press freedom has deteriorated due to several factors affecting the region. In Colombia and Brazil, there was a resurgence of the government and organized crime violence against journalists. In Argentina, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil, policy and legislative reforms have facilitated or failed to stop the consolidation of an already concentrated media market. Finally, a government shift from a softer indirect attempt to control journalists to a renew on authoritarianism and confrontational tactics occurred in Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Argentina. All of this is exacerbated by extreme poverty, economic crisis, and social inequality for a large part of the population.

Media organizations across much of the region have struggled with constant change in their political and economic environments. This unevenness has had implications for performance, as outlets have had to walk a fine line between, as Waisbord put it in his 2000 article title, “the rock of the state and the hard place of the market.” Television was launched to further state or military interests in various countries; many also saw it as a tool for social development. In Uruguay and Chile, universities and churches owned stations mandated to promote educational and cultural goals. But broadcaster relations with the state varied, especially with changes in regime type. Military regimes in Peru and Argentina weakened commercial broadcasting and instituted direct control over content; in Brazil, close relations developed between military leaders and national broadcasters, resulting in less critical coverage of those in power. In Chile, administrators appointed by the military regime held key positions in governing television programming.

By the 1980s and 1990s, deregulation and privatization liberalized media markets and broadcasting became more market oriented. Even with extensive privatization and deregulation, states still retained various means of media control. Regulation may give the state political control over media, including broadcast licensing, permit requirements, content restrictions, tariffs on technology, and taxation, and in some cases, with little public input. During these decades, one of the Latin American governments’ methods of media control was allocating or removing their public advertising according to their affinity with media companies. By the time democratic rule returned to Chile in the 1990s, writer Rosalind Brenham described the presence of an “impressive array of independent media” existing in the country. However, scholars charge that the newly democratic Chilean state failed to support these diverse voices, awarding state advertising primarily to outlets aligned with official views, and with few constraints on ownership concentration, cross-ownership, and foreign investment.

Licensing requirements impeded development of independent broadcast voices, as the required technical report for a license was expensive and something smaller independent entities could rarely afford. In several cases in Chile, during the

rule of Augusto Pinochet, Pinochet’s advisors utilized their elite positions in a central state-owned bank to take over ownership of important newspapers and magazines. A more recent example can be found in the use of public advertising and other subsidies to co-opt a newly created public media, aimed to expand the plurality of voices, in an extension of the communication strategy of Argentinian President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. In 2020, 5 years after her departure, many of them have disappeared, as President Mauricio Macri terminated the subsidies.

Despite the encouraging reforms in Uruguay and Argentina, new criminal laws were enacted in Venezuela and Ecuador to control media content. Criminal libel laws remain in effect in various parts of Latin America and can be used to silence those who criticize powerful actors, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists. In some nations, perceived insults or affronts to dignity toward public officials can be punished in the form of *desacato* (insult) laws. Conversely, legal infrastructure to protect or aid journalists is often superficial, or lacking altogether. Shield laws, or legislation that protects journalists from revealing confidential sources, may not be in force, or if they are, could necessitate expensive court proceedings. Legislation and initiatives to provide access to public information recently expanded in Argentina (2017), Uruguay (2014) Brazil (2011); Chile (2008); Ecuador (2004); and México and Peru (2002), yet actual compliance is, in various cases, not fully realized or enforced. State officials may still deny requests for information or ignore them altogether, and the strategic use of state information for particular benefit remains systemic in Latin America. Journalists often must depend on personal relationships for information, rather than access to databases or records. In Venezuela, both President Hugo Chavez and his successor Nicolás Maduro have maintained a contentious relationship with the country’s private media, resulting in a strict legal environment for journalists and an expanded state role in media. Venezuelan presidents have increased punitive measures for breaking *desacato* laws, substantially increased spending in state media, and expanded a law of “social responsibility” that limits media content decisions, including mandated transmission of official messages by broadcasters.

Furthermore, disparate journalistic standards and training affects how well information is conveyed. Lack of access to formal training in new technologies or education, including an emphasis on normative principles, can be problematic. Low salaries and long hours compound the problem. Alleged reports of journalistic corruption in the region, in the forms of bowing to pressure to temper critical content, self-censoring, or engaging in other ethical compromises, have surfaced periodically.

Final Thoughts

Journalism in South America remains a mix of influences, subject to the seemingly constant flux of political and economic environments, publishing for disparate audiences mired in deep inequality, and sometimes in the face of limited access to educational and training opportunities or to newer communication technologies. More recent turns to democratic governance and market policies throughout South America have reduced somewhat the direct influence of the state in media function, but most governments retain strong forms of control over media enterprises. Ongoing processes of ownership concentration continue to place media holdings in the hands of a few corporations, a trend seen in other regions of the world. Although newer communication technologies have revitalized independent journalism and provided new spaces for investigative journalism throughout the continent, during the second decade of the 21st century, several South American presidents successfully pioneered the use of social media for smear campaigns, managing to discredit and harass unfriendly journalists and their news outlets. These factors pose significant challenges for a substantial portion of the region's population. A weak rule of law that plagues the region has implications for media function, particularly when it comes to investigations into illicit dealings.

South American journalists have managed to overcome formidable challenges in presenting information in the public interest. Exposure of high-level instances of corruption, abuses of human rights, reports on ties between *narcotraficantes*, or drug cartels, and public officials, and fraud continue, even when such publication have resulted in physical retaliation against journalists.

Perhaps the most positive sign is the reemergence of “public journalism” with the creation of more than 800 digital native, non-for-profit journalistic projects all over Latin America. A study from Sembramedia reported that these organizations represent a shift in the “news ecology” of the region and foster a well-informed conversation on issues concerning the citizens such as corruption, abuses of power, poverty, crime, impunity, and environment.

Mercedes Vigón and Juliet Pinto

See also Central America and the Caribbean;
Comparative Models of Journalism; Development
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SPECTACLE

Dozens of police cars slowly following a white Ford Bronco broadcast live on television. A hearse carrying a flower-laden coffin drives by with hundreds of mourners watching and crying. Spectators in a crowded arena cheer as a presidential candidate shouts about restoring a country's past greatness. These images, beamed to millions of television viewers live and repeatedly replayed in subsequent news reports and printed in newspapers and online, comprise examples of spectacles—characterized by simplified narratives, emotional appeal, and attention-grabbing visuals.

The concept of spectacle as related to mass media theory derives from the writings of French philosopher Guy Debord, whose highly influential *The Society of the Spectacle*, first published in 1967 and reprinted with an updated preface by the author in 1994, offered a series of theses describing a postcapitalist society wherein lived reality had become separated from a media-created reality. The spectacle metaphor originates in the idea of theater, upon whose stage occurs the processes and results of the interactions of political actors removed from the spectators—that is, the people of a society—who passively watch

rather than becoming involved in the workings of the world and taking part in their own destiny.

Spectacle by nature means a show or display created with purpose by its producers that is then packaged and presented to a viewing audience. The concept of spectacle as conceived by Debord becomes relevant when evaluating the role of mass media in a society based in a capitalistic economic system; the presentation of “facts” and “reality” according to mediated packaging serves as a reified example of the spectacle at work. In this entry, Debord’s concept of the society of the spectacle is explained, followed by a discussion of its application to journalistic practice. Variations on the concept of spectacle are discussed; these involve media and news coverage of out-of-the-ordinary events that both require and often subsequently become content for continuing and sensational treatment by the press. Reflective of a certain political economy bound by the dictates of the media industry, media and news spectacles offer sites at which journalism ethics and moral considerations come into play. Examples of news coverage that invoke the spectacle are described, as well as how spectacle intertwines news with entertainment and celebrity with significance, and how it has become more and more a part of how political campaigns and issues are produced and then covered by news organizations.

The Spectacle in Society

Anticipating the proliferation of media technology beyond television, Debord’s *The Society of the Spectacle* provides a foundation for approaching media spectacles through the lens of critical theory. Borrowing from Karl Marx’s analysis of the capitalistic society in which workers are separated from their labor, with the production and consumption of commodities serving as society’s all-important goal, Debord takes this further. Whereas Marx discussed an emphasis on having rather than being, for Debord the emphasis in society was on appearing rather than having. The accumulation of commodities had conquered the whole of social life to the point that now one literally buys the representation of social life transmitted through media images created by an industry whose purpose is to produce images of life as lived by others. Asserted Debord in Thesis 1, which

opens his book: “The whole life those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*” (p. 12). Further, this accumulation of spectacles observed and consumed replaces the directly lived life, separating individuals from each other as they individually consume that accumulation of images presented on the stage of mass media.

As explained by James Compton in *The Integrated News Spectacle: A Political Economy of Cultural Performance* (2004), the spectacle society fosters the noninvolved spectator, with only second-hand stories of “real life” delivered through mass media representing in part the entire workings of that society as a whole. Rather than directly experiencing life for themselves, people “contemplate it in a passive way via images constructed and administered by others” (p. 36).

Debord weaves the profit-making aspect of media industries into his description of the society of the spectacle, including the phenomenon of media monopolization together with the spectacle producers’ self-interest to uphold the status quo. As “administrators” of the existing system, the media thus become inseparable from the state while simultaneously separating the people under the rule of the state from each other, the power of state, the spectacle (the images presented in mediated form where the “action” of society occurs) itself, and their own power. This separation function occurs because the “communication” in mass communication goes in only one direction. Thus, power in the society of the spectacle emanates from those who serve as the actors on the spectacle’s stage and those who package that action in mediated forms. As consumers of the spectacle, we, the viewing audience, perpetually play the part of spectator rather than participant in our own society.

Under this model of one-way communication, the mass media serve not only as conduits of the amalgamated spectacle of representations of social life, but media messages become commodities in and of themselves, to be consumed by a passive audience. Debord mentioned media forms and content that reify the theory of the spectacle; these include news, propaganda, advertising, and entertainment. In some way or another, everything presented by the media upholds the existing system,

becomes a way to sell commodities (such as the advertising of products and services), or is a commodity itself (entertainment). In sum, Debord's notion of spectacle, according to Douglas Kellner (2010), "constituted the overarching concept to describe the media and consumer society, including the packaging, promotion, and display of commodities and the production and effects of all media" (p. 117).

News and the Spectacle

Debord's description of the spectacle may appear overly abstract, but a concrete example of the spectacle at work in the media coverage of the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall appears in his preface to the 1994 edition of *The Society of the Spectacle*. The way in which this complex historical event was covered and framed by a simplified narrative—the triumph of democracy and a free market economy—together with images of an actual and symbolic wall being dismantled illustrated the "striving of the spectacle toward modernization and unification" (p. 9). Rather than delving into a deep analysis of the events leading up to it, news coverage told the story of the victory of the West, and its accompanying ideology of capitalism. This simplification of storytelling characterizes the way in which the mass media frame events to be easily consumed by the passive spectator, while upholding the power structure maintained by the spectacle—the version of the world that those in power want us to see.

As the spectacle presents a version of life created by media, so, too, do celebrities serve as "spectacular representations of living human beings," wrote Debord (p. 38), providing substitutes that take the place of spectators' real lives, which pale in comparison. In a media culture, noted Kellner (2003), celebrities are "the gods and goddesses of everyday life" (p. 4). Celebrity news adds to the spectacle by providing models for spectator identification, while fulfilling the spectacle's purpose of distracting by entertaining.

The combination of news and entertainment also marks the society of the spectacle, with "infotainment" reflective of the commercial logic of the spectacle which requires getting and maintaining the attention of the audience. The 24-hour news organizations, notably cable channels, have the

ability to disseminate information nonstop and integrate that content via the television and computer screen. While sensationalism and news stories with high emotional appeal, easily understood narratives, and drama have always marked what we know as "news," the intensity and scale with which news media cover events has increased, thanks to the capabilities of technology such as satellites and the internet.

Kellner (2003) used the term *news spectacle* to describe "media extravaganzas, sporting events, political happenings, and those attention-grabbing occurrences" we commonly place under the category of news (p. 2), with the term *megaspectacle* describing hyped-up news spectacles that not only distract spectators from daily life, but can define time periods of history and culture. Megaspectacles thus mark a society's very timeline, demarcating the spectacular in terms of crime, scandal, and disaster that define eras. For example, during the 1990s, megaspectacles included the murder trial of former sports star O. J. Simpson, the impeachment scandal of President Bill Clinton, and the death and funeral of Princess Diana.

News spectacles and megaspectacles feature simple narratives that the audience understands, and their unusualness plays into the sensationalism upon which media rely. Coverage of conflicts and war thus become much like an ongoing serialized television show, framed in simplistic us-versus-them terms and packaged with dramatic music, graphics, and titles such as "Crisis in the Gulf," for the Gulf War of 1990–1991, and coupled with live reports from the battlefield during the Gulf War and again during the U.S. invasion at the start of the Iraq War in 2003. Compton (2004) noted the way in which war in recent decades has become aestheticized by news outlets such as CNN.

The megaspectacle of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States marks the historical time periods of a pre- and post-9/11 world. Kellner (2003) pointed out how the event and its aftermath brought drama to the globalized coverage, with the constant replaying of video of the two planes hitting the twin towers of the World Trade Center, the towers falling, and of the smoldering wreckage of the Pentagon. Drama and aesthetics heightened the spectacular nature of the story, with slogans and slickly produced

introductions to coverage with titles such as “War on America,” and the assumption made by news outlets that the United States was already at war, noted Kellner (2005). The megaspectacle of these images and phrases converged with the response by President George W. Bush, whose rhetoric invoked the simplified language of the Old West with the phrase to describe the person ultimately held responsible for the attacks as being “wanted: dead or alive.” As explained by Compton (2004), “The Manichean logic of good versus evil quickly became the frame within which most mainstream news organizations structured their stories” (p. 87). The spectacular nature of 9/11 thus became one of the biggest news stories in recent history, with the media-centric society of the spectacle poised for its coverage in terms of technology. The reaffirmation of U.S.-Western values that undergirded the power structure of that very society became interwoven into the news coverage of the event itself, as theorized by Debord.

Deaths and public funerals of prominent news makers and celebrities serve the spectacle intrinsically, becoming global news spectacles, such as the death of Pope John Paul II in 2005. In that coverage of celebrity funerals have been known to double the daytime television audience, noted Compton (2004), major networks vied for the best locations for broadcasting live from the Vatican and other locations in Rome during the pope’s final days. In the weeks and days leading to Pope John Paul II’s passing, the entire world seemed to be watching and waiting in sympathy as the 84-year-old pontiff appeared, frail and weak, to the faithful who had gathered in St. Peter’s Square. In that the Vatican itself was considered one of the most secretive organizations in the world, the transparency of the pope’s illness and medical condition was ironic. Sophie Arie (2005), in the article “Illness as Media Spectacle,” addressed the ethics of making a literal spectacle and show of the Pope’s death, with some in the media saying that the coverage had gone too far. This combined with how the pope himself had encouraged the Vatican to use the media, his welcoming of media coverage of the spectacles of his appearances around the world, and the example he set about facing death with serenity, suggest a nebulous morality surrounding the spectacle.

The Spectacle of Political News Coverage

Because “politics is understood as a form of theatre that implies the existence of a spectator rather than being understood as an intercommunity of action,” as noted by Kati Röttger (2017, p. 33), news coverage of political campaigns amplifies the show that surrounds them. Presidential elections make for ideal fodder for the spectacle, both via the representation and images of candidates as well as the physical staging of events so as to make for good visuals. Political spectacle allows for a simplified narrative of the contest and conflict, with “showdowns” between political parties and within parties an easy way to frame stories, with explanations of policy and pragmatics aspects of government pushed to the side.

In recent years, U.S. presidential campaigns—and their aftermaths—have taken on the proportions of the megaspectacle, with media coverage dramatizing unprecedented occurrences and serializing developments like a reality show. The contested outcome of the 2000 election between George W. Bush and Al Gore in 2000; the media spectacles that surrounded the 2008 candidacies of two women, Republican vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton, who was vying to be the Democratic presidential nominee; and the worldwide celebrations that marked the 2008 victory of Barack Obama as the first African American president, all illustrated the fusion of news, drama, and entertainment of the political spectacle.

Kellner, in his 2003 book *Media Spectacle*, observed that in the age of spectacle, media “are complicit in the generation of spectacle politics, reducing politics to image, display and story in the forms of entertainment and drama” (p. 160).

The 2016 presidential campaign of its eventual victor, Donald Trump, over the first female major-party presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton, embodied key elements of the spectacle as explained here based on Debord’s theory: a simplified campaign slogan, celebrity status, and a showmanship based on a keen understanding of how to gain media attention through optics and visual pageantry. A primary mechanism that marked the political theatre and spectacle created by the Trump campaign was the fusion of entertainment and personal image of the candidate,

whose star power had already been cemented by the media culture. The 2016 Trump presidential campaign served as the epitome of the spectacle, as media coverage fixated on the spectacle it created and treated it as entertainment. According to Heather Yates (2019), the optics and visual appeal of rallies in large venues, a “carnival-like atmosphere” in which concession stands sold merchandise featuring the campaign’s slogan, extreme personalization over policy, and offering voters excessive expectations all were ways that the spectacle itself was manipulated by the candidate. The artful use of social media, through outrageous tweets on the public medium of Twitter, noted Kellner (2016), dominated the news cycle, adding fuel to the already “surreal” campaign (p. 6). These tactics continued as the Trump presidency unfolded.

Robert Zaretsky, opining in *The New York Times* in 2017, addressed the implications of the spectacle as described by Debord in the late 1960s and how it still resonates in the Trump era, perhaps ever more so with the rise of social media and reliance of journalism as a source of news and commentary. Even with the pessimism that characterized Debord’s notion of a spectacle society in which images have replaced lived reality, and spectators are removed from their own power, collective actions that appear to resist the power of the spectacle yet also take on the qualities of the news spectacle have occurred, notably the massive Women’s March in January of 2017. Such events and the media coverage that accompanies them become even more urgent, and invite us, as journalists and citizens, to consider Zaretsky’s question: “Do the critical counter-images that protesters create constitute true resistance, or are they instead collaborating with our fascination with spectacle?”

Erika Engstrom

See also Cable News; Celebrity and Fan Media; CNN; Democracy and the Media; Election Coverage, U.S.; Entertainment Journalism; Ethics; Infotainment; Sensationalism

Further Readings

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SPIN

Spin is a pejorative term that is associated with manipulative communication practices typically used during media relations. Frequently, the practice is associated with so-called spin doctors who are media relations professionals who use their insight and media techniques to influence public opinion through the press. In the age of social media, spin is something that can be used in multiple channels including traditional media, but also personal websites, social media, and advertising. However, spin is frequently associated with an organization’s or person’s ability to shape their organizational or personal image in a way that heavily influences public perception. Skills include being able to persuasively communicate with the public, the press, and even individuals in a way that influences their opinions and perceptions.

Spin is sometimes associated with public relations (PR), although that association is highly

criticized by PR practitioners and educators. Part of the reason for this association with PR is that spin is associated heavily with persuasion, which is related to PR practice. The difference between spin and PR, however, is that PR practice is rooted in ethical norms and practices of the field, such as those established by professional organizations. Conversely, spin is a communication practice that is exclusively self-serving, focusing on the image and influence of the speaker. Although frequently associated with politics, spin is also associated with business, nonprofit organizations, or any situation where news events are framed in a positive way by an interested party. Typically, this results in media framing of an issue that benefits one specific perspective or portrayal of an event.

This entry focuses on spin as a term and as a concept, especially with regard to PR, media relations, and politics. It concludes with a discussion of contemporary connotations and associations of the term and concept.

Spin as a Term

As a practice, *spin* as a term is closely related to the term *spin doctor*, which made its appearance in the English vernacular in the 1980s and 1990s in the United States. A spin doctor is a person who practices spin as a professional communicator. The genesis of the term *spin doctor* is closely associated with the term *spin* because both gained traction as communication terms during the 1980s in the United States. During the 1980s, spin doctor was frequently used to refer to a person working in the political communication context who had skills at media relations. One of the first descriptions of spin doctors in 1980s was in national newspapers, such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, which frequently associated them with political campaigns. In a 1986 *The New York Times* article titled “Calling Dr. Spin,” William Safire noted that *spin doctors* was a term that emerged during the 1984 Ronald Reagan-Walter Mondale presidential debates. He credited *The New York Times* as having used the term in an editorial after the debate, and *The Washington Post* reporter Elisabeth Bumiller as using the term later and describing the profession as related to media relations. Safire said that the spin doctors emerged in postdebate analysis in the press room

where surrogates (i.e., spin doctors) interacted with journalists advocating for their candidate.

This association with political debates leads to another term associated with spin—the “spin room.” Spin rooms are places reporters, candidates, and campaign staffers reiterate talking points created by the campaigns. The point of these spin rooms is for candidates and campaign staffers to influence postdebate analysis that frequently focuses on who won or lost a particular debate. By 1988, *CBS This Morning* even had a segment that looked at spin doctors as part of a political campaign. In his analysis of spin, Safire associated spin as a political media concept to the older phrases involving “spinning” balls and stories. The phrase “spinning a yarn” has been used as a phrase to identify a preposterous or highly inaccurate story that is frequently flattering to the storyteller. Putting a “spin” on a ball indicates creating a pitch that has a purposeful direction. Therefore, spinning is the use of communication in the form of narrative that leads to a purposeful result for the communicator.

PR practitioners typically eschew the term *spin* altogether because it conflicts with their core values of ethics in communication, transparency, and public trust. The use of the term *spin* as a part of a communication professional’s skills or title is uncommon. Typically, the term *spin* takes on a negative connotation because it is portrayed in the media as a form of pure advocacy for an individual or organization, as evidenced by early uses of “spin” in postdebate analysis. In fact, spin is a form of pure advocacy that has the goal of persuading an audience of the speaker’s position. Spin does not necessarily have to include untruthful information but is part of opinion creating and shaping in the light most favorable to the speaker’s view.

The association with spin and politics is close. Some writers have even equated to political news making, especially at the presidential level, as a type of spin. For instance, historian David Greenberg wrote a book titled the *Republic of Spin*, which details how presidencies and polling have influenced American politics starting with the administration of Theodore Roosevelt through the modern era. He argues that the use of spin by presidents took hold in the 1960s with the advent of the permanent presidential campaign, a

phenomenon in which the president acted in a campaign mode during his tenure in office. The use of the term *spin*, especially as it relates to politics, took hold in the American lexicon in the 1990s as seen with television programming *Spin City*, an ABC sitcom about a New York City mayor's office, and the title *No Spin Zone: Confrontations With the Powerful and Famous in America* written by Bill O'Reilly in 2001.

Spin as a Concept

As a concept spin, or influencing public perception over an event, has a long history in the United States that is rooted in the growth of awareness of public opinion and public sentiment, especially in a political context. American press has frequently been an instrument for shaping popular opinion. As the press grew, so did its use for promotional purposes. P. T. Barnum, the famous showman and circus owner, frequently used staged events to obtain free publicity for his business. However, by the turn of the 20th century there was a growing awareness that media and the press had significant impact on popular opinion concerning government, politics, and causes. Beginning in World War I with the Committee on Public Information (CPI), PR history has acknowledged the role of spin and the use of deceptive communication practices to achieve political results. However, spin is not a concept that is limited to the 20th century. In fact, spin is something that is not necessarily insidious. It sometimes is practiced explicitly, especially in terms of U.S. presidential politics.

Every president of the United States beginning with George Washington is credited with having some level of self-awareness of public image and public attitudes. This frequently required what today would be called *media* or *press relations*. Part of this media relations and image formation required presidents to create deliberate images of themselves and current issues. This type of presidential spin has been on display since the beginning of the presidency. However, professional advisors adept in working the press and crafting public opinion has led the way in how presidential spin works. Beginning with Amos Kendall, who served in the famed "Kitchen Cabinet" of Andrew Jackson, to media-savvy Donald Trump,

there is a belief that image creation and maintenance is a key part of presidential politics. Press secretaries, press events, speeches, and formal events, such as the State of the Union address or pardoning of the Thanksgiving turkey, have been argued to be part of presidential spin. In fact, the political use of spin is closely related to the media cycle and influence of media on public perception.

Scripted and planned communication became a norm for U.S. presidents with President William McKinley and refined under Theodore Roosevelt. In fact, Theodore Roosevelt is credited with having a keen awareness of how the press framed the presidency, and his use of media relations helped him craft his public image. Other presidents including Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan have been credited with effectively using media to frame their image and presidencies. Roosevelt's fireside chats, Kennedy's ease with television, and Reagan's speeches coupled with background optics are viewed as important strategies that helped define their presidential agendas. Similarly, the institutionalization of press secretaries for presidents and other politicians have become a norm within U.S. politics, further illustrating the importance of crafting a media narrative.

As media and politics developed, a more complex relationship in the television age, the concept of spin grew. This was particularly true as political debates, increased press briefings, and political events became media events. Campaign surrogates using spin rooms after debates frequently try to create spin that favors a particular issue of the candidate because that spin has the impact of influencing the media framing of an issue. If a particular spin is put on an issue, then that particular perspective becomes a powerful lens in which public opinion is shaped.

Spin is closely related to the concept of shaping public opinion. The concept of the power of public opinion in relations to politics is rooted in discussions of democratic government. However, understanding the public sentiment about political issues became of greater interest during the late 19th century. In fact, the social science or study behind spinning is rooted in the growth of social science in the late 19th century in Europe. This awareness of public opinion became more

sophisticated over time, especially as the electorate expanded during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The creation of spin as a concept is an outgrowth of understanding the importance of public opinion. Social scientists in the 19th century, notably Gabriel Tarde and Gustav Le Bon, first identified some of the issues surrounding public opinion and crowd behavior. Their work showed that people could be influenced heavily by the words and messages of others. By the early 20th century, the awareness and importance of public opinion became more solidified. Political campaigns and political officeholders recognized that the press played an important role in shaping public opinion. By the 1930s, academic interest in public opinion grew with the creation of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, first published in 1937. Public opinion polling has become more sophisticated during the 20th and 21st centuries with the advancement of polling and increased use of computerized statistics. Today the use of large sets of data can indicate public opinion on a variety of issues.

This created a greater awareness of the power of public opinion and the communications that shaped it. The concept of spin is closely related to the concept of propaganda, which is a deceptive communication practice that is used to manipulate public opinion. In the United States, propaganda first became an issue during World War I when the Woodrow Wilson administration established the CPI, also known as the *Creel Committee* (because it was chaired by George Creel). The result of the CPI was a sophisticated U.S. communication strategy that sought to boost morale for World War I and also discredit criticism of the war and counterpropaganda issued from the Central Powers.

In 1922, journalist Walter Lippmann wrote a highly influential book entitled *Public Opinion*, which detailed how public opinion was formed and how people made decisions and how certain parameters in cognition make people think in a particular way. Early PR practitioner Edward Bernays, who has been referred to by biographer Larry Tye as the “Father of Spin,” sought to reintroduce the term *propaganda* as a form of practice during the 1920s with his book *Propaganda*, published in 1928. Bernays’s view was that propaganda could actually be a good thing because opinion leaders could influence the public to

support certain views that were in the public’s best interest. However, Bernays’s attempt to repurpose the term *propaganda* largely failed by the advent of World War II. In fact, Adolph Hitler thought that propaganda during World War I was so effective that it led to the Allies’ victory. His book *Mein Kampf* included two chapters on propaganda and the importance propaganda, or manipulative communications, had on shaping public attitudes.

With the awareness of propaganda in post-World War I United States, there was an increased interest in the power of persuasion. There was a fear by some that deceptive communication practices were harmful to society, and that public education could serve to educate the public against manipulative practices of deception. One organization, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, was formed in 1937 to combat the effects and impact of propaganda on the public. This organization sought to educate the public about the power of propaganda, and how to be more aware consumers of information, particular biased information that may impact political beliefs. Still, others in the communication field disagreed with the fear of persuasive communication. During World War II, the Nazi propaganda became so reviled that the term became associated with deceptive information practices and with negative connotations.

After World War II, communication practice became more sophisticated in the corporate context, and the rise of psychographic information, consumer psychology, and polling became a way to gauge public opinion. This led to an increased professionalization of communication, but also led to criticisms about media power and control. Scholars and social critics wrote about how disinformation and propaganda were regularly used to influence public opinion to support wars and to promote biased packaging of content by corporate media. Several theories began to emerge about media’s effect on society, and how individuals processed information. Theories such as the hypodermic needle theory, two-step flow, agenda setting, and later uses and gratifications began to demonstrate how media were selected and processed by individuals. However, even though media theories had different perspectives on how people used and processed media information, the idea that media content was important to shaping public attitudes

and beliefs is something that was addressed by many media theories. Perhaps the closest theoretical framework that addresses spin is framing theory, which argues that communication frames issues in a certain way that is later understood within those frames by people. However, framing is not considered the same as spin, as it has an ethical undertone to its definition and application to media.

Contemporary Connotations and Perceptions

Today's use of the term *spin* carries the baggage of older debates about propaganda and unethical communication. Its use in the political sphere remains, but its connotation spans from advocacy (least pejorative use) to outright manipulation of facts and use of lies (most pejorative use). This use of spin to mean manipulative communication has led to a cottage industry of books and articles that attempt to show how the public is persuaded by manipulative communication. In 1957, the book *The Hidden Persuaders*, written by journalist Vance Packard, detailed how Americans were persuaded by advertisers who used psychological information about consumers to make them buy products. By 1961, historian Daniel Boorstin wrote *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* that detailed how news in America was packaged in a way such that real news actually was not reported. Instead, Boorstin argued that "pseudo-events" or news-like events replaced news in a way that most Americans could not tell the difference between real and pseudo news. Part of the rationale for this consumption of pseudo-event news is that Americans expect news to entertain, so pseudo-events that are created by individuals or organizations (frequently with PR help) came to dominate news coverage.

Frequently, spin as a concept is associated with PR practice. Books about the term *spin* have PR connections such as Stuart Ewen's *PR!: A Social History of Spin*, which argues that PR practice uses spin to promote certain organizational objectives. He associates the rise of the spin in PR with Edward Bernays and details how corporate America used particular communication tools to achieve their desired results by shaping public opinion. Another book that associates PR profession with

spin is Bob Burton's *Inside Spin: The Dark Underbelly of the PR Industry*, which details how corporations have used communication to achieve organizational goals, often at the expense of societal well-being. While these books are merely examples of associating PR with spin, they represent a larger common perception that the PR industry is primarily motivated by spinning facts in a favorable way to corporations. This is rooted in a larger skepticism about the honesty of corporate communications, and some high-profile corporate crises that have garnered negative media attention.

The PR industry eschews the label of "spin" because of the negative connotations of the term. In fact, the term *public relations* has even become used in a derogatory way because of its association with the concept of "spinning." The four models of PR articulated by James Grunig and Todd Hunt state that there are four types of PR communication: press agency, information model, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical. The concept of spin is something that is associated with press agency, a 19th century type of PR practice that used stunts and promotions to facilitate publicity to an organization. Modern PR practice has embraced the two-way symmetrical model of PR, which does not use pure advocacy or spin to communicate with publics. In fact, this model of PR argues that spinning content actually creates public distrust, which harms the image of an organization.

PR practice today views itself as a relationship management communication practice that may use advocacy as one tool to communicate with key publics. Spinning an event for a client would likely be viewed as unethical, especially because honesty is a cornerstone of the field as indicated in the Public Relations Society of America Code of Ethics. Using deceptive means to minimize or advocate for an organization harms the credibility of the profession of PR and actually ends up harming the clients because it negatively impacts their reputation.

Media are not so disinterested as to accept spinning as a regular practice without fact checking the communicators involved. Because of that, regular PR practice has routinely accepted ethical practices of honesty and fair-dealing with the press and publics.

Cayce Myers

See also Propaganda; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Public Relations, History of

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SPORTS BROADCASTING

Sports broadcasting has become ubiquitous in the 21st century. Content is available on various devices and in nearly any form (e.g., ESPN's coverage of college football's national championship game on eight distinct channels with unique approaches to each outlet). It was not always this way, but is the new norm. From nationally broadcast but sometimes tape-delayed "game of the week" to 24-hour access, sports broadcasting remains as a last frontier of live consumption in traditional mass media form. The foundation of television production remains the core of sports broadcasting, despite access points (e.g., Twitter, MLB.tv) that no longer restrict an audience to watch from home or a place of mass gathering.

Sports offers an unmatched spectacle of excitement and unknown outcomes. The Olympic Games and soccer's FIFA World Cup provide a

global audience with billions of viewers cheering for their respective nations while witnessing sporting events that are only available every 4 years. The Olympic Games are available in summer and winter formats that alternate every 2 years. The FIFA World Cup hosts a men's event and a women's event in consecutive years but each iteration is limited to a 4-year cycle. Thus, the events garner billion-dollar television and multimedia contracts that fuel the spectacle.

Outside these events that are global in scope and not annually available, professional sports leagues and U.S. college sports provide the content that fuels the business model and regular programming for sports broadcasting. Highlights of the marquee events include the National Football League (NFL) Super Bowl, the College Football Playoff, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) men's basketball tournament (i.e., March Madness), the National Basketball Association (NBA) finals, Premiere League soccer, and golf and tennis major championships. The "regular season" games and matches in each of these respective sports leagues and associations provide the consistent programming that broadcast networks seek—and subsequently pay billions of dollars—in order to reach a highly engaged fan base willing to spend their time and money consuming sports.

The history of sports broadcasting traces to five key times that provide context for its pervasive reach: (1) the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany; (2) sports as spectacle; (3) satellite technology and the rise of superstations; (4) ESPN and the legal fight for college football; and (4) online and streaming technology. These five elements are significant because they outline the role of sports broadcasting in a social transition from access to the construction of sports fandom through consumption. The increase in opportunities for consumption has been expanded by new technologies that have impacted audience reach.

Broadcast Potential and the 1936 Olympic Games

The rise of sports' popularity in media started in newspapers in the late 1800s around the same time that sports gained social significance beyond physical exercise. The creation of modern sports

league was underway with baseball and the construction of the college sports system in the United States. Newspapers provided daily space to recap what happened in sports, not just locally, but across the country and the world. However, that was yesterday's news. Live programming of sports provided a way to participate in and engage with sports even if not attending an event as a spectator. The first broadcast of a sporting event was a radio transmission of the 1921 World Series. It was another 18 years before U.S. viewers would "see" a baseball game via television. This would forecast two interesting effects of sports broadcasting: visibility and profitability. Sports presented a vested audience for advertisers to reach and a financial windfall for sports leagues that positioned them as economic drivers for media.

In between those benchmark dates and long-term implications, the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin gave rise to the broadcast potential for sports. Germany wanted to highlight the nation through Olympic prowess on its home soil as a support to the early rise of Nazi control under Adolf Hitler. Therefore, Germany offered radio transmission free to anyone willing to carry the signal. This was well-received in the United States where CBS and NBC both tapped into the broadcast in their battle for early radio supremacy. The first glimpse of what "transoceanic" transmission could offer through sports programming provided a way for an audience to experience a place only seen by few elite travelers who could afford to visit.

The 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin also offered the first visual broadcast of a sporting event through film technology. Theaters in Germany "showed" what the Olympic Games looked like, not just what could be heard or read. The film had to be processed and shipped before it could be seen beyond Germany's closed-circuit signal. However, the visuals that film provided helped produce how the events are historically and socially remembered. Jesse Owens, a Black athlete, won four gold medals, a symbolic affront to both Hitler and segregation in the United States. In addition, the story of the removal of Jewish athletes from competition was visible through their omission. The opportunity to visually access the Games had a lasting impact, despite poor broadcast quality. As Michael J. Socolow (2016) noted, "The Berlin Games represented the first alignment

of multilateral global broadcast technology with sophisticated propaganda technique. The combination of compelling sports narrative and new modes of modern telecommunication created the blueprint for all future sports broadcasting" (p. 7). The opportunity to offer sports for its perceived transcendental impact on social issues as well as a space to glorify athletes to a growing sports audience with disposable income was why broadcast networks started to spend heavily on sports programming.

Sports Spectacle and the Sports/Media Complex

Following World War II, broadcast networks turned to sports as a supplement to primetime and news programming. Sports were reaching front pages of newspapers, and the creation of *Sports Illustrated* in 1954 was another harbinger of access that blended the power of the visual element in sports coverage. *Sports Illustrated* also impacted the depth of journalistic coverage devoted to sports and recognized an audience willing to pay for content beyond the record-keeping of winners and losers. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and U.S.-based networks CBS and NBC were willing to pay for programming that they considered extremely valuable in a growing financial model centered on advertising.

The early transmission of broadcast signals was limited to closed-circuit viewing, which meant a transmission was sent to a central location to see the content, usually movie theaters. Boxing was the primary sport in this early process, which Florian Hoof noted made sense because of the limited physical space occupied by two participants. These ideas expanded with microwave technology to send a video signal. The 1948 Olympic Games in London were broadcast to viewers within a limited geographic distance from Wembley Stadium. The 1956 Olympic Games were significant for two reasons. The Summer Games in Melbourne, Australia, became the first sporting event to sell broadcast rights, and the Winter Games were introduced as another competition. Broadcast content was limited to news stories that were edited and shipped to networks to rebroadcast as highlight packages. Technology was not yet

advanced to transmit live sports beyond a geographic region limited by linear transmission of air waves (i.e., local markets).

This represented recognition of sports as a spectacle that viewers were willing to watch, even in a significantly delayed manner. The overlap between sports and media forged a symbiotic relationship that eventually positioned broadcast networks in a battle for limited, yet highly competitive, professional sports content. Sut Jhally defined this as the sports/media complex, whereby sports as broadcast programming became a material commodity that networks negotiated to own, and in the process, converted audiences into commodities to be sold to advertisers. This evolution of the role of sports broadcasting accomplished two goals. First, it turned marquee sporting events into a spectacle of consumption. Second, and as a byproduct of this first achievement, sports programming gained significant economic value that elevated sports' social significance.

The Super Bowl became the single-day sporting event to command significant money from broadcast networks, and it helped position the NFL as the leader in the sports/media complex with significant leverage. In less than a decade of existence, the Super Bowl surpassed the Kentucky Derby and the World Series as the most-watched sporting event in the United States. However, the Super Bowl was positioned as more than a football game. Media hype leading to the game, the commercials embedded in the live transmission, and the coverage of the event afterward constructed the Super Bowl as the annual spectacle of sports, given that the Olympic Games were every 4 years. Each of these marquee events were retransmitted through a broadcast network that controlled the output, and thus viewers were limited to access through antennas at homes within geographic proximity to the transmitted signal.

Satellite Communication and Liveness

Once access and consumption were evident within the potential impact for sports broadcasting, satellite communication was the transcendent space to elevate sports broadcasting into a global empire for television. BBC was a trendsetter with satellite transmission of the Olympic Games and European Cup Finals that reportedly reached at least 30

countries as early as 1960. This started to enhance soccer as the "global game" because it was played in nearly every nation and, thus, moved the world's best players from stadiums into living rooms. In the United States, NBC dominated World Series coverage from 1950 to 1976 and CBS and NBC alternated the first 18 Super Bowl telecasts. However, ABC forged its way into the network battle with the creation of *Wide World of Sports* in 1961 and *Monday Night Football* in 1970. The reach of these shows to a sports audience that wanted content beyond the weekend and outside traditional approaches to sports broadcasting pushed technical boundaries. These two shows also introduced on-air personalities within sports broadcasting, including Jim McKay and Howard Cosell. Despite this new reach for networks, sports were not offered live in many areas because of their conflict with primetime programming in different time zones. Thus, tape-delayed events were a normal occurrence dictated by the networks.

The regulation of cable companies and satellite communication helped sports reach more viewers than was limited to the traditional three broadcast networks in the United States. In 1972, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was granted regulatory agency over satellite signal transmission that eventually opened space for the concept of subscription-based access to sports broadcasting content. Where satellite technology helped sports flourish was the ability to reach a live audience through the developing cable subscription-based system. In 1975, Home Box Office (HBO) transmitted the signal of the "Thrilla in Manila" boxing match between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier to cable subscribers who paid to receive HBO. According to Hoof, this initial moment of experiencing the "liveness" of sports provided through satellite transmission started a landslide of sports programming opportunities through the 1970s and 1980s.

In addition to simply reaching fans beyond their geographically accessible teams, satellite technology assisted in making fans. For example, before the construction of all-sports broadcast channels, TBS and WGN launched as superstations through satellite technology in 1976 and 1978, respectively. Ted Turner bought the Atlanta Braves in the same year he started TBS, and he

used the Braves broadcasts as flagship programming for his network along with the NBA's Atlanta Hawks. WGN-TV started as an independent station in Chicago in 1948, and the station launched with a sports broadcast of the Golden Gloves boxing finals from Chicago Stadium. Therefore, WGN as a superstation simply began simulcasting the local broadcast offerings from Chicago to anyone who could access the superstation. Chicago Cubs baseball games had been televised locally on WGN since 1948. Through satellite expansion, this extended the reach of Cubs, the NBA's Chicago Bulls, and to a lesser extent, the Cubs' crosstown rival Chicago White Sox because of fewer televised games, noted Robert V. Bellamy and James R. Walker. WWOR in New York followed the WGN model of retransmitting its signal in 1979 and provided viewers with access to New York Mets games. These broadcast opportunities through superstations provided the local station, and subsequently the teams, a financial head start over other Major League Baseball (MLB) teams before the emergence of regional sports networks. The superstations maintained for a few decades, and despite their disappearance, the impact they had on merging sports with the potential for global reach was historically significant.

One element that lagged behind was overall production value and multiple camera angles to create an immersive experience for the audience, in an effort to replicate the drama of in-person spectatorship. With use of up to three cameras in early sports production, television offered a mostly wide-angle perspective that placed the viewer in a stadium through visuals and sound. According to Garry Whannel, one overriding benefit that sports broadcasting offered versus in-stadium experience was the use of replay. This technological enhancement provided viewers with recall and better understanding of what occurred and how it could be interpreted. However, the experience was not immersive until the late 1980s and especially in the 1990s, when the concept of all-sports networks took shape.

ESPN and the Rise of College Sports

After superstations emerged, ESPN launched in September 1979. Dubbed the Entertainment and

Sports Programming Network, ESPN started as an idea to help expand the reach of University of Connecticut athletics and the New England (later Hartford) Whalers professional hockey team to a rabidly developing fanbase. The "Worldwide Leader in Sports" was born after ESPN's founders recognized a more cost-efficient use of satellite technology used by HBO and others. If *Sports Illustrated* highlighted a significant value on visuals and long-form journalism, ESPN amplified sports journalism as a newsgathering source but also an available space to enhance the quantity of live sports broadcasting opportunities on a daily basis. Thus, ESPN influenced the blurred overlap between sports-as-news and sports-as-entertainment, first through its creation of *SportsCenter* and the central value of highlights and second for its live and entertainment programming.

Before becoming a global media empire, ESPN offered sports coverage of events that were not considered mainstream, ranging from world's strongest man competitions and Australian rules football to sports trivia and replays of home run derbies from the 1960s. However, maintaining a business model central to sports provided a foundation for a viewership that clearly was building around daily sports content being available. ESPN eventually landed contracts with professional sports leagues, fostered through the network's ability to create spectacle out of events that were not actual sports competition, such as the NFL Draft and College Gameday.

At the core of ESPN's business plan was the use of college sports as a brand to build upon because of its core fan base and an abundance of programming options. ESPN televised opening rounds of the NCAA basketball tournament that was a financial boom for CBS for the Final Four events, so ESPN televised opening round games as early as 1980 and helped develop the "March Madness" moniker that is affiliated with the 3-week long tournament. However, the greatest impact for ESPN was a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *NCAA v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* in 1984. The University of Oklahoma and the University of Georgia sued the NCAA for the right to have more football games televised beyond the NCAA broadcast contract that limited national appearances. The Supreme Court ruled in

favor of the universities and shifted negotiating power for college football from the NCAA to the individual conferences that included groups of eight to ten schools. ESPN capitalized as a 24-hour space available to assist in the rapid expansion of college football as a live sports programming powerhouse, but one that had ramifications that moved college sporting events to any day of the week and amplified the commercialization of college sport despite its desire to be marketed as amateurism, noted Travis R. Bell.

During its history, ESPN has contracted to televise every U.S. professional sports league as well as golf and tennis professional tours. Regardless, college sports have remained a staple that has expanded to include every college championship event, and ESPN was crucial for college sports, especially in the 12-year agreement to host the College Football Playoff beginning in 2017. Other broadcast networks such as CBS and FOX showcase college sports, but ESPN is cobranded through the creation of conference platforms including the Longhorn Network, SEC Network, and ACC Network that devote around-the-clock and exclusive coverage to these power conferences and schools. ESPN combined access, spectacle, and distribution potential to gain control over how and where fans consume college sports.

Internet, Mobile, and Streaming Technology

The final frontier (for now) in the ubiquity of sports broadcasting is the intersection of Internet, mobile, and streaming technologies. These opportunities exist because of the rapid advances in high-definition equipment that has made sports broadcasting an immersive, and sometimes interactive, experience through the combination of multiscreen options. Camera and audio equipment advanced so far that viewers can see a visual perspective from a game official or hear conversations between coaches and players during timeouts. These technological advancements enhanced the viewing experience, but it was the rapid evolution of access points beyond a television screen that pushed the reach of sports broadcasting.

Major League Baseball was at the forefront of tapping into these advances through a subscription service known as *MLB.tv*. Each MLB team

has its own independent broadcast contract with a regional sports network to engage their local viewers. Then MLB offered a cohesive broadcast package to subscribers whereby they can watch or hear the radio broadcast for nearly every baseball game with the exception of the viewer's home market, which is blacked out to maintain the exclusive contract for the regional sports network. For example, a viewer in Florida who previously relied on WGN to watch Cubs games could access everything, including the play-by-play radio broadcast that was once relegated to Chicago-area residents limited by signal strength. This model generated additional revenue and audience for MLB without any extra production costs.

That transference of over-the-air content to online and streaming platforms targeted unique subscribers and "cord-cutters" who wanted to minimize growing cable fees. Other professional sports leagues followed a similar MLB model to offer their broadcast partner content in some capacity through the league's online and mobile platforms. A desire by fans to watch away from home forced broadcast networks to target mobile users through tangential sports broadcasting opportunities including incorporating fantasy sports statistics into broadcasts. Major networks such as ESPN created streaming-specific platforms to simulcast over-the-air offerings as well as content branded solely to the streaming platform to supplement the loss of cable subscriptions. Third-party services such as YouTube TV and Sling TV offered less-expensive options to cable with an emphasis on sports channels as a draw for subscribers. In addition, platforms such as Amazon and Hulu partnered with leagues to simulcast and create unique content as multiple ways for audiences to engage with sports broadcasting from anywhere.

These streaming platforms targeted sports fans of long-standing legacy sports, but new audiences emerged with the construction of eSports and its translation to visual media for fan consumption. It is a testament to how advanced video game technology has become and an avid fan base that desire user-engaged programming. Similar to how the sports/media complex rapidly developed through increased availability of programming for consumption, eSports has followed that same trajectory with potentially greater synergy between

media consumption and desire to participate, according to Kenon A. Brown and colleagues. eSports have increased in viewership and sold out arenas for audiences to watch global eSports championship events in the same manner as baseball and basketball. Thus, sports broadcasting has evolved to engage a new audience of consumers.

Ironically, the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 pushed the technological boundaries of sports broadcasting because it forced live sports to a global halt. The pandemic had negative implications for start-up sports leagues such as the XFL, which canceled midseason and shuttered the league after filing for bankruptcy. This highlighted how reliant sports are on live broadcasting content to remain a salient business. The broadcast networks that partner with sports leagues in the symbiotic relationship turned to a combination of real athletes competing in eSports to engage viewers through what looked like sports broadcasting. NASCAR and the Indy Racing League were leaders in this area with iRacing televised on FOX. NBA players competed against each other on ESPN in an NBA 2K video game tournament. Lastly, ESPN produced a HORSE competition among eight current and former NBA and WNBA players in social isolation from their home basketball court. The transmission signal strength hardened to original sports programming of the 1940s that was blurry and minimal, yet still showed sport. The long-term sustainability of the sports/media complex came into question because of the pandemic and could force a restructuring of how sports broadcasting looks in the future. However, what the pandemic showed was a reliance on technology to find innovative ways to produce desirable sports content.

Travis R. Bell

See also Sports Journalism; Sportswriters

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SPORTS JOURNALISM

Sports journalism is an umbrella term that includes print, broadcast and cable television, and online news and feature reporting, writing, and photography about amateur and professional sports. Sports journalism reports about an amateur and

professional sports industry that *Forbes* estimated was worth \$73.5 billion in 2019 in the United States. Sports journalism has become, over the past century, an important segment of American journalism and has rapidly grown in parallel with sports and athletic competition.

The popularity of sports worldwide has led to significant news resources assigned to covering both professional and amateur sports. Sports journalists routinely cover major annual championships and daily sports events, from FIFA World Cups to the Olympics Games to NFL Super Bowls to the NCAA Final Fours, and to local high school basketball, football, and other team sports each year. Soccer, or *fútbol* in Spanish, for example, attracts millions of fans to matches around the world each year. U.S. professional and college football draws large numbers as well. Furthermore, millions attend motor racing events around the world and millions of fans watch basketball games, baseball games, golf tournaments, horse racing, cricket, rugby, and bicycle racing annually around the world. Sports journalists and their news organizations have taken on the responsibility to cover it all.

This entry first provides an overview of contemporary sports journalism in the United States, then discusses the history and development of sports journalism in the United States and the different segments, coverage areas, and topics of sports journalism. It then looks at the education and preparation of sports journalists and expectations of professional journalists. Finally, it discusses books by sports journalists and organizations of and for sports journalists.

Contemporary Sports Journalism

Sports journalism continues to evolve as a result of both societal changes and rapid advancements in technology. Technology, in particular the advent of computer networks, hand-held tablets, and smartphones, has changed how sports news is distributed and consumed as well as resulting in new approaches to how sport itself is covered.

A recent development in sports and in journalism involves collection of data and analysis of databases. Popularized with the sports public with the 2011 film *Moneyball* about the use of data analytics in professional baseball, the approach

takes advantage of digital tools for observing behavior and recording it in databases. At the same time that sports teams were using analytics to improve strategies and performance in competition and in selection of players, sports journalists were using similar techniques in their own analyses of competition, fans, athletes, and even the communities where teams competed. Sports journalists do their own analyses using player and team metrics to understand performances better. While some data analysis in sports and sports journalism is basic and employs publicly available data and widely available tools such as Excel, analytics can also be highly sophisticated and involve multiple databases with millions of records, requiring specialized expertise and the use of advanced software.

Amateur and professional sports audiences are growing both in person and through daily broadcast, online, and print news media sports journalism. In the United States, college sports are drawing large attendance numbers in arenas and stadiums, but also audiences on television and other screens. This has led to a corresponding growth in demand for information about players, teams, leagues, and even participation in various levels of amateur sport.

Sports business and economics have experienced remarkable change in the past century. From what were basically small family-style businesses at best, professional sports and college amateur teams have become multimillion dollar and even billion-dollar corporate businesses using facilities valued in the hundreds of millions to more than one billion dollars. Businesses manufacturing sports equipment, such as Nike or Adidas, have become billion-dollar global corporations. All this has led to writers and reporters who focus on sports business-related issues.

With growing audiences, participation, and business, sports reporters have also needed to become knowledgeable in sports law and business management. An entire legal industry in sports law now exists to deal with salaries, contracts, injuries, individual access and participant rights, and other legal matters involving participants, agents, sports facilities, and teams. Similarly, the need to cover and understand sports organizations and their management teams is also required today in sports journalism.

History and Development of Modern American Sports Journalism

Sports journalism has paralleled the growth of the role of sports in the United States. For the nation's first century and a half, Americans did not devote much attention to sports. Most early leisure activity was recreational rather than highly competitive. But as the 18th century ended, sports and athletic competition were on their way to becoming a force in society.

The first half of the 19th century was not a time for sports or sports journalism as we know it today. Americans engaged in many recreational and leisure time activities, such as boating, horse racing, cockfighting, shooting contests, and swimming, but these were seldom covered in daily or weekly newspapers. News was dominated by political and business reporting. Of course, many activities commonly considered sport in the 21st century, such as hunting, fishing, or sailing, were necessities in the early United States.

By 1815, North American industrialization resulted in a slow shift from outdoor to indoor work. Interest in spectator sports grew and the first sports journal in the United States, the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, devoted to horse racing, began in 1829. A second sports publication, *Spirit of the Times*, began in 1831 and continued for seven decades. It was edited by William Trotter Porter, who had founded the *American Turf Register*. Gradually, some newspapers began to report about horse racing and boxing. As religious groups loosened policies that previously forbade recreational activity on Sundays, participation and interest in sports grew.

New York newspapers began to cover prize fights, horse racing, and early track competition by the mid-1830s. Henry Chadwick began writing on sports for *The New York Times* and *New York Tribune* by offering to cover and write about cricket and baseball for free. The first news story of a game was likely published in *Spirit of the Times* on July 9, 1853, with the headline, "Base Ball at Hoboken," a brief item with a box score.

Sports news was first separated from the rest of the newspaper in the 1870s in New York. During this era, sportswriters themselves became known to readers by name. Joe Vila from the *New York Sun* is credited with developing play-by-play

summaries for football games. Damon Runyon experienced fame from writing for the *Denver Post* and *New York American*.

Forest and Stream was founded in 1873 with articles about hunting and fishing. Interest in athletics in general was growing with baseball, football, and other team sports particularly popular. Journalists began to write about these topics. Henry Chadwick produced the *Ball Players' Chronicle*. Francis C. Richter developed the *Sporting Life* in Philadelphia, publishing correspondents nationwide on a wide variety of subjects and noting it was the largest sports and baseball magazine in circulation in the 1880s.

Sports were becoming organized at the end of the 19th century. New sports were introduced at all levels of society. It was also an era when women began to write about sports. Nellie Bly, a pen name of Elizabeth Cochrane, was a highly regarded reporter for the *New York World* who wrote about prize fighting. *New York Times* reporter Middy Morgan wrote about horse racing.

In 1869, the Cincinnati Red Stockings became the first professional baseball team. Spectator sports became the most popular weekend activity for many Americans in the Northeast and Midwest and, as they grew, so did daily coverage in newspapers. At the beginning of the 20th century, the modern summary lead became a fixture. Up to that point most sportswriting was chronological.

Another factor contributing to the growth of spectator sports in the early 20th century was communication technology. The wireless telegraph, which Associated Press used to cover sports as early as 1899, was important in sending scoring summaries and racing statistics from city to city. In 1916, for the first time, a play-by-play story was transmitted by Associated Press from the World Series host stadium to all newspapers and other customers on the system.

General magazines were beginning to take an interest in sports. By 1920, articles on sports and recreation were popular reading in publications such as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Century Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *Scribner's Magazine*, and in mass circulation magazines such as *Collier's*, *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, and *Saturday Evening Post*, and a number of women's magazines.

The end of World War I was another turning point for sports journalism. The pageantry of sport had taken over the public's imagination. Events such as the Kentucky Derby, Indianapolis 500, World Series, Soap Box Derby, and the original four college football bowl games on New Year's Day meant that sports journalism had a ready market for its product.

Another major development was the decision by Associated Press to create a separate sports wire that debuted on opening day of baseball season, April 16, 1945. To expand the scope of newspaper coverage, from the largest dailies to small ones in nonmetropolitan markets, regional sports wires were developed in the late 1940s.

Modern sports magazines were developed at the end of World War II. *Sport* began in 1946 and *Sporting News* continued to grow despite competition from new, specialized sports publications. With an increase in public and private facilities for participant and spectator sports, new specialized publications entered the marketplace, giving sports journalists still more outlets. *World Tennis* was introduced, as was *Golf Digest* and the *Daily Racing Form*. Baseball magazines were still popular. Boating magazines, such as *Yachting*, began publication. Football, growing in popularity as a professional sport as well as a college sport, was represented by *Football Annual*. *Sports Digest* (1944), *Sport* (1946), *Sports Graphic* (1946), *Sports Album* (1948), *Sports Leaders* (1948), *Sport Life* (1948), and *Sports World* (1949) began publication. In 1954, Henry Luce, publisher of magazine giants of the era, *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Life*, published the first issue of a new weekly known as *Sports Illustrated*.

Daily newspapers and general consumption magazines paid increasing attention to recreational activities. It was a gradual trend, but one that reflected the change in attitude toward sports. By the end of World War II, Americans wanted not only to participate in sports on weekends and vacations but to read about these sports.

In the 1950s and 1960s, newspaper and magazine sports journalism adjusted to live and edited sports on television. As with the adjustment to sports on radio in the 1920s and 1930s, print sportswriters were forced into a transition period by television and other developments in broadcasting and film. Live sports on television changed

newspaper coverage remarkably. Boxing was one of the first sports to be televised live with any regularity. Television enhanced baseball's popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Professional football benefited from national television exposure as well. Prize fighting continued to be popular at that time with its new exposure on television backed by print coverage. Film and television attention brought the Olympics increased audiences. The rapid growth of sports broadcasting forced print sportswriters to react. New tools assisted them in doing their jobs better. Enhanced communication allowed writers to transmit stories to the newsroom much more quickly. Teletype systems had been adapted to permit stadium-to-newsroom communication.

By the 1960s, sports publication circulation, as well as attendance, increased. And because of new broadcasting outlets and development of color television, radio and television audience numbers grew with each new season. It was another era of transition for print sports journalism. The range of sports stories broadened considerably by the late 1960s.

Nationwide, women's amateur sports received more attention, more women's sports developed, and more women began to take an interest in sports journalism careers. Boosted by passage of federal civil rights laws that included Title IX in 1972, women's sports opportunities grew in high schools, colleges, and universities. Women's professional sports such as golf and tennis, and soon basketball slowly grew along with audience interest and sports media coverage.

Interest in sports-related news that occurred off the field and court also increased. Sports reporters began to look beyond locker rooms into boardrooms, courtrooms, and training rooms. Yet there was still an appeal in reading about the game. Instead of replacing newspaper and magazine sports reporting, television seemed to simply enhance it. People who attended a game or watched it on television also wanted to read about it in-depth the next day. Thorough reports and investigations combined with analysis and interpretation became a salvation of print sportswriting in this era.

Television expanded sports coverage and in the 1950s and 1960s sports sections grew in both allotted space and scope. Participant sports

continued to grow and expansion in the coverage of these activities skyrocketed, resulting in the development of special sections devoted to participant sports features and columns for the late 1960s and the 1970s. There was movement toward more objective sportswriting, with less local team “cheerleading” in coverage beginning in the late 1960s. This drift away from boosting the home team flourishes in many areas today. And in suburban and rural areas, an emphasis on local sports continues to be a priority despite developments in wire service coverage.

Sports Journalism Specializations by Media

Daily and weekly newspapers as well as regularly published magazines continue to publish considerable sports news despite a significant decline in circulation, advertising revenue, and readership in the past 25 years. While some print publications have closed outright, others have moved to the World Wide Web and various other networked platforms. Print publications struggle to retain audiences and advertisers and seek new approaches to sustain themselves. For example, one daily newspaper in Arkansas, the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, took the bold step in 2019 to give paid subscribers their own iPad tablet computers at no cost to enable access and encourage use of its online products as the company cuts back its printed editions.

Immediacy has become a critical factor in sports journalism in the online news era. This has pressured traditional print media to react much as it did when faced with the impact of sports on television beginning in the early 1960s. Print sports journalism is redefining itself again in terms of content in response, not just moving existing content to online access. This means more features and less spot results coverage in print editions. It means more in-depth analysis, using both investigative reporting approaches and sophisticated statistical analyses of players, teams, and leagues. It also means using different kinds of storytelling such as mixed media and multimedia.

Broadcast and cable sports journalism has experienced growing audiences since the 1960s and offers numerous cable sports networks today. Broadcast and cable sports coverage consists of

much more than just live broadcasts of games at local, regional, and national levels. Broadcast sports journalism now offers a wide range of programming beyond games on these channels (which can often also be streamed to apps on portable devices). These programs include current events talk shows featuring experts, highlights programs, and preview coverage. The channel-wide programming is highly specialized as well, devoted to specific professional leagues such as the National Football League, and professional teams, or individual conferences, such as the Southeastern Conference or the Atlantic Coast Conference, among colleges and universities. Some universities, such as the University of Texas, have their own national cable network.

Online sports journalism takes multiple forms. It is found on websites, but also on smartphone and tablet apps. Online sports journalism, in its original form, was little more than print content copied to a legacy print news organization's website. Content has changed quite a bit since those mid-1990s beginnings. While legacy print newspapers and magazines continue to post content on their websites, online-only organizations are also now covering sports through specialized websites, and sports journalism can also be found on blogs, video websites, and social media. This has created new ways for sports journalism to reach audiences and to promote itself and its brands, but it has also created new responsibilities for many sports journalists. In the past 25 years, online sports journalism has experienced exponential growth at the same time print news media coverage of sports has declined.

Sports Journalism Specializations by Role

At the core of sports journalism are the sportswriters themselves, some of whom write on many sports and aspects of sports and others who take on specialty beats. Traditionally, sportswriters worked for newspapers and magazines, but they have found places in the online news world as well.

Generalists cover all sports at all levels and take on whatever is needed at any given time and during any season. Beat specialists are dedicated, first and foremost, to covering an assigned area. These can be teams or leagues, such as a college football

team or basketball team, or the league within which those teams might compete. Some specialists are broader in approach, such as covering a sport at all levels in a market for an audience. For example, some writers cover just soccer and cover a local professional team, college teams, and high schools as well. This is particularly true in metropolitan areas. Smaller markets usually require fewer specialists and more generalists.

Sports journalism, like other forms and specialties within journalism, requires editors and managers. These individuals lead departments, hire and maintain full-time staff, coordinate assignments, schedule resources, determine budgets, often handle payroll, find and manage part-time staff, and set policies for coverage. These individuals are among the most experienced on a sports department staff. Some editors or managers continue to write and report and others write opinion and commentary in daily or less frequent columns.

But sports journalism is not writers, reporters, and editors alone. In today's heavily visual world in print and online, photographers, videographers, information graphics specialists, and other visual communicators have taken critical roles in storytelling about individuals in sports as well as about the competition itself. These professionals are responsible for supporting written content at all times, whether it be breaking news or features. In modern newsrooms, many times sportswriters and reporters are also photographers, but visual specialists contribute reporting and stories, too.

At some news organizations, especially smaller and mid-size ones, sports journalists are also content producers for websites and social media accounts. These individuals may create their own content or use that of others, such as colleagues or wire services, to prepare pages on websites or to post on blogs and social media.

Covering Social Issues in Sports

Sports are often the common ground uniting diverse groups. Sports journalists have increasingly placed their time and resources toward reporting about the role of sports in society. Contemporary sports journalism focuses on numerous social issues, including race and ethnicity. During the 20th century, sports contributed to racial and

ethnic social integration and sports journalists have written about these critical moments in the social evolution of the nation.

Similarly, sports journalism today is giving increasing attention to gender issues. A recent example is the widespread abuse of young female athletes in gymnastics by physicians and coaches. Another is the recent efforts of the U.S. women's soccer team players and coaches to earn salaries and benefits equal to those of the U.S. men's team following three decades of top 10 world rankings and four World Cup championships.

Social justice has also become an important focus of sports journalism. One prominent recent example involves NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick, who was playing for the San Francisco 49ers when he began refusing to stand for the playing of the American national anthem before games in 2017 as a way of calling attention to racial injustice in the United States. He was eventually released from the team, causing even greater controversy.

Sports injuries and sports medicine have become increasingly important topics for sports journalism. Perhaps the best example of this is the considerable attention given to traumatic head injuries suffered by high school, college, and professional football players during the first two decades of the 21st century. Coverage has not only focused on individuals who have been injured and unable to play, but on the long-term effects of chronic traumatic encephalopathy that can result from participation in an often-violent sport and on the safety of equipment used in the sport.

Some sports journalists specialize in investigative reporting about sports competition, athletes, teams, leagues, and their interaction with communities they serve. These sports reporters have sophisticated reporting skills using public records, online resources, databases, interviewing techniques, observational skills, and other tools to search deeply into subjects such as race relations, treatment of women, pay inequality, and health, safety, and care for injured athletes. This type of sports journalism requires special abilities, experience, and considerable time and is not found commonly among sports media. But it is an approach that may be used when events and issues require it, even bringing in non-sports journalists to team with sports journalists.

Sportswriters and the Olympics

Since the Olympic Games were reinstituted in 1896, they have become major global events for news and sports media to follow at all levels. While there have historically been highly politicized Olympic games (such as Berlin in 1936), games with social change and protest (Mexico City in 1968), those with terrorist attacks (Munich in 1972), and those with national teams boycotting (Moscow in 1980 and Los Angeles in 1984), most coverage focus has been on the competition and the thousands of athletes involved.

The Professional: Education and Preparation

Education

Sports journalists today are not like those of earlier generations. Today, news organizations seek educated individuals, often with bachelor's degrees in journalism or mass communication, to work as sports journalists. Increasingly, sports journalists and those planning to enter the field are also earning master's degrees with specializations such as journalism and mass communication, sports and recreation, business, international relations, or media management.

Knowledge Areas

Sportswriters are now expected to know not only the sports they cover but to have a grounding in the liberal arts, including languages, history, sociology, psychology, and the sciences. At some news organizations, a thorough knowledge of computer tools and certain software is expected. Sportswriters are both generalists and specialized journalists. Because sport transcends just athletics and competition in this era, sportswriters must know a wide range of subjects at least at an introductory level.

The Role of Experience in Athletics

Sportswriters often have some experience in athletics. Some have been an athlete while others worked in other team or league roles. The degree of that experience varies from simple schoolyard competition and childhood teams to the highest

levels of collegiate and professional sport. But such experience is not a requirement nor always an advantage. It has become a desired resume item for television and radio sports journalists more than for newspaper, magazine, and online sports journalists, but experience in athletics is widely viewed as beneficial to preparation of anyone covering sports.

Professional Expectations

Sports journalism can be a demanding career. Today, it is 24/7/365, always on. There is a continuous news cycle in the modern era. For individuals working in sports journalism, this means long days and weeks during any single sport's season. Writers and editors are expected to produce stories and other content for multiple platforms of today's news media that cover sports. This means sports journalists must not only have deep knowledge of the sports that they cover and have reporting and writing skills, but they must also be able to create blog content, post on their news organization's social media sites, take publishable photographs, shoot professional-caliber video clips, and produce content for the organization's website. Furthermore, sports journalists based in print and online news media must often develop skills for occasional work in other news media, such as radio and television.

Professional Ethics in Sports Journalism

Sports journalists subscribe to general ethical guidelines of professional journalism. Numerous news organizations look to the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists for guidance. Some, such as *The New York Times*, have prepared their own ethical standards. Ethical standards emphasize not only following and respecting legal rules of society, but also the unique values of sports journalism. These general guidelines, according to the Society of Professional Journalists, focus on seeking truth, minimizing harm to those people and entities journalists cover, acting in an independent manner, and being accountable and transparent in how journalists do their work.

Beyond reporting and writing truthfully, a key value for sports journalism is maintaining

independence. Sports journalists must avoid conflicts of interest, such as working for the teams they cover and loyalty to a team they cover, and avoid taking gifts, such as valuable items, from sources and organizations. These gifts and offerings come with expectations that can compromise the practice of journalism.

Fiction and Nonfiction: Sports Books

Books about sports and athletes are often written by sports journalists and former sports journalists. Many are about favorite players and teams or well-known coaches. Sometimes, news organizations have published books consisting of their coverage of championship seasons of local teams. At times, sports journalists ghostwrite books for sports personalities or they write as their coauthors. For example, sportswriter Gene Wojciechowski worked with former University of Oklahoma football coach Bob Stoops for his memoir *No Excuses: The Making of a Head Coach*, published in 2019.

The late nonfiction author George Plimpton took his view of professional sports a step further with a series of books about his limited participation in a professional sport, such as football, hockey, boxing, and golf, to give readers an insider's view of the highest levels of the sport. His first such book, *Paper Lion*, published in 1966 is perhaps the best-known example, telling readers what summer training camp for players in the NFL was like.

Sports Journalism Professional Organizations

There are numerous professional organizations focused on sports journalism in the United States and around the world. In the United States, women in sports journalism are represented by the Association for Women in Sports Media. It was founded in 1987. The International Sports Press Association places emphasis on the Olympics, soccer, track and field, and other international competitions.

Based in North Carolina, the National Sports Media Association began in 1959. It was founded as the National Sportswriters and Sportscasters Association and renamed itself in 2016. The

organization created a sportswriters and sportscasters Hall of Fame shortly after it was founded. It has a partnership with the International Sports Press Association and membership is open to sports media professionals and students interested in careers in sports journalism.

The National Sports Journalism Center was founded in 2009 at Indiana University to bring students into sports media and sports journalism. It hosts the Associated Press Sports Editors, a large national professional organization of editors and news managers who work in sports journalism.

There are also numerous professional sports journalists groups that are organized around specific media or an individual sport, such as radio and television (American Sportscasters Association), baseball (Baseball Writers Association of America), tennis (International Tennis Writers Association), and golf (Golf Writers Association of America).

Bruce Garrison

See also Bly, Nellie; Column-Writing; Sports Broadcasting; Sportswriters

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SPORTSWRITERS

Sportswriters are journalists who cover amateur and professional sports. The term originally referred to journalists who work full-time and part-time for daily and weekly newspapers and regularly published sports magazines writing and reporting about sports, but it has been liberalized to refer to all journalists who cover sports, particularly print, online, and broadcast-cable.

Sportswriters are part of a rich history of writing about sports in all forms. Many of the best-known sportswriters start their careers writing about competitions, covering a particular team or sport for a daily newspaper, and then move to column and opinion writing about sport. While some remain based at daily or weekly newspapers, others move to national or international sports magazines. The best writers often also write nonfiction and fiction books about sports and top athletes. This entry introduces some leading 20th and 21st century sportswriters and highlights the work of a selection of award-winning sportswriters.

Contemporary Sportswriters

Sportswriters help readers understand and keep current about happenings in the worlds of amateur and professional sports. Sportswriters not only cover the competition as breaking news, they also provide analyses about competition outcomes

and, where appropriate, commentary, analysis, and opinion about the outcome. Some sportswriters specialize in writing about the interaction of sports and society, local teams and their communities, and use of community resources to support teams and leagues. Some specialize in sports law or sports business and sports management. Some do investigations. Some specialize in analysis of performance of players, teams, and leagues.

Best-Known Sportswriters From 1900 to Present

Early 20th Century Sportswriters

At the end of the 19th century, women began to write about sports. Nellie Bly, whose name was Elizabeth Cochrane, was a highly regarded reporter for the *New York World*. Bly wrote about boxing. *New York Times* reporter Middy Morgan wrote about racing and livestock activities. Sportswriters who became regionally and nationally known at the turn of the 20th century were Arthur Brisbane (*New York Sun*), H. R. H. Smith (*The New York Times*), Jack London (*New York Herald*), Charles Dryden (*Philadelphia North American*), Ring Lardner (*Chicago Tribune*), Irvin S. Cobb (*New York World*), and John H. Reitingier (Associated Press). A number of these writers moved on to other writing careers, creating short stories, novels, and plays for the theater. It is often hard to tell who wrote what in newspapers in this period since much sportswriting was published without bylines.

Often sportswriters for large dailies were as popular as the athletes of whom they wrote. Sports columnists could earn a good living. It was, after all, the time of Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, and Bobby Jones. Among these top sportswriters were Grantland Rice, Damon Runyon, Heywood Broun, Paul Gallico, and Ring Lardner. The popular Rice, for example, is most often remembered for his highly quoted *New York Herald Tribune* “four horsemen” game story about the Notre Dame football victory over Army, 13–7, in 1924. Flowery in language and liberal with use of images, his work still captures the imagination of readers a century later.

Some 1920s sportswriters, typified by Rice and Gallico, made athletes and sports bigger than life.

Other sports reporters were cynical and critical in their approach. Gallico wrote for the *New York Daily News* for more than a decade, 1923–1936, before leaving sports journalism. With a series of more than two dozen sports titles and other books, Gallico exemplified the high-caliber writer attracted by the challenges of 1920s' sports journalism who eventually evolved to other forms of nonfiction and fiction.

William McGeehan wrote for the *New York Herald Tribune*, the same newspaper as Rice. The style and approach modeled by McGeehan and Westbrook Pegler became popular during the 1930s. John Kieran wrote for *The New York Times* from 1916 to 1922, then for the *Herald Tribune* and the *American* before rejoining *The Times* in 1927. At this time, he began the newspaper's first signed daily sports column called *Sports of the Times*.

Popular Sportswriters of the Mid-20th Century

Major sportswriters at the beginning of the 1950s included Westbrook Pegler (*New York WorldTelegram*), Arthur Daley (*New York Times*), Shirley Povich (*Washington Post*), Bob Considine (International News Service), Red Smith (*Philadelphia Record* and *New York Times*), Stanley Woodward (*New York Herald Tribune*), Edward Burns (*Chicago Tribune*), Dave Egan (*Boston Daily Record*), and Kieran (*New York Times*). Rice, who died in 1954 at age 73, was still producing six columns a week for the North American Newspaper Alliance at the time he died.

Smith, a long-time columnist for the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*, started his career in the 1920s at the morning *Milwaukee Sentinel* and wrote later for the *St. Louis Star* and the *Philadelphia Record*. He moved to New York in the mid 1940s, beginning at the *Herald Tribune* and then to the *New York Times* in 1966. Smith rose to national fame while at the *Herald Tribune*, but he won a Pulitzer Prize while at the *New York Times*. He worked for a half century in sports journalism.

Many well-respected and widely read writers moved from sports to other positions in news. Pegler, for example, switched to write columns for the editorial page in the 1930s. Others became

sports section managers, as many major newspapers in metropolitan areas began to create positions through expansion at the end of the 1930s. These individuals handled administrative duties almost exclusively and left day-to-day editing and column writing to others.

Leading Sportswriters of 1950s and the Modern Era

A new style of sportswriter emerged during the 1950s and 1960s. Americans began to read Jim Murray (*Los Angeles Times*), Dave Kindred (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, *The National* and *Sporting News*), Frank Deford (*Sports Illustrated* and *The National*), Dave Anderson (*The New York Times*), and Tom Boswell (*Washington Post*).

Another new generation of sportswriters developed in the 1970s and 1980s, setting the stage for the modern era. Writers such as Damon Runyon generated writers of the caliber and style of Jimmy Cannon. Writers of the quality of Arthur Daley came from the mold of writers like Grantland Rice. Styles of the 1980s and 1990s were represented by Murray (*Los Angeles Times*), Blackie Sherrod (*Dallas Morning News*), Skip Bayless (*Dallas Times-Herald*), Dave Kindred (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, *The National* and *Sporting News*), John Shulian (*Philadelphia Daily News*), Edwin Pope (*Miami Herald*), and Mark Whicker (*Orange County [Calif.] Register*).

Modern-era sportswriters not only write for their base newspapers and branded online sites but are often also seen on sports television such as local market stations and national networks like ESPN. They are also present on numerous social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, stretching their personal name brands and giving their sports coverage and commentary a much broader exposure than the generations of sportswriters who came before them. One such example is South Florida's Dan Le Batard, who began during college as a part-time sportswriter for the *Miami Herald* and matured into one of that newspaper's most popular sports columnists. His career expanded and led to broadcasting appearances and opportunities, and eventually to his own podcasts and sports talk shows on ESPN radio and ESPN television.

A Select List of Award-Winning Sportswriters

Compiling any list of outstanding professionals in a field is challenging. The following listings are alphabetical by last name and are not ranked. Both men and women as well as older generation and modern-era sportswriters have been included. Some better-known writers on this list began their careers writing about sports, then expanded to write on other subjects and publish in different genres.

Mitch Albom

Mitch Albom (1958–) is best known today as a writer of best-selling inspirational books such as *Tuesdays With Morrie* and *The Five People You Meet in Heaven*. From New Jersey, Albom began his professional journalism career as a writer for a weekly in Flushing, NY, while in college. After school, he freelanced before joining daily newspapers in Fort Lauderdale, FL, and in Detroit, MI. After winning top sportswriting awards for his work at the *Fort Lauderdale News* and *Sun Sentinel*, he was hired as a sports columnist for the *Detroit Free Press*. One of the most awarded sportswriters of his generation for his appealing columns, he also wrote nonsports commentaries on Sundays for the newspaper's opinion page. In addition to his nonfiction inspirational books, he has authored books about Michigan college football and basketball and collections of his columns. He has been a radio host, written plays, worked on films, and has appeared regularly on sports and other television shows.

Jimmy Cannon

Jimmy Cannon (1909–1973), an award-winning writer, made his reputation writing about boxing and was honored with a place in the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Working mostly for New York area newspapers (*Daily News*, *Post*, *Journal-American*, and *Newsday*) and news distributors such as King Features in the early and mid 20th century, Cannon recognized the significance of Black athletes beyond those in boxing. Cannon wrote a daily column in an era when sportswriters and columnists' voices were at their loudest.

Henry Chadwick

Henry Chadwick (1824–1908) was one of the first sportswriters to focus on baseball, working in its earliest days in the late 19th century. Originally from England, he was honored with induction into the Baseball Hall of Fame for his work. He is credited with creating box scores and player and team statistics and is given credit for the “K” symbol in baseball scoring that represents strikeouts. He edited the first baseball guide and wrote about the sport from the 1860s until the early 1900s. He wrote for newspapers in addition to editing baseball guides for Spalding.

Bob Considine

Bob Considine (1906–1975) was a sportswriter and much more during his professional news career. He began his sportswriting life covering tennis at *The Washington Herald* and later worked as a war correspondent for the International News Service during World War II. Considine set the model for many modern-era writers by demonstrating high skill in covering sports as well as other major news of the day. During his long career, he also authored best-selling books about sports (*The Babe Ruth Story*) and war (*Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*). He became one of the early sportswriters to work in radio and television.

Arthur Daley

Arthur Daley (1904–1974) served as a columnist and sportswriter for *The New York Times* for almost a half century beginning in the 1920s, not long after he was graduated from college. A Pulitzer Prize winner in 1956 for commentary about sports, Daley was a college athlete at Fordham University in the 1920s and served as sports editor for the campus newspaper. The native-born New Yorker was *The Times*'s sports columnist for more than three decades, covering major global sports events and the routine sports of New York.

Mary Garber

Mary Garber (1916–2008) is an original among women sportswriters. Award-winning, Garber was the first female sportswriter honored with induction into the U.S. Basketball Writers Hall of

Fame. She began her career during World War II, covering a wide range of news, but not sports. Immediately after the war ended, she began her career covering sports for the *Twin-City Sentinel* (and later the *Winston-Salem Journal*) in Winston-Salem, NC. For three decades, she was the only woman in her city who covered sports such as basketball and football in the college-level Atlantic Coast Conference.

Dan Jenkins

Dan Jenkins (1928–2019) is best known for his books about sports and his numerous articles in *Sports Illustrated*, but he also covered sports for the *Fort Worth Press* and *Dallas Times Herald*. He grew up in the Fort Worth area and played golf at Texas Christian University. His sportswriting career spanned six decades and left a legacy of hundreds of articles in *Sports Illustrated* as well as monthly columns for *Golf Digest* and best-selling books such as *Semi-Tough*.

Sally Jenkins

Sally Jenkins (1960–), daughter of sportswriter Dan Jenkins (see previous subsection), has been honored as the top sports columnist in the United States by the Associated Press Sports Editors professional organization four times while working as a columnist for *The Washington Post*. Before working in Washington, she was a senior writer for *Sports Illustrated*. She is the author of 12 books about sports and sports people, including a popular volume written with University of Tennessee women's basketball coach Pat Summitt and a book written with bicycle racer Lance Armstrong. Her work has appeared in numerous magazines and she has regularly appeared on sports network television and radio.

Dave Kindred

Dave Kindred (1941–) became best known as a sportswriter and columnist for the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. He also covered sports and wrote columns for the *Washington Post*, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The National*, *Sporting News*, and *Golf Digest*. Winner of numerous

awards for his work, including Associated Press Sports Editors' national Red Smith Award, given for lifetime achievement in sportswriting. He is author of at least nine sports books on topics such as golf, baseball, basketball, football, and boxing.

Roger Kahn

Roger Kahn (1927–2020), a native New Yorker, may be best known for his classic baseball book *The Boys of Summer*. The book, rated by *Sports Illustrated* as one of the best sports books of all time, is the story of the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball teams of the early 1950s. He authored 20 or more books, both nonfiction and fiction. However, many of them focused on baseball. He started his career working at the *New York Herald-Tribune* at the end of World War II and rose to cover the Brooklyn Dodgers. He later became sports editor of *Newsweek* on Long Island.

Ring Lardner

Ring Lardner (1885–1933), a highly creative Midwesterner, wrote about sports as a columnist and developed a national reputation for his fiction in the form of short stories. His professional career began covering sports in South Bend, Indiana, but he soon moved to Chicago and wrote about sports for several newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune*. For a brief time, he wrote in St. Louis for *Sporting News* before returning to the *Tribune*. He wrote at least one novel, about baseball, and he had success as both a playwright and song composer.

Jim Murray

Jim Murray (1919–1998) perfected his craft as a national sports columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*. He wrote a nationally distributed column for almost four decades. Much honored, he earned the Pulitzer Prize for commentary in 1990 for a series of 1989 columns. He also worked at *Sports Illustrated*, *Time*, and *Los Angeles Examiner*. His career began in his native Connecticut with stints at the *New Haven Times* and *Hartford Times*. He was author of six books, including an autobiography and collections of his columns written for *The Times*.

Westbrook Pegler

Westbrook Pegler (1894–1969) began his professional career at the beginning of World War I as a war correspondent for United Press and was reportedly the youngest reporter from the United States. Following the war, he turned to write columns about sports and general interest stories. He moved to the *Chicago Tribune* and then Scripps Howard news group. By this time, he was writing about politics, crime (winning a Pulitzer Prize in 1941), and other subjects for syndicated audience of about 6 million readers.

George Plimpton

George Plimpton (1927–2003) is widely known for a series of insider books about professional sports. His first, *Paper Lion: Confessions of a Last-String Quarterback*, was a close-up look at professional football from summer training camp and preseason games. He founded the literary *Paris Review*, but his first-hand participant reporting won international recognition and sold millions of books. Titles included his experiences in playing and practicing with a professional hockey team, playing on the professional golf tour, going several rounds with a professional boxer, among others. An article for *Sports Illustrated* in the late 1980s titled “The Curious Case of Sidd Finch” about an athlete with a remarkable 168 mph fastball that no one could hit, created quite a stir as well. An April Fool’s Day joke, the article noted how this young phenomenon was going to revolutionize Major League Baseball. The article was so popular that he turned it into a novel with the same title. Plimpton’s career included literary criticism, writing sports fiction, and acting. He also appeared regularly on television.

Edwin Pope

Edwin Pope (1928–2017) developed his reputation as a sports reporter and columnist at *The Miami Herald*. While he was widely known for decades of coverage of professional tennis at Wimbledon and covering professional football’s Super Bowl year after year, his diverse columns brought national attention and numerous awards. His professional career began at the small newspaper in Athens, Georgia, and as a student at the

University of Georgia. From there, he worked for United Press International, the *Atlanta Journal*, and the *Atlanta Constitution* before moving to Miami in 1956. Pope covered sports there for more than a half century. He was a columnist and the section’s sports editor, but writing columns and commentary about sports, both national and very local, both professional and amateur, was his love.

Shirley Povich

Shirley Povich (1905–1998) was synonymous with sportswriting, reporting, and commentary at *The Washington Post* for about five decades. He began as a sports columnist and section editor for *The Post*, but briefly was a Pacific Theater war correspondent during World War II. Povich returned to sportswriting when the war ended and continued until he retired in 1973. But for the next 25 years until his death, he authored hundreds of additional columns and commentaries, and he continued to cover the World Series each year. He was winner of numerous national writing and commentary awards and honors.

Grantland Rice

Grantland Rice (1880–1954), often called a writer’s writer, is widely known for his descriptive skills with words in describing the drama and personalities of sports in the early 20th century. He was a former college athlete, playing football and baseball for Vanderbilt University. He even coached the 1908 baseball team for Vanderbilt. Originally from Middle Tennessee, Rice began sportswriting by covering golf. He worked for the *Atlanta Journal*, *Cleveland News*, and *Nashville Tennessean*. He became a columnist for the *New York Tribune*, authoring “Sportlight.” His sportswriting career spanned more than a half century.

Damon Runyon

Damon Runyon (1880–1946) was master of many forms of journalism and general writing specializations in the first half of the 20th century but is perhaps best known for his short stories and sportswriting. While he was most famous for his fiction, he wrote about sports for a wide range of

Hearst newspapers and news and feature distribution services over several decades. He was a baseball columnist for Hearst Newspapers and is recognized for helping define how baseball is covered. He also wrote often about professional boxing.

Red Smith

Red Smith (1905–1982) built his sportswriting and sports commentary reputation in Philadelphia (*Record*) but sealed it with sports columns based in New York City (*New York Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times*). He spent more than 50 years covering sports and was honored with a Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary in 1976 for his columns about sports. Usually ranked among the top sportswriters in American journalism history, Smith's column was syndicated and published across the United States and around the world. His most common subjects were horse racing, baseball, football, fishing, and boxing.

Stanley Woodward

Stanley Woodward (1895–1965) served two terms as sports editor of the *New York Herald Tribune* in the 1930s–1940s and 1950s–1960s in addition to writing a regular column. Originally from Massachusetts, he played football for Amherst College. After World War I, he began his professional news career for his hometown *Worcester Gazette* as a reporter, moving to the *Boston Herald* where he soon became sports editor. He left for the *New York Herald Tribune* to become sports editor. While managing the section, he wrote columns about college football.

Bruce Garrison

See also Column-Writing; Sports Broadcasting; Sports Journalism; Sportswriters.

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STAMP ACT

The Stamp Act sparked much controversy between Great Britain and the colonies in America and laid the groundwork for the conflict that produced the American Revolution. It was a tax aimed at raising money for the British government, but it seemed to also restrict the ability of the colonies to criticize the government when they disagreed with it and the issue of free press produced much of the argument. This entry examines why the Stamp Act was introduced, its potential impact, reactions to the Stamp Act with a focus on printers' opposition to the Act, and the result of Stamp Act protests.

Background for the Adoption of the Stamp Act

Following the victory over France in the French and Indian War in 1763, Great Britain found itself 130 million pounds in debt and quickly sought new sources of revenue in the growing American colonies to help pay off the war debt and cover the costs of protecting the borders of the colonies. The first effort was the Sugar Act passed in 1764 which placed duties on refined sugar. Then came the Stamp Act, passed on March 22, 1765, and scheduled to become effective on November 1. The act required that all newspapers, licenses, bonds, and legal documents be printed on stamped paper that carried a special tax. The decision to pass this legislation was one of the worst political mistakes in history because British leaders seemingly did not think about who this act would impact. The groups most impacted by this legislation were some of the best educated and most publicly involved citizens in the colonies—merchants, lawyers, and printers. All three of these groups viewed the tax as excessive and were very upset when it was passed.

Potential Impact of the Stamp Act

Printers in particular faced immediate financial disaster because taxes were to be paid at the rate of a half penny for each copy of a two-page paper, a penny for each copy of a four-page paper, and two shillings for each advertisement. This cost would be equal to most of their income because printers received only a small portion greater than the required taxes from subscribers and advertisers. Taxes on job printing were just as high, and printing in foreign languages was taxed at double the standard rate. Fines for violating the Stamp Act ranged from 40 shillings to 10 pounds. If a printer chose to publish anonymously without stamps, they would be tried in an admiralty court (previously established to try maritime cases) without a jury. This seemed to be a violation of the colonial people's traditional rights to try cases of local offenses in local courts before juries of local citizens. Striking as hard as it did at printers, the tax gave them a special reason to use their newspapers to oppose the Stamp Act. Initially, they seemed to be unsure what to do, but they soon began to stiffen their resolve in the face of what they saw as tyranny and increasingly spoke out in their newspapers about the actions of the British government that they considered wrong.

General American Reactions to the Stamp Act

Perhaps no law in American history evoked such violent opposition as the Stamp Act did. Preachers denounced it in sermons. Town meetings and colonial legislatures passed strong resolutions against it. The Stamp Act Congress met in New York City in October and denounced the Stamp Act as an unconstitutional invasion of colonial rights and liberties. Merchants organized boycotts against British imports. Sons of Liberty groups formed throughout the colonies and took actions to prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act. On May 30, Patrick Henry introduced to the Virginia House of Burgesses a resolution proclaiming the colonials' right as Englishmen to possess the sole power of taxation. He described anyone who dissented against such a right as an "Enemy to this his Majesty's Colony." British authorities were particularly disturbed by this pronouncement because Virginia was the first and most populous colony.

Many government officials expressed concern that Henry's statement would spark protests and other problems throughout the colonies. Meetings called to discuss the Stamp Act sometimes turned into brawls, particularly in Boston where the stamp master Andrew Oliver was hung in effigy and the Middle Colonies where much property was destroyed, and opponents devised rallies and other strategies to keep the law from being enforced. Newspapers reported on these meetings throughout the colonies. They also printed numerous letters and essays by people in their communities that condemned the tax. Trade with Great Britain drastically dropped, and colonials refused to pay their British creditors. On June 3, the *New York Post-Boy* reported that only one fifth as many ships were working the West Indian routes than before the Stamp Act was enacted. Hard cash was increasingly difficult to find. Business experienced "a most prodigious shock." John Hancock and other merchants lamented that the economic situation was becoming tough to deal with.

Printers Oppose the Stamp Act

Led by the bolder among them, printers gradually came into full opposition to the law. The press war against the Stamp Act started in Boston, which is not surprising given the importance of the city of Boston in the colonial economy. Awakened to the dangers building against them, printers there took to their printing presses to argue against the act as a frontal assault on the liberty of the people in general and the freedom of the press in particular. Eventually, newspapers spoke as if with one voice in opposition to the Stamp Act, as though they had become one "mass medium." They carried detailed accounts of public opposition to the act, noting pointedly the names of tax collectors and stories of their being hanged in effigy. As a result of all the protests and criticism, all of the stamp distributors in the mainland colonies resigned, thus leaving printers on November 1 in a dilemma.

The law required that they use nothing but stamped paper, but the paper was not available. The absence of paper did not void the penalties for violation of the law. Printers had to determine what path to take. None intended to pay the tax, but deciding how to proceed was not easy. A few newspapers, mainly in the South, temporarily suspended publication, but others challenged the law

in one way or another. Some came out defiantly, appearing without the detestable stamp and declaring that the Stamp Act was a direct attack on liberty itself, whereas others took a “safer route” and stated that no stamped paper was available. To protect themselves from authorities, some printers claimed that they continued publishing because of threats from Patriots. On November 7, 1765, John Holt ran an “anonymous” letter in his *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy* threatening his business and his body if he did not publish. But in the same issue, he also stated that he would ignore the act because the motto of his paper was “The United Voice of all His Majesty’s free and loyal subjects in America: LIBERTY, PROSPERITY AND no STAMPS.” Others, unfamiliar with the Stamp Act’s fine print, attempted to evade the law by changing their newspapers’ names and publishing anonymously. Similarly, some tried to sidestep the letter of the law by removing their serial numbering, thus changing their official status from newspapers to broadsides or handbills, which were not subject to the act. Even many of those newspapers that suspended temporarily objected vehemently. In late October, the German-language *Philadelphia Staatsbote* outlined its front page in black borders with a skull at the top. On October 31, the day before the act was to take effect, six other papers published with similar make-ups. The *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* assumed perhaps the most eye-catching design. It published with the text surrounded by black columns that looked like a tombstone, topped with a skull and crossbones, mourning over the death of press liberty. The motto for this issue was “EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to Life Again.” Whatever the course pursued, it is notable that not a single newspaper in the mainland colonies published on stamped paper (but there were papers in the West Indies who published on stamped paper).

Impact of the Protests Against the Stamp Act

Because of the impact on trade, British merchants asked Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act in the hopes that the trade decline would end. In March 1766, Parliament, recognizing that the Stamp Act was unenforceable and that the economic impact on trade was too large, repealed it. By then,

colonial newspapers already had been inspired to oppose British authority. Every newspaper in the colonies protested the Stamp Act in some way and published stories about protests throughout the colonies, thus showing the widespread disagreement with the tax. The continuing opposition of the newspaper printers helped bring Americans together to protest British actions and thus helped lead Americans to the Revolution.

Carol Sue Humphrey

See also Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Democracy and the Media; English Roots of the Free Press; Free Expression, History of

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STARS AND STRIPES

Stars and Stripes is the daily newspaper published for American military servicemen and U.S. Department of Defense civilians, contractors, and their families. Unique among the many military publications in the world, *Stars and Stripes* operates free of any government control or censorship. It has been published continuously in Europe since 1942, and since 1945 in the Pacific. *Stars and Stripes* has one of the widest distribution ranges of any newspaper in the world; between the Pacific

and European editions, it is read in over 50 countries where there are American bases, posts, ships, or embassies. The newspaper publishes approximately 80,000 copies in the Pacific and Europe combined, 363 days each year.

Origins

This military newspaper was first published during the American Civil War, the initial issue produced when Union soldiers of three Illinois regiments set up camp in Bloomfield, Missouri, in November 1861. Upon finding the local newspaper offices abandoned, four ex-newspaper writers decided to print a one-page newspaper for their regiments, relating the troops' daily activities. They named it *Stars and Stripes* but ceased publication when the Union forces continued their advance a few days later. The Department of Defense has officially recognized Bloomfield as the birthplace of the paper, and the *Stars and Stripes* Museum and Library is located there.

The World War I version first appeared in February 1918 in Paris. An all-military staff produced it weekly to provide information to the doughboys of the American Expeditionary Force. At its peak, it had eight pages and claimed more than a half-million readers. It relied upon the improvisation of its staff, many of whom became famous and influential members of postwar American media (editor Harold Ross, for example, returned home to found *The New Yorker* magazine). The *Stars and Stripes* ceased publication after the war ended in November 1918.

In April 1942 in a London print shop, a small group of servicemen founded a four-page weekly version of *Stars and Stripes* for American soldiers in Britain; the new version quickly grew into an eight-page daily newspaper. It was graced by the work of talented young journalists such as Andy Rooney, Steve Kroft, Louis Rukeyser; author Shel Silverstein; and cartoonists Vernon Grant and Bill Mauldin. The latter's famous "Willie and Joe" cartoons laid the foundation for his later work, which garnered two Pulitzer Prizes. Eventually, several editions were published simultaneously in the European theater, some printed very close to the fighting fronts in order to get the latest information to the most troops. At one time, there were

as many as 25 publishing locations in operation in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Hawaii. Throughout the war, *Stars and Stripes* had a friend and protector in General Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, who issued a "hands-off" policy and defended the paper against protests by others. By V-J Day, August 15, 1945, circulation had risen to a million readers.

When World War II ended, the paper was instructed by the Department of Defense to continue to publish as long as U.S. troops remained abroad. As wartime enlisted staff were demobilized, the newspaper built an experienced staff of full-time civilian journalists, augmented by a small contingent of military journalists and photographers. The paper's reporters joined the troops in the field throughout the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. During the 1991 fighting in Iraq, the paper established a Middle East bureau for reporting the war, as circulation of *Stars and Stripes* nearly doubled within weeks. During the early 2000s Iraq War, reporters from the paper were embedded with military units in Kuwait and Iraq, as well as on Navy ships in the region. Staffers are still reporting from those countries, and thousands of copies of the paper are being printed daily in Iraq and Afghanistan for distribution.

Stars and Stripes Today

In the face of rising costs, in the 1990s the production of *Stars and Stripes* was reorganized. A central editorial office was established in Washington, D.C., that receives news stories, photos, and advertisements from bureaus around the world through a high-tech electronic publishing system with editors then creating electronic pages for different editions that are sent to printing plants around the world by satellite. Since the reorganization, the website has been expanded, a *Stars and Stripes* version for ships at sea was developed, and, in 2004, online electronic subscription service was pioneered. The paper is distributed at no charge to troops in combat theaters, offered for sale in coin boxes and military exchanges at bases, and has home delivery to subscribers in several countries. After the restructuring, advertising grew from \$3 million to nearly \$10 million a year by 2007.

Stars and Stripes maintains news bureaus in Europe, the Pacific, and the Middle East. In addition to national and international news and sports stories, the newspaper seeks to provide all the elements of the hometown papers servicemen left behind, from columns to coupons, comics, and crossword puzzles. The “Letters to the Editor” pages have long been a popular feature and forum for lively discussions on issues of interest to members of the military services. In 2008, five daily editions were published: Mideast, Europe, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa. The regional editions, besides the above, offer topical information on political, cultural, and sporting events at the theater military bases and in surrounding communities.

Unlike many of its military media counterparts, *Stars and Stripes* takes no editorial position of its own but strives to maintain a balanced presentation of issues and opinions. The staff, a combination of military and civilian personnel, has been trained in the traditions of American journalism. An ombudsman, usually a civilian ex-editor, protects the paper’s First Amendment rights and investigates any allegations of censorship or news management by government departments or officials. As revised Department of Defense Directive 5122.11 states:

Stars and Stripes is a Department of Defense-authorized daily newspaper distributed overseas for the U.S. military community. Editorially independent of interference from outside its own editorial chain-of-command, it provides commercially available U.S. and world news and objective staff-produced stories relevant to the military community in a balanced, fair, and accurate manner. By keeping its audience informed, *Stars and Stripes* enhances military readiness and better enables U.S. military personnel and their families stationed overseas to exercise their responsibilities of citizenship.

Stars and Stripes is recognized by both journalists and readers as the “G.I.’s newspaper” and has a proud history of being a credible news source. The paper has but one specific mission: to bring American military personnel and their dependents the same international, national, and regional news and opinion from sources available to newspapers throughout the United States.

Historically, *Stars and Stripes’* role becomes most visible in times of overseas conflict, when it expands dramatically to serve a growing number of military personnel. But throughout its tenure as the servicemen’s newspaper, it has served to connect American servicemen abroad with each other and with the American home front.

In 2013, the paper faced job cuts, printing-schedule changes, a pay-raise freeze, and travel limitations for staff under the federal budget sequestration. In 2016, the Pentagon considered additional budget cuts. In 2020, an order for the newspaper to shutter was issued, but the order to close was rescinded.

Rex Martin

See also First Amendment; Military and the Media; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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STOCK PHOTOGRAPHY

Stock photography is the creation, storage, and sale of photographs to clients who want to purchase already-made images. Photographers face various challenges in making a living as a stock photographer. Many stock photographers, if not most, do it as a part-time job. Stock photography’s origins began in the 1800s, but it has changed to reflect business practices and social values. This entry

begins with an overview of the roots of stock photography and then examines modern stock photography agencies and the hiring of photographers to produce high-quality images on demand. Finally, the entry discusses criticisms of stock photography.

Background

The roots of stock photography are visible in the manufacture of stereographs and the *carte de visite* of the late 1800s. These were photographic products for mass audiences. Stereographs were two photographs taken side-by-side and printed on a card. Viewers would use a special device to look at the pair of images, resulting in a 3D effect. The *carte de visite* was a photograph printed on a thick stock. Well-to-do individuals would have them created to share with friends, and consumers could buy cards displaying the portrait of a celebrity. The manufacturing of both kinds of cards involved mass production for many consumers. People created businesses for the manufacture and distribution of cards. They hired many photographers to create images for these businesses, often giving them incomes in addition to their work as studio and portrait photographers.

Another influence on stock photography was the photo agency, run by a management company or a group of photographers. Photo agencies handle the business end of photography, often around particular kinds of photography such as news and documentary photographers. Agencies recruit clients, assign photographers when a client contacts the agency, pay the bills, and handle contracts. Traditionally, stock photography companies would sell existing images, and photo agencies would deal more in specific assignments. However, some photo stock agencies are taking on some of the roles of a photo agency, such as contracting photographers to produce photographs. In all these cases, a photography industry was being established that involved the essential characteristics of modern stock photography.

Modern Stock Photography Agencies

As of 2021, stock photography businesses either sell only existing images or merge the stock photography model with the photo agency. The industry has experienced consolidation as a few have

bought out some of their competitors. Photographers face shaky ground as digital photography has encouraged more people to participate, which has led to lower pay rates.

There are two basic models for the stock-only agency. The more traditional model is one that is built around agreements with particular photographers. The expenses of the past involved story photographic slides or other material and communicating by mail. Stock agencies built a relationship with clients, so agencies preferred reliable photographers. This model still exists but looks like boutique agencies because of their specialization, rather than library size. Clients use these agencies because they have a reputation for having particular kinds of high-quality photography. Commonly known as *macrostock*, these agencies have moved into the digital environment but continue to rely on quality and relationships as the basis of their operations.

Although these more traditional stock agencies still exist, they receive less press coverage than the start-up, microstock businesses that seek investors and photographs from anyone. Microstock prices are low, which means the businesses and photographers need to sell massive numbers of photographs to make a worthwhile profit. These businesses are popular with amateur photographers who started with smartphones and who can simply edit an image and upload it to the site. Microstock agencies sort of follow a model established by Amazon for attracting customers who want to save a lot of money and seller-photographers who would otherwise not be able to make money in a traditional business model. Compared to traditional stock agencies, the images are crowdsourced with less concern for quality. Commonly referred to as *microstock*, this stock photography business model depends on digital technology. Digital cameras have become so advanced that it takes little knowledge to make a usable image, and the images circulate completely in a digital environment.

Stock Meets Photographers' Agency

To expand their businesses, some stock businesses have adopted elements of a photo agency—one that represents its own photographers—by hiring photographers to produce high-quality images on

demand. This appeals to photographers who want a full-time job and a consistent income. They have less freedom over what to photograph but this is offset by the predictability of a salary.

Corbis Falls, Getty Rises

Corbis and Getty are the most prominent high-end stock agencies because of their massive library, including historical images. Corbis' origins are in Microsoft founder Bill Gates' Interactive Home Systems, which became Corbis Corporation and established its reputation with the 1995 purchase of the Bettmann Archive. Corbis suddenly owned 16 million images and significantly expanded this image library, especially with the 1999 purchase of the renowned Sygma, a France-based European news agency. Its growth was rivaled by Getty Images, which strove to remain in competition with Corbis. Getty has approximately 200 million images, including those of PhotoDisc, a company once reviled for its clip art but which helped create the low-cost, online sales model, and the respected Tony Stone Images collection.

Corbis developed a reputation in the industry for poor management and sold its assets to the Unity Group, part of the Visual China Group, and the new owners would take over the contracts of Corbis's photographers. It was announced in 2016 that Getty would be the distributor for Corbis's images. The competition between the two agencies was viewed as good for professional photographers, who included commercial, editorial, and news photographers. The Corbis Images website now automatically directs visitors to Getty Images.

Top Microstock Agencies

Several microstock companies gained traction in the new digital environment. One of these was iStockphoto, a Canadian company. Established in 2000, its success led to its acquisition by Getty in 2006 for \$50 million. Now named iStock, it claims to have created the business of crowd-sourced stock imagery with six employees. Offering photography, illustrations, and video, it now has hundreds of employees. At this time, its cheapest plan is 10 images for \$29 per month. The agency provides online tips and market trends for its contributors.

Its main competitor has been Shutterstock, which may be better known to the general public than iStock. Boasting a library of more than 300 million images with 200,000 being added every day, Shutterstock also sells music. For the same \$29, Shutterstock offers two images per month as the cheapest plan. Shutterstock offers its Custom platform for clients who want to be paired with a creator for on-demand images that is just for them.

Other microstock agencies exist, such as Adobe Stock, Big Stock Photo, and Dreamstime. Adobe Stock, formerly Fotolia, is aimed at Adobe software users who need stock photography.

Criticisms of Stock Photography

Although the quality of microstock photography has risen over the years, it has received criticism for multiple reasons. One reason is the low pay accepted by microstock photographers has supposedly pushed down the rates professional photographers can charge. Another complaint, similar to complaints made about Instagram, is that images tend to look generic or repetitive. Contributors are encouraged to make images that will sell, not necessarily move photography forward or challenge photographers' creativity. In 2004, Dell and Gateway computer companies were criticized for using stock images showing the same model from apparently one photoshoot for its back-to-school promotional ads.

More recently, a complaint has been directed at the reliance on stereotypes. Part of the blame may be shared with the legacy stock agencies' older collections. However, critics have accused microstock agencies of not being cognizant enough of diverse representations. In 2014, Pam Grossman, who was director of visual trends at Getty, created the Lean In Collection from the archives. Grossman saw this as just a start because she saw stock images of female professionals in heavy makeup being posed unnaturally.

In response to being frustrated at trying to find images of Black people for his clients, the web designer and tech guru Kenneth Wiggins created a beta stock agency in 2015 to promote better and more diverse representations in his BlackStockImages, also known as BlackStock. The effort had limited success because of Wiggins's death in 2017.

There has been a general trend in commercial and editorial illustration photography toward a more natural style, reflected in the lifestyle look. Some of the credit for the change in style goes to the economy. People struggling financially may not want to see an out-of-touch world. Another cause is Instagram, where the natural style is popular. Stock photography has followed these trends, with models appearing more like good-looking neighbors and using less obviously constructed scenes. This may also contribute to more diversity in stock imagery as some Instagram users expand into stock production, because Instagram appears to be used by more women and non-whites than those who were part of legacy stock agencies and early microstock efforts.

Timothy Roy Gleason

See also Advertising; Photo Agencies; Photo Editors; Photography; Photojournalists

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STREAMING MEDIA

As a concept in media, streaming describes the networked delivery of audio or video data that are rendered immediately upon arrival on a digital device, rather than being stored there first. In other words, an audio or video file does not have to be downloaded from a remote location before

it can be played but starts playing as soon the data arrive onto the device.

The emergence of streaming as a dominant mode of media consumption signified two major shifts in the media and content markets. First, it transformed how content is delivered, and second, it brought significant change to the business models associated with media and content marketplaces as well as the types of companies who operate in those spaces.

Storage Versus Bandwidth

Because a video or audio file is not necessarily stored after it has been streamed and played on a device, there is a much smaller need for local storage. However, this reduction in storage requirements is offset by a need for bandwidth; if the network connection between sender and receiver is poor, the content is also delivered poorly, with a poor user experience as a result. To address this, most streaming media delivery employs some form of *compression* technology, which reduces the amount of data needed to provide an acceptable audiovisual experience.

In 1972, Indian American computer scientist Nasir Ahmed developed the main principles behind the digital video compression. In 1988, two standards organizations, the International Organization for Standardization and the International Electrotechnical Commission, established the Motion Picture Experts Group (MPEG), tasked with developing standards that would decrease the amount of data required to render acceptable quality digital video. The aim was not to stream video over the Internet, but to enable feature films and television content to be distributed on physical, digital media such as LaserDiscs and, later, DVDs and Blu-ray discs.

Because streaming required transmission of a high data volume, early streaming initiatives often happened at the local level. Local area networks were faster than Internet connections, and hence, early streaming experiments happened in places with multiple networked computers powerful enough to facilitate streaming. One such institution was the Computer Laboratory at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom, where researchers set up what is considered the world's webcam next to a coffee machine. Providing a networked

video feed to everyone on the network through a small software client, the camera gave everyone the option to check whether fresh coffee had been made. The feed was started on the local network in 1991, but began streaming to the wider Internet in 1993, after web browsers gained support for video.

In 1992, students at Cornell University in the United States developed CU-SeeMe, a client program similar to the one from Cambridge, to provide the opportunity for video conferencing, which was otherwise very expensive. The quality obtainable through Internet-based video streaming was still lower than what consumers were generally willing to accept. An example of this is the film *Wax or the Discovery of Television Among the Bees* by independent filmmaker David Blair. Originally released in 1991, the film was made available on its own website in 1993, but it could only be viewed at a speed of two images, or frames, per second, making the viewing experience somewhat jerky. In June 1993, researchers at Xerox PARC in Palo Alto, California, demonstrated their streaming technology, MBone, by letting the band Severe Tire Damage play a concert live over the Internet. MBone hosted a few other bands, before the Rolling Stones took to the platform in November 1994 and transmitted 20 minutes of video and audio from a concert in Dallas, Texas. However, watching the latter concert live required both computing power and an Internet connection that cost far more than what regular consumers could afford, and only 200 computers around the world were logged on to watch the livestream.

Lifecasting

While such high-profile experiments gained attention in the media and technology worlds, commercial video streaming of prerecorded material was already on offer from vendors whose clientele was less concerned with perfect image quality. In the pornographic industry, European producers and distributors such as the Dutch company Red Light District custom-built their own streaming solutions and began publishing clips in 1994. This was also the year webcams became available at a consumer-friendly price level, with the monochrome Connectix QuickCam being the first to enter the market at

a price under U.S.\$100. When color webcams entered the market 2 years later, the porn industry made the seemingly natural transition from phone sex services to video chats via the Internet, once again relying on custom-built solutions rather than commercially available services. Technologically, these video chats were early versions of what two decades later would constitute the livestreaming phenomenon.

Also in 1996 conceptual artist Jennifer Ringley pioneered *lifecasting* by setting up a webcam in her dorm room at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, and soon after, began charging money for access to the feed. Over the next 7 years, Ringley's website, JenniCam, broadcast all aspects of her home life, including very intimate moments of a more sexual nature. This voyeurism was the attraction for some visitors to her site, which attracted four million views per day at its peak, while others followed Ringley out of sociological curiosity.

Internet Radio

Because audio takes up significantly less bandwidth than video, streaming audio reached a wide audience first, mostly providing content normally found on the radio, such as music, news, and sports. In fact, streaming audio first broke through to a wider audience by retransmitting AM/FM broadcasts over the Internet. During 1994, students on the campuses of University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Georgia Tech University; and University of Kansas used their technical skills to bring their college radio stations online. But compression still played a crucial role, and Internet radio did not really take off until the year after, when the Seattle-based tech company Progressive Networks debuted a compressed audio format for streaming named RealAudio. Partnering with ESPN, the company demonstrated its capability by livestreaming a baseball game between the Seattle Mariners and the New York Yankees.

In 1994, Internet entrepreneurs Todd Wagner and Mark Cuban took an interest in Cameron Audio Networks, a small company aiming to broadcast sports games live on the Internet. By September 1995, Cuban and Wagner had renamed the company AudioNet and began streaming

college football games using RealAudio. A year later, AudioNet.com was home to hundreds of local radio stations from all over the United States and was livestreaming sports events and concerts by major music artists. AudioNet also featured a “CD Jukebox” with more than 700 full-length CDs available on-demand, an early herald of the music streaming services to come. With streaming video becoming an increasingly substantial part of AudioNet’s offerings, the company changed its name to Broadcast.com in 1998 and became a public company.

MP3 Compression Format

Despite these efforts, music consumers abandoning CDs were not moving into streaming, but remained in the download paradigm, aided by the MP3 compression format for music, made public for the first time in 1993 by MPEG. With technology developed by the Fraunhofer Society in Germany, digital music files extracted from CDs could be compressed to around one tenth of their original size, enabling large collections of music to be stored on small units or even remotely. The small size of the MP3 format also made it possible to exchange music files over the Internet illegally, and the ease of illegal downloads—versus visiting a record store—made on-demand music appealing to many consumers.

A search engine for illegal music downloads, Mp3.com became a giant success in 1998, and eventually went public, but only after the music industry forced it to distance itself from pirated music. That role was instead taken over by Napster, created by 19-year-old college student Shawn Fanning. Napster’s peer-to-peer service gave access to other users’ MP3 repositories, where someone seeking a specific song might find it. Napster’s growth was so explosive in its first 10 months that some network administrators reported that up to 61% of their traffic was Napster activity. Having peaked at 80 million users, a court order spurred on by music rights organizations shut down Napster in 2002, but similar services such as Kazaa, Gnutella, LimeWire, and Audiogalaxy quickly replaced it. Although MP3s belong in the download paradigm rather than the streaming paradigm, they helped users develop an expectation of a large catalog that was easy accessible without

per-unit purchases—which was the formula adopted by later streaming services.

The iPod

In 1999, Microsoft launched Windows Media Audio and Windows Media Video as streaming and downloadable alternatives to RealNetworks’s formats and MP3. Apple was promoting their own QuickTime format as well as MPEG’s Advanced Audio Coding. With the availability of several formats, many consumers were confused about how to organize and store their collection of MP3s. It did not help that the available portable MP3 player devices ranged from small, RAM-based players such as the Rio Diamond, to hard drive-based players that could contain most of a normal CD collection, like the Creative NOMAD Jukebox. Each had its own way of transferring and organizing music files, adding to the confusion until Apple launched its portable, hard disk-based iPod player in October 2001. Its close integration with iTunes, the MP3/music file player Apple had launched 9 months prior, made the whole process of ripping CDs, organizing the music files, and allowing individuals to take their collection with them much more effortless.

On-Demand Music Streaming

However, most iPods contained at least some music files that had been obtained illegally. To respond to this, the music industry tried to open two legal online music stores in 2001, the RealNetworks-run MusicNet and PressPlay. Although they both offered low-quality streaming in addition to downloads, and in the case of PressPlay, a subscription plan, they never achieved the success of later streaming services. The problem was that the stores only contained music from the major music labels that were invested in them, and fans had to find out which record label put out their favorite artist’s music in order to purchase it legally. It was more convenient for consumers to download it illegally instead. Such piracy continued until Apple launched the iTunes Music Store in 2003. Other one-stop-shops and alternative outlets such as eMusic and OD2 had emerged in the United States and Europe, but because millions of iPod owners were already in the iTunes

ecosystem, Apple's music store quickly became a near-monopoly for mainstream music purchases online. Its focus on downloads delayed the streaming era for a few years.

One of the events that helped push things along was the emergence of social media and recommendation technology. The first major social networking site, Friendster, was rapidly gaining members in 2003 when MySpace was launched as a rival. MySpace went on to become the first social network site with more than 100 million users, partly driven by music artists who could make streams of their music available to fans. Similarly, the launch of SoundCloud in 2007 enabled music and other audio streams from creators who wished to circumvent the main industry distribution methods. SoundCloud streams were easy to embed in websites, which a lot of blogs in the then-rapidly growing blogosphere made use of.

In 2005, Pandora Radio was launched. Since streaming music on-demand had yet to be brought to the mainstream, but Internet radio was wildly popular, Pandora placed itself in between the two. Pandora differentiated itself by playing a constant stream of music based on the listener's preferences, enabled by a proprietary recommendation engine. By 2013, Pandora claimed to have 70 million monthly users, commanding 70% of all Internet radio traffic in the United States.

Spotify, Netflix, and the À La Carte Model

Globally, digital music distribution was still entrenched in the download paradigm when Spotify launched in Sweden. Scandinavia's music rights structure is characterized less by corporate interests and more by creator-controlled rights organizations, making it easier for music streaming services to obtain music streaming licenses. The same is the case in France, which is among the reasons why three of the independent services that initially dominated the streaming music market—Spotify, TIDAL, and Deezer—were initially founded in Sweden, Norway, and France, respectively. What these, and most other music streaming services had in common, was the “à la carte” subscription model, whereby customers could stream as much music as they wanted for a low monthly fee. As a business model, the per-unit sales mattered less than the

number of paying subscribers, with the upside for the vendor being that revenue is generated automatically as long as customers feel that unsubscribing is not worth it. The benefits and stability of continuous revenue generation is seen as superior to any profit advantages presented by the more labor-intensive per-unit sales model.

The success demonstrated by particularly Spotify and Netflix as they adopted this model eventually led to the model being adopted outside the streaming media realm, fueling a great deal of the personal cloud computing trend of the 2010s and 2020s, and leading consumers to think less about *ownership* of anything from cars to gardening equipment and instead paying for *access* to it. This convenience-focused approach elevated Netflix to its position as an early leader in the streaming video market, and even its first iteration as a DVD rental-by-mail service was founded on the same principle. Netflix initially started in 1998 by offering single-DVD rentals with a per-unit rental price. The DVD would be mailed to the customer, who only had to drop it in the mail within 30 days, as opposed to going to a video store where the movie would have to be returned within 24 hours. Within a year, Netflix had shifted to a model whereby users could rent multiple DVDs at a time for a single, monthly subscription fee. By 2000, Netflix was subscription-only. As adoption of high-speed Internet connections grew, the Netflix leadership considered how the company could offer movies for on-demand streaming via the Internet. By 2005, Netflix had acquired the rights to do so for enough movies to get started.

The Breakthrough Year for Streaming Video

In 2005, streaming video became a mass-audience phenomenon. Faster Internet speeds and new compression and streaming technologies helped a streaming video market to emerge. The Flash graphics and video streaming technology from Macromedia (later Adobe) was especially instrumental, since more computers had it installed globally in 2005 than the rival players from Microsoft, Apple, and RealNetworks. In January 2005, Google launched Google Video, a streaming service whereby users could upload their own digital videos to be streamed via the Internet. A

month later, the Flash-based video site YouTube was founded with the same purpose (only to be acquired a year later by Google who merged the two services under the YouTube brand.) In March 2005, a similar site was launched in France, DailyMotion. A fourth video streaming service, Vimeo, beat all four of them by a few months, launching in November 2004. Flash has become obsolete and replaced by HTML5.

The explosive popularity of YouTube and other video sites in 2005 motivated the company to begin offering streamed feature films in early 2007. An international expansion followed, which presented an infrastructure challenge, as streaming video over such long distances can result in significant delays. This led Netflix to adopt what in 2020 is the most widely used principle for streaming media across the globe: placing the content closer to the consumer, geographically. The company lets Internet service providers host its servers, which are then filled up with new content during the less-busy nighttime in the specific region. The short distances between the local Internet service providers and the customers ensure minimal lag. In the same fashion, YouTube content, for example, is redundantly stored at multiple Google data centers around the globe, so that a user never has to receive the data stream from too far away.

The Arrival of Rivals

Several competitors emerged after Netflix's successful streaming launch, the first major one being the television content-focused Hulu, initially a collaboration of several Hollywood studios. Formerly download-based movie services such as Vudu, Amazon Prime Video, and Apple's iTunes Movie Store began offering movies for streaming rather than download, some with a similar subscription model as Netflix. Toward the end of the 2010s, such services became plentiful, especially as originally produced content became a competition parameter. Netflix launched its first, self-produced original series, *House of Cards*, which started a race among streaming services to create original, exclusive content that could attract new subscribers.

The large investments in television and movie productions across the streaming market boosted

the entertainment industry, enabled the realization of otherwise less-commercially viable projects, and eventually led studios and television production companies to launch their own streaming services with original content, including CBS All Access, Disney+, NBC Universal's Peacock, and Warner Media's HBO Max. Companies that provided the technological platforms for streaming also launched services with original content, including Sony, Microsoft, Apple, Google, and Facebook, often with little success though. In the 2010s, Google/YouTube, along with Sony, Hulu, Sling TV, and a number of smaller vendors, began offering streaming of traditional flow-TV channels and on-demand content, in apps that resemble cable television packages, but were streamed via the Internet.

The Smartphone as Production and Broadcasting Tool

Toward the end of the 2010s, streaming video became even more ubiquitous. As smartphones became more powerful, and mobile data plans provided greater bandwidth and speed, they provided the ability to record, process, and upload videos to social media platforms where they could be seen by a wide audience. This led to a rise in apps and services that hosted user-generated videos, especially in short form. One example from the United States was the 2013 launch of Twitter-owned Vine, which became so popular with its emphasis on comedic content that the Facebook-owned photo-sharing app Instagram soon began offering a similar service. Since the latter had a larger user base, Vine quickly felt the competition and was eventually shut down, forcing many of the popular creators on the platform to migrate to YouTube. In 2018, the Chinese app and social media platform TikTok rose to prominence in the West, not only by presenting a similar concept as Vine but also by offering music bites that users could record themselves lip-syncing to. The latter came as a result of TikTok's acquisition of the social media platform Musical.ly.

The convergence of social media and streaming video was also spurred on by the introduction of livestreaming video to Facebook and Twitter, through Facebook Live and Periscope, respectively. Livestreaming technologies such as these enable

smartphone users to stream video from their smartphone cameras to large audiences in real time through social media platforms. This has given rise to direct coverage of events otherwise inaccessible to news media. When Minnesota police officer Jeronimo Yanez fatally shot an African American man, Philando Castile, in 2016, the immediate aftermath was broadcast via Facebook Live by Castile's girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds. The same year, a sit-down strike by Democratic members of the U.S. House of Representatives was broadcast through Facebook Live and Twitter's Periscope as a means to circumvent an order from the then-ruling Republican majority to no longer deliver a camera feed from the chamber to news organizations. These are two early examples of what has since become a common way to cover events, whether the broadcasters consider themselves citizen journalists or professional journalists.

Livestreaming and Streamed Games

Mobile livestreams are also integral to the livestreaming creators and producers who use platforms such as Twitch to reach an audience and earn an income through affiliate marketing and sponsorships. In a tradition that harkens back to Jennifer Ringley's JenniCam activities in the 1990s, livestreamers broadcast themselves doing any number of things live to both small and large audiences. While smartphones often provide the main production tool, a majority of livestreamers broadcast from home in more or less professional environments. Thus, Amazon-owned Twitch was originally named Justin.tv and was started as a platform for lifecasting, documenting the life of tech entrepreneur Justin Kan for eight months, beginning in 2007.

It evolved into a platform for self-broadcasting, organically switching its focus to gaming over the years. Gamers would stream their screens and webcams live, as they played popular games, watched by other gamers who might admire the skills on display, root for a particular player, or pick up some tips for their own engagements with the game. Twitch grew in popularity throughout the 2010s, bolstered by the increase in eSports viewership. It now hosts livestreamers who show their talents in disciplines other than gaming, particularly music, and has spawned a number of rivals.

In the early 2020s, actual computer games transitioned to streaming. As the delay between devices in the home and big cloud computing centers diminished due to improvements in Internet speeds, CPUs, and compression technologies, it became possible to play even advanced computer games via streaming. This was not possible previously, as a computer game must react within milliseconds when the player makes a move on the controller. By the early 2020s, the process of transmitting movement data to the server and observing a change in the streamed video on the screen could happen so quickly that the player would not know the difference between running the game on his local game console or on a remote server in the cloud.

Entering the third decade of the 2000s, most mainstream digital entertainment has become streaming-based.

Morten Bay

See also Internet: Impact on Media; Livestreaming; Social Media; YouTube

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STUDENT JOURNALISM

Student journalism has evolved with new platforms and technologies, much like its professional media counterparts. In the 21st century, student media organizations at many U.S. higher education institutions have faced similar challenges with reduced funding, loss of advertising, and declining audiences. High school newspapers report fewer editions or have moved exclusively to websites or news blogs. Likewise, some college newspapers are scaling back or entirely eliminating print editions in favor of digital-only publication, and some college radio stations' licenses have been sold. Nonetheless, student journalism is seen as providing a valuable forum for experiential learning, and in some cases reporting by student journalists at the high school or college level serves as a key news resource for the wider community. This entry first reviews structures of student media organizations and the platforms they utilize. It then looks at media law affecting student journalists in the United States, and how censorship or other attempts of oversight and control affect student journalists and the work they produce.

Student Journalism in High School and Higher Education

Student journalism, in the form of campus newspapers, existed well before formal journalism courses and programs. Today, at high schools and in higher education, student journalism occurs in both extracurricular and curricular classroom settings, across a wide variety of platforms. Student

newspapers, radio stations, television outlets, podcasts, magazines, apps, and digital websites provide students experiential learning opportunities. Sometimes, the journalism performed is under faculty supervision and editing as part of a course or practicum. In other cases, it functions under the guidance of a faculty adviser to an extracurricular student media organization, with school or student government funding. At some colleges and universities, however, student media outlets are fiercely independent—both financially and editorially.

Student journalism organizations often strive to recreate professional-style newsrooms, reach audiences, cover their communities, break news, and master the tools, skills, and evolving platforms of the profession. These organizations have also had to confront the technical and financial challenges that have riven professional media. Increasingly, student newspapers have decreased or even eliminated costly print editions in favor of reaching audiences on digital platforms. For example, in 2019, American University's *The Eagle* transitioned to printing just once a semester, while continuing to regularly provide student journalism online. And in 2020, the 110-year-old University of Maryland student newspaper *The Diamondback*, transitioned to an online-only publication after dwindling advertising and expanding online readership. At the same time, student journalism organizations have embraced podcasts, social media channels, and other emerging platforms. For example, in 2015, the student newspaper at California's Mt. San Antonio College moved its print newspaper entirely to Twitter and the blogging platform Medium.

In radio and broadcast, colleges and universities have been increasingly selling off valuable Federal Communications Commission licenses to existing networks such as National Public Radio, or other media conglomerates, because of the value of the asset, the cost of running stations, and the burden of Federal Communications Commission compliance and possible fines. Since 2010, both large and small higher education institutions have sold licenses—sometimes for millions of dollars, for example: Brown University, the University of San Francisco, Vanderbilt University, Rice University, Georgia State, and Gadsden State Community College. As administrators

have sold off broadcast licenses, increasingly college and university radio stations have turned to online streaming, whether they have an FM license or not, as younger audiences prefer these digital platforms.

The financial struggles of professional media, while mirrored in student-run journalism organizations, have also proved to be areas of opportunity. In some areas, as thousands of professional community newspapers have shuttered, student journalists have taken the lead in community coverage. For example, student-run *The Michigan Daily* has been the only daily newspaper in the city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, since 2009, covering both the city and the University of Michigan. In addition, student journalists are increasingly staffing statehouse bureaus and some institutions, including the University of Maryland, Arizona State University, and Northwestern University, operate student-staffed news bureaus in Washington, D.C., providing coverage of the U.S. Congress for local media outlets that no longer have Washington correspondents.

Censorship, Control, and Student Journalism

Student journalists in the United States, like their professional counterparts, rely on the protections of the First Amendment. Recent court rulings on student press freedom are inconsistent, however. The clearest direction from the U.S. Supreme Court is that any censorship of student journalism—at either the high school or college level—must be based on legitimate pedagogical concerns and may not exclusively be content-based and viewpoint-based.

A major ruling by the Supreme Court on student media, in 1988, limited the First Amendment protection for student journalists in K–12 schools. In *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*, the court ruled that in the case of school-sponsored, curricular student publications at K–12 schools, administrators could regulate style and content “reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns.” Since *Hazelwood*, K–12 school administrators have used prior restraint or prior review to read high school student media publications before they are published, and censor student journalism prepublication.

Administrators’ censorship has also extended to digital platforms and social media channels utilized by students. Since the *Hazelwood* ruling, some courts have applied this standard to college publications as well. In recent years, several states have passed “New Voices” legislation, explicitly protecting the First Amendment rights of student journalists and counteracting the impact of *Hazelwood*. Although it varies state by state, “New Voices” legislation generally seeks to protect high school journalists from the reach of *Hazelwood*, by reverting to a prior Supreme Court standard established in *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969), which protects student speech unless it creates a clear and present danger or a substantial disruption to the school. “New Voices” legislation often also seeks to explicitly extend this protection to journalists at both public and private colleges and universities.

Aside from outright censorship or editorial influence, external control over student journalism is also exercised by cutting—or threatening to cut—student media funding, according to the Student Press Law Center. For example, in the wake of investigative reporting by Wichita State University’s student newspaper, the Student Government Association approved dramatic reduction in *The Sunflower’s* annual funding. Other schools have reported administration-approved funding cuts, as well as elimination of faculty adviser’s pay or student journalists’ salaries, according to the Student Press Law Center. However, research indicates that higher education journalism programs accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism in Mass Communication at most public institutions had official rules governing student journalism freedoms and were not experiencing censorship issues.

Jacqueline Soteropoulos Incollingo

See also Censorship; Digital Distribution; Internships and Training Programs; Journalism Education; Supreme Court and Journalism

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STUNT JOURNALISM

Stunt journalism was a style of journalism common in the 19th century that involved the journalist's immersion in a story, sometimes under a false identity. Although often disparaged as little more than sensational storytelling, the history of stunt journalism is far more complicated as the way it is perceived is often a consequence of its results. As such, journalists who have engaged in it often found themselves either hailed as societal reformers or dismissed as little more than con artists or paparazzi who manipulated events to fit the narrative they wanted to tell in their stories. Even so,

the practice has informed the development of journalism and shades of it still exist today. This entry discusses some notable examples of stunt journalism and successor forms to this style of journalism.

What Is Stunt Journalism?

As a technique, stunt journalism is a practice that cuts across traditional journalistic beats, such as government, crime, or sports reporting, and is used to entice readers to follow a given story. Stunt journalism has more to do with the journalist's process of getting and writing a story than it does with the topic being covered. Problems can occur whenever journalists place themselves in a story and become part of the narrative they are covering, which is exactly what often happens with stunt journalism. The line between the journalist and the story become blurred, which can result in concern that truth is being manipulated.

The practice of using stunts in journalism was one of the reporting techniques used in what is often referred to as the *new journalism* of the late 19th century. The heyday for stunt reporting in the United States occurred in the decades following the Civil War, although it remained prevalent into the early 20th century. In general, the one attribute most early stunt journalism stories had in common was that they were found in what were often considered more sensational publications, such as the *New York Herald* and the *New York Journal*.

Prominent publishers such as James Gordon Bennett Jr., William Randolph Hearst, and Joseph Pulitzer used stunts as another way to grow their circulation and maintain their dominance in the post-Civil War newspaper realm. Journalism historian Frank Luther Mott and others considered stunt journalism to be exploitative and often referred to it as *surreptitious* or *undercover* reporting, as it most often required a reporter to don disguises or find other ways to misrepresent who they were and what they were doing. It was this deception that Mott and other journalism scholars have found distasteful and damaging to the craft of journalism.

Although stunt journalism is often framed as a style of journalism using various duplicitous

reporting practices to gather information for a story, there were limits assigned to it. Stunt journalism was considered, especially by publishers who championed its use, far different from such made-up stories as the “Moon Hoax,” a series of false articles published in Benjamin Day’s *New York Sun* in 1835. Stories using stunts usually were not based on a completely false narrative founded on a lie for their premise. Instead, they focused on real-life stories that, for whatever reason, the publishers felt their readers would follow more closely if they had information not readily available to the public. Importantly, the publishers also believed interest in these stories had the potential to increase circulation and draw in greater numbers of subscribers. Despite questions over the methodology of gathering information, successful stunts often revolved around real societal ills that publishers and reporters thought needed to be brought to the public’s attention.

Notable Examples of Stunt Journalism

One of the first acknowledged examples of stunt journalism was in the early 1870s when Bennett sent one of his young *New York Herald* reporters, Henry Morton Stanley, to go to Africa to search for a famously missing doctor, David Livingstone. The search took Stanley more than 2 years, but he eventually found Livingstone and included in his reports the famous greeting that is still part of popular culture today, “Dr. Livingstone, I presume?” Bennett’s idea paid off handsomely and Stanley’s stories about his pursuit of Livingstone garnered great excitement among newspaper readers of the day.

Nellie Bly

Not to be outdone, Joseph Pulitzer and his *New York World* also engaged in stunt journalism and were always looking for ways to best their competitors. Nellie Bly appeared at a most opportune moment when she managed to work her way into the offices of Colonel John Cockerill, the managing editor of the *World*. Bly offered her services and some story ideas, but when they met again the story they discussed was one based on complaints the paper had received

about patient treatment at the Women’s Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell’s Island. Bly’s task would be to gain access to the asylum to report on the rumors of bad treatment. Although there are conflicting narratives as to whether it was Cockerill, Bly, or Pulitzer who floated the story, there is no question that Bly agreed to go after it. To do so, she changed her name to Nellie Brown and pretended to be insane in order to have herself committed. She spent 10 days in the institution, gathering information and carefully concealing her notes, before Cockerill arranged for her release. In October 1887, her first articles on the conditions and mistreatment of the patients at the asylum ran under the headline “Behind Asylum Bars” and were an instant success. Readers clamored to know more, and the stories so shocked their sensitivities that reforms were instituted as a result.

Bly’s next endeavor for Pulitzer’s paper was lighter as she made her way around the world in 72 days, a race inspired by Jules Verne’s book, *Around the World in Eighty Days*. It was a stunt that resulted in a copycat attempt by Elizabeth Bisland for *Cosmopolitan*, but Bly beat Bisland’s time handily. By this time, Bly’s stunts had made her a household name and she went on to use her fame to continue writing stories of social ills, especially those affecting conditions for working women and girls. These stories, especially her expose on Blackwell’s Island, later earned her mention as one of the earliest muckrakers who broke new ground with their investigative reporting.

William Randolph Hearst

William Randolph Hearst, who was not about to be overshadowed by his nemesis, Pulitzer, also went about arranging stunts for his own papers, which he liked to refer to as *journalism of action*. One of the most famous instances involved a *New York Journal* correspondent, Karl Decker, who Hearst sent to Cuba to arrange for the escape of a 19-year-old political prisoner, Evangelina Cisneros, from a jail in Havana. It was a huge success, although there was some pointed criticism, especially from other newspapers, that Hearst had crossed the line and moved from journalism coverage to political activism.

Sob Sisters

As the 20th century came to a close, more women were finding their way onto newspaper pages, and stunt journalism was often a lucrative way to do it. Bly's work had proven that women were able to succeed in the newspaper world and that they often could get stories or provide different perspectives from those of their male counterparts. As their copy often presented stories in a highly emotional narrative, many of these women earned the moniker of *sob sisters*. For these women, their *stunts* often revolved around their ability to befriend criminals, victims, and their families to offer more personal coverage of crimes and tragedies with more intimate details. Even though they were becoming more accepted, such reporting still carried negative connotations for women, so many of them took on pen names to hide their identity. Two of the best-known female journalists to do so were Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer, who used the pen name Dorothy Dix, and Winifred Sweet Black Bonfils, known as Annie Laurie.

Upton Sinclair

As the new century began, notable journalists such as Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, and Ida Tarbell advanced the investigative aspect of the journalism craft. They became known as *muck-rakers* and were interested in promoting a progressive agenda in their works, which focused on societal concerns over poverty, class, and capitalism. For the reporting of his book *The Jungle*, Sinclair used a stunt similar to Nellie Bly's and took a job in a Chicago meatpacking plant so he could document the harsh working conditions of the workers there. His book changed the sanitary conditions of the plants but did not have as much of an impact on the workers' lives as he had hoped.

Successors to Stunt Journalism

In the mid-to-latter part of the 20th century, journalism styles emerged that clearly had their roots in stunt journalism. One, Gonzo journalism, gained popularity beginning in the 1970s with the work of Hunter S. Thompson. With the Gonzo

style, the journalist becomes a part of the story and writes it in the first person. These types of stories make no journalistic claims of objectivity and are more aligned with commentary than straight reporting. Although this type of reporting often does highlight societal flaws and dilemmas, the journalist becoming a large part of the story separates it somewhat from stunt journalism. Thompson had a very edgy style, which gave rise to his popularity in a period of great upheaval, with Watergate and the Vietnam War playing a part in the backdrop.

The practice of journalists taking jobs under false pretenses, as Bly and Sinclair had done, became riskier after a 1999 court decision in *Food Lion, Inc. v. Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.* The case revolved around two reporters for the ABC show *Prime Time Live* who went undercover as Food Lion employees to investigate unsanitary food conditions. The two used hidden cameras to document their story for the couple of weeks they worked there. In the ensuing lawsuit, filed in 1995, Food Lion initially won damages, but most of those were overturned. Even so, in 1999, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit ruled that the reporters were guilty of trespass and that the First Amendment did not protect them from those charges. The ruling set a precedent that would make it difficult for a journalist to use a similar stunt for a story. This type of journalism, where a reporter assumes another identity, is not considered ethical in most cases and can often work to erode confidence in journalistic standards.

More recent tactics include reporters who are immersed in their story, but only in ways in which they identify themselves and their purpose. In 2003, journalist Adrian Nicole LeBlanc published her narrative nonfiction book, *Random Family: Love, Drugs, Trouble, and Coming of Age in the Bronx*. The book was the culmination of more than a decade of research where LeBlanc immersed herself in the lives of two teen girls and their extended family to document the struggles they faced growing up in a vicious cycle of drugs, poverty, and prison. LeBlanc's success in reporting and writing the book was due in large part to her ability to remain neutral in the telling of the story. At no point did LeBlanc misrepresent herself or her project to those on

whom she was reporting. Everyone understood that she was chronicling their lives, and LeBlanc said that she became simply another part of the environment, unnoticed for the most part, but very much in the present.

Dianne M. Bragg

See also Bly, Nellie; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Sensationalism

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SUNSHINE LAWS

In the United States, the term *sunshine law* is typically used to refer to state laws providing for public access to government meetings and public records as well as to the Government in the Sunshine Act (5 U.S.C. 552b), which governs access to business meetings of some 50 federal agencies, commissions, and boards. The Government in the Sunshine Act was signed into law on September 13, 1976, by President Gerald Ford. The legislation was sponsored by Senator Lawton Chiles (D-Florida) and Rep. Bella Abzug (D-NY) and was modeled on the earlier Florida Sunshine Act. This entry discusses the Government in the Sunshine Act, state sunshine laws, and new challenges to government transparency.

Government in the Sunshine Act

Passed partly in response to the Watergate scandal, the Government in the Sunshine Act and other anti-secrecy measures were enacted to make sure that government agencies deliberations were open to public scrutiny. The Government in the Sunshine Act works in concert with the Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972, which required that meetings of federal advisory committees serving the executive branch be open to public observation.

The Government in the Sunshine Act calls for all agencies “headed by a collegial body composed of two or more individual members . . . and any subdivision thereof authorized” acting on behalf of a federal agency to open business meetings to public observation. While it does not stipulate that an agency must hold meetings, it does include procedural requirements that must be followed when the organization, board, or commission decides to meet, either in open or closed session. The law does not apply to Congress. While sessions for the House of Representatives are typically open, the Senate occasionally holds closed meetings to discuss treaties or personnel issues.

Generally, agencies must make a public announcement giving at least 1 week notice prior to each meeting. The notice must provide the time, place, and subject of the meeting. In addition, the agency must provide the name and phone number

of a designated official or contact information regarding whether the meeting is to be open or closed. According to the law, meetings cannot be presumptively closed. To close a meeting, a board or commission covered by the law must vote in advance and make a written copy of the vote available to the public. A majority of the board or commission must vote in favor of closure and must also provide a full written explanation of its actions for closing part or all of a meeting.

The law provides for a limited number of exemptions under which meetings can be closed. The exemptions are similar to those included in the Freedom of Information Act; they can be summarized as:

1. Issues of national defense and foreign policy
2. Discussion of internal personnel rules and practices
3. Statutory exemptions provided under law
4. Proprietary information that would injure parties if made public
5. Accusation of crime or formal censure
6. Personal privacy
7. Investigatory records such as those collected by law enforcement
8. Financial institution reports
- 9a. Financial speculation and stability
- 9b. Frustration of proposed agency action
10. Issuance of subpoena, participation in civil action or proceeding, or formal agency adjudication

When an agency decides to close a meeting, the agency's general counsel must certify that the closure falls under one of the exemptions enumerated in the law. Some executive agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, hold many closed meetings because much of its work encompasses issues that fall under Exemption 10. Lastly, agencies must provide Congress with an annual report regarding their policies, an accounting of the number of meetings held, and whether exemptions applied to the meetings.

In addition to providing rules for conducting federal agency meetings, Section 4 of the legislation enacts a general prohibition on *ex parte* communication between government agency decision makers and other outside interested parties. This section of the law was included as a result of

recommendations by the American Bar Association. The provisions of Section 4 apply to all executive agencies, regardless of whether they are headed by a board or an administrator.

The law requires that the agency keep a copy of the minutes of closed meetings for a minimum of 2 years. While the presumption of closure may be challenged by anyone through the federal district courts, the courts have generally interpreted the law strictly. In one example, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled in 1985 that the law did not apply to the president's Council of Economic Advisors since the purpose of the council was strictly advisory. However, many examples illustrate the significance of the law. The law has opened the door for gavel-to-gavel coverage of important hearings and meetings on C-SPAN and has paved the way for creating electronic databases for services such as Congress.gov (formerly Thomas), a source for federal legislative information.

The law is not without detractors. Critics of the Sunshine Act assert that opening meetings has a tendency of subverting truly open debate at meetings since the participants may be concerned that their remarks will be transcribed or broadcast. Also, because meetings are open, many chairs of agencies and commissions are reluctant to bring an item to the floor unless they are sure of the outcome of a vote.

Journalists frequently complain that commission and agency meetings often seem scripted, with commissioners reading from prepared statements and voting in predetermined ways. Others have pointed to unintended consequences of the law. In 1995, Stephen Calkins, then general counsel to the Federal Trade Commission, noted that when two justices or judges are in discussions on how to reconcile divergent views, they could ask another judge sitting on a case to join the discussion. The Sunshine Act prevents commissioners at federal agencies from such informal discussions whenever the number of participants would constitute a quorum, such as at the Federal Communications Commission. As a result, critics point out that administrators can resort to using memos or deputizing aides to meet in a commissioner's place as examples of circumventing the Sunshine Act. Today, with growing concern over individual

privacy, agencies need to balance public accountability without harming individual privacy rights.

State Sunshine Laws

Since the 1970s, most states have passed parallel legislation designed to open state and local government agencies to same level of scrutiny required in the federal law. All 50 states have enacted open meetings laws, but it is difficult to make generalizations about the success of these laws. In 2015, the Center for Public Integrity ranked each state's public records law and found that most states fared poorly because of many exemptions and loopholes. The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press concluded that the best laws are those that define a meeting by specifying the number of members of the board, agency, or commission who must be present to constitute a quorum.

Similar to the federal law, most state open meetings statutes provide for closed meetings or "executive sessions" in cases where personnel matters or invasion of privacy may be at issue. Other reasons for meeting in "executive session" may include issues of public safety and labor negotiations. Most states include a provision in their legislation that bars any final actions from being adopted in "executive session." Therefore, boards or commission must reconvene in public before adopting a final determination. Similar to the federal legislation, most open meetings statutes require a notification to the public as to when a meeting is to be held. The notification must be given far enough in advance so that interested parties can attend and most laws provide for actions to be taken if the law is violated.

Rapid advances in electronic communications have had a major impact on government transparency. For example, the Florida Sunshine Law mandates that cities keep a permanent record of all emails sent or received by public employees. The North Dakota law defines all email correspondence as a meeting and requires that emails to and from public officials must be made public upon request. Some states have enacted "sunshine laws" that require reporting of the amounts of money or emoluments that pharmaceutical companies pay physicians in connection with marketing activities related to new prescription drugs. One study in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*

found that reporting in some cases was spotty and that companies failed to provide specific information identifying the recipients of gifts.

Challenges to Transparency

As government administration evolves so do issues related to sunshine laws. New capabilities to engage the public through technology can provide more access for citizens; however, with the increasing use of private contractors for some traditional government functions, to whom open records laws apply becomes a legitimate question. There are also questions over the applicability of open meetings and open records laws to electronic data collection and the use of electronic memoranda.

Fritz Messere

See also Congress and Journalism; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Government, Federal, U.S., Coverage of; Government, State, U.S., Coverage of; Secrecy and Leaks

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SUPREME COURT AND JOURNALISM

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution reads in part, “Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.” But what does this statement mean? Clearly “no law” does not really mean “no law” as there are a wide variety of laws in the United States that impact expression, including the expression of journalists.

While the words of the First Amendment appear to be simple, decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court have created a complex body of law and added meaning to the basic statement “Congress shall make no law.” Adopted in 1791, the amendment now provides sometimes robust protection for journalists, although the U.S. Supreme Court has not always ruled the way journalists would like. It is also important to note that despite the wording of the “press clause,” the Supreme Court has never granted journalists more First Amendment rights than other individuals. The First Amendment applies equally to journalists and nonjournalists alike. The amendment does not provide an institutional right to “the press.”

Historically, the Court has attempted to balance the rights of journalists to gather and disseminate news with the rights of others. This includes the right to privacy and reputation, the right to a fair trial, the need for the government to keep some information classified, and the right of the government to maintain safety during protests.

Early Restrictions on the Press

In 1798, the United States passed its first law punishing journalists for their work. Intense rivalry between President John Adams’s Federalist Party and Thomas Jefferson’s Republican Party (sometimes called the *Jeffersonian Party*), together with a growing fear of a possible war with France, led

the Federalist-controlled Congress to pass the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The sedition law prohibited and punished false, scandalous, and malicious publications about the U.S. government, Congress, and the president. Notice it did not apply to criticism of Vice President Thomas Jefferson. The law punished such expression with a \$2,000 fine and a jail term of up to 2 years. The law was used to punish publishers of pro-Jefferson newspapers, many of which engaged in vicious attacks against President Adams. Of the 15 prosecutions under the law, eight were editors of Jeffersonian newspapers. Imagine today, Congress passing a law that said it was illegal to criticize Republicans but not Democrats and using it to jail the editors of *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*. The law did not quiet criticism, however. In fact, the law provoked dissension among President Adams’s supporters, and scholars have even argued it was a key factor in the election of 1800 when Adams lost to Jefferson.

Did the law violate the First Amendment? The Supreme Court never ruled on the law, but three members of the Court heard Sedition Act cases while riding circuit. All three justices held the Act was constitutional. The Act expired in 1801. Newly elected President Jefferson pardoned everyone convicted under the law and Congress eventually repaid all of the fines.

The First Amendment Takes Shape

Between the nation’s founding and the early 1900s, the legal meaning of the First Amendment developed little and the guarantees of freedom of speech and the press were of limited value. There were few cases and almost no important First Amendment decisions by the Supreme Court before 1919 when the Court started hearing cases involving the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918. The Espionage Act dealt with espionage problems, but some parts of the law were specifically designed to punish dissent and opposition to World War I. The Sedition Act, an amendment to the Espionage Act, made it a crime to attempt to obstruct military recruiting and to print, write, or publish disloyal or profane language that was intended to cause contempt of, or scorn for, the federal government, the Constitution, the flag, or the uniform of the Armed

Services. Cases involving these federal laws and other state laws designed to punish dissent, socialists, and communist sympathizers, such as *Schenck v. United States* (1919), *Abrams v. United States* (1919), and *Whitney v. California* (1927), would form the foundation of First Amendment law in the United States. It is important to note, however, that the Court was still years away from articulating a robust understanding of freedom of expression and the defendants in these cases did not win. Many went to jail for their beliefs and writings.

In 1925, the Court took an important step in advancing First Amendment rights in *Gitlow v. New York*. As noted earlier, the First Amendment reads “Congress” shall make no law. Read literally, this seems to suggest the amendment applies only to acts of U.S. Congress. This was the Court’s approach to the entire Bill of Rights for years. In *Gitlow*, however, the Court ruled that the First Amendment also applied to actions of state governments. The case involved the prosecution of Benjamin Gitlow for printing *The Left-Wing Manifesto*, a document that reviewed the rise of Socialism, condemned “moderate Socialism,” and advocated the necessity of accomplishing a “Communist Revolution.” In this case, the Court linked the First Amendment to the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The 14th Amendment guarantees that “no state” shall “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” In *Gitlow* the Court ruled that the 14th Amendment’s use of the term *liberty* incorporates (or includes) freedom of speech. Thus, the Court ruled that portions of the Bill of Rights place limits on the actions of state and local governments as well as the federal government. This doctrine is known as *incorporation*. Over the years, the Court has incorporated many of the provisions of the Bill of Rights, but the right to freedom of expression was the first.

Prior Restraints

Prior restraints—or prepublication reviews or censorship—have long been considered the most odious restriction on freedom of expression. Prior restraints can come in many forms. Most obvious are instances in which the government insists on giving prior approval before

publication or broadcast or when the government simply bans the publication or broadcast of a specific kind of content or material. Prior restraint also occurs when courts ban the publication or broadcast of certain materials before a trial. They also occur if a court tries to preemptively block the publication of material that is considered defamatory or an invasion of privacy. Some laws provide for stopping the publication of material that violates another’s copyright.

The Court has set barriers for the use of prior restraints in many of these situations. In 1931, in *Near v. Minnesota*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that the primary purpose of the First Amendment was to stop the use of prior restraints. The case involved the publishers of a small Minnesota weekly newspaper called the *Saturday Press*. Jay M. Near and Howard Guilford were self-proclaimed reformers who repeatedly accused local officials of letting “Jewish gangsters” control gambling, bootlegging, and racketeering in Minneapolis. They also alleged that law enforcement agencies were not performing their duties. They made these charges using highly inflammatory language. They were ordered to stop publishing under a Minnesota state public nuisance statute that empowered a court to issue an injunction to stop the publication of any obscene, lewd, lascivious, malicious, scandalous, or defamatory publication. The only way Near or Guilford could publish another newspaper was to convince the government that their newspaper would be published in the public good and would contain no objectionable material. In 1928, the Minnesota Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law, declaring that under the statute’s broad powers, the state could regulate public nuisances including defamatory and scandalous newspapers.

On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the ruling and declared the law unconstitutional. The statute, the Court wrote, was not designed to redress wrongs after the fact. Instead, the statute was designed to directly suppress the newspaper once and for all. The object of the law was not punishment. It was censorship. And the primary purpose of the First Amendment was to stop prior restraints, although the Court wrote that prior restraints might be permissible in some

circumstances such as obscenity, incitement to violence, and information related to military operations during times of war.

Another momentous opinion about prior restraints came from the Court in 1971 in *New York Times v. United States*, a case now known as *the Pentagon Papers Case*. The case began when in the summer of 1971, *The New York Times*, followed by *The Washington Post* and a handful of other newspapers, started publishing a series of articles based on copies of a classified 47-volume government study of the United States' history in the Vietnam Conflict. Officially titled "History of the United States Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy," the top-secret document was leaked to the press in violation of national security law. When *The New York Times* refused to stop publishing the articles after being asked to by Attorney General John Mitchell, the government asked a court to issue an injunction to stop publication. A temporary restraining order was issued by the court against *The New York Times*. When *The Washington Post* started publishing similar articles, the government sought another injunction from a different court.

As the cases quickly made their way through the court system, the government made a number of arguments. First, it argued that publishing the material violated federal espionage statutes. When that didn't work, the government argued the president had the inherent power under the U.S. Constitution to conduct foreign affairs and protect national security, which included the right to stop the unauthorized publication of classified information. When this argument also failed to satisfy the courts, the government next argued the publication of classified information could irreparably harm the nation and the government's ability to conduct national affairs. The newspapers, on the other hand, argued that the government's classification system was flawed and that the government classified and declassified documents frequently, sometimes to sway public opinion or to influence a reporter's story. Second, the papers argued injunctions against publication violated the First Amendment. Finally, *The New York Times* lawyer, Alexander Bickel, argued that the government's action violated the separation of power under the U.S. Constitution. If Congress had never passed a law banning the publication of national security

information by a newspaper, that was not the job of the judiciary.

The Court ruled in favor of the newspapers. In a very short opinion, a majority of the Court wrote that prior restraints were presumed to be unconstitutional and that the government had not met the heavy burden to justify a prior restraint. The government had not established that the publication of the information would damage national security, only that it might. Bans on publication are presumed to be unconstitutional under the First Amendment. In this case, the government had failed to prove the ban was necessary to protect the nation. The Court did not say that prior restraints were always unconstitutional, however. It said the government had not shown why this injunction was needed. Thus, the decision fell short of the absolute declaration against prior restraints some hoped for.

The Court has also weighed in on judicial orders designed to prevent prejudicial information about trials from being published. Judges have long tried to compensate for prejudicial pretrial publicity using various remedies. As the mass media—especially cable TV channels and Internet blogs—have begun to cover sensational trials more and more, judges have continued to look for ways to stop information about trials from reaching the public. While some of these—voir dire (or jury selection), a change of venue, admonitions to the jury, sequestration of the jury—have no impact on the First Amendment rights of journalists, others do. When these other measures fail to prevent coverage of a trial some judges worry about the defendant's right to a fair trial and will use court orders, called *restrictive orders* or *gag orders*, on the press. These orders limit what journalists can say and can sometimes even be so sweeping that they prevent journalists from commenting on a case at all. Such orders raise serious First Amendment concerns.

In 1975, the U.S. Supreme Court heard a case involving a gag order on the press as part of a sensational murder trial and, eventually, set limits on when a gag order aimed at the press is constitutional. Erwin Simants was arrested and charged with the murder of all six members of the Kellie family in Sutherland, Nebraska, a town of 850 people. The search for and arrest of Simants drew attention from local and national news outlets. The media reported that Simants confessed and

reported the grisly details of the crime, including speculation (later confirmed) that Simants had sexually assaulted some of the victims. Local judge Hugh Stuart responded to this unwanted attention by issuing a restrictive order that barred the press from publishing or broadcasting information about Simants's confession or any other statement made by Simants, contents of a note Simants wrote the night of the crimes, testimony from pretrial hearings, information related to the sexual assaults, or information about the gag order itself. The order as modified by the Nebraska Supreme Court prohibited reporting of only three matters: (1) the existence and nature of any confessions or admissions made by the defendant to law enforcement officers, (2) any confessions or admissions made to any third parties, except members of the press, and (3) other facts "strongly implicative" of Simants. The order was to be enforced until the jury was chosen. The press in the state appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1976, in *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, a unanimous Supreme Court ruled Judge Stuart's order was an unconstitutional prior restraint of the press. Four justices—Potter Stewart, William Brennan, Thurgood Marshall, and John Paul Stevens—said this kind of restrictive order against the press could never be unconstitutional. Four other justices—Warren Burger, Harry Blackmun, William Rehnquist, and Lewis Powell—said that such orders were permissible in extraordinary circumstances. Justice Bryon White wrote there was really no reason why the Court should decide in this case whether other orders might be permissible. White, however, joined Chief Justice Burger's opinion establishing a test for when restrictive orders aimed at the press are constitutional. Under this test, called the *Nebraska Press Association* test, an order could be constitutional if a court shows there is (1) intense and pervasive publicity concerning the case, (2) there are no other alternatives that might mitigate the effects of the pretrial publicity, and (3) the restrictive order would in fact effectively prevent prejudicial material from reaching potential jurors. In Simants's case, the Court's majority opinion held there was no evidence that Judge Stuart's order would effectively prevent material from reaching potential jurors.

The small Nebraska community was already filled with rumors about Simants and what he had told police.

The traditional approach in U.S. law is that courts should not issue an injunction (court order) to stop the publication of an allegedly libelous statement before it occurs. The preferred approach in U.S. law, discussed in the next section, is to allow the allegedly libelous statement to be published and then to sue for monetary damages. Once a statement has been judicially determined to be libelous, however, some courts then allow an injunction prohibiting the defendant in the case from repeating the statement to be libelous. In addition, although prior restraints against Internet sites are generally ineffective because once information is posted on the web it can be copied and spread with ease, some research suggests courts are becoming more willing to issue injunctions against defendants who publish libelous material on the Internet.

Reporting on Public Officials, Public Figures, and Matters of Public Concern

Over the years, the Supreme Court has established strong protections for journalists when they report on government officials, public figures, or when they cover matters of public concern. These protections come from cases involving defamation, certain forms of invasion of privacy, and lawsuits involving intentional infliction of emotional distress. These protections can be extremely important when journalists are covering politicians, candidates for political office, famous individuals, individuals involved in public controversies, and matters that are important to the public, sometimes called *matters of public concern*.

Defamation is a tort or a civil wrong that attempts to redress damages to reputation. Defamation is a statement of fact that exposes the victim to hatred, ridicule, or contempt. Libelous statements are written and distributed. Historically, libel was most applicable to print media like newspapers, pamphlets, and books; however, in recent years, this is typically the standard for Internet communications as well. Slander is spoken defamation. The elements of a defamation lawsuit have different standards, depending on if the plaintiff is considered a private individual, a

public official, or a public figure. For example, if a defamatory statement is made about a private individual by another private individual regarding a private matter, there is less constitutional protection for the statements. However, if a defamatory statement is made about a public figure regarding a matter of public interest, the statement will have heightened constitutional protections.

Throughout the mid-20th century, the Supreme Court worked to articulate these fundamentals of defamation law. The Court began the process of constitutionalizing the law of libel in 1964 in *New York Times v. Sullivan*. L. B. Sullivan claimed *The New York Times* had libeled him in a full-page advertisement that had been taken out by a group of Black clergymen from the state of Alabama. In its landmark decision, the Court held that the First Amendment requires a public official libel plaintiff to prove, with convincing clarity, that the defamatory statement was published with “actual malice.” Actual malice means that a statement is published with knowledge of the statement’s falsity or with reckless disregard for the truth. Later that year, the Court applied the actual malice fault requirement to criminal libel actions brought as the result of criticism of public officials.

In 1967, in the companion cases *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker*, the Court held that “public figures” would also need to show actual malice to win libel actions. Neither plaintiff in *Butts* or *Walker* was a government official or employee. Both, however, were in the public eye, or what the Court called a *public figure*. In a concurring opinion, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that the actual malice fault standard—knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard for the truth—should apply to both public figures and public officials. The Chief Justice reasoned that both categories of individuals “often play an influential role in ordering society” and, importantly, have “ready access” to the media “both to influence policy and to counter criticism of their views and activities.”

In *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.* (1974), the Court broke down “public figures” into two primary categories. The first category, all-purpose public figures, included individuals who, based on their fame or notoriety, are public figures in every aspect of their life. The Court defined a second type of public figure as individuals who make the

conscious decision to enter the public sphere and engage in a topic the Court called a *public controversy*. These individuals, known as *limited-purpose public figures*, were defined by the Court as individuals who “have thrust themselves to the forefront of particular public controversies in order to influence the resolution of the issues involved.” In either situation, public figures invite attention and comment.

In *Gertz*, the Court ruled that public officials and public figures must prove actual malice to prevail in libel suits while private individuals must prove at least negligence, with the states free to establish a higher standard of fault for private persons if they chose. The lower fault standard for private individuals, however, applied only to the awarding of compensatory damages. All plaintiffs, public and private, would have to prove actual malice to recover presumed or punitive damages, which are typically much larger than compensatory damages if the defamatory statements were about a matter of public concern.

The Court has also ruled that in defamation cases involving public figures or matters of public concern, the plaintiff has the burden of proving a statement was false. In *Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc. v. Hepps*, a 1986 case involving allegations, the plaintiff was involved in criminal activity, the Supreme Court ruled journalists do not have to prove their statements were true whenever they are covering public figures or when they are publishing information about private individuals so long as the subject matter of the allegedly defamatory statements involved a matter of public concern. Instead, the plaintiff would have to prove the statement was false. However, the Court has never defined “matters of public concern,” although the phrase appears in a wide variety of cases involving speech by government employees, intentional infliction of emotional distress, invasion of privacy, and other areas of communication law.

In 1967, the Court applied similar protections to a false light invasion of privacy suits. False light invasion of privacy suits allows plaintiffs to sue when another publicizes material that places the plaintiff in a false light that would be highly offensive to a reasonable person and the publisher of the material was at fault when the publication was made. Unlike defamation, in a false light case, the plaintiff is not suing for damage to reputation.

Instead, they are suing for the damage caused to their right to be left alone. The plaintiff must prove the statements about them were false, caused them humiliation or embarrassment, and the defendant was at fault for publicizing the material. In *Time, Inc. v. Hill*, the Court ruled that plaintiffs must prove actual malice—knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard for the truth when suing for “false reports of matters of public interest.” The Court did not say what standard was required when reporting on private matters and has yet to answer this question definitively.

Finally, in 1988, in *Hustler v. Falwell*, the Court applied a similar standard to suits for intentional infliction of emotional distress. The lawsuit started when *Hustler* magazine published a parody of a series of ads for Campari liqueur. In the real ads, celebrities would discuss the first time they tried Campari. The print ads, however, had very strong sexual overtones as the subject talked about their “first time” in the fake interviews. Although it was apparent by the end of the ads that the celebrity was talking about their first time drinking the liqueur, the ads played on the sexual double entendre of the general subject of “first times.” In the *Hustler* parody, however, in a fictitious interview about his “first time,” the Rev. Jerry Falwell, an evangelical preacher who in the 1980s led a group called the *Moral Majority*, described an incestuous encounter with his mother in an outhouse. He was also portrayed as a drunkard who often preached while intoxicated.

Falwell sued the magazine and was awarded \$200,000 in damages by the jury for intentional infliction of emotional distress. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed and ruled in favor of *Hustler* magazine and its publisher, Larry Flynt. The Court ruled that for a public figure or public official to win an emotional distress case, the plaintiff would have to prove the defendant made a false statement of fact that was published with knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard for the truth. In this case, because *Hustler* made no statements of fact about Falwell (the ad was a fictitious parody, after all), he could not collect damages. While many journalists may not approve of *Hustler* magazine or its depiction of Falwell, the decision adds an important layer of protection for media outlets that publish political satire, parody, or outrageous commentary. In 2017, for example,

John Oliver of HBO’s *Last Week Tonight With John Oliver* won a lawsuit over Oliver’s coverage of the coal industry because of the failure to prove actual malice.

Protections for Newsgathering

The Supreme Court has been less protective of the First Amendment right to gather information than it has been of the right to disseminate information. For example, the Court has been asked three times to give reporters a First Amendment right to gather news in a prison or jail. In *Pell v. Procunier*, decided in 1974, reporters in California asked to interview specific inmates in California’s prison system. In a companion case, *Saxbe v. Washington Post*, reporters from a newspaper asked to interview specific inmates in federal prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in Danbury, Connecticut. Journalists, along with the public, could tour and photograph prison facilities, conduct brief conversations with randomly encountered inmates, or correspond with inmates via mail. In the case of the federal prisons, journalists could also have a longer interview with randomly selected prisoners or a group of prisoners. In the cases, however, the media organizations argued that the press had a First Amendment right to interview specific inmates. The Court did not agree, writing in *Pell v. Procunier*, that the press “have no constitutional right of access to prisons or their inmates beyond that afforded the general public.”

In 1978, the Court denied the press access to a county jail in *Houchins v. KQED, Inc.* An inmate at the jail committed suicide while held in facilities that were allegedly in poor condition. KQED television from San Francisco sought access to the facility to inspect and take pictures. The sheriff in charge of the jail said journalists could take one of the six yearly tours given to the public. The public tours, however, did not visit the area of the jail where the suicide had taken place. In addition, no cameras or tape recorders were allowed on the tours. As it had done in the previous cases, the Court ruled against the press. The Court noted nothing in the First Amendment “mandates a right of access to government information or sources within the government’s control.” Access to most governmental information and meetings,

therefore, is governed by federal or state statutory law rather than constitutional law.

In addition, reporters may face civil liability or criminal prosecution when they trespass. The First Amendment will not protect a reporter who trespasses on private property or government-owned property in pursuit of a news story. This includes situations where a reporter accompanies law enforcement officials or firefighters onto private property. Finally, police and fire officials at the scene of disasters have the right to restrict access of the press and the public. Reporters must obey a lawful order from government officials or they may face criminal charges. The First Amendment, as noted, does not give journalists special access privileges.

The Court has upheld the right of the press—and the public—to attend trials. It has also said there is a First Amendment right of access to court documents. In 1980, in *Richmond Newspapers v. Virginia*, the Court ruled there was a common law and First Amendment right of access to criminal trials. In a series of cases over the next several years, the justices would extend this right of access to other judicial proceedings and records. The test for determining when a courtroom can be closed is complicated, however. In sum, the right of access to judicial proceedings and records is not absolute. Instead, it is a qualified or limited right of access. Once a judge determines that a proceeding or record is one that traditionally has been open or that there is some reason the proceeding or record should be open, the proceeding or record can still be closed (or sealed in the case of documents) after a judge follows five rigorous steps. In addition, there are some kinds of proceedings and records (like those involving juveniles) that are not considered open in the first place.

The Court has also ruled that the press has a right to use information that was unlawfully obtained by another. *Bartnicki v. Vopper* (2001) involved the radio broadcast of an audiotape recording of a cell phone conversation between two officials of a teacher's union. In the recording, the officials could be heard making threats against local school board members. The conversation was illegally recorded by an unknown party and then distributed to members of the press. After it was broadcast, the two union officials brought

suit under federal wire taping statute. The Court ruled in favor of the journalist who broadcast the tape because the material was truthful, was about matters of public concern, and it had been obtained lawfully by the journalist even if the original source of the tape obtained it unlawfully.

Protection of News Sources

In 1972, the Court refused to provide protection to journalists and their sources when they are called to testify in criminal cases. In *Branzburg v. Hayes*, in a 5–4 decision, the Court ruled that there was no privilege for reporters to not reveal the names of confidential sources or other information when called to testify before a grand jury. The Court consolidated three separate cases. One case involved Paul Branzburg, a reporter who was called to testify about drug use in Kentucky after he wrote two stories about drugs and drug dealers. The second involved Paul Pappas, a television reporter called to testify before a grand jury about the time he spent at the Black Panthers headquarters. The final case involved *The New York Times* reporter Earl Caldwell who was also called to testify about the Black Panthers. In a highly fractured decision, the Court ruled the First Amendment did not provide a privilege from disclosing the identity of confidential sources to federal grand juries. While many lower federal courts have treated this decision as a very narrow ruling—applying it only to a reporter's responsibility to testify before a grand jury—journalists may want to be cautious when promising anonymity to sources. While some federal circuits recognize a qualified right to refuse to testify in other situations, other federal circuits do not.

Final Thoughts

Several major points can be taken away from the U.S. Supreme Court's rulings about journalists and the press. First, the Court has refused to read the press clause as giving journalists more rights or protection than others. The First Amendment applies equally to journalists and nonjournalists alike. The Court has also refused to rule that the First Amendment allows journalists to break generally applicable laws, like the trespass.

The Court, however, has provided broad protections for journalists when they report on public officials, public figures, and matters of public concern. In addition, although it stopped short in *New York Times v. United States* of saying a prior restraint of the press would always be unconstitutional, the Court placed a high burden on the government to demonstrate when such a restraint would be allowable.

Derigan A. Silver

See also Censorship; Espionage Act; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Free Press and Fair Trial; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; *New York Times*, The; Pentagon Papers; Press Freedom; Prior Restraint; Privacy; Zenger, John Peter

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TABLOID NEWSPAPERS

Tabloid newspapers, which began to flourish all over the world in the 1800s, notably in Britain and the United States, are defined by their size and content. Exact sizes of the publications may vary, but they are smaller than broadsheet newspapers and generally about 11 by 17 inches. More important than size, however, is the content of tabloids: large, arresting (often sans serif) headlines; splashy graphics, including woodcuts in earlier years and later photos; sensationalistic, terse, titillating writing; a focus on personalities, sports, entertainment, disasters, crimes (particularly crimes of passion); sexual and other scandals; and other provocative content. Many tabloids also carry a populist inclination, featuring crusades against corruption, incompetence, and elitist malfeasance. This entry discusses the origins of tabloid newspapers, concerns about their influence on other forms of media, and their ongoing popularity.

Origins

Bernarr Macfadden is probably best known for his founding of *True Story* magazine in 1919 and, in 1924, what would become *True Detective*. These magazines, true to the form of the “confessions” genre, featured lurid tales of illicit sexual misadventures, predatory relationships, and acts of passion or violence. Macfadden also founded the tabloid newspaper the *New York Evening Graphic*, usually just called the *Graphic*. The

Graphic arrived in September 1924 and quickly became one of the most reviled publications in the history of American journalism. It acquired the popular nickname “Porno-Graphic,” but the *Graphic*’s raciness was only one of the attributes that earned it a place in the annals of sensationalism: It was to become well known for the use of what was called the *composograph*.

In 1936, the *Graphic* was covering a case involving a biracial woman who was being sued for divorce because her husband claimed he had been led to believe she was white. She argued that her racial background was apparent, and to support her case she partially disrobed in court. This story cried out for an illustration, especially in a newspaper called the *Graphic*. But the judge cleared the courtroom of photographers, so the *Graphic* hired a model to reenact the baring of her body in a setting resembling a courtroom, to make it appear as if the *Graphic* had a photo of the actual event. Only a tiny editor’s note explained it was a reenactment. This caused a considerable increase in circulation, so the *Graphic* went on to repeatedly use composographs without much restraint.

Nothing is new in the practice of deception in the depiction of news. In ancient China, artists crafted elaborately detailed woodcuts for printed images; their use in newspaper journalism, with the more advanced form of woodblock engraving, became common practice in the 19th century in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. These carefully detailed scenes could be based on eyewitness accounts or simply gossip, but the results

were purported to be accurate illustrations. When combined with tall, arresting type and alarming verbiage as contrast, the illustrations and headlines became the foundations of tabloid journalism. If one looks closely at journalism history, one might say that “tabloidism” preceded tabloids.

The modern Latin term *oides* refers to “form,” or “like,” and is thus a convenient suffix for “tablet,” a small slate or slab for an inscription or phrase. “Tablet” also refers to a pill in the more modern sense, and many popular sources trace the origin of the journalism term *tabloid* to a capsule developed by a London pharmaceutical company in the 1800s. A newspaper tabloid is both of these—a smaller form of a standard newspaper and also a readily digestible opioid for the masses.

One renowned use of tabloidism before tabloids—if one definition of the term includes sensationalism plus fancy—was by Benjamin Day in August 1835, when the Great Moon Hoax was concocted. In perhaps the most famous of journalism’s early testing of the power of untruths, Day’s New York *Sun* claimed that horned blue goats and man-bats lived on the moon and had been observed by a huge new telescope at the Cape of Good Hope. Further lending legitimacy to the stories was that articles about these beings were supposedly published in a Scottish science journal. After the publication of the Moon Hoax stories, the *Sun*, founded in 1833, saw its circulation leap by more than 20,000. The *Sun* was tabloid in size, measuring 7½ by 10 inches, but other than in its dimensions and whimsy, it resembled later descriptions and definitions of tabloids in no other way. Three columns of type were squeezed onto its pages, with barely an illustration or even what could be called a *headline* (some type was placed in all caps, with a slightly larger font or boldface to set off certain items).

Day’s real contribution to tabloid journalism, perhaps, was the founding of the first successful penny paper in the United States, when most newspapers sold for 6 cents. This brought in the revolution of the penny papers (also tabloid in size), including James Gordon Bennett’s *Herald* (1835) and Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune* (1841). The arrival of the Penny Press was important because the price was right for the working class, who became the key audience for later tabloids. This not only demonstrated that this market

existed, but that it had the potential for growth among working classes, of whom many were immigrants who were growing more literate, becoming more integrated into American life, and earning more leisure time and more pennies for entertainment.

The deception-as-entertainment marketing model is familiar to publishers, showmen, and hucksters of all types: Mythmaking, storytelling, gossip, and embellishment are part of the human condition. P. T. Barnum and others like him, including political leaders, made many fortunes off the idea that people want to hear the most compelling details about anything that strikes their fancy. Many have contended that readers probably knew that the claims in stories such as those found in the Moon Hoax were, in fact, hoaxes, or that exploits of all kinds of characters, whether they be sportsmen, heroes, or outlaws, were exaggerated. But that made them more attractive, not less—these readers were privy to a type of entertainment that was for *them*, not for the stuffy elite. The secret of the former printers and apprentices who founded or took over many newspapers was that they understood there was mass marketability in these tales. Much money was to be made, even a penny at a time.

The Penny Press helped revolutionize newspapers’ look and feel, and it paved the way for the modern era of tabloids. But before the tabloid era exploded in the United States in the 1920s, it was preceded by broadsheet yellow fever that raged in the late 1800s and into the 20th century. The birth of “yellow journalism” was attributed to the New York competition in which William Randolph Hearst stole techniques (and personnel) from Joseph Pulitzer, and vice versa.

Hearst’s and Pulitzer’s newspapers lacked the tabloid size, and often therefore the impact, of tabloids’ use of one or two photos and a headline plastered across an entire front page. But the competition was still that of modernized sensationalism that sold copies with the use of sometimes explosive reporting techniques and graphic exaggerations, along with simplicity in language, epitomized by Pulitzer’s *New York World*. These newspapers sometimes went on populist crusades against the corruption of the clergy, failures of law enforcement, and excesses of robber barons. They exploited the human fascination with love, money,

sin, violence, and death. They sponsored contests (Hearst brought to New York a lottery called *Lady Luck*) and stunts (the adventures of Nelly Bly, for Pulitzer's *World*, were among the most famous). Hearst, whose father had given him control of the San Francisco *Examiner* in 1887, bought the New York *Journal* in 1896 and hired, at significant raises, much of Pulitzer's prized editorial staff. From this era also came a comic-strip war that included the adventures of the popular character the Yellow Kid, whose name is thought to have given rise to the term *yellow journalism*.

Another precursor to tabloid newspapers could be called *tabloid magazines*, and among the most important of these was the *National Police Gazette*, especially after it was taken over in 1876 by Richard K. Fox, an ambitious Irish immigrant. Fox systematically built the *Gazette's* readership dominion in barbershops and pool halls by featuring crime, particularly of a violent and sexually charged nature; sports, particularly boxing; and what were by that day's standards racy woodcuts of various classes of women with often deliberately disarrayed skirts and dresses, revealing their ankles and calves.

Often considered the first true tabloid in the United States was the New York *Daily Graphic*, which appeared in 1873, long before the *New York Evening Graphic* of the 20th century. The *Daily Graphic* was not to survive for long, and many trace the beginning of modern tabloids in America to the early 20th century. This history was colorfully described in the 1938 book *Jazz Journalism* by Simon Michael Bessie. For Bessie, the pre-tabloid beginnings on the North American side of the Atlantic gazed into the heart of a post-Civil War America. After the turn of the 20th century, they were part of an era that "included speakeasies, jazz, collegiate whoopee, bathing beauties, movie-star worship, big-time sports and many other gigantic exaggerations" (Bessie, p. 24), and the newspaper coverage of these excesses led Bessie to the coinage "jazz journalism." Bessie wrote in detail about the New York *Daily News* and some of its competitors. The book carries examples of headlines ("QUADRANGLE OF LOVE SHRINKS TO TRIANGLE"), photos, and tabulations of newspaper column inches devoted to categories such as "Crime," "Sex," "Sport," "Pictures," and "Features."

No history of tabloids can be complete without the inclusion of Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe), the British publisher who owed much of his success to the rise of compulsory education in England in the 1870s. This newly literate audience showed little interest in traditional English newspapering, with its endless columns of type and fusty styles. Harmsworth's approaches were more diverting and featured, as did Fox's and others', modern marketing techniques such as contests, awards, trivia, and other gimmicks to attract readers. In 1896, after experimental runs with other publications, Harmsworth launched the London *Daily Mail*. It was aimed at working men who had little time to peruse lengthier journals, much as later tabloids could be more readily scanned than bulky broadsheets on streetcars, buses, or subways. Harmsworth's success was so great that competitors quickly arrived, including the *Daily Sketch* and *Daily Graphic*, and in 1903 Harmsworth founded another famous title, said to be aimed at female readers, London's *Daily Mirror*.

A few years after the founding of the *Daily Mail*, Pulitzer, who often traveled abroad, was sailing from Liverpool back to New York, on December 19, 1900. As it happened, fellow travelers on the voyage included Alfred Harmsworth and his wife. On the ship, Pulitzer devised a way to involve Harmsworth in the celebration of the coming new year: He would issue a special edition of the *World* with the British innovator of the modern tabloid at the helm of Pulitzer's cherished *World*. So less than 2 weeks later, on the night of December 31, the *World* staff, uncharacteristically dressed in their finest, produced the January 1, 1901, edition under Harmsworth's direction. The first newspaper off the press on that morning, a second after midnight, was given to a messenger who rushed to catch a train to Washington, DC, to give the first 20th-century newspaper to President William McKinley. The *World* won that race, but perhaps more significant was that the newspaper's form was that of Harmsworth's English tabloids—9 by 19 inches. Thus, both Pulitzer and Harmsworth deserve credit for introducing the modern tabloid to the United States. The one-time edition sold more than 100,000 copies than usual, but Pulitzer regarded that as merely a stunt and returned the *World* to its broadsheet size the following day.

Harmsworth would not forget his adventure with Pulitzer, and he vowed to James Patterson of the *Chicago Tribune* that he would start a picture paper in New York if no one else did. Patterson took to heart the conversation and, together with Robert McCormick, began the New York *Daily News* in June 1919. At 11 by 15 inches, it was half the size of many newspapers of its day. An early issue covered a beauty pageant and an upcoming visit by the Prince of Wales. With large photos, glaring headlines, contests, beauties, sports, gossip, fiction, and advice, the *Daily News* roared through the 1920s, and by 1925, its circulation passed 800,000.

Tabloid fever eventually caught on all over the nation and indeed the world, and some international tabloids later escaped much of newspaper readership declines seen in the United States during the 21st century. There also developed a robust “clean” tabloid movement—serious newspapers that used the tabloid format without overt voyeuristic appeals. *Newsday*, founded in 1940, is one of the more well known of these.

Tabloids and Tabloidization

Tabloids have long played a role in the public imagination. The *Daily Mail* got a pop culture boost in the Beatles’s 1966 song “Paperback Writer”; the New York *Post* won readers’ admiration with classic headlines such as “Headless Body in Topless Bar”; media baron Rupert Murdoch used tabloids for sensational and political purposes after his News Corp. purchased London’s *Sun* in 1969 and New York’s *Post* in 1976; the *Chicago Sun-Times*, formed through the 1948 merger of the *Chicago Sun* and the *Chicago Daily Times* (which itself had a history dating back to 1844 when it was the *Chicago Evening Journal*), became renowned for its reporting and won multiple Pulitzer Prizes.

“Tabloidization” refers to tabloids’ influence on other media—causing them to be more sensational in the pursuit of readers, viewers, or users—as well as on people’s expectations of media and even their views of society. Such concerns have given rise to moral panics and crusades against sensationalism in media. Two of the best known crusaders against sensationalized, violent, and sexualized media images in U.S. history were U.S. postal inspector and anti-vice crusader Anthony Comstock and

German-American psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, who noticed that many of the juvenile delinquents he treated were fond of sensationalistic, often violent comic books. These men were born about 50 years apart, with Wertham’s warnings coming in the mid-20th century and Comstock’s in the last quarter of the 19th, but their alarms about the influence of violent and sexualized media content were similar. In more recent times, researchers have raised concern that tabloid coverage of crime and policing, particularly high-profile cases such as the murder trial of O. J. Simpson and the investigation into the death of child beauty pageant contestant JonBenet Ramsey, also can influence policies on criminal justice. Similarly, communications professor George Gerbner, who coined the term *mean world syndrome* in the 1970s, researched how audiences’ exposure to sensationalized, violent media content can cause them to overestimate criminal dangers to society.

The merriment among tabloids’ editorial excesses has also helped them solidify their position in journalistic lore. In the latter half of the 20th century, tabloid headline writers had a particularly jolly time of it, from “Ford to City: Drop Dead,” to “Multiple Personality Man Charged Triple Room Rate!” to “Close but No Cigar,” a description of the U.S. Senate’s acquittal of President Bill Clinton in 1999 after his impeachment in the Monica Lewinsky affair. British tabloids, notorious for their own editorial leeway, produced some legendary headlines, not least of which was the “SUPER CALEY GO BALLISTIC, CELTIC ARE ATROCIOUS” in the *Sun*, regarding a 2000 football match.

The tabloid format is not confined to newspapers or magazines. Not long after the establishment of the Internet, news sites adopted large sans serif “clickbait” headlines, splashy graphics, photos, and videos that drew on tactics long used by tabloids. A news or gossip website displayed on a desktop or laptop screen, with large headlines and large graphics and photos, can be easily scanned at a glance, much in the same way that a newspaper tabloid can be. The Netflix documentary series *Trial by Media*, released in 2020, invoked newspaper tabloidism in its introductory credits to its episodes, which explored the media’s use of sensationalism as a marketing strategy in crime coverage. Its opening included a typewriter clacking before the camera scanned upside-down newspaper columns as a

large, all-caps headline with sans serif type was revealed: “NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.”

Bessie, who wrote about what he called *jazz journalism*, helped manage the literary careers of eight Nobel Prize winners, according to his obituary in the *Los Angeles Times*. He was probably best known for his work with Theodore H. White, who revolutionized American political coverage with *The Making of the President*, 1960, and three sequels, all of which Bessie helped guide. In his 1938 book *Jazz Journalism*, Bessie cited a headline in the *Daily News*, “FIREMAN STABBED TO DEATH,” as an example of tabloidism’s incitement of readers in 1920. Eighty-eight years later, in 2008, the year Bessie died at the age of 92, the *Daily News* carried the headline, “BERSERK! Crazy ex-cop gunned down in bizarre shootout in front of wife and three kids.”

Guy Reel

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Hard Versus Soft News; Hoaxes; Human Interest Journalism; News Values; Penny Press; Sensationalism; Tabloid Television; Yellow Journalism; Yellow Kid

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TABLOID TELEVISION

“Tabloid” originates in print journalism where it refers to a diminutive newspaper format. In keeping with their ease of handling, tabloid-sized

newspapers are generally regarded as having little engagement with “serious” news, instead exhibiting a predominant concern with trivia and sensation. Just as tabloid newspapers are regarded as dealing with “less serious” news in an attempt to increase their market share, the pursuit of similar priorities in television has come to be referred to as *tabloidization*. Other related words include *newszak*, *dumbing-down*, *infotainment*, and, less disapprovingly, *personalization* and *democratization*. The variety of these terms attests to the different values that can be attached to this process: as detrimental to journalism or, more positively, as a key driver of the masses to news media. This entry discusses the development of tabloid television and its uses and effects.

Development

Across Western contexts, many believe there is an underlying obligation for media to foster citizenship and civic responsibility, as part of a public sphere. Since the 1980s, however, increasing competition from cable and satellite outlets, the information industries’ growing internationalism, the dominance of online content, and a slackening of government and state regulation have combined to threaten this public service media model. This has resulted in a blurring of the boundaries between public and private and between information and entertainment.

Recent years have seen a conflation of news and talk programs as journalists shift to being journalist-hosts in studio-based shows that foreground audience participation. Indeed, even by 1992, there had been such a narrowing between news and entertainment that news/entertainment talk shows had become major forums for aspiring political leaders. One can trace this to Bill Clinton’s 1992 saxophone-playing appearance on the *Arsenio Hall Show* during his campaign for U.S. president, while a more recent example is British Prime Minister Theresa May’s shunning of conventional news interviews in favor of magazine program *The One Show* (BBC) during the runup to the 2017 United Kingdom general election.

In 1995, the national news event of the United States, extensively covered not only on talk shows but also on news programs, was the O. J. Simpson trial, during which television news programs

routinely carried clips of reaction on the talk shows and talk shows carried clips of the footage gleaned from news programs. News thereby merged with and became dependent upon entertainment. Increasingly, it is the norm for “serious” broadcast news reporting to include stories about the personal lives of celebrities among the top stories, and for politicians to readily appear on news/talk shows such as *Fox & Friends*. This increased focus on personalities, one component of tabloidization, has become a feature of news and current affairs programming as broadcasters seek new audiences.

In addition to the choice of content, tabloidization indicates a series of journalistic practices that include a tendency toward more informality, characterized by the use of humor and colloquial speech. There has been an increase in the use of conversational styles in the media since the late 1970s, which has had the positive effect of allowing more people to better understand the complex social and political issues covered by the media. Linguistically, this informality can be as simple as the use of “Hi” rather than “Good evening” to greet an interlocutor, or exchange of unscripted, personal anecdotes among news anchors between stories (often dubbed “happy talk”). The viewer overhears personal comments about a journalist’s life and thus may regard them as more familiar and trustworthy.

A well-known example of a journalist that built a sense of empathy with her audience is Katie Couric, who as a long-time NBC morning show host went through personal tragedies that served to emphasize her appeal and made her one of the most popular television figures of her generation. Yet her switch to become evening news anchor on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) didn’t allow her the flexibility on the air she had long enjoyed, and her audiences dwindled. Drawing upon a similar focus on personality, when CBS correspondent Kimberley Dozier was badly injured while reporting from Baghdad in 2006, she returned to the network a year later to make a documentary about her experiences. This example of a correspondent becoming the story enabled her to produce personally informed reports that highlighted the experiences of Iraqi people as well as U.S. service personnel.

Similarly, within the course of an interview with a public figure such as a politician or

company executive, questions might be asked about their private lives or personal opinions with the interviewer and interviewee exchanging anecdotes. Associated with this informality and bonhomie, the use of humor in tabloid broadcasting adds greatly to its entertainment value. Where this appears in programs traditionally devoted to serious news, it has given rise to the term *infotainment*.

Nowhere are the norms of infotainment more apparent than in parody, and programs such as *The Colbert Report* (Comedy Central, 2005–2014) satirize this entertainment approach to weighty content. Elsewhere, politicians regularly appear on talk shows where the associated informality and humor help them reveal a more personal, human side than would otherwise be visible in official appearances and, from another perspective, engaging audiences who might otherwise be unresponsive to more conventional media coverage of politics.

Developing this more positive view of the tabloidization of content, there are many advocates of personalization within the journalism business. Ian Hargreaves, former editor of a mainstream daily in the UK, favors a shift in focus toward the more personal components of a topic. Among the advantages of the personal in the news, he argues, is that journalists can direct resources toward neglected areas such as bioethics, birth technology, and the perceived breakdown in family life—all issues pertinent to the increasing public prominence of women. Journalism scholar Brian McNair also emphasizes the positive aspects of the rise in consumer and lifestyle content, arguing that this reflects recent advances of women in society which have feminized and humanized what had been a male-dominated news agenda, rendering it less pedagogic and more personal. Viewed this way, journalism has become more democratic, and its increased personalization enables more citizens to engage in issues.

Research into viewer responses to American news and current affairs programs suggests that human interest enables greater audience resonance. Viewers are able to relate personalized stories to their own experiences, producing a more vivid recollection of these news narratives and the associated issues. Conversely, it is more difficult for viewers to recall and discuss foreign news stories with the same

confidence; where the items may not fit as readily with the demands of immediacy and personalization. Evidence of such a deficit of public attention to global matters is apparent in the American public's attitude to what is truly newsworthy. A 2018 report by the Pew Research Center shows that, in the middle of tumultuous global politics, most of those questioned were more interested in localized social issues such as health care, poverty, and education.

A growing focus on personalized, entertainment-oriented television news has been criticized by many academics. Hargreaves's support for the tabloidization of journalism is tempered by his condition that politics and foreign affairs should remain prominent topics. For some scholars, the concern is that traditional news values have been undermined by a new set of priorities, and infotainment has extended too far into the news media.

Scholars have also pointed to a link between tabloidization and commercial interests, with the prevailing motivation being profit and not journalistic standards. Craven financial imperatives can be seen as compromising the integrity of the journalist, particularly those involved in long-form investigative journalism and benchmark-standard news documentaries. Indeed, film scholar Bill Nichols suggests that documentary makers have been accused of compromising their agenda and abandoning the "discourses of sobriety" in order to meet the demands of program producers who require entertainment to fill their prime-time schedules.

Considering issues of "quality" in journalism requires drawing on value judgments that reflect long-held assumptions as to what are considered serious public matters and what is an appropriate mode of expression. Although scholar Martin Montgomery argues that there was not a noticeable tabloidization of British news broadcasting in the period 1985–2006 in terms of the news agenda, he also observed that there is an increasing tendency in broadcast news for correspondents to start their reports on even the most "serious" topics (such as reporting from war zones or disaster areas) with a comment about what it "feels like" rather than recounting events. This emphasis on emotion may well engage a wider range of viewers without necessarily making those viewers better informed about specific factual details.

It has been argued that the tabloidization of television and other media ignores the importance of engaging citizens who are, as a consequence, poorly informed and disenfranchised. The same features designed to make complex matters accessible are criticized for oversimplifying political issues or the nuanced dynamics of international affairs, reducing these to polarities of good and bad, winners and losers. Similarly, personalization of politics (on television and elsewhere) is criticized for shifting the emphasis away from policies to personalities.

Even the congenial forms of address and audience engagement are open to criticism, as the shift away from formality and associated personalization has led to accusations of a lack of decorum and deference toward those in authority, coupled with perceived declining standards of literacy in the wider society. However, this occasions a complex relationship with viewer expectation, and in Britain, attempts to introduce news presenters with marked regional accents and identities tend to excite as much controversy as praise, with accusations of "dumbing-down" prevailing.

Uses and Effects

The trend toward tabloid television has changed the way that many public figures engage with the medium. There appears to be an increasing willingness of politicians to appear on talk shows where they are subjected to questioning that veers away from tough issue-oriented questions or partisan debate, favoring instead questions that emphasize the personal and private in a nonconfrontational way. This does have its benefits. Research suggests that in this way, many Americans who might otherwise entirely ignore the presidential election campaigns are exposed to at least some information about the candidates. Potential voters who are otherwise unlikely to engage with "serious" news programs are more inclined to base voting decisions on the personal characteristics of the candidates than are their better informed and more policy-focused compatriots.

It is easy to sustain a set of links between forms of journalism and public engagement with the dominant news agenda. A December 2018 Pew Research Center report said that in a survey of

people's sources of news and current affairs, those under 30 received their information from social media, with only 16% of them watching TV news, compared with 65% of the over-50s. A 2019 Pew Center report showed 52% of U.S. adults get news from Facebook. As this shift to online news continues, traditional broadcast news has sought to adapt. The dynamic, interactive elements of online news are now partially replicated in the visual appearance of broadcast news. There are multimedia elements, inviting viewers to "press the red button" to access additional material, while the screen itself is a dynamic mixture of scrolling headlines, talking heads, and subtitles and super-titles, simultaneously offering a variety of stories. In this way, broadcast media have come to resemble the visual appearance of a news website, with pop-up screens and hyperlinks, which in turn owes its origins to the design of tabloid newspaper front pages.

Elsewhere, political news is still to be found in the traditional format of programs such as *The Sean Hannity Show* and *Meet the Press*; broadcast television such as *PBS NewsHour*; and radio, such as NPR and Rush Limbaugh. However, a more nuanced account of the relationship between television, journalism, and public knowledge can be found in research by Jody Baumgartner, Robert Lichter, and Jonathan Morris (2014), which found that young Americans who watched *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* reported increased confidence in their ability to understand complex contemporary political issues. That said, the researchers also concluded that the humor used to negatively portray politicians led to greater cynicism toward the political system and news media in general, resulting in less willingness to participate in politics among younger potential voters.

Much of the expressive power of the term *tabloid television* rests on its ability to cut across genres and media platforms and take on various meanings in different contexts. While some see it as being a positive development, for others it embodies declining standards in journalism. There is irony in the fact that tabloid television is able to present itself as being on the side of ordinary people, yet is itself driven by economic interests of media corporations. Yet if there is a need to engage a wide-ranging potential audience

(which is, after all, the aim of commercial sponsors), it is argued that there must be a balance between informing and entertaining rather than seeing these as stark polarities.

Angela Smith

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Media Criticism; Media Literacy; News Values; Parody of News; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Talk and News Radio

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TALK AND NEWS RADIO

Talk radio and news radio are the leading spoken-word formats in broadcast radio. The term *talk radio* tends to encompass all programming that involves one or more hosts discussing news stories or topics of interest to a community, often through interviews with leaders, experts, and other noteworthy people. The term *news radio* applies to programming that emphasizes coverage of breaking and ongoing news stories. This entry defines and compares talk radio and news radio, examines their history, the rise of the “shock jock” in the 1980s and beyond, and how both talk and news radio have continued to evolve in a digital era.

Talk Radio Versus News Radio

Audience interaction is an important part of the program; traditionally, this interaction has revolved around listeners calling the program and speaking with the hosts and/or interviewees. More recently, listeners have participated via text messages, e-mails, and social media posts directed to the host or program. The most popular subgenres of talk radio are political talk, sports talk, and business talk. *Political talk* typically involves a host giving opinions on current events; the host’s viewpoints are well known to the audience and are expected to remain consistent over time. Hosts will often side with a particular political party about elections or legislative debates. Guests tend to be elected officials, authors, and other commentators. On a *sports talk* program, the hosts discuss topics relevant to local or national sports. Local hosts emphasize favorite professional and college teams from their broadcast area. Sports talk discussions revolve around recapping or previewing games, interviewing coaches and players, and debating associated topics like in-game strategy or

player transactions. *Business talk* usually centers on financial advice. The host and guests discuss issues that matter to investors, including market conditions, short- or long-term investment strategies, and the state of various companies or industries.

Hosts of talk radio programs are typically well-read and digest large amounts of news content to prepare their programs on a daily basis. They rely on producers to book guests, screen phone calls, and assist in preparing the topics and content to be featured during that day’s program. Guests usually seek a talk radio audience to promote something, be it themselves, a book or some other creative work, or an upcoming event. Hosts seek guests whose promotional interests dovetail with the host’s or the listeners’ topical interests. Hosts are most successful when they can appear to be both realistic and relatable to their listening audience. Listeners engage in parasocial interaction with their favorite hosts; the host stands in for the listener in giving the opinions the listener would express to others and asking guests the questions the listener would want to be answered. Listener feedback, in turn, helps the host determine whether a given topic is connecting with the audience.

In contrast with talk radio, the term *news radio* is used to describe the coverage of breaking and ongoing news stories. Stations in major markets air news radio as a 24-hour-a-day format, while smaller-market stations air news blocks during morning or afternoon drive time, with briefer updates airing at the top of the hour during other dayparts. These stations often describe themselves as “news/talk.” All-news stations are limited to larger markets because time spent listening (TSL) tends to be lower than other formats; news stations must make up for low TSL by having large cumulative audience numbers.

A news radio station or program features a format clock that ensures the repetition of important segments. Top news stories are repeated every hour or half-hour, weather and traffic updates are given concurrently (on 10-minute intervals such as the “10s” or the “8s”), and other topics like sports or business are also covered at a set time within the clock. News stations build their identity around the reliability of this repeated content. Perhaps the most famous news radio slogan in the

United States is that of New York's 1010 WINS: "Give us 22 minutes, and we'll give you the world."

News and talk radio stations regularly rank among the highest grossing commercial radio stations in the United States. The programming format allows plenty of commercial time each hour, and talk show hosts often provide a premium service to advertisers by endorsing products during program content, reading live commercials during ad breaks, and hosting sponsored segments or programs. Unlike with music radio, listeners are willing to sit through commercial breaks on talk or news radio because they await a specific (e.g., weather, traffic, sports) segment or they feel a greater sense of loyalty to a program host. As such, advertisers can rely on their spots to receive more attention. In addition, talk stations often feature paid programming on the weekends, in which sponsor companies promote themselves by supplying experts to answer listeners' questions about their chosen topic (e.g., health, garden, home/auto repair).

The Inventors and Early Years

All-news radio is believed to have originated with Gordon McLendon, a major-market station owner who played a large role in popularizing Top-40 music radio during the 1950s. In 1961, McLendon debuted a 24-hour news format at XTRA, licensed to Tijuana, Mexico, with a signal that blanketed most of Southern California. In 1965, Group W Broadcasting instituted their first all-news format at 1010 WINS in New York. The change was shocking at the time, given that WINS had been a popular Top-40 station and in heated competition with WABC for top ratings in the market. That same year, Group W also launched an all-news format at KYW in Philadelphia. In 1968, New York gained a second all-news station, as CBS flipped WCBS to the 24-hour format. All three stations have maintained the format for over half a century.

A key moment in the development of the news format was the formation of National Public Radio (NPR) in 1970. NPR's flagship news programs, "All Things Considered" and "Morning Edition," provided a national audience with high-quality radio news content that continues to the

present day. These programs center on extended, long-form treatment of important news stories, emphasizing the creative use of live and ambient sound. This approach set NPR apart from commercial news stations' reliance on sound bites and brief summaries. Listeners increasingly found this approach to be a preferred alternative to mainstream broadcast news. NPR was able to build a network of over 1,000 member stations, many of which supplement national programming with their own local news segments and programs.

Talk radio evolved out of the "full-service" concept that dominated radio's early years. As radio formats became more standardized following the demise of network radio, many full-service stations scaled back music programming while supplementing their news operations with call-in or interview programs. In 1978, the Mutual Broadcasting System established the first true national talk radio star, picking up Larry King's overnight show. King's incisive interviews of authors and celebrities made for lively listening in the usually dead hours, making him a constant presence for third-shift workers and overnight truckers for the next 15 years. Meanwhile, NBC launched TalkNet, starring consumer information experts like Bruce Williams.

However, talk radio was a local phenomenon for the most part until the late 1980s. Within this framework, local hosts started to gain celebrity status with their commentaries and handling of local issues. Some, like Jean Shepherd at New York's WOR, found fame as master storytellers and conversationalists. Others did so by being harsh and confrontational in their style; examples include Joe Pyne, who earned top ratings in 1960s Los Angeles by urging unsympathetic callers to "gargle with razor blades," and Bob Grant, a New York radio staple for nearly 40 years.

Sports talk radio launched on July 1, 1987, when Emmis Broadcasting started WFAN-AM in New York, the first station dedicated to 24-hour sports. After a slow start, the station hit its stride when it moved from 1050 AM to a clear-channel signal on 660 AM, replacing WNBC, and adopted a lineup of Don Imus in morning drive and locally born-and-bred hosts throughout the day. WIP-AM in Philadelphia adopted sports talk shortly thereafter, and soon the format spread across the country.

In talk radio's early days, hosts were expected to keep their opinions to themselves; they could talk about politics, but only with political guests. This expectation was mostly due to the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) Fairness Doctrine, which had been in effect since the 1940s, mandating that opposing viewpoints get equal air time when it came to controversial issues. If a show with one political slant aired for two hours, another show taking the opposite side would require two hours. The FCC stopped enforcing the Fairness Doctrine in 1987, and the removal of regulatory constraints on political opinions played a large role in the shift of talk radio toward a more politically minded format.

Talk Gets Political

The talk radio format received a boost in the 1980s, as AM stations that formerly played Top-40 and other music formats flipped to talk after losing most of their audience to better sounding FM. However, the moment when the format made its pivot toward national popularity took place on August 1, 1988, when Rush Limbaugh's national political talk show debuted in 56 markets. Limbaugh, a former Top-40 disc jockey, had reinvented himself as a conservative political commentator in the mid-1980s. Following a brief stint in Kansas City, Limbaugh's program took off at Sacramento's KFBK. In 1988, he moved his program to New York and went national when former ABC Radio executive Ed McLaughlin offered Limbaugh 2 hours of satellite time to syndicate his program.

Limbaugh's show grabbed attention and listeners immediately, both due to the host's irreverent personality and his penchant for courting controversy. His regular "update" segments featured collages of music and sound bites designed to upset liberal listeners. One example—the "Animal Rights Update"—featured singer Andy Williams's rendition of "Born Free" against a backdrop of animal noises and machine-gun fire. Limbaugh's invented language of catchphrases gave him linguistic solidarity with his growing audience, whom he termed *dittoheads* (the root "ditto" meaning "you're great, don't ever go away"). His most infamous turn of phrase labeled pro-abortion feminists as "Feminazis."

By 1992, Limbaugh's syndication audience had grown to an estimated 12 million listeners, heard over more than 500 affiliates. He debuted a nightly television show, which aired for 4 years, and wrote two best-selling books. Over the years, the satirical "updates" and parody songs dwindled in number as Limbaugh began to take on a more serious role as an opinion leader, someone whose listeners could make or break the legislation. He is credited with playing a major role in the Republican takeover of the House of Representatives in 1994, ending 40 years in the minority.

As Limbaugh's popularity grew, so did that of talk radio. By one measure, there were roughly 300 talk radio stations in the United States in 1989; by 1994, the number had tripled. The growing adoption of cellular phones during the 1990s also helped, as commuting listeners used the new technology to call in to their favorite shows. At first, leading talk stations featured lineups of mostly local hosts, representing a range of political viewpoints. However, when stations in San Francisco and Seattle took an all-conservative lineup to the top of the ratings, many stations elsewhere began to eschew opinion diversity for conservative sameness. Conservatives, feeling that they had few media outlets giving their political perspective, flocked to talk radio, entranced by the relatability of hosts who lived the same lives they did and empowered by the messages they received.

This trend was amplified by the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which removed limits on radio station ownership and led to many of the nation's top talk stations being acquired by a few major group owners. Using economies of scale, these companies found it much easier and cheaper to air a lineup of syndicated hosts delivered via satellite. Previously, talk radio had been an expensive format to produce because of the need to hire hosts and support personnel, which could be too expensive for cash-strapped small-market stations. Now, stations everywhere could switch to talk and import most or all of their programming; using the barter method, the station turned over some of its local advertising time to the syndicator as payment. Radio group owners rushed to adopt conservative talk formats, not to spread any kind of political message, but to cash in and maximize profits. Airing a lineup of like-minded hosts increased TSL and brought in more revenue.

This boom in talk radio syndication gave rise to a new wave of right-wing hosts who became prominent national radio stars. Some, like Glenn Beck, were former disc jockeys who adopted the same mix of comedy and commentary originally used by Limbaugh. Others, like Laura Ingraham and Mark Levin, came from a background in politics. Still others, like Sean Hannity and Michael Savage, found their way into talk radio with no prior broadcast training and became overnight sensations.

The Age of Shock Jocks

Concurrent with the rise of political talk in the early 1990s, many outspoken disc jockeys were taking talk radio in a different direction by evolving into “shock jocks.” This term was mainly applied to on-air personalities who offered shocking opinions or catered to taboo-pushing topics, including sexual and other topics that often flouted the FCC’s indecency rules. The roots of this form of radio date back to the 1970s, when midday and late-night talk shows engaged in what was known as *topless radio*, where young female listeners were invited to call in and discuss their sex lives at length with the hosts. This format gained popularity on many stations across the country but quickly subsided under threats of fines from the FCC. By the 1980s, radio therapists like Dr. Ruth Westheimer and Dr. Joy Browne had proven that relationship consultants could be popular without using graphic language.

Howard Stern receives most of the credit for popularizing shock-jock radio. He first gained infamy in the early 1980s at WWDC-FM in Washington, DC, where he displayed brutal honesty about his personal life and the contentious relationship with his superiors, along with irreverent and often controversial humor. In 1982, he moved to New York’s WNBC-AM, where his afternoon show pushed boundaries and rankled NBC management. Despite high ratings, NBC fired Stern in 1985.

Stern soon landed at competing WXRK-FM, owned by Infinity Broadcasting. Infinity CEO Mel Karmazin became a champion for Stern and syndicated him to other markets. Within a few years, Stern’s program held top ratings in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and other major

markets. By the 1990s, the FCC had started to scrutinize Stern’s program, fining Infinity repeatedly for indecency violations. Infinity appealed the fines on First Amendment grounds, but when the FCC threatened their broadcasting licenses, Infinity settled, paying \$1.7 million in fines. Despite the staggering payout, Infinity considered the publicity Stern received to be far more valuable. Cementing his self-granted title as “The King of All Media,” Stern published two best-selling autobiographies and made one of them into a movie, while a half-hour television version of his show aired nightly on cable’s E! channel.

Based on Stern’s success, Infinity’s Westwood One network began to syndicate other controversial broadcasters, launching what came to be known as the *hot talk* format. Leading names in this trend included Don Imus, “Don & Mike” (Don Geronimo and Mike O’Meara), “Opie & Anthony” (Gregg “Opie” Hughes and Anthony Cumia), Tom Leykis, “Bob & Tom” (Bob Kevoian and Tom Griswold), and “Bubba the Love Sponge” (Todd Clem). This format proved very popular with mostly male audiences and helped to establish a beachhead for talk radio on the FM dial. After CBS acquired Infinity in 1997, shock jocks became the vanguard of a new CBS Radio.

As talk radio syndication of all kinds began to spread, several outspoken sports talk hosts began to gain national followings, including Jim Rome, “The Fabulous Sports Babe,” and Scott Ferrall. ESPN launched ESPN Radio in 1997, quickly emerging as the gold standard of national sports talk. Most “hot talk” stations mixed in sports shows as part of their lineup to help appeal to the target male audience. Rock-music stations started adding syndicated shock jocks to their lineups, seeking the same result.

Listeners found these provocative hosts compelling because they enjoyed the biting pop-culture commentary and related to the personal stories. Listeners experienced parasocial interaction through the shared life experiences and a sort of voyeurism in the more risqué topics and segments. As with Rush Limbaugh and his fellow political commentators, part of the appeal came from not knowing what the hosts would say next. Would they be funny or offensive (or both)? Would they be poignant or absurd? As radio historian Susan Douglas explained, Stern and his

ensemble cast employed a consciously mature brand of immaturity, appealing to white men who felt that their masculinity was endangered by the advance of social movements for women and people of color. Attracted to the mile-a-minute stream of sound bites and locker room humor, these listeners became extremely loyal. Similar to Limbaugh's dittoheads, many shock jocks named their audiences: Stern dubbed his the "Wack Pack," Opie & Anthony called their listeners "pests," and Rome labeled his audience as "clones."

The shock jock trend induced a backlash in the 2000s, following two very public controversies: an "Opie & Anthony" contest that resulted in the broadcast of a couple engaging in a sexual act at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and the exposure of Janet Jackson's breast at the 2004 Super Bowl halftime show. Congressional hearings and increased minimum indecency fines followed, leading top radio companies to crack down on unruly behavior. Opie & Anthony and Bubba the Love Sponge were fired. In 2005, Stern left CBS for Sirius Satellite Radio (now SiriusXM), where he was free from content regulation. Two years later, CBS fired Imus after he made racially insensitive remarks about the Rutgers University women's basketball team.

News/Talk in the 21st Century

Beset by the technical limitations of the AM band, and audience perceptions that AM was "for old people," some news/talk programmers set their sights on a move to FM in the early decades of the century. Although many stations—mostly sports talk—succeeded, the decline of "hot talk" FM stations left most heritage stations apprehensive about moving to FM. Many industry-leading stations, such as New York's WABC and WOR, Cincinnati's WLW, and Los Angeles's KFI, still broadcast their primary signal on AM. The same is true of New York's all-news stations, WCBS and WINS, as well as Philadelphia's KYW and Boston's WBZ. A 2011 attempt at an FM all-news station in New York failed, lasting less than a year. However, NPR's mostly FM network continues to do well, staying competitive with or beating commercial news/talk stations in the ratings in many markets.

Current concerns surrounding broadcast talk radio mostly center on its audience and programming, which is perceived as older, white, and conservative. Few attempts have been made in recent years to format a station as something other than political, sports, or business talk; one prominent exception is the "lifestyle talk" approach at KMYI-FM (MyTalk 107.1) in Minneapolis. Although newer and younger political hosts, like Ben Shapiro and Dana Loesch, have attempted to bring in younger listeners, the programming still revolves around right-wing viewpoints. However, the power of conservative talk was still quite evident during the 2016 presidential election, when Republican nominee Donald Trump—whose penchant for shocking, controversial statements echoed many beloved talk radio hosts—rode a wave of talk radio support to the White House.

An attempt was made in the 2000s to counter all-conservative talk radio with an all-liberal network, Air America, led by former *Saturday Night Live* writer and future U.S. Senator Al Franken. Franken and fellow hosts such as Randi Rhodes, Lionel, and Thom Hartmann found it difficult to gain traction, as many radio companies put the format on their second- or third-tier AM station in a market, with far less signal strength and promotion than their primary, mainly conservative stations. The network also struggled with an ever-changing lineup and inconsistent management strategy, and it ultimately failed.

At the local level, the legacy of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 continues to affect talk radio in the United States. Since the turn of the 21st century, large radio owners have conducted several rounds of layoffs as a means of reducing corporate debt. In the talk radio format, these layoffs have largely resulted in local hosts being replaced by syndicated programming, especially at companies with their own syndication networks. Examples include iHeartRadio (owners of Premiere Radio Networks), Cumulus Media (current owners of Westwood One), and Salem Media Group. The lineups at sports talk stations are filled with syndicated hosts from ESPN Radio, Fox Sports Radio, and CBS Sports Radio. As a result, many medium- or small-sized markets lack a prominent space for discussing matters of local interest.

Many of the hosts who lost their jobs due to corporate restructuring or the decline of Air America and the shock-jock trend have resurfaced as successful podcasters. Examples include Marc Maron, Adam Carolla, Mike O'Meara, Steve Dahl, and Gregg "Opie" Hughes. In addition, NPR and its affiliated stations have seen a dramatic increase in the popularity of their programs since they began offering them as downloadable podcasts. In the world of podcasting, broadcast powers like ESPN and Fox Sports Radio battle for the most downloaded crown with digital entities like The Ringer and Barstool Sports. Podcasting has also greatly broadened the range of talk show topics; there is a show for every interest and pastime, from roller coasters ("Coaster Radio") to the 2000s TV series *Gilmore Girls* ("Gilmore Guys").

Satellite radio has created another home for talk radio hosts, as SiriusXM offers a range of different news, talk, and sports stations. There are talk stations for every political perspective—left, right, centrist, and more—and established sports talk networks like ESPN and Fox Sports stand alongside the insurgent Barstool and channels named for prominent hosts Dan Patrick and Chris "Mad Dog" Russo. SiriusXM's roster of talk hosts boasts former broadcast all-stars from Dr. Laura Schlessinger to Stephanie Miller to Michael Smerconish. Public radio news from around the globe is represented by NPR, the BBC World Service, and Canada's CBC. Meanwhile, Howard Stern continues to interview celebrities and occasionally stir up controversy on his "Howard 100" channel, where he has spent well over a decade.

Outside the United States, talk radio has become an avenue through which developing nations create their own political and cultural identities. The public forum that talk radio provides has enabled people to have a voice in debate and feel that they are becoming a part of an influential community. The aspect of geographically disparate listeners joining in an "imagined community" has been apparent in Western nations since the early days of radio, but in the current century, this phenomenon is growing throughout sub-Saharan Africa, as well as in ethnic and Indigenous communities from New Zealand to Canada to Spain. The regulatory apparatus controlling radio broadcasting in most of these countries has allowed more space for community radio to grow and flourish. This international aspect of talk

radio—along with the versatility of the format across platforms—has fueled much of the recent scholarly literature on this art form, while also ensuring its viability for years to come.

David Crider

See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Newscasters, Radio; Sports Broadcasting

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TASS AND RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCIES

TASS, or Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union (translated from *Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovyetskoyo Soyouza*), is a Russian news agency that was

prominent during the Soviet Union's Cold War with the United States and its allies. Its history goes back to the days of telegraphic news, but it has remained a propaganda distributor during its approximately century in existence. Lesser known is Rossiya Segodnya, created from two dissolved media operations that Russia President Vladimir Putin could use as a propaganda distributor. News agencies have a lot of influence because they distribute news to media outlets. They are especially useful to news outlets that cannot send correspondents to distant locations. For Russia, the news agencies are a way to get news to the media without having to cooperate with Western journalists working out of Moscow. This entry discusses the evolution of TASS and Russian News Agencies such as Rossiya Segodnya.

Brief History

As of 2021, Russia's modern news agencies evolved from previous ones with similar characteristics. In the early 1900s, there were two news agencies. The Russian Telegraph Agency was followed by the Trade Telegraph Agency. Tsar Nicholas II ordered a new agency be made from a merger, creating the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency in 1904. It would be renamed the Petrograd News Agency. The Russian Revolution of 1917 resulted in the Bolsheviks taking power, and the new government established the Press Bureau of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Deputies to spread propaganda via the radio. The Petrograd and Press Bureau merged into the Russian Telegraphic Agency, commonly known as ROSTA. The propaganda role taken from the Press Bureau made some people distrust ROSTA, so propaganda activities were moved to the Agit-Collective. ROSTA evolved into the TASS and became one of the more respectable sources of Soviet information.

During World War II, the Soviet leadership wanted to improve TASS and its profile, so it acquired equipment from the United States and took what it could from the Germans. While the equipment, such as teleprinters, improved, reporting was not up to Western standards. The TASS employees had the opportunity to see the work of other news agencies, and they knew there were

different expectations. Employees were afraid to offend the head of state, Josef Stalin, and were careful in what they reported for his daily reading.

As the Soviets expanded their control over European countries, they created a hierarchy of news agencies with TASS on the top. This helped raise TASS' power and authority over news agencies in invaded countries such as Estonia, Lithuania, and Ukraine. The Soviets tried to centralize many operations across countries, and this included TASS and the news agencies. TASS started training employees in other news agencies.

After World War II, TASS went from four divisions to two—INOTASS and RSI. INOTASS handled foreign news—both coming in and going out—and the RSI managed internal newsgathering and reporting. INOTASS' global operation required employees who were as fluent as natives in countries they covered, in addition to being well informed on the country or region. New employees started as translators and lower-level editors before becoming foreign correspondents. They would often return for a higher-level position after years away, or they would get a valued job in government.

TASS' budget came from fees paid by Soviet newspapers. It had a substantial budget because TASS had a near-monopoly on the news wire. But a monopoly in the Soviet Union did not equate to popularity. Where the oppositional press could exist in so-called satellite countries, Western news was valued more than TASS reports because of accuracy and objectivity. TASS' power also declined after the Korean War when China created its own news agency. It also lacked direct inroads to the American press until 1960, when TASS made a deal with the *New York Times*.

Russian Information Agency (RIA) Novosti's origins go back to 1941 during World War II, as the Soviet Information Bureau. Novosti focused more on feature stories, allowing TASS to spend more time on news and less on propaganda. Additionally, those feature stories could serve as propaganda.

Modern TASS

TASS became known as ITAR-TASS in 1992 after the Soviet Union fell and the Russian state became the Russia Federation. ITAR stood for the Information Telegraph Agency of Russia. But in 2014,

the name changed back to TASS. The name has mattered less than the quality of reporting, or rather its role as a distributor of propaganda. Similar to TASS' obligation to represent the ideology of the Soviet Union's ruling party, as of 2021, TASS responds to the demands of the government under Putin.

Russian President Putin has attempted to reframe the Soviet past as part of his efforts to control the government, media, and elections. Part of this endeavor has been glorifying aspects of the Soviet Union that were reprehensible, such as Stalin, who was responsible for more than a million deaths—if not millions. Putin can frame much of the Russian news because of his control of state-owned media outlets and the pressure he can apply to owners of other media outlets. A recent example of how Putin has used TASS to share a fake narrative is the untrue accusation that Poland collaborated with Adolph Hitler on starting World War II.

In 2019, TASS agreed to a cooperation agreement with the North Korean news agency, Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), to share information, to help each other's journalists, and to fight what they called *fake news*. The KCNA is the means by which the North Korean government sends out official information. North Korea considers Russian media to be its ally in reporting on the country's relationship with the United States.

TASS has other agreements as well. One is with Getty Images to sell photographs produced by TASS. INFO-TASS is an electronic database service that serves as an archive of modern materials.

Rossiia Segodnya

Rossiia Segodnya is a news agency created by the Russian government from the RIA Novosti news agency and Voice of Russia radio, which the government dissolved in 2013. The redesigning of the previous entities into an effectively merged agency further strengthened Putin. RIA Novosti demonstrated the more objective style of journalism when covering anti-Putin protests connected to possible election fraud. Putin appears to have made the move against RIA Novosti and its management in order to reduce dissent against his rule. Even though RIA Novosti was owned by the state,

Putin was not able to control it. The new, Putin-controlled entity was initially called *International News Agency Russia Today*, or *Russia Today*, not to be confused with a television broadcaster by the same name. Rossiia Segodnya is part of the effort to centralize control of information and the large money makers, such as gas companies.

Rossiia Segodnya became controversial from the start. One reason is Putin's dissolution of RIA Novosti, which attempted objective journalism. Another reason is that Putin's government put a controversial figure in charge of Rossiia Segodnya, Dmitry Kiselyov, who made severe anti-gay remarks. Kiselyov was previously known as a proponent of journalism ethics and professionalism before becoming a propagandist for Putin, who also opposes democracy.

Rossiia Segodnya and Kiselyov's propaganda role went hand in hand with each other. Examples vary from the almost humorous to the serious. Sometimes the lies have sounded like those from the Soviet era, when propagandists would lie that the Soviet Union was responsible for many inventions. An old joke told by Russians was that the Soviet state created the elephant. The joke was told because of the outrageousness of Soviet lies. Kiselyov stated Russia created rap music, and he used a fake Nazi document for a report. He has also been a proponent of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Because Kiselyov is the head of Rossiia Segodnya and reports on television, his statements are seen to represent the news agency.

Rossiia Segodnya is the official partner of the Russian Olympic Committee and the team, and has the responsibility of promoting them. It is a natural tie for Rossiia Segodnya because the agency has the assignment of projecting Russia's importance.

The agency has expanded its global operations. For example, it signed a deal in 2019 to open a bureau in Saudi Arabia. However, Rossiia Segodnya has not been welcomed everywhere. Latvia banned Rossiia Segodnya's Baltic news website for Russia's aggressions against Ukraine. Estonia froze Rossiia Segodnya's accounts in its country because Kiselyov is on the European Union's financial sanctions list. Wherever it has offices, Rossiia Segodnya and other state-owned media

do not participate in objective journalism. They operate under the assumption that people need to be convinced as part of information warfare, not by appealing to reason and intellect.

Timothy Roy Gleason

See also Europe; Fake News; Press and Government Relations; Propaganda; RT and Sputnik; Russian Federation

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TELECOMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1996

On February 8, 1996, U.S. President Bill Clinton signed the Telecommunications Act into law. The bill was designed to update, but not replace, major elements of the 1934 Communications Act. The 1934 act established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC; formerly the Federal Radio Commission), giving it the power to regulate telecommunications service and in some cases, content, in the name of the public's interest, convenience, and necessity.

To best understand the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and the subsequent challenges to it in the decades since its enactment, this entry begins with an overview of what, specifically, the Act did. How did it shape or change radio, television, cable, telephony, and Internet service? After reviewing each major element of the law, the entry examines the legal challenges brought against this legislation. The Communications Decency portion of the Act,

which tried to limit the transmission of sexually explicit content on the Internet in order to protect minors and was rescinded by the Supreme Court is examined. The entry discusses how the FCC has taken this mandate from Congress and used it to shape, although not always effectively, current limits on media ownership. Finally, the entry discusses the lasting impacts the Telecommunications Act has had on media consolidation, diversity of ownership, and Internet platform liability.

What the Act Did

In the late 1990s, developments in technology predicted the merger of television, radio, and telephone service, which prompted Congress to update existing legislation. As Thomas Krattenmaker noted in his 1996 article for the *Connecticut Law Review*, Congress believed that market forces and consumer choice should drive this transition. Congress was also concerned about the contradictory regulatory mandates that existed to govern telecommunications services, which are defined as the electronic transmission of information (in audio, video, or simple data form). The legislation sought to end what Congress saw as the monopolization of cable and wired telephone markets by breaking down barriers to entry.

The Act itself was far-reaching and extremely dense. It included 111 pages of mandates that sought to shape the ownership structure, service, commercial activity, and in some cases the content provided by the telecommunications industry.

The following discussion offers a breakdown, in broad brushstrokes, of what the Telecommunications Act sought to do.

Radio

The Act dropped all limits on the total number of AM/FM station licenses one company could own nationwide (more detail on this is provided in the section of this entry on "media ownership"). It also increased limits on the number of stations that a single company could own in a given market.

Television

As television technology shifted from VHF and UHF to HDTV and from analog to digital,

broadcasters established rules for who would be eligible for additional spectrum space. The Act protected the deal that broadcasters had with the FCC that guaranteed existing broadcasters would be eligible for additional licenses.

Broadcasting

The Act made television and radio licenses long lasting and nearly impossible to lose. The Act increased the basic terms of the license to 8 years and mandated that the FCC grant renewal provided that the station had served the public interest and had no serious rule violations.

Cable

The Act repealed the ban on telephone companies offering cable service to their subscribers in their service area. It also repealed the “video dial tone” rules, which permitted phone companies to offer cable to customers if they operated as a common carrier and did not select the programming. The Act allowed telecom companies to offer cable and choose whether to be regulated as broadcasters, common carriers, or cable companies. The Act also removed rate regulations on existing cable companies.

Telephones

The Act allowed telephone companies to enter the cable market. It also moved all telephone companies to local exchange carriers (LECs), which is the system the Bell companies manipulated in order to become the monopoly that had to be broken up by the federal government in the early 1980s. The Act also said that any firm could acquire access to LEC facilities to offer competitive services. Finally, the Act allowed Bell companies back into LECs provided they were subject to regulatory constraints.

Universal Service

The Act codified the goal of universal service, which aims to provide everyone, everywhere access to telecom and information services at rates comparable to urban areas.

Media Ownership

Section 202(b)(1) of the 1996 Act set new ownership limitations. In a radio market with 45 or more commercial radio stations, a single party may own, operate, or control up to eight commercial radio stations, not more than five of which are in the same service (AM or FM); in a radio market with between 30 and 44 (inclusive) commercial radio stations, a party may own, operate, or control up to seven commercial radio stations, not more than four of which are in the same service (AM or FM); in a radio market with between 15 and 29 (inclusive) commercial radio stations, a party may own, operate, or control up to six commercial radio stations, not more than four of which are in the same service (AM or FM); and in a radio market with 14 or fewer commercial radio stations, a party may own, operate, or control up to five commercial radio stations, not more than three of which are in the same service (AM or FM), except that a party may not own, operate, or control more than 50% of the stations in such market. On the television side, the limits on station ownership were also increased to allow for additional consolidation. The new rules removed the caps on the total number of stations that a single company could own and operate, while extending the national cap on audience from 25% to 35% nationally.

When these rules were given to the FCC, the process of rulemaking for media ownership was also changed. To quickly comply with the dictates of the Act and implement the limits mandated by Congress, the FCC solicited no comments and collected no evidence on the state of the media industry. In the wake of this decision, a massive wave of station transfers and ownership consolidation followed, and between 1996 and 2010 the new ownership limits resulted in significant changes to the media landscape and rapid consolidation of ownership within the media industry.

Under the mandates of the Act, the FCC reviewed its ownership rules in 1998 and in 2000 without taking any notable actions. However, when concluding the 2002 biennial review, the FCC released a new set of ownership guidelines called the *Diversity Index*. Several legal challenges were filed to the decision, and those challenges

were consolidated under the lead plaintiff Prometheus Radio Project in the Third Circuit, which released the first decision in 2004.

In 2007, the FCC released a new media ownership decision that was fairly narrow in scope, eliminating the ban on newspaper-broadcast cross ownership in the top 20 markets. The agency also released a new program designed to promote ownership by women and underrepresented groups. Both agency actions were part of a Third Circuit review in *Prometheus II*, which resulted in a harsh remand of the agency's action. In response, the FCC extended the then ongoing 2010 review into the review it was required to undertake in 2014.

Resolution seemed impossible, and the FCC's lack of efforts were noticeable. Then, in April 2016, the Third Circuit heard oral arguments again, and quickly issued an order requiring the FCC to resolve the impasse, and in August 2016 the agency released an order concluding the 2010 and 2014 reviews, as well as the associated proceeding dealing with minority ownership policy. The order maintained the status quo, offering no meaningful changes to the rules. Challenges followed, but before they could be resolved in court, a newly constituted FCC under the leadership of Trump appointee Ajit Pai issued an order on reconsideration in late 2017 as well as a new minority ownership proposal. The 2016, 2017, and minority decisions returned to the Third Circuit, and the panel again remanded the entire package of rules to the agency for a lack of evidence. Although both the National Association of Broadcasters and the FCC requested a full panel appeal, it was also quickly denied by the Third Circuit.

Media Content

In addition to regulating service and ownership of media, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 also put forth a handful of content-related rules. Unlike print content, broadcast content may be somewhat regulated without running afoul of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution because of the scarcity of spectrum space and the ubiquity of the medium itself. However, some of the content regulations included in the 1996 Act, particularly those that applied to Internet content, were

successfully challenged as violating First Amendment rights. The remaining pieces, such as Section 230, have gone on to shape the nature of content moderation on social media and other Internet platforms.

Cable

The Act included measures designed to reduce the amount of nudity on cable channels and to scramble channels with sexual content. It also allowed operators to refuse to transmit sexual content.

V-Chip

The Act attempted to facilitate parents' ability to limit children's exposure to programming with violent or sexual content by establishing a rating system for programs, which could be used with TVs that were built with embedded parental controls. The "V-chip" technology would allow parents to block shows not suitable for children over the age of 13 years, for example.

The Communications Decency Act

Section 502 of Title V of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 made it a crime to use

an interactive computer service to send to a specific person or persons under 18 years of age, or [to use] any interactive computer service to display in a manner available to a person under 18 years of age, any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs, regardless of whether the user of such service placed the call or initiated the communication.

Concerns that the Communications Decency Act (CDA) would prohibit transmission of all kinds of material, including famous films, novels, and other content protected by the First Amendment, prompted the challenge to its constitutionality. In the landmark case *Reno v. American Civil*

Liberties Union (1997), the Supreme Court determined that this provision of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was an unconstitutional content-based restriction because it restricted otherwise legal material from being made available online. The Supreme Court also held that the CDA's terminology was difficult to understand and thus unconstitutionally vague.

While the congressional restrictions on indecent or patently offensive material were overturned, the prohibitions against using the Internet to transmit obscene content remained intact because the First Amendment does not protect obscene speech. Subsequent efforts by Congress to regulate harmful content in the name of protecting children were dismantled by the courts (Child Online Protection Act of 1998).

The Supreme Court also left Section 230 of the CDA intact. This rule absolves computer service providers, including Internet service providers (ISPs) and social media organizations, of liability for what users communicate on their platforms. Specifically, Section 230 says,

No provider or user of an interactive computer service shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another information content provider.

This statute was interpreted by the Supreme Court to mean that operators of Internet services were not to be construed as publishers and, therefore, were not legally liable for the words of third parties who use their services. The Court said that any law requiring ISPs to restrict or eliminate speech to avoid liability would create an “obvious chilling effect” on speech.

The impact of this portion of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has been important as social media platforms came into existence. As private virtual spaces, social media companies are free to regulate expression as they see fit. Some activists have raised concerns that the lack of liability has allowed hateful and extreme speech to proliferate on these platforms.

Although the Reno Court said that any law requiring ISPs or social media platforms to restrict or eliminate speech to avoid liability would create an obvious chilling effect on speech, in 2018 Congress passed two pieces of legislation that run

directly counter to the Court's logic for protecting Section 230. The Allow States to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act and the Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act, which are collectively known as *FOSTA-SESTA*, create an exception to Section 230 that increases civil and criminal liabilities for websites hosting ads for “prostitution.” Activists and legal scholars have raised concerns about the chilling effect this creates. For example, the website Craigslist was forced to shut down some of its classified advertisements for fear of running afoul of this new law.

Lasting Impacts

Decades after the Telecommunication Act of 1996 was signed into law, its legacy is the deregulation of the industry, which has resulted in massive consolidation. Moreover, the FCC's quick adoption of the competition theory behind the Act fundamentally altered the structures of media and telecommunications in this country. An obvious impact is the regulatory lean toward larger media structures for purposes of economy of scale at the expense of both localism and diversity.

The FCC's inability to demonstrate the positive effects of these policies has created a regulatory paralysis that remains unresolved. Importantly, without a significant change in policy implantation, that paralysis continues to limit ownership of media outlets by women and people of color or to allow traditional media to adapt to changes in the marketplace.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 is also responsible for what law scholar Jeff Kosseff refers to in the title of his 2019 book, the “26 words that created the Internet.” When the CDA was rescinded by the Supreme Court in *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union*, it sent a message to lawmakers that content-based restrictions on online speech would be viewed as a violation of the First Amendment and generally would not be tolerated.

In addition, by keeping Section 230 intact, the Supreme Court opened the door to nearly unrestricted expression on the Internet. By absolving computer services of liability for what third parties post on their sites, Section 230 helped establish the fairly hands-off approach many social media and other platforms take to regulating

content. While extreme speech undoubtedly exists and calls to rework Section 230 to provide recourse for users facing harassment and threats seems warranted, the fact remains that Section 230 has enabled online free expression in a way that Congress could likely not have foreseen when they drafted the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

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See also Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Diversity in Journalism; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Media Ownership; Section 230, Communications Decency Act

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TELEGRAPH

The telegraph was an electrical network that enabled transmission and receiving of coded electrical signals across wires. The system, used first in Britain and then the United States, was largely developed by Samuel F. B. Morse and was first demonstrated publicly in 1844. Few new communication technologies have had the impact on society and culture that the telegraph did. It helped open the American West and maintain European colonial empires, revolutionized warfare and business, and changed the ways people thought about the world in which they lived. People could stay in touch with distant relatives,

order products from distant stores, and remain connected to a broader culture. But perhaps its most profound effect was on the nature of news. Readers, through reports brought to their local paper by telegraph, came to understand events as connected, to think globally and to see similarities between themselves and those in faraway places. The public's perception of what was important was no longer limited to the local but evolved to encompass the national and international as well.

Origins

While a professor of design at New York University in 1835, Morse demonstrated that coded signals could be transmitted by wire. He had learned of the work of British inventors William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone, whose system of telegraphy began operating there in the 1830s. Morse used pulses of electrical current to deflect an electromagnet, which moved a marker to emboss a strip of paper with dots and dashes. Working with others, he developed what became the Morse code so that in different combinations, these dots and dashes represented individual letters of the alphabet. Morse transmitted his first telegraph message in January 1838 across two miles of wire near Morristown, New Jersey. Following that, he received a \$30,000 grant from Congress to construct an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of about 40 miles. Six years later, in May 1844, Morse sent the message “What hath God wrought” (quoting the Bible, Numbers 23:23) from the old Supreme Court chamber in the U.S. Capitol building to his assistant Alfred Vail at the Mount Claire railroad depot in Baltimore. The Post Office operated the line from 1844 to 1847, when they sold it to private interests.

Even before this first line had reached Baltimore, the telegraph had shown its worth in the rapid transmission of news. The previous month the Whig party had held its national convention in Baltimore and had nominated Henry Clay as its presidential candidate in the upcoming election. This information was carried by railroad to Annapolis Junction, which the telegraph wire had reached, from which Vail wired it to the Capitol. The news of Clay's nomination was published the next day in local newspapers. It was the first American news report dispatched by electric

telegraph, an omen of the future of journalism. News could now be sent across great distances in a short amount of time, slowed only by the process of encoding and decoding the dots and dashes. For the first time, information could outpace land and sea transportation speeds.

These successes proved the reliability and utility of the telegraph, and Morse quickly obtained private funds to extend the line north to Philadelphia and New York. The New York to Boston line went into operation in 1846. By the end of that same year, state capitals in Albany and Harrisburg were connected to the main line. Small telegraph companies sprang up across the East and South, connecting cities and the towns by wire much as the railroads were doing—indeed the two services often used similar rights of way. Western Union, founded in 1851, opened its first transcontinental telegraph line in 1861, mainly along railroad routes. Spanning North America, the growing numbers of networks in the eastern states were connected to the small network in California by a line that ran from Omaha, Nebraska, to Carson City, Nevada, via Salt Lake City on October 24. (The famous Pony Express system for moving mail and messages ceased operations 2 days later.)

After three previous failures, the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable was completed in July 1866. With completion of the transatlantic cable, information and news could flow between European and North American cities in a matter of minutes. Further undersea telegraph lines expanded across the globe in coming decades.

Telegraphic News Agencies

The impact of the growing telegraph technology on journalism was soon obvious, for editors now could obtain information on events while it was still “new.” Many newspapers hired reporters or established bureaus in other major cities to collect and send news back; however, this independent reporting was enormously expensive, not the least because each paper paid the full rate for transmission to the telegraph companies. It was common knowledge among newspaper editors that telegraph companies were selling news from their various offices to anyone, even though the staff of a specific newspaper gathered it. In 1848, David

Hale, publisher of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, learned that certain telegraph companies were even investigating the concept of setting up subsidiary organizations to gather and transmit news for sale. The dangers were obvious. With no government regulation or supervision, telegraph companies could make it impossible for any news but their own to move by wire. Newspapers would be forced to surrender the function of newsgathering, and those outside the journalism profession would reduce the news itself to a commercial and unreliable commodity. Hale approached James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the *New York Herald*, about the threat.

The two proposed resurrecting a previous scheme by newspapers to pool resources. In May 1846, Moses Yale Beach (1800–1868), publisher of the *New York Sun*, forged an agreement with four other New York papers to deliver news of the ongoing Mexican-American War. In the plan, dispatch riders from the front raced to Montgomery, Alabama, to place news reports on mail coaches, which carried them 700 miles to the nearest telegraph station. In offering an equal interest in the express venture to the other papers, Beach effectively created the first cooperative news service. In 1848, Beach formulated a similar venture to obtain and share European news from ships arriving at New York harbor, naming it the Harbor News Association. Hale and Bennett proposed to charter a new organization, forming the “General News Association of the City of New York” in 1851, including *The New York Times* and the *New York Tribune* with the earlier five. It was soon renamed the Associated Press (AP), America’s first “wire service.”

The AP, under the leadership of its first directors, Alexander Jones (1802–1865) and Daniel Craig (1811–1895), took on the task of joint telegraphic transmission of news stories to provide its members with a comprehensive summary of daily news. Spurred by the outbreak of the Civil War, the association expanded to include newspapers in other East Coast cities; this would be the first time that battles and developments of a war could be reported to the public within a day or so. Beginning in 1875, successive directors of the AP—over the objections and legal challenges of Western Union—secured leases on telegraph lines, allowing

its messages to move untroubled by delays from other traffic. By 1892, the news agency was using nearly 23,000 miles of leased telegraph wires. The successes of the AP soon lead to the birth of other wire services including the Western Associated Press, Southern Associated Press, United Press, and International Press.

Use of the telegraph to transmit news stories also led, inevitably, to a more precise and concise journalistic style. Because early telegraph lines were unreliable and prone to failure, the opening paragraphs of a news story, which came to be known as the “lead,” presented the most important facts. The rest of the story contained details and background. If telegraph service was interrupted during transmission, at least the most important part would reach the editor. AP correspondents during the Civil War were even ordered to put the most important news in the first sentence, with less crucial information following in the lead. The uncertainty and the expense of telegraph service contributed to reporters changing from a chronological style of reporting to a fact-based organization of information. Thus, the “inverted pyramid” style of writing was developed. Uncertainty also led to the practice of confirming both stories and sources, with editors often sending back messages asking for more details or ensuring that the original message was not a hoax (as might be transmitted by rivals).

Impact

Historians credit the technical shortcomings and expense of telegraph messages with a terse journalistic style and a shift away from the flowery 19th-century type of news writing. An experienced Morse operator could transmit or decode 40 to 50 words a minute. Lengthy stories took an inordinate amount of time to send and cost more. Hence, “telegraphese” evolved as an elliptical style of writing. Personal observations by reporters and other embellishments were eliminated as verbiage. The extensive use of abbreviations and code phrases to compress meaning into a small number of characters for ease of transmission over telegraph lines spread through journalism as well as business. Soon large commercial telegraph codebooks were

published, less for secrecy than for keeping costs down by letting a brief combination of letters or numbers stand for a complex transaction or idea. Getting the news reading public to accept the new form of news writing took some years, but that terse, impersonal, inverted pyramid style remains the norm for breaking news.

Despite its wonders, technical limitations led to the eventual demise of the telegraph. In 1913, Western Union developed multiplexing, making it possible to send up to eight messages simultaneously over a single wire (four in each direction). Shortly before, in 1906, the teleprinter, an electro-mechanical typewriter, allowed transmission of news stories directly to editorial offices, and in 1914, the AP adopted it for their wire service. By the 1930s, worldwide networks of 60-word-per-minute teletype machines were in use by major news agencies. And, at first within cities, and more slowly over distances, the telephone displaced the telegraph, doing away with the need for codes and letting reporters speak directly to editors. The telegraph remained an important mode of news communication through and even after World War II. Western Union announced the discontinuation of all telegram service in January 2006. Only 20,000 telegrams had been sent the year before, compared to 20 million in 1929.

The telegraph ushered in an era of rapid, regular, and reliable communications. As a result, the telegraph transformed the nature and style of journalism. Newspapers could deliver the latest information on events, and details could be quickly checked and confirmed. Readers came to expect newspapers to report national and global events in a timely manner.

Rex Martin

See also Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Havas; Reuters; United Press International

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TELEVISION COMMENTARY

“Television commentary” here refers to the added value journalists provide alongside the basic presentation of news that requires some degree of unpacking or analysis. Such added value is fundamental to debates about the wider quality of journalism and its contribution to democracy. In regions where television output is unregulated, any balanced, impartial journalistic analysis seems less frequent, given the entrenched editorial positions taken by the channels. Within regulated regions, theoretically at least, journalistic analysis would more likely adhere to the long-standing traditions of news reporting. In practice, though, the public's appetite for news might vary between a need for trenchant partisanship or scrupulous neutrality. This entry discusses the evolution of television commentary along with changes in broadcast regulation and technological advancements that have diminished the primacy of television news and, due to social media, complicated the efforts of some television networks to be seen as impartial.

Even within a media landscape where online engagement is the major area of growth in many developed countries, television has remained the primary source of news for adults. But broadcasting's dominance has been neither static nor

emphatic; in the early part of the 21st century, research has consistently indicated that younger people consume their news online. Accordingly, television's grip might continue to decrease alongside the increase in the proportion of “digital natives”—those born into the Internet age and who have never known anything different. However, social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram frequently share clips from television news. Such viral content confirms television's continuing relevance and the establishment of a “hybrid” media where old and new modes of communicating the news live side by side.

As with other news, television news consists of beats including home affairs, crime, business, science, sport, and so on. For all such categories, there are general expectations that journalists should adhere to the noble ideals of professional reporting. These ideals include requirements that reporters should be truthful and factual, and that they should hold elected representatives and powerful corporate figures to account for the decisions they make. Accordingly, a “commentator” herewith refers to news anchors on broadcast networks who could reasonably be expected to provide analysis without necessarily giving their personal opinions.

For business reporters, for example, there are also expectations that they should explain and simplify complex stories. Similarly, it is reasonably anticipated that political reporters should not only report events but also explain the context and implications of policymaking and the details of the processes, parties, and individuals involved in legislation. Accordingly, political news is not confined to bulletins, but is carried within program formats embracing discussions, analysis, and live coverage of parliamentary debate.

Broadcast media are also used by political figures as a means of directly sharing their messages. In the United States, for example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt talked to the nation in his “fireside” radio chats during the 1930s and 1940s. In 2013, China's President Xi Jinping began to use the same Westernized approach to address his audience via their television screens. At election times in many countries, there will be campaign events, live debates involving party leaders, and perhaps live results programs lasting many hours.

Across all such programming, factual information and political messages may inevitably be

accompanied by explanations, interpretation, and synthesis offered by specialist commentators. While such political commentary can be reasonably considered widespread within developed democracies, the regulatory conditions within which it operates might vary. In some countries, the principle of public service broadcasting exists as a defining structure for television and radio output, but even this is subject to variation.

Broadcast Deregulation in the United States

Often the United States is cited as exemplar of a deregulated broadcasting system, meaning that journalists have fewer rules to obey. After broadcaster deregulation gathered momentum under the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the late 1980s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) eliminated rules limiting media organizations that sought to build bigger portfolios of stations. In addition to a number of other concessions, commercials became limitless, and children's programming was no longer compulsory.

However, many felt that the most impactful move to deregulate the broadcast industry during this period was when the FCC stopped enforcing the fairness doctrine in 1987. The fairness doctrine had determined that TV and radio channels in the United States should ensure that important issues were adequately covered in a way that presented viewpoints representing a breadth of opinion. With the doctrine in place, many broadcast news professionals developed reputations for practicing objective, impartial journalism that made tangible contributions to public debate and citizens' knowledge of politics and current affairs.

Such trusted, personal reputations were typified by the esteem associated with news anchor Walter Cronkite. He had reported on World War II and the subsequent Nuremberg trials of top surviving German leaders, along with the Vietnam War, Watergate, and the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King Jr. Accordingly, he was known as the "most trusted man in America." When he signed off each evening's newscast with his trademark "...and that's the way it is," the American public largely accepted that "it" was, indeed, the way that he had reported it. Many

people felt that Cronkite and his generation of television commentators provided the gold standard of objective, impartial journalism.

After the fairness doctrine was lifted, new channels with more partisan television commentators began to thrive. Viewers keen to understand the parameters of public debate have no longer been able to use network or cable channels as a "one stop shop" featuring a full range of perspectives. Instead, many media organizations have positioned themselves at the extremes of political debate. Consequently, important matters are often discussed from entrenched and preset perspectives, with news narratives and those contributing to them either ignoring alternative views or delegitimizing them with ridicule.

The polarization of political debate in the United States in the early part of the 21st century is exemplified by Fox News and MSNBC. These two channels represent the extremes of political opinion, their editorial approaches amply demonstrated by the way that they each reported the first day of official proceedings in the attempted impeachment of President Donald Trump in 2019. On November 16, *The New York Times* reported that while MSNBC host Rachel Maddow asserted that the President was in considerable trouble as he had been "caught doing something illegal" at the "direct expense of the country's national interest," on Fox News Sean Hannity suggested that it has been "a great day for the United States, for the country, for the president" and "a lousy day for the corrupt, do-nothing-for-three-years, radical, extreme, socialist Democrats."

But even less obviously partisan U.S. news channels are not immune from imbalanced coverage and commentary that apparently offers more opportunities to one side than the another, although the tone of such coverage is usually rather more muted. Data generated by media monitor Andrew Tyndall noted that across the more moderate channels (ABC, NBC, and CBS) in the 2012 presidential election campaign, Republican candidate Mitt Romney enjoyed three times more airtime than his Democrat opponent (and incumbent President) Barack Obama. In 2016, Tyndall's data covering the same channels showed that Republican candidate Donald Trump enjoyed well over twice the airtime as Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. It seems beyond doubt that 21st-century

viewers in the United States wishing to find a range of ideologically driven punditry on the same TV platform will be disappointed. But, given the popularity of partisan channels, and the increasingly polarized political landscape within many nations, news audiences might also actually prefer their news content colored with emphatic opinions.

UK Broadcast Regulations

The prevailing broadcasting system in the UK is notably different, at least in theory. Ofcom—who regulate broadcast output—determine that TV channels must practice “due impartiality” in the way they present news and debate. This means that broadcasters should not show preference or favoritism or privilege one party, argument, or ideology over another. The principle, therefore, is to aid the democratic process by presenting the breadth of debate so that viewers might position themselves within that debate based on all options being given the same opportunities to persuade them. More specifically, this means that—unlike both Maddow and Hannity in the previous example—TV commentators should not reveal any preferences.

This has traditionally meant that audiences have recognized channels bound by impartiality as the most trustworthy. Indeed, principles such as fairness and lack of partisanship are often central in the ways that these channels promote their news provision. They are often claimed to be “enshrined” in the channel’s ethos, and a founding principle for the way that they operate at every stage of news production.

However, the reality is more complex. The ways that impartiality can and has been breached have drawn considerable scholarly effort. Research claims to demonstrate, for example, that when editors and commentators omit some stories and not others, present only certain sides of a debate, and select some sources and contributors rather than others, impartiality can be subtly but tangibly compromised. Nonetheless, explicit tonal bias is unusual on regulated television programming in that rarely, if ever, will a broadcast journalist simply recommend one party over another.

However, this is not to say that broadcasters might not show preferences in other ways. Firstly,

and while it could be more reasonably considered more about interviewing technique than “commentary,” some might point to the different ways that some TV journalists interview different politicians. While many journalists would undoubtedly claim that they need to be appropriately combative and persistent in order to counter increasingly evasive politicians, critics would point to numerous examples of allegedly inequitable treatment. Political parties from all sides will often allege that they receive different treatment to their opponents and were asked harder questions, were probed more aggressively, and were interrupted more often, and that public perceptions might be influenced negatively as a consequence. During the 2019 UK general election, for example, the interview of Labour party leader Jeremy Corbyn by BBC political journalist Andrew Neil was described by Labour-party supporting website LabourList as “a brutal grilling,” making for an “excruciating viewing experience” and “a grim day” for the party (Rodgers, 2019). When the BBC failed to secure a similar interview with Conservative Party leader and incumbent Prime Minister Boris Johnson, the corporation was widely condemned for a lack of balance.

But TV commentary has more contemporary challenges than just ensuring an equity of interrogative vigor. Technology presents a potentially problematic dimension to the media landscape in the United Kingdom and in other countries where broadcast output is regulated. The advent of the so-called “Smart TV,” for example, means that on a split screen platform, unregulated Internet-based content sits alongside output that must meet regulatory demands. The conundrum for TV commentators was highlighted by Channel 4 presenter Jon Snow in July 2014.

Obligated to deliver the latest news about the bloody conflict in Gaza in a regulated bulletin, on July 26, Channel 4 also posted a video on its website—not subject to broadcast regulation—where Snow, speaking from the same studio from where he had read the news, gave a personal, moving, and at times visceral view of the conflict, and what should be done about it. While many were pleased to see such a notable journalist break away from the constraints of regulation, others claimed that his personal claims of impartiality were forever compromised.

Use of Social Media

The professional complexity of remaining impartial for those journalists obliged to it or preferring to practice it has also intensified in other ways. Social media has become a significant contributor to journalistic landscapes across the globe. It offers immediacy in terms of reporting news but can also be used to assist in establishing and maintaining news brands, directing more Internet traffic to its websites.

Much like Jon Snow's regulated and nonregulated journalistic activities existing side by side, social media presents another key challenge for contemporary journalists obliged to be nonpartisan. In essence, they are able to use a nonregulated medium to promote the content on a regulated medium. At particular times such as elections, for example, social media postings by BBC journalists, for example, are inevitably subject to particularly close scrutiny. In the 2019 general election, BBC journalists made the news themselves as a consequence of social media posts that many observers felt breached normal standards of impartiality, even if those standards did not actually apply to the medium the journalists were actually using. Shortly afterward, the corporation amended their own guidelines, advising that social media activity by journalists and commentators was subject to the same editorial standards as their broadcast output, and that their journalists and commentators should practice caution in their personal and private proclamations on platforms such as Twitter.

The response indicates that for the BBC at least, the quality and independence of their television commentary across a wide range of issues is a principle worth preserving. Indeed, considerable research suggests that audiences identify impartiality as a key requirement for a news provider that they could trust. The inference perhaps is that those who reject partisan news commentary on unregulated broadcast platforms should be rewarded with something demonstrably different in terms of editorial approach.

Redefining Impartiality

Even on regulated media where journalists are obliged to ensure that one side of a debate should not prevail

over another, contemporary thinking suggests that for some issues, both sides of the story cannot reasonably be presented with equal treatment. By the second decade of the 21st century, for example, the climate emergency had been consistently shown to be scientific fact. In such a case, in order to prevent providing a "false balance," the growing consensus—reflected in the revised editorial policies of many media organizations—is that proper context should be provided if reports and broadcasts include contributors who are considered to be "deniers."

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See also Bias; Election Coverage; Election Coverage, U.S.; Fairness Doctrine; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Public Service Broadcasting

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TELEVISION NEWSMAGAZINES

Television newsmagazines are programs longer than typical television newscasts, usually running an hour in length with some exceptions. Television newsmagazines often focus on one or only a few topics or stories. While many television newsmagazines present investigative reports, content often also contains interviews with celebrities, famous athletes, politicians, and human-interest or feature stories. Television newsmagazines continue to be a popular and important format in American broadcast journalism. Television programs in this genre are among the longest-running and highest-rated on American television. This entry examines the creation of a standard for television newsmagazines and the increase in popularity of the genre, as well as the evolution of some programs within the genre.

The first television newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*, has aired on the American CBS network since 1968 and has enjoyed high ratings from the beginning. It was created by Don Hewitt, one of the most successful television news producers of all time. Some, such as the Museum of Broadcast Communications, credit Edward R. Murrow along with producer Fred Friendly for inventing the television newsmagazine format with the program *See It Now*. That weekly program first aired in 1951 on CBS. Don Hewitt, the creator of *60 Minutes*, was a director on *See It Now*. Other popular and long-running programs in the genre include *20/20*, *Dateline*, and *48 Hours*.

Creating the Standard

In the United States in 1951, technology made it possible for television networks to broadcast programs on a regular basis. Before that, broadcast news programs aired over radio. Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965), American radio and television broadcaster, enjoyed success with his popular radio program, *Hear It Now*. But as television grew increasingly available and popular, Murrow and producer Fred Friendly (1915–1998) adapted the radio program *Hear It Now* into a television program called *See It Now*, which aired on the CBS television network. Murrow also hosted a show entitled *Person to Person* on which Murrow would interview celebrities in their homes.

See It Now aired from 1951 to 1958. Murrow hosted the program, which often covered controversial issues. One of the most historic of the controversial issues on *See It Now* was the episode that aired on March 9, 1954. The program explored the American Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist methods and the resulting so-called Red Scare. In this episode, Murrow gave the famous "Good night and good luck" speech, the title of the 2005 film about the conflict between Murrow and Senator McCarthy. Congress later condemned McCarthy's behavior.

Hewitt, creator of *60 Minutes*, also worked as a director on *See It Now*. Hewitt recalls in his memoir *Tell Me a Story* that his idea for the television newsmagazine format for *60 Minutes* came from his idea of combining Murrow's programs, *See It Now* and *Person to Person*, as well as the popular print magazine *Life*. Hewitt reasoned that combining hard news with soft news could be a successful formula for television. The formula would also be akin to *Life* magazine, which combined serious news with softer stories, without advertisements breaking up the individual stories.

The first broadcast of *60 Minutes* aired on September 24, 1968. During that broadcast, anchor Harry Reasoner (1923–1991) told the audience they were watching a new form for television. *60 Minutes* is one of the most successful programs in U.S. television history due to its ratings and longevity.

The format of *60 Minutes* is similar to that of a print magazine. The television program opens with an iconic video shot of a ticking stopwatch on the cover of a magazine. Hewitt recounts in his memoir

Tell Me a Story that he and others working on the program did not want to use music in the program, as they felt it would be a form of editorializing, but they did want some sound. He felt that devoid of any sound, the program may not get the attention of a potential viewer lingering in a room without a television but within ear shot. Hewitt writes that the program initially used a ticking stopwatch at the end of the broadcast. He had the idea of putting the stopwatch at the start of the program. The rest is broadcast history.

60 Minutes covers three stories including investigative reports, interviews, and feature segments on a variety of topics. Two of the three stories are often in-depth, hard news reports. The third story varies among feature and human-interest topics. Correspondents introduce their reports in front of a background resembling an open magazine with graphics and images relating to the story. As of 2021, *60 Minutes* is among the top 10 rated American television programs nearly every week. It airs on Sunday evenings and averages more than 10 million viewers.

Over the years, many famous news correspondents have worked on *60 Minutes*, including the first hosts Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace (1918–2012). Wallace is known for his hard-hitting interview style. Other correspondents and contributors of *60 Minutes* include Morley Safer, Ed Bradley, Dan Rather, Leslie Stahl, Sharyn Alfonsi, Anderson Cooper, Charles Osgood, Meredith Vieira, Norah O'Donnell, Scott Pelley, Diane Sawyer, and Andy Rooney. Sawyer was the first female correspondent on *60 Minutes*. Rooney (1919–2011) is known for his humorous and curmudgeonly commentary at the end of most of the *60 Minutes* broadcasts from 1979 to 2011.

60 Minutes has won every major broadcast award and has won more Emmy Awards than any other prime-time program. It appears as number six in the 2011 *TV Guide 50 Greatest TV Shows of All Time*. Notable stories include compelling interviews with American politicians and world leaders, the crisis at the United States–Mexico border, and the coronavirus pandemic. In 1988, CBS debuted *48 Hours*, a television newsmagazine that investigates crime and justice cases. There is also an Australian version of *60 Minutes* that has aired since 1979.

Programs Increase in Popularity

Competing American television networks launched their own programs in the television newsmagazine genre. Television executive at ABC News and Sports Roone Arledge (1931–2002), who created *Monday Night Football*, also created the television newsmagazine *20/20* for ABC. The first episode of *20/20* aired June 6, 1978. The program's original anchors were magazine editor Harold Hayes and magazine art critic Robert Hughes. Following poor reviews, Hayes and Hughes were dropped less than a week after the premiere. The program was shifted to a more traditional television newsmagazine format. Television veteran Hugh Downs (1921–2020) was named anchor, a position he maintained for 21 years.

One of the most famous *20/20* anchors is American broadcasting icon Barbara Walters (1929–). Walters began as a contributor in 1979, made regular contributions starting in 1981, and became the program's cohost with Downs in 1984. Downs retired in 1999, while Walters remained a cohost until 2004. Walters is known for her unique interviewing style and the ability to get interviews with celebrities, politicians, and world leaders. She was also coexecutive producer and a former cohost of the television talk show *The View*. In 2020, the coanchors of the program were David Muir (1973–) and Amy Robach (1973–). Other contributors to *20/20* include John Stossel, Chris Cuomo, John Miller, Elizabeth Vargas, Diane Sawyer, Charles Gibson, Sam Donaldson, and Connie Chung.

NBC debuted its television newsmagazine *Dateline NBC* on March 31, 1992. It is the longest-running prime-time program on NBC. The original anchors of the program were Stone Phillips (1954–) and Jane Pauley (1950–). NBC has noted that *Dateline* is the network's signature newsmagazine. Lester Holt (1959–) became the main anchor of the program in 2011. Other anchors and correspondents associated with *Dateline* are Katie Couric, Tom Brokaw, Maria Shriver, Brian Williams, Elizabeth Vargas, Andrea Canning, Josh Mankiewicz, Keith Morrison, Dennis Murphy, Willie Geist, Natalie Morales, Meredith Vieira, Kate Snow, Ann Curry, and Craig Melvin.

The *Nightline* television newsmagazine on ABC was born out of the Iran Hostage crisis that began in 1979. Anchor Ted Koppel (1940–) hosted the then

titled *America Held Hostage*. The hostage crisis lasted 444 days, ending in 1981, but Koppel and the renamed *Nightline* would last much longer. The program aired in a late-night time slot, after the late local news. Koppel was a calming presence who, at the same time, asked tough questions of his guests. He retired from the program in 2005, but *Nightline* continued in a somewhat different format. Following that format change at Koppel's departure, ABC announced in 2014 that the program would incorporate a digital component to appeal to younger audiences.

A Somewhat Different Angle

CBS News Sunday Morning is a 90-minute American television newsmagazine program that has aired on CBS since January 28, 1979. It was created by Robert Northshield and the program's first host Charles Kuralt (1934–1997). Kuralt is widely known for his segment, *On the Road*, that told the interesting stories of ordinary Americans. Charles Osgood (1933–) took over for Kuralt in 1994 and was the host for 22 years. Veteran news anchor Jane Pauley took over in 2016. *CBS News Sunday Morning* is a bit different than other television newsmagazines. While the program covers daily news and weather, it also spends time on politics, pop culture, and performing arts.

Another version of the television newsmagazine is *Inside Edition*, which has aired since 1995 as a syndicated program. Since the start of the *Inside Edition*, broadcast journalist Deborah Norville (1958–) has anchored the show. The program features a mix of hard news stories, entertainment news, and lifestyle features.

While news and sports often inhabit different spaces on television and the Internet, in the genre of television newsmagazines, they do intersect in some cases. *E:60* is a sports newsmagazine broadcast by ESPN. The series features investigative journalism and feature stories about sports. *Real Sports with Bryant Gumbel* is a monthly television sports newsmagazine on the subscription-based HBO channel that debuted on April 2, 1995. The program includes investigative stories and interviews with athletes.

Television newsmagazines are not confined to national network television. *Chronicle* is an

American television newsmagazine produced by New England television stations WCVB-TV in Boston, Massachusetts, and WMUR-TV in Manchester, New Hampshire. *Chronicle* premiered on WCVB on January 25, 1982, and on WMUR in September 2001. *Chronicle* offers lifestyle, cultural, and news content.

American colleges and universities also produce television newsmagazines. The Broadcast Education Association (BEA) awards the best of those programs in an annual competition called the *Festival of Media Arts*. Criteria for submissions include any television newsmagazine including special themed episodes and allowing preproduced elements. In 2020, winners included television newsmagazines from Michigan State University, the University of Florida, California State Fullerton, San Jose State, and Syracuse University.

Television newsmagazines are also produced around the world. As noted, there is an Australian version of *60 Minutes*. *Sunday Night* was another Australian television newsmagazine show that featured a mix of feature stories and investigative reports. *Sunday Night* featured a live studio audience and a live call-in question and answer segment, which were eventually discontinued. *Sunday Night* as a whole was canceled in 2019.

In Canada, the television newsmagazine *16x9* debuted in 2008 and was canceled 8 years later in 2016. *The Fifth Estate* investigative journalism program is another Canadian television newsmagazine. It airs on the national CBC television network. The program has been on the air since September 15, 1975.

In Great Britain, *The One Show* is a television newsmagazine broadcast live on the BBC. BBC One promotes the program as a live magazine program that features topical stories and big-name studio guests. *The One Show* launched in 2006. Another British television newsmagazine *Nationwide* is a former BBC program that ran from 1969 until 1983. It was replaced by the British *Sixty Minutes*, which would eventually become *BBC News at Six*.

From the beginning, the television newsmagazine format has sought to combine hard news, investigative journalism, feature stories, celebrity news and

gossip, and human-interest pieces into a program hosted by charismatic news anchors who can capture the attention of the audience. As *60 Minutes* creator Don Hewitt noted years ago, television news programs can both inform and entertain the audience.

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See also ABC News; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; CBS News; NBC News; Television News, History of

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TELEVISION NEWS, HISTORY OF

Television news keyed the vision and imagination that accompanied the invention and development of television. Through most of the history of human communication, few dreamed that everyday people would see with their own eyes the same events later told in history books. Beginning with 15-minute news briefs at television’s inception in the 1940s, television news grew into an endeavor available around the clock on multitudes of platforms to billions of people wherever they lived.

While diverse in journalistic, technological, and proprietary roots, television news grew from a single breakthrough. For the first time, people were able to not merely read about and listen to but see the unfolding of news. Television’s capability for not merely showing events but for enabling people to participate in them explains its permanence as a fixture in mass communication. This entry examines the evolution of television news and discusses the transformation of television newscasting, as well as the development of CNN. The entry also offers an overview of challenges in the digital age.

Origins

Television news was shaped by three developments that accompanied TV’s predecessor, radio. First and foremost, radio’s introduction of commercial broadcasting influenced television news. Rather than using public tax money, founders opted to defray radio by having competing proprietors raise funds through the sale and broadcast of advertising. Vying for sponsors, proprietors’ profits were determined by whose programs attracted the largest audiences. While a public service, television news did not transcend requirements it operate as a business.

Second, radio’s introduction of national news shaped television news. While licensed to serve local communities, the first radio stations rose as affiliates of three networks—NBC, CBS, and late-comer ABC—which thrived by delivering programs to national audiences. From broadcasting’s inception, the public identified broadcast news

with national news. This was a significant departure in journalism, for centuries a function of locally published newspapers that carried from radio into television.

Finally, television news inherited from radio the form for news delivery. In radio, 15-minute broadcasts initially hosted by popular newspaper columnists evolved into a format known as the *newscast*. Scheduled between blocks of entertainment programs, the radio newscast was adopted by and became the defining structure of television news. Television further inherited the newscast's signature feature: the newscaster. On television, newscasters' personas were magnified. It was common for viewers to associate television news more with its newscast "anchors" than with the news itself.

Television news further drew from one more radio age experience. Radio dramatized the impact of on-the-scenes "live" news coverage. Orson Welles's 1938 "War of the Worlds," a fictitious broadcast of a Martian invasion that captivated the public, set a direction. The providers of television news were driven to overcome technological constraints, reconfigure journalism as a live eyewitness experience, and advance on Welles's effect.

The seeds of television news were sewn 2 years after the Welles broadcast when World War II began. It was during the war when radio news first excelled that experimental television commenced. In 1941, CBS conducted tests that led to the first newscasts broadcast on television. When TV was unleashed at the war's conclusion in 1945, provisions for network news already were under way. On both CBS and NBC, nightly newscasts were among the first programs televised when network broadcasting began in 1948.

The Rise of Network TV News

At first, television did not gleam as a news-and-information source. Limited to cumbersome cameras and equipment, early TV newsrooms rarely fulfilled expectations for picture coverage of news. Viewers saw few prominent broadcast journalists. Dubious of TV's picture component and fearing it would complicate reporting, lead news personnel stayed on radio. A result was the appearance of unlikely figures as the first network news anchors. CBS's Douglas Edwards had been a weekend

radio announcer. NBC's John Cameron Swayze was a pitchperson for Camel cigarettes.

The first strides in television news were not accomplished on newscasts but in weekly documentaries. Teaming with producer Fred Friendly on the CBS series *See It Now*, Edward R. Murrow established stature as the "father of broadcast journalism." Observers acclaimed his 1954 documentary exposé on Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Yet television news barely had begun before its business requirements were evident. Profiting on hours of entertainment programs, the networks rigidly limited newscasts to 15 minutes. A stunning event in 1957 demonstrated that television news would cease as a public service unless it attracted large audiences. CBS canceled Murrow's *See It Now* series because of low ratings. CBS tripled its ratings when Murrow departed and the game show *The \$64,000 Challenge* was televised instead. Murrow denounced CBS for reducing an instrument for enlightenment to "wires and lights in a box."

However, when in 1956 NBC ousted Swayze also because of low ratings, a pathway for growth opened. NBC paired Chet Huntley with David Brinkley on its nightly newscast named the "Huntley-Brinkley Report." Viewers flocked to the broadcast. Its popularity not only established the nightly newscast as the cornerstone of television news; it brought a turning point in U.S. journalism. A 1959 Roper Poll showed for the first time that television informed more Americans than newspapers. Television never relinquished its distinction as the public's main source of news.

The 1960s marked the most formative decade in network television news. Eclipsed by NBC as the decade began, CBS exerted momentum upon removing Edwards and reorganizing its nightly news in 1962. The network's new news anchor, Walter Cronkite, was destined to become the individual most synonymous with the development of television news. The two networks locked as rivals in 1963 when both expanded their newscasts from 15 minutes to a half hour. Viewers saw the first news shows comprised of polished filmed reports filed by the first domestic and foreign TV correspondents.

The expansions were propelled by—and helped propel—a decade iridescent in news. Night after night, the public witnessed the unfolding of

history-making events including civil rights protests, the Vietnam War, riots, youth unrest, and missions into outer space.

The 1960s were most recalled for extraordinary moments when television news joined and gripped the U.S. population. Television's so-called "finest hour" followed the November 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The networks suspended entertainment programs with 4 days of continuous news coverage. Six years later in July 1969, 93% of Americans watched Neil Armstrong's first steps on the moon. The moon landing remained a promontory in television news for having drawn the largest audience (by percent) ever to view a television broadcast.

It was during the 1970s that CBS News ascended. Upon Chet Huntley's retirement in 1970, NBC ended the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* soared in popularity. A 1976 opinion poll ranked Cronkite as the most trusted man in America. A significant innovation was CBS's Sunday hour-long investigative series *60 Minutes*. Although a news broadcast, *60 Minutes* was the decade's most widely viewed attraction on American television.

Transformation of TV Newscasting

Yet throughout the 1970s, change had swept through television news. Although television had brightened from its conversion from black-and-white to color broadcasting and from entertainment programs increasingly venturesome and lively, CBS and NBC persisted with newscasts that were sober, dispassionate, and reflective of the tenor of the Cold War. While still the embodiment of television news, Cronkite personified its staid and serious image. Many observed that Cronkite and other network newscasters delivered news in the manner of gods speaking to the public from Mt. Olympus.

Insignificant in news since 1948, ABC achieved parity with CBS and NBC after introducing a new style of news in 1978. ABC had named sports producer Boone Arledge as head of ABC News. Arledge's 1978 *ABC World News Tonight* brought to television news sprite graphics, music, and personal story lines he had pioneered on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. Under Arledge, ABC advanced on CBS and NBC by launching a second nightly

news broadcast called *Nightline* in 1979. A year later in 1980, CBS announced Cronkite's retirement.

Yet by this time, network news no longer was the endeavor's vanguard. Enduring innovation had risen not at the network but at television's local level. Long overlooked as a center of television news, the nation's local stations had two characteristics that foretold their capability to reconfigure the TV news process. Local stations controlled airtime. By the mid-1970s, stations in major cities broadcast 2 and 3 hours of news. Second, local newscast audiences in virtually every city had grown to exceed those of ABC, CBS, and NBC. Attentive to the public's restlessness with the network's traditional style of reporting, station owners and their news directors joined in pressing a new television news.

A transformation of television news commenced in the early 1970s when local stations introduced "electronic newsgathering." While network news persisted in filming news stories, local stations rushed the first miniature video cameras. The cameras provided viewers not only pristine images of news events; they enabled live reporting from wherever news occurred. Soon, television news was distinguished by newscasts in which almost all the content, either from a studio or from remote locations, originated live and at the same moment viewers saw it.

Yet more consequential were sweeping revisions in the concept of how television news was best communicated. In contrast to the networks' single male so-called Olympian newscasters, local stations introduced friendly and conversant anchor teams, content that stressed "news you can use," the personal involvement of reporters in news stories, and, notably, female and minority newscasters. Al Primo was a foremost innovator. At KYW in Philadelphia and WABC in New York, Primo perfected the newer elements in a local broadcast called *Eyewitness News*. Its techniques became standard in all forms of newscasting. Not only did the viewing of local news soar past network news in every major TV market, but also while network news lost money, local news became television journalism's first "profit center."

Amid the waves that stirred the 1970s were criticisms of television news. Many believed that reports by CBS News on the conservative Nixon

administration hastened the Watergate scandal and Nixon's demise. The dispute flared into allegations that network news was slanted with a liberal bias. The allegations were never to disappear.

Nevertheless, the most vehement complaints about television news had come from inside the news profession. The most prominent figures in the national news media rose in attacking the innovations in local TV news. Cronkite, CBS News commentator Eric Sevareid, their colleagues, and numerous authors and writers scorned *Eye-witness News* for ushering what they called *show business news*.

Concerns escalated upon revelations that local stations in nearly every city had enlisted news consultants. The spread of the first news consultancies, McHugh & Hoffman and Frank N. Magid Associates, into local TV newsrooms changed journalism. For the first time, sophisticated market research was used widely in news decision-making. Initially an innovation in newsrooms' strategies for attracting No. 1 ratings, the consultants' research soon outmoded journalism's traditional "gatekeeping" function, in which journalists decided which news to report. With research, newsrooms could pinpoint news content that viewers most preferred. Although reviled for giving the public "not what it needs but what it wants," a research-consulting process soon was entrenched throughout television news.

CNN, News Proliferation, and Doubts

The upheaval of the 1970s culminated in a signal stride: the launch of the Cable News Network by local station owner Ted Turner in June 1980. CNN was the first 24-hour television news channel. Initially, ABC, CBS, and NBC ridiculed CNN as chicken noodle news. The debut of CNN was seen only by a small number of cable television subscribers. Yet as the first news source available around the clock, CNN rose to the forefront of television news.

Turner's venture was notable for an additional triumph. Pushing satellite technology, Turner delivered CNN not only to the United States but to every other country. World leaders appeared on CNN knowing they would reach a

global audience. It played a key role in the fall of communism beginning in 1989. Televised across Europe, CNN's scenes of one country's democratic revolution promoted revolution in the next. The document that finalized the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 was signed with a pen that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev gave to Turner.

Despite major newsgathering coups and credit for fulfilling Marshall McLuhan's vision of a TV "global village," television news never escaped the clutches of television's commercial system. By the mid-1990s, news providers reeled in a marketplace turned ravenous by competition. Audiences fragmented as television proliferated into a 500-channel environment. The public's shift to the Internet, and to infinite sources of news and information, had begun. For the first time, newsrooms downsized operations and laid off personnel.

The heyday of CNN ended. In 1997, no longer able to meet the enormous costs of 24-hour news, Turner sold CNN to Time Warner. The first competition in cable news further diminished CNN. In 1998, rival MSNBC premiered. More significant was the launch of the Fox News Channel by billionaire Rupert Murdoch the year before. Fox pursued a strategy not seen since the partisan press had ushered the advent of journalism 250 years before. It augmented news reporting with programs that showcased conservative commentators. Although accused of retreating on objective reporting, the Fox News Channel quickly tripled the audience of CNN. It would remain the leading provider of 24-hour news.

Another practice for winning viewers particularly jarred observers. Cable, broadcast, and local newsrooms seized on occasions in which they could concentrate on one high-profile news event. No longer did television news promise comprehensive summaries of the day's events.

While maligned for legitimizing "tabloid" news, a landmark was the arrest and trial of football star O. J. Simpson on murder charges in 1994 and 1995. Over 16 months when little else was reported, TV news massed viewers with each day's twist in the Simpson story. Spectacle treatment of lone events, in which a minor wrinkle could be headlined as "breaking news," became

commonplace. Weeks of such coverage followed the death of Princess Diana in 1997, the Bill Clinton–Monica Lewinsky scandal in 1998, and the disputed presidential election recount in 2000.

Digital Age Challenges

At a needed moment, the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001 revived the public's trust in the wherewithal and relevance of television news. The occasion resembled the Kennedy assassination. However, because audiences now had fragmented among hundreds of channels, most believed the JFK experience never would be repeated. Yet on the night of the attacks, almost every cable channel including MTV and shopping channels canceled regular programming. Together, diverse channels simulcast news coverage that CNN, Fox, and the broadcast networks provided. Again, television news unified the nation.

However, once transforming, television news soon was upstaged by a more sweeping revolution, that which marked the public's passage into the digital age. A fad at the time of 9/11, there were as many Internet users as television users 10 years later. At first, television newsrooms foresaw the Internet for its multitude of websites that promised more competition. Newsrooms added websites and Internet channels.

Yet it was apparent that the properties of television, a point-to-mass function, differed from and were lesser than those of digital communication. The newer technology was interactive. With the advent of social media, individuals for the first time communicated not only with one another but with news providers and even newsmakers. The public increasingly turned to digital colossus Google and the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter for all types of news. By 2020, television's ongoing role as the main source of news was unclear.

While few wagered to guess the newer direction of television news, its first achievement guaranteed an endeavor certain to carry far into the future. Since the 1940s, television had dramatized people's capability for seeing, visually experiencing, and sharing the world around them.

Craig Allen

See also ABC News; CBS News; CNN; Consultants, News; Fox News; NBC News; Television Commentary; Television Newsmagazines

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TERRORISM, COVERAGE OF

Terrorism generally refers to violence or threatened violence by nonstate actors against civilians to achieve a political or social objective. However, it is also a form of political communication—albeit a violent, public message—since publicity, transmitted by media outlets, is in fact part of its purpose, unlike most other crimes that attempt to avoid it.

The very nature of these events makes them irresistibly newsworthy. They are significant, exciting, dramatic, controversial, and emotional, all key ingredients for major news stories. Furthermore, the perpetrators of these acts recognize their attractiveness to the media. Media coverage helps create the “propaganda of the deed,” as 19th-century Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane put it. A

number of observers of the media scene believe terrorism has a symbiotic relationship with the media and journalism. Each benefits, at least to some degree, from the other. Terrorists need publicity to communicate their violent political message to target governments and publics, inspire and possibly build followers, gain support and prestige, and help achieve their policy goals in the process. The news media in turn are provided with a subject and story that appeals to audiences and journalistic values.

This entry discusses several key issues surrounding the journalistic practices regarding these events, including: how journalists go about covering them; evaluations of that coverage; the impact of terrorism journalism on the public, the government, and the perpetrators themselves; and policy responses to these perceived effects.

How Media and Journalists Cover Terrorism

Though every case of terrorism is arguably unique, journalists appear to approach major acts of political violence in similar ways. Journalists treat these events much like other major crises. Prominent, in-depth, and even saturation coverage generally follows, sometimes driving all other news off the front pages or lead broadcasts. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks dominated the news for weeks after, to the extent of almost eliminating other news. Similarly, the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania remained the top story in newspapers in the two countries struck for almost 2 weeks, replacing other stories. Scholars such as Brigitte Nacos have argued that even relatively minor terror attacks—such as the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, or the burning of various new housing developments by “eco-terrorists” in the early years of the 21st century—merit substantial coverage, due to their newsworthiness.

Terrorism journalism borrows from other reporting genres, such as those for disasters, crime, and war. Like disasters, major terror attacks create a crisis atmosphere and lead to a focus on the rescues and emergency personnel, victims, and their loved ones left behind, the damage (physical or otherwise) caused, and the healing or repair of it in the aftermath. The search for those responsible;

the investigation into the meaning, planning, and execution of the attacks; and later postmortem reports such as those by blue-ribbon panels parallel quite closely the motifs of crime journalism.

If a military or police-type response from the government is launched, such as is the case after major terrorist incidents, then a combat mode of reporting is utilized, as the retaliation is chronicled and evaluated for its degree of success. The degree of adherence to these elements depends upon the nature of the violence: a hostage crisis, for example, or a lone gunman will probably be portrayed only as a crime drama. Yet, in major terror attacks, a pattern does emerge: the initial shock, horror, and disaster response followed by the investigation, the pursuit of the culprits, and a judicial or military response.

On-the-spot, observational reporting may be limited by the context of these events, especially depending upon whether reporters are directly on the scene and what access they have. News organizations’ competitive desire to be first can contribute to errors, such as when multiple people were misidentified as suspects in the Boston Marathon in 2013, though the initial coverage of a terrorist attack can also play an important public safety role in alerting the community.

On the other hand, the locus of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks in New York and the Washington, DC, area were easily accessible to journalists due to the concentration of national news outlets in those two cities. Indeed, this may have been one reason why buildings such as the World Trade Center were chosen as targets. Proximity also affects the type and amount of stories and subject matter. Comparative studies of media coverage of terrorism from North America, Europe, and Africa confirm that portrayal of these events is influenced by where they take place. Terror attacks that occur in the host nation or locality of a media outlet receive different treatment than those that occur on the other side of the globe. In particular, coverage is greater, and more likely to focus on the victims and impacts on the local level. Even coverage of attacks on foreign soil often contain a local component, such as listing victims from the outlet’s own town or country, or official reaction from its own leaders in addition to the nation that was struck.

While globalization of media and international journalism may theoretically mean that cases of

political violence in one locale will be covered by the media of another, it is nevertheless the case that local angles continue to influence the coverage of these events.

It is also clear that terror attacks promote a “journalism of unity” that celebrates or emphasizes community values in media portrayals. Indeed, media coverage of the aftermath, the victims, and mourning can help bring the community back together and help people see the ways they are connected. Such coverage may also help shape the collective memory of the event (or person) in the future, helping to construct powerful symbols that leaders, journalists, or others may subsequently draw upon. Examples include mediated memorial services for the victims at the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1998, and New York’s World Trade Center in 2001, following the terrorist attacks there.

Other factors that influence the reporting of political news in general similarly impact coverage, such as competition between political actors for control of the news agenda and tone, and the nature and interests of the society within which journalists operate. Studies of coverage of the Palestinian *intifada* uprising and cross-national comparisons of terror attacks demonstrate that cultural or ethnocentric biases color the depiction and interpretation of acts of political violence. These differences may be related to audience tastes as well: Osama bin Laden may have been covered quite differently in Western as opposed to Arab media outlets after 9/11, for example, in part because of the differing political sympathies of their respective publics.

Use of Social Media and Impact on News Media

The rise of the Internet and social media outlets has transformed terrorism and journalism, as in other areas of life. Terrorist organizations favor them because they are open, international, interactive, and mostly unregulated and employ such outlets to gather information, coordinate activities, recruit followers, raise money, and of course advertise their actions and causes. Governments likewise use them to track, monitor, and prosecute terrorists. Media organizations use them as

sources, and even auxiliary outlets, for their reports.

These new communication devices also allow terrorists greater ease at setting the media agenda through dramatic and even orchestrated events that meet newsworthiness criteria. Anwar Al-Awlaki, an imam and leader of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, used YouTube, Facebook, and online magazines to promote jihad, recruit followers, and gain media attention before he was killed by a U.S. drone strike in 2011. Brenton Tarrant, the white nationalist shooter who killed 51 people in New Zealand mosques in 2019, posted a manifesto online and sent his list of grievances to government officials and media organizations via email just prior to livestreaming his attack on Facebook. Even before social media sites could remove the video of the attack, online followers had already posted it to YouTube, plus links and posts about it to discussion sites like Reddit and 4chan, overwhelming the attempts of social media companies to block it, and ensuring further coverage of the event through traditional media.

Indeed, some terrorists even employ sophisticated high-tech public relations experts. For example, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) released slickly produced, edited, and choreographed videos of brutal executions, including people being beheaded or burned, to YouTube and Twitter in 2014 and 2015. While some news organizations refused to run the footage on television, nevertheless their references to them granted them a far wider audience.

Assessing the Nature and Content of Coverage

Several evaluations of how journalists and media perform in the coverage of terrorism can be found in the literature on this topic.

Biases and Stereotypes

Although one traditional journalistic norm is “objectivity,” or the straightforward reporting of facts and events, actually doing so in practice is highly problematic if not impossible, leading to claims of bias or slants in coverage. While the meaning and identification of objectivity is almost as contentious as that of terrorism itself, and

media portrayals are viewed to some extent through the eye of the beholder, not some neutral standard, nevertheless some scholars have identified particular patterns or features in coverage.

One criticism is that media coverage—due to space, time, and audience interest limitations—creates a simplification bias. Daya Thussu has written that a U.S. “global war on terror” frame has dominated coverage, and the message is that terrorism is caused by irrational extremists, especially Islamic radicals, who hate the West. This emphasis, also found by other scholars, omits important topics and keeps the audience from understanding the larger, more complex social, economic, and political roots of terrorism. How widespread globally this U.S.-driven image is, however, remains in dispute.

Similarly, Fouzi Slisli (2000) argues that sensationalism and a lack of in-depth reporting in Western media leads to vague labeling of whole groups into stereotypes like “fundamentalist Muslims” or “radical clerics.” Indeed, Nacos, Yaeli Bloch-Elkon, and Robert Shapiro (2011) even argue that U.S. news coverage of global terror networks and military counterterror responses focuses too much attention on international, Islamic terror threats while at the same time there has been insufficient attention in the U.S. news media on domestic, home-grown threats such as those from neo-Nazis and white nationalists.

Nacos (2016) makes the further argument that gender stereotypes and notions of “traditional” roles have impacted the image of female terrorist participants. Although women have been members and even leaders of terrorist organizations throughout history, Western media depict them as outliers in a man’s world. These biases frame women differently, as duped victims, often motivated by emotion, versus the political, religious, or ideological factors that drive men.

Excessive Coverage

One critique concerns the amount and intensity of coverage. Some observers argue that media “overplay” these events, giving them far more attention than they merit. As noted earlier, even relatively minor terror attacks and failed attempts result in heavy, and prominent, coverage by the news media. The botched first attack on New

York’s World Trade Center (1993), the failed missile attack on an Israeli jetliner in Kenya in 2002, or the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing (three dead, hundreds wounded) all received major coverage in their countries’ news media, if not also overseas. One argument made by critics of terrorism coverage is that by making political violence so prominent, journalists aid the propaganda, prestige, and psychological impact of terrorists, providing them with the public attention they desire.

Overly Sensitive to Perpetrators

A related critique charges that media coverage is too sensitive to those who commit such acts. By treating them as major news figures, sometimes on par with government leaders, the media intentionally or unintentionally grant them and their political agenda a soapbox. For example, deadly Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh was able to express his views and perspectives in interviews with CBS News and two *Buffalo News* reporters; videotaped messages by leaders of the al Qaeda terror network can be instantly become big news in media outlets across the world upon release. Still, other studies have made the case that while indeed terrorists and the like do get coverage, the tone of that coverage is rarely favorable.

Overly Sensitive to, or Pro-, Government

Others argue instead that journalists may be too “pro-government” or cede too much control to officials and dominant elite perspectives following these incidents. While those who write from this perspective do not advocate that the press give “equal time” to terrorists, they argue that journalists go to the opposite extreme and grant the government too much unquestioned authority. By relying upon official sources and responses, becoming “cheerleaders for the system,” and presenting “rally ‘round the flag” depictions of national unity that follow, reporters give up their neutral observer status as well as fail to perform their critical, independent watchdog function. Instead, journalists can become openly biased toward the government in power, as when, in the weeks after September 11, American television reporters wore flag lapel pins, unabashedly cheered

on the United States in the war against Afghanistan, or publicly proclaimed their support for the U.S. government. This approach in turn narrows the range of ideas presented by the press, thus stifling debate and depriving the public of information that might provide valuable reflection and democratic deliberation.

Sensationalism

Another perspective—not necessarily at odds with the others—criticizes journalists for sensationalism. Journalists hype the drama, focus on (some say exploit) the victims and the “human angle” of the tragedy, thus trivializing it. In this view, the journalistic focus on blood, gore, and chaos—or personalization and conflict—comes at the expense of discussions of the larger contexts that might help the public understand terrorism and political violence.

Fear-Mongering or Playing to Audience

A related critique attacks the media for playing on or creating public fears. The excessive amount and dramatic, sensationalistic coverage noted above has the effect of exaggerating the threat of terrorism and unnecessarily heightening public anxiety. Indeed, some studies have shown that attention to crime news promotes greater anxiety. While the evidence is less clear of a similar effect with coverage of terrorism, some evidence suggests a pattern in a similar direction where those who pay greater attention to news coverage of terrorism have greater fear and are more likely to support actions by their government in response to terrorism.

Who “benefits” from this supposed media fear-mongering isn’t exactly clear. Critics who see journalism as aiding terrorists and the like believe that coverage of terrorism serves perpetrators’ goals of terrorizing the population and undermines security efforts. Others, such as David Altheide in *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear* (2017), argue that journalists help create a climate of fear that helps governments justify increased security measures, reductions in civil liberties, and greater power and control over society in response, all in the name of fighting terrorism and political violence. Of course, both perspectives could be right.

Copycat or Contagion Effects

Perhaps the biggest issue concerning the journalism of political violence is what impact it has on future acts. Does media coverage of political violence beget more political violence?

Critics charge that by granting terrorists publicity and status, both for themselves and their causes, journalists encourage people to engage in violence for political ends. As former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher put it, the media provide the “oxygen of publicity” to the fire of terrorism. Just as media coverage of mass murderers may encourage copycats, so too does coverage of these actions. Proponents of this view believe that if the news media would not cover these events—or at least, would not cover them so extensively and/or favorably—much of the incentive to engage in political violence would cease to exist.

Such an argument would seem to have merit. Terrorists clearly know that media coverage and the publicity it generates is a key component of their actions. As September 11, 2001, showed, they clearly stage events to maximize their media impact. Some studies of this so-called contagion theory have found greater incidents of terrorism in an area following heavy media coverage of terrorism. Likewise, coverage of bomb threats against schools and nuclear power plants tend to increase future threats.

In addition, media attention to perpetrators grants them celebrity status that may help them achieve their own personal or political aims. Though most criminals shun public attention to their activities, many (but not all) who engage in political violence want it. The lavish media attention to McVeigh and bin Laden, as well as Olympic and abortion-clinic bomber Eric Rudolph and “Unabomber” Ted Kaczynski, who sent mail bombs to prominent scientists and business leaders in the 1990s, turned them into household names.

Yet others think the case for “contagion” is overstated and hard to prove. Furthermore, some believe that such claims may just be an excuse used by government officials to justify more control and censorship over the media. There exists a lack of long-term and concrete studies documenting subsequent linkages. The literature on the question remains inconclusive though anecdotally powerful.

Responses: Censorship and Reporting Codes

Given the possible impact of coverage of these events on responding to and combating political violence in the future, policy responses have been proposed and implemented to mitigate its supposed negative effects. The two main types are censorship and journalistic codes of conduct.

Some analysts and policymakers believe that the stakes are so high that government secrecy toward and censorship of the media is required. They advocate governments withholding information or mandating blackouts of terrorist incidents. At the extreme, they believe governments should actively prevent media from disseminating certain information during or after such events, known as prior restraint.

Because of the core values of free speech and press underlying journalism, formal censorship is utilized much more often in authoritarian regimes like Pakistan and China than in Western democratic nations such as the United States. It is sometimes used even in those contexts, such as the United Kingdom's ban on media broadcasts or publications of statements by figures in the Irish Republican Army and its Sinn Fein organization during "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. The Russian legislature passed legislation in 2005 forcing all media organizations to clear stories beforehand with government counterterrorism agencies, in addition to other limits on the media.

Proponents of censorship argue that there are limits to free speech, and that the lives of actual or potential victims, and safety in general, outweigh unlimited freedom of the media to publish. Opponents retort that censorship rarely works, overstates the degree to which journalists cause or influence political violence, and destroys the very freedom that democratic governments are supposed to protect. In any event, the rise of "new media" outlets such as international cable and satellite television, the Internet, interactive wireless phones, and livestreaming on social media platforms have effectively decreased the ability of many governments to control coverage of political violence, much like other topics.

Less extreme is the argument that journalists and media organizations should practice informal self-censorship and not publicize information that

might hurt law enforcement efforts or help terrorist aims. For example, the major American television networks delayed, heavily edited, or even refused to broadcast some videotaped messages from bin Laden and al Qaeda at the request of the administration of President George W. Bush so as to not help the terrorist organization pass on hidden messages to its followers or grant too much attention to it. This approach only works when the media organizations are sensitive to government calls or possible public backlash against the effects of their coverage.

Along these lines, media outlets, recognizing the ramifications of their actions, have developed formal reporting codes for use during terrorist attacks, hostage situations, and the like. A number of outlets such as CBS, the BBC, and some wire services and newspapers have formal reporting guidelines for covering terrorism. These policies vary by country and news organization.

Reporting codes give journalists ethical and practical guidelines to follow when dealing with terrorist attacks, including ways to avoid undermining legitimate government security efforts. David Paletz and Laura Tawney, in their study of such policies, concluded that in general, there was a strong sense that terrorism was a newsworthy topic, but also policy preferences toward avoiding sensationalism, coupled with "the desire not to legitimate terrorism or provide a platform for terrorists . . . and to avoid coverage which might endanger hostages" (Paletz & Tawney, 1992, p. 110). However, not all media outlets develop policies with such sensitivity. A cross-national study of newspaper editors found that while some editors were aware of the potential for their organizations to be used for terrorist ends, "the division of labor between the terrorist as fear generator and the unwitting editor as fear amplifier and transmitter has not been fully perceived by all those responsible for the media" (Schmid, 1992, p. 130).

No matter how formal the reporting codes may be, however, these voluntary restraints are just that—voluntary. Training of producers, editors, and reporters in these standards and codes of conduct may be varied or spotty. News organizations, in the heat of the moment, up against competition from rivals, facing time pressures, production constraints, and the like, especially given today's

global “24/7” news environment, may throw such standards out the window in practice. The perceived lack of responsibility on the part of journalists is in fact one reason why governments and even publics in democracies often favor more heavy-handed controls on media coverage.

Conclusion

Finding the proper balance in tone or amount of coverage for these types of events is difficult. Journalists seem to be in a no-win situation in covering terrorism: They face criticism for giving too much coverage, or not enough; for being too easy on the perpetrators, or being too easy (or hard) on the government; for trivializing coverage by focusing on the human angle, or being insensitive to the needs of victims; and more.

On the one hand, news organizations are criticized by governments, law enforcement officials, and some “security-sensitive” scholars and related professionals for overblowing terrorism and assassination coverage and giving undue publicity to its perpetrators. On the other, they are criticized by other observers for passivity, following the government line, uncritically celebrating community values, feeding unreasonable fears, and/or exploiting the tragedy of the victims or allowing governments to do so for political ends. Yet it is hard to argue that major terror attacks should not be “news,” or that the media should ignore the victims.

The question is how journalism can play its proper democratic function of independent and enlightening critic in the face of events that fundamentally strike the body and soul of the polity. There are no obvious answers. Still, there is no doubt that given the symbiotic relationship between journalism and terrorism, this genre of reporting will continue to be prominent, and contentious, just like its subject.

Todd Schaefer

See also Censorship; Criminal Justice and Journalism; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; News as Narrative; War and Military Journalism

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THEORIES OF JOURNALISM

Theories of journalism define its nature and role within the context of different societies. These normative theories do not seek to predict or interpret news media phenomena, nor do they simply describe press systems. Instead, they reflect how news media ideally *should* be structured and operated under certain political conditions and social values. Press theories provide a framework to examine the relationship of journalism and society

as well as what is expected of the media according to the social environment. A basic intent of the theories is to set out ideal standards against which the performance of each news media system can be evaluated. Another important goal is to compare key aspects of journalism in different societies and categorize news media systems around the world by the essential similarities and differences. Theories of journalism, therefore, serve as guides for journalists, media critics, and scholars in the field of mass communication.

Origins

Theories of journalism derive from multiple sources. The first attempt to study in a systematic fashion the role and function of mass media within a specific social setting was the work of the Hutchins Commission in the 1940s. In response to the increasing criticisms of the American press, which appeared to be moving toward sensationalism, commercialism, and monopoly—and away from objectivity—Henry Luce, cofounder of *Time* magazine, funded an independent commission of inquiry to deflect possible government intervention. Chaired by Robert Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, the commission was charged with investigating the state of journalism and the media more generally and making recommendations concerning their role. *A Free and Responsible Press*, the commission's 1947 report, provided a framework for assessing the social responsibilities of American journalism.

Subsequent studies by media scholars compared and contrasted news media systems in different social environments. Several theories of journalism have developed since the mid-1950s. Regardless of how many typologies may be suggested, there are only a few widely accepted approaches to society news media classification. They are known as *Four Theories*, *Five Concepts*, and *Three Movements*. Other perspectives are more or less variations of these three models.

Four Theories

No framework of theorizing the relation between journalism and society has been more influential than the University of Illinois Press's all-time non-fiction best-selling book, *Four Theories of the*

Press. First published in 1956, it has been widely taught in journalism courses and translated into more languages than any other media textbook. The authors, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, proposed a typology of four theoretical categories for understanding news media systems: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. The proposition underlying the *Four Theories* model was that news media always reflect a country's system of social control.

Authoritarian theory is the oldest concept of journalism, appearing in England in the 16th and 17th centuries. Johannes Gutenberg's innovation of printing with movable type in the 15th century led to a communication revolution that challenged both church and state monopolies on knowledge. In response, governments severely restricted the press to maintain absolute authority. The authoritarian concept evolved from the philosophy espoused by such thinkers as Plato, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and Georg Hegel. They all consider the individual to be subordinate to society. Possession of knowledge is the province of authorities who justify their control as a means to protect social order. In an authoritarian system, the main purpose of journalism is to support and advance government policies. News media operate with government's permission, and they are subjected to government patents, guilds, licensing, and censorship. Although private ownership is provided, news media are obligated to endorse the version of the truth supplied by the national leadership. Journalism must function for "the good of the state" and cannot challenge, criticize, or in any way undermine government's authority. The authoritarian theory of journalism flourishes wherever a "strongman" type of government exists. The concept is widespread in several regions of the world, including parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Libertarian theory of journalism took root in England and the United States in the 17th century and arose in opposition to the authoritarian doctrine. Approval of the English Bill of Rights in 1689 laid the foundation for individual liberties. The concept of a libertarian press was drawn from the writings of John Stuart Mill, John Milton, John Locke, and philosophical principles of rationalism and natural rights. Libertarianism means

that humans, as rational beings, are able to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The American Bills of Rights a century later expanded libertarian principles to include freedom of the press. In the libertarian view, news media must have an independent and autonomous role to help discover truth and to place a check on government. Libertarian journalism must be free to express ideas without fear of government interference. The separation of journalism and government ensures the right of all people with economic means to have access to news media. "The self-righting process of truth" in a "free marketplace of ideas" controls the media. In other words, individuals search for truth from competing claims. The libertarian news media, for the most part, are privately owned and free to inform, criticize, entertain, and sell. However, they are barred from defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition. Libertarian journalism tends to exist in multiparty political economies featuring free market capitalism. The news media systems in countries like Germany, France, and Japan are typical examples.

Social responsibility theory is a modification of the libertarian notion. It was born in the United States in the 1940s, when increasing monopolistic conditions and questionable practices on the part of news media led to the advocacy of more moral restrictions on their freedom. The writings of the Commission on Freedom of the Press (the Hutchins Commission), the work of practitioners, as well as various news media codes of ethics formed the basis of the social responsibility concept. This theory differs from libertarianism in seeing the chief purpose of journalism as raising conflict to the plane of discussion rather than checking government. Under the social responsibility theory, everyone with something to say has the right to use news media. A socially responsible media are controlled by community opinion, consumer action, and professional ethics. Journalists must avoid serious invasion of privacy rights and vital social interests. Although the free news media are privately owned, government can take over to ensure public service. The social responsibility theory implies recognition by journalists that they must fulfill obligations to warrant their freedom. Those responsibilities include servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs; enlightening the

public so as to make it capable of self-government; safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; servicing the economic system, primarily in bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising; providing entertainment; and maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests. Social responsibility theory guides most journalism operating in the United States.

Soviet communist theory of journalism stands at the other end of the spectrum. It flowed from the thoughts of Marx, Lenin, and Joseph Stalin with a mixture of Hegel and 19th-century Russian thinking. This theory is based on the premise that such ideas as rationalism and individual rights to know government business are unrealistic. Therefore, journalism in the Communist model functions to transmit governmental social policy rather than to search for truth. The press operates as a collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer to support the government and thus serve the people. Communist news media are considered integral parts of the state. The Communist party apparatus controls them. Within that system, self-criticism of failure to live up to Communist planning is encouraged, but journalists cannot criticize Party objectives. The Communist concept is an offshoot of authoritarianism but differs from its roots in several aspects. The Soviet news media model disapproves of private ownership, removes the profit motive, and emphasizes media as instruments of government. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, news media in North Korea and Cuba became typical examples of communist journalism in its traditional form.

Revisiting Four Theories

Ralph Lowenstein, a media scholar, revised and expanded the four theories of journalism when he added a new category based on news media ownership. Slightly different titles were given to two of the four basic concepts proposed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. Authoritarian and libertarian remained the same. Soviet communist was renamed as *social authoritarian theory* to remove the negative connotations of the original term and to broaden its application. Social responsibility

became *social libertarian* to avoid the ambiguity in the original term and to reflect the roots of this theory in libertarianism. *Social centrist* was the new theory of journalism that institutes government or public ownership to assure the operational spirit of libertarianism.

In an attempt to broaden the social responsibility concept into a more active role, proponents of *civic* (or *public*) *journalism* suggested that news media should engage audience members in reporting important civic issues. Journalists are encouraged to reach out to the public, to give voice to the people's agenda, and to meet the needs of various social groups. Civic journalism moves beyond the role of a detached reporter in the marketplace of ideas to the role of a fair-minded participant in public life. Although the civic journalism concept has achieved only qualified success in the United States, it has been seen as a direct response to the call for socially responsible news media with a solid commitment to community service. The American civic journalism model has also been experimented with in other countries, including New Zealand.

Five Concepts

As the world's news media adapt to changing social needs, new theories of journalism have emerged to update the basic model proposed in 1956. The *Five Concepts* typology, first introduced by media scholar William Hachten in 1981, is a major deviation from the *Four Theories* approach. Significant changes have been made to sort global journalism into five distinct theories: Western, revolutionary, developmental, authoritarian, and communist. The basic tenet of this classification is that differing perceptions about the nature and role of journalism reflect the values of sociopolitical systems and historical and cultural traditions of the nations within which it operates.

The Western concept combines elements of both libertarianism and social responsibility. The theory holds that a government should not interfere in the process of collecting and disseminating news. News media are independent of authority and exist outside government. Under the Western concept, the press has the right to report and comment on as well as criticize government without

restraints. To maintain its autonomy, news media must be financially strong and profitable. Meanwhile, the privately owned press system has obligations of public service that transcend moneymaking. The Western theory is practiced in democracies with market economies that have an established tradition of independent journalism. Examples of nations meeting these criteria include Britain, Canada, Japan, and the United States.

The revolutionary concept is concerned with illegal and subversive communication, using news media to overthrow a government or wrest control from alien or rejected rulers. Historically, effective use of communication has been a part of every revolution. In the United States, for example, Thomas Paine used pamphlets to help inspire the rebellion against Britain. In his writings, Jefferson advocated and justified the people's right to revolution. The theory of revolutionary journalism stemmed from Lenin's ideas of utilizing a newspaper as a cover for a revolutionary organization. By definition, revolutionary news media are those of people who believe that the ruling government does not serve their interests. Functions of revolutionary journalism include putting an end to government monopoly on information, organizing insurgents, destroying the legitimacy of the rulers, and bringing down the alien or rejected rulers. The words of the *Pravda* in the 1917 Russian Revolution and the underground press in Nazi-occupied France were classic examples of revolutionary journalism. A contemporary case was the use of audiocassettes and photocopiers by supporters of the Ayatollah Khomeini against the Shah's regime in Iran in 1979.

The developmental concept assumes that news media can function as multipliers of efforts to promote social change. This theory is a mixture of social responsibility ideals, communist ideas, as well as resentments against the West by impoverished and media-poor nations. In its basic form, the developmental concept posits that individual rights are necessarily subordinate to the larger goals of nation building. Therefore, the central government must control all instruments of mass communication to serve national goals in economic development, political education, and eradication of illiteracy. Development journalism should support authority rather than criticize or challenge it. News media freedom can be restricted

according to the development needs of the society. Since information is a scarce national resource, news media are state property and are used to further national development. Along the same line, a nation can claim a sovereign right to control both foreign journalists and the flow of news back and forth across its borders. Although the concept of development journalism was seen as an emerging pattern associated with the noncommunist nations of the developing world, it appeared to be losing momentum by the mid-1990s. Good examples of developmental media can be found in Brazil, Ghana, Honduras, and Zimbabwe, among many others.

Authoritarian and communist concepts in Hachten's classification of news media systems are similar to those of Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm in *Four Theories of the Press*. In the *Five Concepts* model, the developmental and communist theories of journalism are variations of the traditional authoritarianism. Within authoritarian societies, diversity of views is wasteful and irresponsible, while consensus is a sensible goal for journalism. Therefore, journalists generally exercise self-censorship and maintain the status quo. Therein lies a major difference between authoritarian and communist concepts. The communist news media system is planned and built the process of change. Another distinction is related to media ownership. Communist news media are state property as opposed to the privately owned press in the authoritarian model.

Revising Five Concepts

Several modifications of the *Five Concepts* typology have been postulated since the mid-1980s. Within the Western concept, media scholar Robert Picard identified democratic socialism along with social responsibility and libertarianism as coequal subcategories. The *democratic socialist theory* was drawn from a mixture of modern Marxist thoughts and the writings of classic liberal philosophers. The roles of democratic socialist journalism are to provide an avenue for expression of diverse voices and to promote democratic governance. News media are operated for the citizen's use and for the protection of the citizen's social, political, and economic rights. In a democratic socialist system, the media are instruments of the people and

public utilities rather than tools of the state or privately owned institutions. To ensure the existence of news media plurality and the ability of citizens to access them, the state can intervene in media economics and ownership. Ultimately, this theory of journalism holds that ownership would be public and not-for-profit, through foundations, nonprofit corporations, journalist-oriented groups, and other collective organizations. Democratic socialist journalism lies somewhere between the social responsibility and developmental theories.

Along the same vein, *democratic participant theory* represents an effort to expand the boundary of the *Five Concepts* to include an alternative journalism approach. Media theorist Denis McQuail emphasized the role of news media in supporting cultural pluralism at a grassroots level. Public participation and empowerment of pluralistic groups are central to democratic participant journalism. The theory contends that individual citizens and minority groups have a right to be served by news media according to their determination of need. Therefore, group members rather than the powers of state or industry can directly control the organization and content of news media. Meanwhile, democratic participant journalism systems may receive government subsidies and training to provide their own audiences with nonmainstream, local, small-scale, interactive, and participative news media forms. The democratic participant and democratic socialist concepts represent a reaction against the abuses of private media ownership as well as state control of news media. These two evolving theories of journalism emerged in 20th-century Western Europe, and they are active in Scandinavian countries.

Two other concepts of alternative journalism reflect somewhat radical theoretical perspectives on the role of news media. One is emancipatory journalism, and the other is communitarian journalism. *Emancipatory media theory* calls for a reconceptualization of development journalism by charging news media with an activist role in social change. This theory requires bottom-up reporting in forms and formats that challenge and force oppressive structures to change. By disseminating the views and priorities for development of people at the grassroots level, emancipatory journalism empowers marginalized groups and mobilizes action

against unequal power. Examples of emancipatory media can be found in, among other locations, rural areas of Bolivia, Uganda, and Zambia.

Meanwhile, the concept of *communitarian journalism* emphasizes the ethical imperative of news media to engage in dialog with the public it serves. This anti-libertarian theory urges journalists to abandon the role of neutral observer in order to help construct community identity. Under the communitarian view, news should be an agent of community formation, and the goal of reporting is not intelligence but a like-minded philosophy among the public. In some respects, the communitarian concept of journalism is reactionary to “mainstream” or “dominant” news media theory. This theory does not seem to have traveled far.

Three Movements

A new approach to theorizing the operation of the media in different social settings emerged in the 1980s when scholars challenged an ideological bias underlying the libertarian–authoritarian dichotomy. According to J. Herbert Altschull, all news media systems are agents of power, and beliefs about journalism in each system are held so passionately that they are not subject to rational or critical analysis. One system’s faith may be another’s folly. Therefore, the operation of a news media system can only be judged against the ideal values knowable for the specific society. In devising a value-free classification, Altschull conceptualized theories of journalism as three movements of a global symphony: market, Marxist, and advancing. The three movements differ in their journalistic purposes, articles of faith, and views on news media freedom.

Market journalism is assigned with the roles of (a) seeking truth, (b) being socially responsible, (c) informing the people in a nonpolitical way, (d) serving the people impartially, (e) supporting capitalism, and (f) being a watchdog of government. In the market movement, news media should be free of outside interference to serve the public’s right to know. Journalists seek to learn and present the truth and must report fairly and objectively. In the market views on news media freedom, journalists are free of all outside controls and not servile or manipulated by power. No national media policy is needed to ensure free journalism. The market movement links to the First or Western World.

Marxist journalism also seeks truth and social responsibility as defined by its own standard. Marxist media educate the people in a political way and serve them by demanding support for socialism. News media, as collective organizers, are assigned the purpose of molding views and changing behavior. In the Marxist system, journalism helps transform false consciousness and educate workers into class consciousness. News media should provide for the masses and facilitate effective change. Journalists are believed to report objectively about the realities of experience. The Marxist theory of journalism views news media as part of the government. Consequently, a national media policy is required to guarantee that journalism takes a correct form. A free journalist should report the opinions of all people, not only those of the rich. Moreover, a journalist is required to counter oppression. The Marxist movement corresponds to practice in much of the former Soviet Bloc, China, North Korea, and Cuba.

Advancing journalism is the third model of the *Three Movements* classification. The roles assigned to the advancing media can be compared to those of the Marxist movement, but with some variations. In an advancing society, the first purposes of journalism remain serving truth, being socially responsible, and educating people in a political way. However, advancing journalists serve the people, by seeking, in partnership with government, beneficial social change. In addition, news media must be instruments of peace. The advancing movement believes that news media are unifying forces that serve the interests of the people by avoiding divisive reporting. The advancing journalist is meant to be a part of two-way exchanges, not merely one-way flow of information from journalists to the masses. Proper journalism is participatory. Under the advancing theory, news media freedom is less important than the viability of the nation. A national media policy is needed to safeguard journalistic freedom. Meanwhile, free media are not much concerned with freedom of mere information. It is more important that journalists be assured freedom of conscience than that they be flooded with information. The advancing movement applies to much of the developing or Southern World.

Closely connected to the *Three Movements* are the three world perspectives outlined by journalism

researchers L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary. They chose the political designations of First, Second, and Third World as the basis for classifying press systems and theorized the three perspectives from six functions of journalism: the concept of news; the social, political, and economic role of the media; the educational, persuasive, and opinion-making function; the entertainment function; press freedom; and media economics.

Conclusion

Since the mid-1950s, increasingly complex theoretical ideas have expressed what news media should do under certain social norms. Normative theories of journalism, organized from various perspectives, have supplied different criteria for evaluating and comparing news media systems. By the turn of the 21st century, the *Four Theories* model continued to exert an immense influence. Despite its oversimplified and value-laden view, the work has been widely cited in journalism and mass communication.

Changing media, political, and economic landscapes across the world have outstripped the *Four Theories*, however, as well as two later typologies—*Five Concepts* and *Three Movements*. There have been criticisms that existing theories of journalism were constrained by the ideology and historical circumstances of their inception. The concepts of communist and Marxist media, for example, have been mostly voided with the demise of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In the post-cold war world, a more flexible version of media theory is needed to cope with the differences between orthodox communism (as in Cuba or North Korea) and the “pragmatic market socialism” of China, Laos, or Vietnam. Along the same line, changes in media technology have made it almost impossible to match a theory of journalism and a type of society. In the era of globalization, the World Wide Web has linked people across borders, enabling them to seek, receive, and disseminate information via transnational media that are beyond state control. On the other hand, the Internet has also provided an easy means for even the smallest groups to produce their own media, thereby creating a fragmented audience—an indicator of a Balkanization of the larger society. In settings where vastly

diverse news media no longer operate as one system with shared ideals and values, traditional theories of journalism may become irrelevant.

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See also Alternative News Media; Civic Journalism; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Press and Government Relations

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THOMSON

The Thomson family of Canada controls a web of media businesses, which has grown and evolved from extremely modest origins in the 1930s to become one of the world's largest news and information empires. Now in a third generation of family ownership, their media holdings include

the global Reuters news agency, *The Globe and Mail* national newspaper, many U.S. publishing companies, and several online databases. The corporate form of the family's holdings has also changed over the years from Thomson Newspapers and the Thomson Organization to the International Thomson Organization to the Thomson Corporation and now to Thomson Reuters. The family's privately held Woodbridge Company owns 62% of the shares of publicly traded Thomson Reuters, one third of the Canadian Press news agency, and 100% of *The Globe and Mail*. The hereditary peerage Baron Thomson of Fleet of Northbridge in the City of Edinburgh, which is often referred to as *Lord Thomson of Fleet*, was bestowed upon company founder Roy Thomson in 1964. It passed on his death in 1976 to his son Kenneth and in 2005 to his grandson David.

Company Origins

Roy Thomson was a serial entrepreneur who went broke selling auto parts in the 1920s but late in life founded an international media empire from the humblest of beginnings as a traveling radio salesman in the 1930s. His territory was in remote northern Ontario, far from his home in Toronto, but the business college graduate showed a knack for making money from media. To sell more radios, he founded North Bay station CFCH in 1931, which shared a building with the local newspaper. When Thomson learned how profitable newspapers were, even during the Great Depression, he decided to expand into that business. He bought the *Timmins Daily Press* in 1934 for \$6,000, paying \$200 down and the rest as installments of \$200 a month. Thomson hired Jack Kent Cooke to sell advertising in 1936. The charismatic Cooke later took over management of Thomson's growing network of radio stations before branching out into professional sports, owning the NFL Washington Redskins, NBA Los Angeles Lakers, and NHL Los Angeles Kings. Thomson focused on newspaper acquisitions and eventually built one of the largest chains in Canada and the world.

Thomson Newspapers became notorious for penny pinching, paying low salaries, doling out pencils individually, and requiring reporters to use scrap paper instead of issuing them notebooks. Its

titles as a result were not known for quality. Thomson once quipped that news was what separated the ads. He owned 19 newspapers in Canada by 1953, when he bought *The Scotsman* in Edinburgh. He moved to Edinburgh and bid successfully for a commercial television license there in 1957. He famously described Scottish Television on its opening as "like having a licence to print your own money" (Crisell, 2002, p. 108). He formed the Thomson Organization in 1959 to buy the Kemsley group, which was the largest newspaper chain in Britain. It included *The Sunday Times*, firmly establishing Thomson as a leading Fleet Street mogul at age 65. He bought *The Times* in 1966 from the Astor family and merged it with *The Sunday Times* as Times Newspapers.

Thomson was a new type of newspaper owner in Britain because he focused on profit, not on politics. He once famously said: "I buy newspapers to make money, to buy more newspapers to make more money. As for editorial content, that's the stuff you separate the ads with" (Anonymous, 1965). He branched out into the travel business in 1965, founding Thomson Travel and adding UK charter airline Britannia Airways in 1971. His most lucrative investment, however, was made in the early 1970s when he joined a consortium that struck oil in the North Sea. Those profits, which soon comprised most of the Thomson Organization's income, were mostly used to buy highly profitable small-town newspapers in the United States, where by the late 1970s Thomson had built one of the country's largest chains. The newspapers were inevitably squeezed for even more profits by cost controls, staff cuts, and steep advertising rate increases. Thomson Newspapers broke a long-standing taboo in American journalism by running front-page ads, perhaps as a result of its top executives being from Britain, where the practice was common. By the time Roy Thomson died of a stroke in 1976, the company he founded owned more than 200 newspapers in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The architecturally unique Roy Thomson Hall in Toronto, which opened in 1982, is named in his memory.

The Second Generation

Thomson's son Kenneth was Canada's first billionaire as a result of the fortune he inherited, but

he was as private as his father was outspoken. He seemed to share only his father's frugality, reportedly waiting until a parking meter expired before feeding it, sorting through bargain bins for his socks, and even shopping for his own groceries to compare prices. He preferred to spend his riches on his extensive art collection. One of three children, he worked his way up in the family business, apprenticing as a reporter at the company's original *Timmins Daily Press* in 1947 and then selling ads for the *Galt Daily Reporter* before serving as its general manager from 1950 to 1953. He then took over as head of Thomson Newspapers when his father moved to the United Kingdom.

He reorganized the family's holdings soon after his dad died, and by the millennium had transformed the business from news and advertising to subscription information services. He sold Scottish Television in 1977 and the following year converted the Thomson Organization into the publicly traded International Thomson Organization Limited (ITOL) based in Toronto. He outbid George Weston Limited in 1979 for the Hudson's Bay Company, acquiring 75% of the historic Canadian department store chain for \$400 million. A labor dispute at Times Newspapers prompted Thomson to lock out workers and cease publishing *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* for almost a year starting in late 1978, after which the newspapers were sold to Rupert Murdoch's News International in 1981.

Thomson Newspapers became Canada's second-largest chain in 1980 when it acquired FP Publications, which owned major dailies across the country, including *The Globe and Mail*, which it soon expanded into a national daily via satellite transmission. It prompted a Royal Commission on Newspapers later that year when it closed the *Ottawa Journal* and laid off 375 workers on the same day that rival chain Southam Inc. closed its *Winnipeg Tribune*. Thomson simultaneously sold the *Vancouver Sun* to Southam, which already owned the *Vancouver Province*, creating a third new local monopoly. The chains were charged with conspiracy to reduce competition but were acquitted in 1983 after a judge ruled the transactions were instead good business sense.

The 1981 Royal Commission on Newspapers report was harshly critical of Thomson's focus on

the bottom line at the expense of journalism, noting that its spending on news and editorial content was 24% below the industry average. The report recommended that the chain be broken up by selling either *The Globe and Mail* or its other Canadian newspapers. Pointedly, it did not recommend breaking up the larger Southam, which it found published higher quality journalism. It recommended legislation to limit chain ownership, but none was enacted after the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau fell. Perhaps as a result of the criticism Thomson received, the company never acquired another newspaper in Canada and instead bought U.S. titles and made non-newspaper acquisitions, increasingly adding specialized book, magazine, and business publishers.

ITOL bought textbook publisher Wadsworth in 1978 and renamed it Thomson Learning in 2000. The 1980s saw the company expand into a range of publishing areas. It acquired the publishing operations of U.S. defense contractor Litton Industries in 1981, and then bought a string of publishers including Warren, Gorham & Lamont (business); Delmar (educational); Callaghan & Company (legal); Clark Boardman (legal); Ward's (automotive); Gale (educational); Sweet & Maxwell (legal); Routledge (academic); Lawyers Cooperative Publishing; American Banker and Bond Buyer; MicroMedex Healthcare Series; Macmillan Professional and Business Reference; Medstat; the Institute for Scientific Information (Web of Science); Peterson's (educational); and Jane's. ITOL merged with Thomson Newspapers in 1989 to form the U.S.-based Thomson Corporation with headquarters in Stamford, Connecticut. It gradually divested its holdings in travel, oil, department stores, and even newspapers in favor of specialized online information services. It paid \$3.4 billion in 1995 for Minnesota-based West Publishing, which owned 10,000 legal databases including the widely used Westlaw. By buying dozens more database companies, the Thomson Corporation expanded into one of the world's largest financial, taxation, scientific, and medical information providers. While other publishers posted their content on the open World Wide Web for all to access for free, it focused on buying specialized subscription databases, transforming itself into

what its CEO described in 2005 as a Google for high-end professional users.

The corporate transformation may have been prompted less by foresight than by falling profits. From margins in excess of 30% in the 1980s, a recession in the early 1990s dropped the company's newspaper profits into the teens. They stayed there as a result of a drop in national advertising and structural changes in retailing, which moved from department stores to big-box stores such as Walmart that advertised less. By early in the millennium, the Thomson family had sold off its entire newspaper empire, which at its height included 233 titles in North America and 151 in the United Kingdom, except for their hometown *The Globe and Mail*. As a result, it avoided a financial catastrophe when the newspaper industry collapsed during the 2008–2009 recession as most classified advertising migrated to websites.

The Globe and Mail faced new competition in 1998 when Conrad Black founded the *National Post* after taking over the Southam chain, prompting a newspaper war between Toronto's four dailies. The Thomsons partnered *The Globe and Mail* with the CTV network in 2000 to form CTV-globemedia as part of the ill-fated "convergence" experiment in cross-media ownership. It lasted a decade, after which the Thomsons dissolved the joint venture as unworkable. By the time Kenneth Thomson died of a heart attack at his office in 2006, he was the world's ninth-richest person and had turned a family business worth \$500 million into one worth an estimated \$29.3 billion.

The Third Generation

The ever-growing Thomson family became increasingly secretive in its third generation. Its crowning media acquisition came in 2008, when it bought a controlling interest in the historic Reuters news agency, which was one of the world's oldest and largest with more than 200 bureaus in almost 100 countries. It had been founded in 1851 by Paul Julius Reuter, who got his start by sending stock quotes from Aachen, Germany, to Brussels by carrier pigeon. He soon moved his financial information business to London and expanded worldwide via undersea cable in the late 19th century. Reuter

built a reputation for scoops, including the first European report of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln's 1865 assassination. He thus soon added news to his subscriber services. His company Reuters was acquired in the 1920s by the domestic UK news agency Press Association but was restructured in 1941 as the private Reuters Trust to resist government pressure to transmit wartime propaganda. It later expanded into radio and television news, then in 1973 began to provide foreign-exchange rates to clients via computer. Reuters began facilitating electronic transactions in 1981 and later added electronic brokerage and trading services. It was floated as the public company Reuters Group plc in 1984 and its share price rose during the late-1990s dot-com boom but fell during recessions in 2001 and 2008.

The Thomsons acquired Reuters for \$17 billion in 2008, merged it with the Thomson Corporation to form publicly traded Thomson Reuters, and moved its headquarters to Toronto. The new company had combined revenues estimated at more than \$13 billion, making it one of the world's largest media conglomerates. The purchase was controversial because under the Reuters Principles, no entity was allowed to own more than 15% of its shares, but this was waived due to the news agency's precarious financial situation. According to the chairman of the Reuters Founders Share Company, he received assurances that the Thomsons would vote with the trustees on anything that might infringe on Reuters Trust principles. The exemption for majority ownership by Woodbridge would only be allowed, he added, as long as it was controlled by the Thomsons. Their takeover reportedly worried Reuters journalists, who feared they might be marginalized by the company's financial data business and that their reputation for unbiased journalism could be threatened by the influence of a majority shareholder. The purchase was reviewed by antitrust regulators in the United States and the European Union, which required the divestment of some competing divisions. Thomson Reuters, which sold a controlling interest in its Financial and Risk unit in 2018 for \$17 billion, made \$1.49 billion in profit in 2019 on \$5.9 billion in revenues, for a 25.3% profit margin. In 2010, Woodbridge took over the

faltering Canadian Press news agency in a joint venture with the Torstar Corporation, publisher of the *Toronto Star*, and Power Corporation, publisher of the Montreal newspaper *La Presse*. Established in 1917 as a co-operative owned by member newspapers across the country, the Canadian Press restructured as a for-profit company to focus less on news and more on subscription information services.

The private lives of the third-generation Thomsons are closely guarded by lawyers with nondisclosure agreements, lawsuits, and prenups. Their affairs sometimes leak out into the tabloid press but are rarely reported in Canada's mainstream media. David is the current Woodbridge chairman and 3rd Baron Thomson of Fleet. Like his father, David owns an extensive art collection and started as a reporter at the *Timmins Daily Press*, later managing a Bay department store. He was listed in 2019 as the wealthiest person in Canada with a net worth estimated at \$37.8 billion. His sister Taylor (née Lynne) is a former actor and aspiring filmmaker. Peter, who is deputy chairman of Woodbridge, was a photographer for the *Brampton Times* and *The Globe and Mail* but made his name as a race car driver, winning the 2005 Canadian Rally Championship.

Articles about the third-generation Thomsons that are available in print are said to be missing from newspaper databases. *The Globe and Mail* reportedly refuses to sell photographs of the family, referring inquiries to Woodbridge. Otherwise the family is reported to have a hands-off approach to the media they own, allowing professional managers to run them.

Marc Edge

See also British Newspapers; Business Magazines; Convergence; Media Conglomerates; Media Ownership; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; North America; Reuters

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TIME IN JOURNALISM

The products of journalism are narratives, typically nonfictional and informative ones. Such narratives may refer to distant or recent past occurrences, report accounts regarding live incidents or ongoing trends, and reflect on future consequences and ramifications of current events. Thus, like other narratives, or even more so, time and temporality are constituting news narratives. From the production angle, time is an element that plays an essential part in newsmaking, as pressures such as deadlines or the desire to publish first exclusive items before colleagues are affecting journalistic practices in the accelerated news cycle. From the news technology and users' perspective, time is increasingly becoming a significant factor as the number of minutes spent in news sites is a measurable matrix. Hence, the "life cycle" of news stories depends on their consumption. That is, if the public does not click and spend time consuming them, then they vanish from the news sites' homepage and become less accessible and, by so becoming, they are, de facto, irrelevant.

The Past

The past is the focus of the narration within news stories that cover recent events of the same day or the immediate past in “breaking news” and real-time updates. Nonetheless, the past is an integral part of any news story, as previous knowledge assists media consumers in transforming the news into intelligible information (e.g., if they read an item on the president, they already know about that person’s history in the public sphere). Thus, even when a connection between the past and the news is not directly manifested, all news items are, by default, related to a past that provides the background and context against which current affairs unfold.

Another meaningful connection between the past and the news is related to mediated collective memory. The most evident manifestation of mediated collective memory is “anniversary journalism,” when news reporting marks the anniversary of culturally significant events, and the drive behind the coverage is to commemorate events and people. In such cases, journalism has a crucial role in shaping the collective memory by concretizing a narrative of the past into a functional sociopolitical construct.

Another use of the past in the news is when the past is utilized as a point of reference to the present, analogies that treat the past as a yardstick. This practice foregrounds the role of the past in the news to contextualize recent events. In the United States, from the 1950s to the 2000s the number of “contextual stories” increased in comparison to “conventional reporting” (Fink & Schudson, 2014).

Concluding this section, a distinction can be made between different journalistic uses and gratification of the past temporal orientation. In essence, the far past and collective memory are to be used as commemoration, the medium range past as deeper explanations to contextualize the news, and reports on recent occurrences from the immediate past as the news for itself.

The Present

News is usually associated with the present as the term itself suggests the connection to fresh information added to our previous knowledge. It also

reflects the notion that the news should refer to and illuminate current affairs. From a wider narratological angle, the present is the anchor for all narratives and serves as the point of reference for both journalists and news audiences: the past is evaluated in the eyes of the current perceptions, and the future is assessed based on existing understandings. The newsmaking process can be interpreted as affording more than one deictic “present”: the present of the reporter while producing the item, the present of the editorial staff while processing it, the present of the material production of the item, and the open present of its consumption. In the digital age, the gap between the production and consumption of news is very short.

In many cases, because of time pressures and the need to be relevant, there is a minimal lag between the occurrence of an event, its production, and its consumption. Moreover, different media exhibit varied relationships to this immediacy of news production and consumption. Within news narratives identify two primary forms of “present” can be identified. One is the “restricted present” which encompasses occurrences taking place during the report such as live events, both unexpected (“breaking news”) for the journalists that the media covers as they unfold, or expected events, those that journalists are prepared to cover, such as media events. This form of the present has distinct temporal and spatial boundaries. The other kind of present is the “extended present,” which refers to processes that started in the past, are currently evolving, and continue into the future (e.g., climate change). Research showed that event-centered reporting had declined in U.S. newspapers during the 20th century, as evidenced by an increasing number of references to the past and future in news stories.

The Future

A significant amount of news items assess the implications of ongoing trends and discuss the expectations of planned occurrences. Although newsmaking is not usually associated with covering the forthcoming, the discourse of the future has always been part of journalism. This phenomenon is mutual to all news platforms. Nevertheless, as digital media assumes the role of reporting

immediately on breaking events and the recent past, the printed press becomes more inclined to an analysis of future implications. Thus, future temporal orientation is more evident in the printed media.

The discourse of the future is varied. On one extreme there are reports of the future at the most trivial and everyday level (e.g., weather forecasts) while on the other extreme, there are apocalyptic visions whose actualization would have the direst consequences (headlines such as “The epidemic is going to get out of control”). In between these extremes, there are varying levels of speculation (e.g., “the foreign minister will meet with the American ambassador today” or “budget cuts are expected after the election”). Those levels of speculation connote the degree of epistemic modality (i.e., the level of certainty or evidence the speakers have for the proposition expressed by the utterance). They are derived from the scope of time involved (short, medium, or long term, or an undetermined future) and the sources on which journalists base their stories: official announcements regarding scheduled events, the journalists’ own assessments and interpretations based on similar past cases, and the sources themselves—parties of interest such as media advisors, politicians, and the military as quoted in the text. In response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, socially networked United States and global media worked to premeditate collective effects of anticipation and connectivity, while also perpetuating low levels of apprehension or fear. Moreover, the news media may serve as agents of prospective memory insofar as they set the social “to-do list” by linking interpretations of the past to future-oriented tasks. Other studies of future-oriented news have pointed to its narratological qualities, including strategies of precontextualization, discursive manipulations of temporalities in reports of future events, and the creation of future-oriented suspense.

Journalism and Temporal Affordances

To evaluate the relationship between journalistic practices, temporal narratives, and news technologies, we can use the concept of “temporal affordances,” which is defined as “the potential ways in

which the time-related possibilities and constraints associated with the material conditions and technological aspects of news production are manifested in the temporal characteristics of news narratives” (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018, p. 39). Among such affordances are *immediacy* (to report on recent newsworthy events in close proximity to their occurrence; not prevalent in print stories), *liveness* (to report events simultaneously with their occurrence; more associated with TV news), *preparation time* (amount of time journalists can invest in developing a news story; shorter on digital outlets); *transience* (i.e., digital stories allows for incremental narratives and therefore gradual temporal layering) vs. *fixation in time* (the story as it is told in the print version of newspapers is thus a relatively fixed record); and *extended retrievability* (enables journalists to access, retrieve, and utilize previous item and big data in order to construct news narratives; e.g., hyperlinks within an item).

Thus, combining the different manifestations of time mentioned herein, from a temporal-functional perspective, news can be conceptualized as narratives “that provide: (a) accounts and updates regarding present states-of-affairs and/or unfolding events, (b) reports on recent occurrences, (c) deeper context and/or commemoration of a more distant past, (d) analysis of possible implications of current events and/or anticipation of upcoming events, and (e) projections that envision and address the far or conjectured future” (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016, pp. 155–156).

Motti Neiger

See also Liveblogging; Livestreaming; Longform Journalism; Simulcasting

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TRADE MAGAZINES

Trade publications have long offered specialized information to readers working in a specific trade, industry, or business sector. Their scope ranges from local and regional titles such as *Chicago Construction News* (though many of these are now zoned editions of larger operations) to international publications such as *Lloyd's List*, offering daily coverage of the global shipping trade. They

are also sometimes referred to as *business-to-business* or *specialized business publications*. While originally issued in newspaper or magazine format, the trade press has expanded to include newsletters (now primarily digital), directories, industry surveys, and special reports. Publishers have built on their print brands to offer specialized industry-relevant information through a wide range of platforms including conferences, trade shows, webinars, awards programs, web portals, and e-newsletters.

Nearly every business field and profession is served by a trade publication, ranging from the *American Machinist* to *Hospitals & Health Networks* to *Wood Bioenergy*. These publications survive because they have made themselves indispensable to those working in the particular industry or profession they serve, providing targeted news and analysis of new products, business trends, government policy, and leaders in the industry. This entry discusses the purpose of trade publications, their historical evolution, changes to their distribution model, and recent trends in the sector.

Actionable Information

The number of trade publications is quite substantial, and despite not being available on newsstands many have circulations that rival specialized consumer magazines. Many publishers have developed strong presences in particular industries or sectors, offering a variety of publications serving different niches within them. Trade publications perform at least two major functions: delivering advertisements to decision makers in the targeted business sector, and providing specialized information those readers need to develop their businesses or further their careers. There is a fairly tight connection between the two, as nearly all of the advertising is business-to-business. In addition to advertising and other promotional services, trade publications earn revenue from selling marketing research and other industry-specific data, subscriptions and sales, and from conferences, seminars, and trade shows.

While their financial structure and delivery systems have shifted substantially over the years, trade publications continue to play a vital role in facilitating the flow of industry-specific information and

perspectives both within those industries and to larger audiences including government regulators and through the business press. Yet there has been little scholarly analysis of the trade press, though it is sometimes considered as part of the study of magazines more generally. (Magazines dominated the field until recently—in large part because of their advantages as an advertising medium.)

The boundaries between trade and professional publications can be porous. There is also significant overlap with association publications in some fields. The American Booksellers Association's *American Bookseller* competed with commercially published trade magazines such as *Publishers Weekly* until 1998 (though the association's newsletter, *Bookselling this Week*, continued and is now distributed digitally). *Publishers Weekly* has gone full circle; launched in 1872 by a bibliographer, it was owned for several years by R.R. Bowker (publisher of Books in Print) until being sold to Xerox and then to Reed International (later merging with the Netherlands-based specialized publishing giant Elsevier, forming what became RELX), which sold it to former publisher George Slowik Jr. in 2010. (RELX publishes some 2,500 professional and scholarly periodicals, but sold its North American trade publications between 2009 and 2014. Reed maintained ownership of the annual American BookExpo trade show, which it bought from the Booksellers Association in 1995.) Since purchasing *Publishers Weekly*, Slowik has added email newsletters, podcasts, and an international book rights database to the weekly magazine.

Historical Evolution

Aside from a few studies finding that trade publications are an effective advertising medium, most scholarly research on the field has been historical in nature, often drawing upon trade publications as a vehicle for assessing the industry or market they cover. There has been much work on the agricultural press, relating the proliferation of titles to westward expansion (and hence new soil and weather conditions) and modernization, as individual holdings gave way to commercial agriculture. Early farm papers such as the *Agricultural Museum* offered an opportunity for farmers to share knowledge and first-hand experience, as well as develop a common

voice on issues such as railroad regulation. Later years saw the emergence of corporate publishers, increased specialization, and an emphasis on changing markets and economic conditions.

Professional journals serve the needs of their readers, but also document changing norms and practices in the industries they serve. *Nursing* magazine, for example, reflects the changing demographics of the profession, as well as the new challenges nurses face. (The magazine's ownership similarly reflects changes in the industry, from its 1971 launch by two medical editors to its current status as part of the Wolters Kluwer international stable of professional magazines and journals.)

While most trade magazines were issued on a weekly or monthly basis, there have been several daily trade newspapers as well, many of which continue as online publications. Like other major cities, Chicago hosted trade and professional dailies including the *National Hotel Reporter* (1872–1935, weekly in its last 3 years) and *Drovers Journal* (1873 to 1960, merging with the *Kansas City Drovers Telegram* in 1913 and continued as the monthly *Drovers* magazine by Farm Journal Media, which issues several online newsletters, the Agweb.com website, and print magazines serving different agricultural sectors).

Other daily trade newspapers included *Variety*, *Oil Daily*, and the venerable *Lloyd's List and Shipping Gazette*, founded in 1734. Lloyd's ceased printing its daily newspaper in December 2013, transitioning to all-digital publication, but launched a monthly print magazine in 2015 featuring longer-form analytical articles.

American Machinist exemplifies the evolution from occupational to trade magazine. Founded in 1877 as a weekly newspaper serving working machinists, it slowly evolved into a glossy monthly magazine aimed at engineers and managers employed in manufacturing and machine shops. Its editors were originally working machinists, as were most of its contributors, but they were gradually replaced by writers with a background in industrial engineering. In the 1960s, *American Machinist* moved from paid subscriptions and single copy newsstand sales to controlled circulation. In 2013, it shifted to online publication, offering a website, weekly email newsletters, webinars, and trade shows held in conjunction with other titles in Informa's manufacturing cluster.

Controlled Circulation

While trade publications originally circulated primarily through paid subscriptions, controlled circulation—providing the publication free of charge to individuals qualified by occupation or employer—is now the dominant distribution system for trade magazines and their Internet-based progeny. These publications are supported by advertising and sponsored content, and for fees for ancillary services including trade shows, webinars, and special reports.

However, many titles—particularly newsletters and dailies—continue to charge substantial subscription fees, even as they shift to digital platforms. *Beer Marketer's Insights*, for example, long known for the distinctive orange paper it was printed upon as well as its detailed coverage of the beer distribution industry, charges several hundred dollars to subscribe to its fortnightly newsletter, now distributed by email. As the beer business evolved and new technology facilitated the rapid dissemination of actionable news to subscribers, BMI launched several specialized titles: it also issues *Insights Express* 120 times a year, the semi-weekly *Craft Beer News*, a newsletter on alcohol policy issues, and a newsletter on nonalcoholic beverages that might supplement beer distributors' lines—alongside an annual industry handbook, special reports, webinars, and conferences.

Many trade magazines have also resisted controlled circulation. Crain Communications's flagship *Ad Age* (the company also publishes city business newspapers and trade magazines for auto dealers and health care executives, among other titles) has been sold by subscription since it was founded in 1930, relying on solid news coverage, investigative reporting, and informative columns to persuade advertisers and media organizations alike that it is indispensable.

A Vibrant, Global Publishing Sector

While the circulation of most individual titles is relatively modest, collectively trade publications make up a large portion of the magazine industry, in the United States and around the world, and reach a highly desirable audience of influential industry executives and government policymakers. But given the proliferation of web-based publications, digital newsletters, and print titles it is

difficult to reliably estimate either the number of trade publications or their combined circulation.

There has been a convergence of sorts in the trade press in recent years, exemplified by the recent convergence of three professional associations. Between 2012 and 2017, American Business Media (bringing together editors and publishers of trade newspapers and magazines), the Society of National Association Publications, and the Newsletter Publishers Association (which had renamed itself the Specialized Information Publishers Association a few years earlier) all joined the Software & Information Industry Association. Between them they include hundreds of companies and associations issuing thousands of print and online publications serving nearly every trade and industry.

Trade journalism is also an international phenomenon. While many titles are stand-alone publications or issued by small firms with a handful of titles, transnational media conglomerates have long held a dominant share of the trade press. These firms typically own several titles in related fields, closing or selling off titles that do not complement their portfolio. The resulting clusters facilitate the development of industry databases and other resources that can be shared across several titles. For example, Haymarket Media Group, the British publishing house that owns *PRWeek* (and conferences and digital newsletters serving United Kingdom, United States, Asian, and Middle Eastern markets), operates clusters of automotive, horticultural, marketing, and medical trade magazines, websites, and conferences.

Similarly, in 1998, Lloyds of London Press merged with International Business Communications Group, which issued financial publications and organized professional conferences, to form Informa. The company grew quickly, acquiring academic publisher Taylor & Francis, trade magazine conglomerate Penton, and other publishers of aviation, energy, finance, life sciences, and telecommunications newsletters and magazines. Today Informa has major holdings in Asia, Australia, Europe, and the United States, with some 1,500 print and online publications in media, transport, finance, commodities, law, and biomedical clusters. It also sponsors conferences and trade shows, and operates data and intelligence services drawing upon its global network of reporters and publications.

The trade press reflects trends in the broader economy. New business sectors give birth to new trade publications, even as legacy publications migrate to digital platforms and more interactive models. As industry becomes more complex and products more specialized, new publications emerge (often spun off from existing ones) to serve the new needs. Digital platforms have also facilitated the development of regional editions. Regardless of medium, trade publications provide essential information to their specialized readers and a highly efficient marketing mechanism for businesses. As a result, trade publications are well positioned to thrive in an otherwise challenging media environment.

Jon Bekken

See also Advertising; Business Journalism; Marketing; Media Conglomerates; New Media; Public Relations

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As a concept, transparency means a commitment to openness by individuals, institutions, and organizations. In public administration and governance, transparency is deployed as a counteracting measure against forms of institutional and organizational opacity and secrecy. However, as an organizational principle it can be understood as entailing *active disclosure*, meaning that beyond openness, the public is given the means and opportunity as well as the motivation to seek the truth. Scholars, such as Lars Thøger Christensen and George Cheney, consider that transparency practices signify the willingness of institutions to allow for public scrutiny and participation in oversight.

However, in journalism studies, the definition of transparency is fluid and proves challenging for journalists and news organizations. Some scholars have pointed to difficulties in putting transparency into practice. Oftentimes it is not clear what has to be made transparent—whether it is the motives of journalists or news processes—and how this should be done in order for journalism to fulfil its role in society.

Mark Deuze (2005) defines transparency as “increasing ways in which people both inside and external to journalism are given a chance to monitor, check, criticize and even intervene in the journalistic process” (p. 455). The definition implies that journalists and news media organizations undertake deliberate actions—such as declaring potential conflict of interests in news—to enable the public to inspect the news content and its production. Through transparency, journalists commit to be forthright about their intentions or interests to gain trust among audiences. While transparency does not necessarily promise change of journalistic behavior, it could serve as a bulwark against inaccuracies and false news. Scholars, however, doubt whether media organizations and journalists go to great enough lengths to make their practices, processes, and sources accessible, considering frequent criticisms over the faults and failures of journalism.

TRANSPARENCY

Transparency in journalism implies that journalists make practices, processes, and sources open to public scrutiny. In journalism studies, it is considered an ethical principle and norm.

Transparency for Whom and About What?

Digital technologies have given more control to the public to scrutinize journalism, thus paving the way for a monitorial tradition of journalistic

practices. Comments sections on digital news platforms, for example, provide audiences spaces to engage with journalists and interrogate the news. Many journalists of legacy news media organizations have responded through more accessibility to their audiences and the public. For example, on news pages online, some journalists have links to their social networks sites such as Facebook and Twitter, or their own blogs where they share contacts, details about their news context or programs, and their analysis and personal opinions, while inviting audiences to share sources, tips, or views about their content. On their part, citizen journalists through blogs, for example, have torn the curtain of traditional journalism by interpreting and sharing news or exposing biases and sources of legacy news media.

Emergence of the Norm of Transparency

Traditional journalism has tarnished its image in the eyes of the public through hidden practices and processes as well as anonymized sources. In the predigital age, one of the common practices that marked opaqueness of journalism was ghostwriting, whereby journalists wrote articles but celebrities or other popular individuals were credited as the writer. (Ghostwriting appears in forms such as speechwriting, opinion columns, or even through celebrity tweets.) Ghostwriters are used for a variety of reasons, including to make up for persons who may be inexperienced writers. In the 19th and 20th centuries, publishers and journalists accepted ghostwriting as a way to make publications popular through the use of names of celebrities in the bylines. In the American Jazz Age of the 1920s, these ghostwriting practices blurred the lines between public relations and journalism, according to John Carvalho and colleagues. Ghostwriting returned in the digital age in the form of journalists writing articles for blog posts of professional sports players. Critics consider ghostwriting as unethical, a form of deception and an impediment toward truth-telling, especially when it involves the news.

In the 20th century, news organizations provided audiences with platforms such as letters to the editors, correction boxes, and bylines to access and engage journalists. In the early 2000s, media

critics and scholars acknowledged that digital technologies had brought the “fortress” of journalism down by exposing newsroom and journalistic practices. During this period, transparency became such a buzzword that even scholars argued that as a norm it had become the “new objectivity.” One sign that transparency had gained currency as a professional norm was when one of the largest professional bodies in the United States added the concept into its code of ethics. In 2014, the Society of Professional Journalists readjusted its fourth principle as follows: “Be accountable and transparent.” Previously, it was simply, “Be accountable.”

Social networks enhanced audiences’ collaborative input to the production of news, for example, through the sharing of images, video, and text from scenes of accidents, disasters, or violent attacks, as it were for the 2005 London bombings. The integration of such user-generated content into news content and processes meant that newsrooms were openly inviting audiences to participate in journalistic production. Yet it also meant an increasing need for verification of audiences’ content and a matching transparency in news processes and sourcing. News practices that became common included hyperlinking of news sources.

Initially, digital technologies opened up more possibilities for the practices of transparency through increasing platforms and actors engaged in public scrutiny. Tasks that used to be performed in hidden, such as sourcing, were brought to the public’s attention through various digital technologies. For example, the use of hyperlinks meant the public could find out original sources used in news stories (e.g., government audit reports or further references to a scientific study). Sharing links meant audiences could verify for themselves the authenticity of the facts in the news. A commitment to transparency meant journalists deliberately provided access to the data they gathered for a story (e.g., full recordings of a news interview or transcripts). Today, many news organizations reinforce their commitment to transparency, especially in periods when the news they publish attracts public interest. In 2017, for example, *Frontline* (the investigative series of the American public broadcaster, PBS) published online its interviews with sources for a two-part documentary titled “The Putin Files.” “The Putin Files” was an

exposé into allegations that Russian President Vladimir Putin attempted to interfere with the U.S. elections in 2016.

Media critics and scholars consider transparency as weak when the news media fail to fully expose processes, editorial decisions, and practices in news production to the public. With digital technologies, an information overload to journalists and audiences hampers any processes toward complete scrutiny of journalism. At the same time, as a journalistic ideal, transparency fails when it does not transform the public's ability to interrogate journalism. There is a "double-sidedness" of transparency, according to Christensen and Cheney, when action toward openness generates light into institutional activities, but at the same time hides information necessary for the public to fully participate in the practice. Transparency's generation of darkness breeds the need for more information rather than insight into the actual faults and failures of journalism.

Transparency, Accountability, Credibility, and Trust

In their seminal practitioners' treatise, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should*, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel (2001) consider transparency as a journalists' commitment, not only to truth-telling, but to being "truth presenters" (p. 289). The authors consider the "Rule of Transparency" as critical in reinforcing verification practices within the newsrooms by ensuring the audience is adequately informed about news processes. Audiences should therefore be empowered to interrogate the validity of the news as well as question journalists' biases and commitment to ethics and norms. However, scholars show that between journalists and audiences there is convergence of perspectives when it comes to truth-telling news practice, but not so in regard to the norm of transparency. Similarly, journalists do not rank transparency high in the scale of values, neither do audiences see it as central in news practice. Despite its low regard in journalism, transparency has become a value increasingly embraced because of the rise of digital technologies.

Journalists have instrumentalized transparency for the purpose of reducing delegitimizing

discourses (public criticisms), which are detrimental to the authority of journalism as a profession. Legitimacy through transparency can be viewed in two ways: As a norm, transparency bequeaths the profession with authority; as through transparency, journalism earns approval or respect from its audience. According to Gaye Tuchman, transparency, as part of journalistic routines, brings order and predictability to the profession. Therefore, routines legitimize news practices and thus reinforce the authority of journalism.

In a democratic dispensation, scholars argue that individuals and institutions aspiring for good governance would consider transparency and accountability as inseparable. As such, there has been a contestation among media stakeholders whether accountability and transparency could replace each other. Accountability are practices through which the public keeps those in power in check. Scholars consider transparency practices to inadvertently promote accountability. The media is transparent when it embraces instruments meant to throw light onto its operations such as online profiles of journalists and active newsroom blogs, but at the same accountable because it makes journalistic actors accessible to answer to the public for their actions or inactions. When journalists engage with the public through digital platforms, they promote answerability—a form of media accountability that promotes deliberation between the public and the news media.

Transparency instruments are considered as important in journalism practice and a reinforcement to media accountability, especially in building credibility and trust of the news media, concepts that describes how well the public believe the news as a product of news organizations and journalistic practice. Transparency is about how to manage the way the public perceives journalism and thus the credibility and trust of the news media. There is a possibility that when the news media pays attention to their trust and credibility, they inadvertently make themselves open to public scrutiny and heed to the concerns of their audiences. The openness in which journalism is performed is critical among the public while essential in building and maintaining credibility and trust. Patrick Lee Plaisance noted that through transparent practices, news media and journalists also seek to reduce risks of trade (i.e., criticisms

from the public and subsequently loss of credibility and trust by audiences).

However, more recent studies express doubts whether the presence or the absence of transparency instruments such as bylines and links to personal social media pages make journalists appear credible and trustworthy in the eyes of the audiences. Some transparency tools even go toward hurting the credibility of journalists, for example, when they express their political opinions via their personal Twitter accounts. In using a variety of digital platforms like Twitter, while offering themselves as transparent, journalists compromise on the journalistic norm of objectivity. While journalists need to connect with their audiences through self-representation and self-branding (thus subscribing to a form of transparency called *disclosure* as will be seen in the next section), they in the process compromise on journalistic objectivity.

Furthermore, research shows that even when the news media have made deliberate attempts to foster transparency—for example, through letters to the editors, correction boxes, or ombudsman's columns—there is little engagement between audiences and journalists. Some scholars have shown that more revealing transparency practices in digital news, such as footnotes in a story, attract more credibility among audiences.

As mentioned earlier, transparency ushers in practices to scrutinize journalistic processes. Thus, oftentimes trust and accountability are placed side by side with transparency through the argument that acts of openness in news practices can foster trust and improve the public outlook toward accountability of the media. With increasing disinformation in the digital spaces in the 2010s, scholars doubt that transparency can increase public trust in legacy news media. Onora O'Neill (2002) wrote that transparency "certainly destroys secrecy: but it may not limit the deception and deliberate misinformation that undermine relations of trust" (p. 70). O'Neill argued that instead of the focus on secrecy, the attention could be placed on "deception and lies" if the media are to regain trust. In curtailing unethical behaviors, transparency may fail as it is a preemptive practice (making journalists proactively share information), but it could spur more secrecy.

Transparency in the Digital Age

Through the digitalization of journalism, there has been increased focus on the possibilities to provide a more transparent mode of journalism. A relevant enquiry in this context is to find out what journalists and news media actually *do* when they offer a transparent journalism and how this is evident for other journalists, legislators, and, not least, the general news-consuming public. What precisely are the everyday practices of journalists when they are being transparent? Because if transparency is supposed to achieve the functions discussed earlier, then it must

1. be performed at a regular basis,
2. be in a recognizable form, and
3. be open to evaluation.

Commonly used distinctions to separate different forms of transparency tools or techniques utilized by news media and journalists, as presented by Michael Karlsson, are disclosure transparency, participatory transparency, and ambient transparency.

Disclosure transparency refers to the way in which news producers explain and are open about how news stories are gathered, selected, and processed. This can be, for instance, the explanation of how and why a news story is published at all or framed in a particular way; forthrightness about errors being made, why they were being made, how they were adjusted and what measures that have been taken to prevent recurrence; or providing time stamps, make previous published versions of a news story, and in other ways highlight the draft character of online publishing. The distinctive features of disclosure transparency tools are that they are initiated by and in the hands of journalists and concerns the content of news stories.

Participatory transparency is openness whereby audiences are invited to and included in the various stages of news production. This can involve members of the audience sending in information (e.g., pictures, cell phone videos) that is incorporated in the news stories; commentary fields where the news story can be critiqued, thus shaping the framing and understanding of it, and revised; or instances where (portions of) a digital platform

(e.g., website or channel) is open for citizens to provide their own reporting without necessarily being edited by professional journalists.

Finally, *ambient transparency* refers to techniques or tools that are used by news producers in the vicinity of news stories making it possible for news consumers to evaluate and form new meanings of news stories, through the association of content with the provided context. This, for example, can be hyperlinks that might be about an old news story or another topic but still shape the understanding of the original news story; the personal opinions and preferences of the journalists who put together the news story that does not change the content of the story itself but might influence the interpretation; or graphical markers indicating whether the story is an actual news story or a piece of advertising. Ambient transparency is distinct from the two other forms as it adds information around the edges of the news story (but does not explain or change the content directly) and disregards contributions from the public within the frame of the news story.

In general, the public are more positive toward disclosure transparency, thus indicating that this would be the most effective technique. However, although more research is needed, there are also studies that suggest that those with low trust in news media are generally negative toward journalistic transparency too, thus limiting its usefulness to restore lost credibility in the news.

Another issue that the later phase of digitalization has brought is the role of algorithms in journalism, again actualizing the concern of *what* it is that should be transparent to *whom*. Algorithms are essentially software that in various ways complement or replace journalists entirely in the gathering, selection, processing, distribution, and commenting of journalistic content and, thus, affecting it in the process. Research has, for example, shown that algorithms can be used to sort and analyze large amounts of data helping journalists find interesting patterns; identify trends on social media or search terms and make recommendations of what to publish; rank and curate user comments; pinpoint and target audiences based on geographical location, previous clicking patterns and predict what kind of news a specific target group (or even person) would prefer next;

and, perhaps the most prolific and debated function, write and publish news stories completely by themselves without human intervention.

The perhaps most startling consequence of journalism's algorithmization is that a potentially large part of news production becomes opaque even to journalists themselves. This is because algorithms are lines of codes in a computer program that are designed to produce a particular output and that code is most probably neither written nor understood by journalists or their managers. If transparency in journalism is about active disclosure, that the public, journalists, scholars, and other stakeholders have an opportunity to screen, criticize, and intervene in the journalistic process, then algorithms provide a real challenge. The persons, programmers, and designers best suited to explain how the algorithm works are most likely not journalists. They are probably not involved in the daily decisions that the algorithms make, or even employed by the news companies that use the algorithms. This means that there are several degrees of separation between the news output and the people as well as factors that are best positioned to explain the design, assumptions, rules, logics, bias, values, and ideologies behind that output. The issue becomes additionally complicated when machine-based learning is factored in. Machine-based learning is, for example, when an algorithm is making decisions or predictions without being supervised or explicitly programmed for them. It has some degree of independence, although it must be stressed that it is within a walled garden where human programming is foundational and the sample (*training data*) that the algorithm learns from is provided by humans.

Nevertheless, it still pushes editorial decision-making further away from the journalists. Consequently, as the decision-making processes become harder to localize, see, and understand, the journalistic accountability systems will face challenges too. Journalism risks getting black-boxed once again, this time with journalists also out of the loop.

Final Thoughts

As noted earlier, transparency implies journalists make practices, processes, and sources open to

public scrutiny. In journalism studies, transparency is considered an ethical principle and norm. It is deployed through applications or tools that effect openness in journalistic practices, for example, hyperlinking of news sources. However, there is a discrepancy between the way transparency is conceptualized and its practice within the newsroom and its relative importance to the public. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether media organizations and journalists go to great lengths to make information accessible and complete considering frequent criticisms over the faults and failures of journalism. The additional layer of algorithms, their opaqueness, and their combination of a standalone role and intertwining with journalistic work and decision-making only enhances the complexity of the issues at hand. But the introduction of algorithms also increases the need for transparency in journalism for all involved parties, including journalists. However, to conclude, it is still uncertain whether the potential of transparency to transform journalism will be realized.

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See also Credibility; Ethics; Media Criticism; Objectivity; Trust in Journalism

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TRAUMA, COVERAGE OF

The lay definition of “trauma” can be quite broad (such Merriam-Webster’s more general definition of “an emotional upset”). For the purposes of this entry, trauma is defined in accordance with the American Psychiatric Association’s *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (DSM-5)* involving close exposure to (or threat of) death or the experience of serious physical or sexual harm or violence. Importantly, exposure to a traumatic event does not necessarily trigger the psychiatric condition of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which the *DSM-5* states can result from directly experiencing the traumatic event, witnessing it in person, learning it has happened to a close family member or friend, or experiencing repeated or extreme vicarious exposure to details of an event through digital means if it is part of a person’s job. Each possibility arises in relation to journalists, their sources, and their audiences. There is a dynamic interplay between journalism and trauma, and this entry covers four elements of that interaction: (1) traumatic events as news; (2) interviewing and photographing those who have been traumatized; (3) potential

impacts on audiences; and (4) journalists and trauma.

Traumatic Events as News

Much news content involves topics or material that meet the lay definition of trauma as causing emotional upset. Conflict, consequence, and unusualness have been acknowledged as key news ingredients, and such events often involve content that has upset some people and whose content might evoke a strong emotional response in others. Within this broad category there is a considerable subset of news meeting the narrower medical definition of close exposure to (or threat of) death or the experience of serious physical or sexual harm or violence (*DSM-5*). At a global and national level, news of wars, terror attacks, mass shootings, natural disasters, air crashes, famines, and pandemics all involve death and serious injury which stand to traumatize the sources being interviewed, the audiences viewing them, and the journalists and photographers covering them. At a local level, the proximity of the event and the potential for audiences and journalists to know those affected can exacerbate trauma. Potentially traumatic local stories include serious car accidents, house fires, injuries to children, murders, criminal court reports, domestic violence, and sexual assaults. News not involving death or injury to humans might also trigger considerable shock and anxiety if not trauma, such as injuries to animals, environmental accidents such as oil spills, and financial and social crises such as stock market crashes and homelessness.

The modern history of the mass media has been punctuated by highly newsworthy events whose coverage has involved traumatized human subjects and sources, with the possibility to traumatize journalists and to enhance anxiety and emotional upset in audiences. Prominent examples from recent decades include the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy, coverage of the Vietnam War (notably the images of the summary execution of a Vietcong fighter and the naked napalm-burned figure of the fleeing child Kim Phuc); the 9/11 terror attacks with the vision of the collapsing Twin Towers and victims in New York; the 2004 Asian tsunami; Hurricane Katrina in 2005; the 2020–2021 coronavirus pandemic;

and public mass shootings such as those in Australia (1996), Norway (2011), New Zealand (2019), and the United States several times annually.

There are strong justifications for coverage of all traumatic events on numerous grounds including genuine public interest and concern; the Fourth Estate rationale of being a watchdog on the contributions of governments to the causes of the events and their actions in the aftermath; and the educative value of instructing audiences about the events that might assist them in the immediate aftermath and reduce the impact of like events in the future.

Nevertheless, there are different perspectives on the particularities of trauma coverage by the news media, with prominent debates centering on the ethics of photographing those who have died and those who have been injured or traumatized; interviewing vulnerable victims and relatives of the deceased; identification of the culprits in mass shootings and acts of terrorism; partisan or politicized assignation of blame or causes before formal inquiries; and of journalists putting themselves or others in danger or getting in the way of first responders during events.

A trauma-literate approach to newsgathering that includes an understanding of the individual, communal, and social impacts of trauma exposure has the capacity to not only enable journalists to apply appropriate self-care strategies in the face of trauma reporting but it also presents a knowledge base whereby reporters can make more informed and ethical news choices. Trauma literacy at an individual level includes understanding personal trauma reactions, some of which include nightmares, easy to startle response, fragmented thinking, and dissociation. Trauma literacy on a communal level includes understanding community survivor impact trajectories, some of which include a honeymoon period of communal euphoria which then descends into collective grief, frustration, anger, exhaustion, community fragmentation, and rebuilding. On a social level, it is not unusual for societies to be rendered silent regarding what has happened to them. Trauma has a disempowering impact. Many Holocaust and Khmer Rouge survivors never spoke of the atrocities they experienced. The trauma remains unspoken and integrates itself into the social fabric and ultimately can result in intergenerational and transgenerational trauma outcomes.

Interviewing and Photographing Those Who Have Been Traumatized

Interviews with, and vision of, the victims of traumatic events—and the witnesses to their death and destruction—have both ethical and legal dimensions. Most journalism ethical codes instruct against intruding upon the privacy of the grieving and vulnerable unless such intrusions are necessary because of an overriding public interest. For example, the Society of Professional Journalists' (SPJ) Code of Ethics counsels journalists to minimize harm by treating “sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.” To that end, it states “Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.
- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief” (SPJ, 2014).

The SPJ Code of Ethics continues: “Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone’s privacy” (SPJ, 2014).

Restoring power to trauma-exposed interview subjects is important. Unlike interviews with business and political figures, informed consent is vital in trauma-focussed stories—more than in other stories, simply because of the amount of power and control that has been taken away from trauma-impacted persons. Simple strategies that can re-empower survivors such as asking where they would like to stand to do the interview; would they like someone with them; and the choice to stop the interview if they become distressed will help the interviewee feel in more control, often resulting in a better interview.

Despite such tips and guidelines, the controversial reporting phenomenon of the “death knock” has a long tradition, particularly in tabloid journalism, and survives into the 21st century. This is where reporters knock on the door of grieving family members after a tragedy (or telephone them) to seek out their tearful recollections of the deceased and the circumstances of the news event. The United Kingdom’s Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices, and ethics of the press in 2011 examined

it closely. Journalists have typically justified death knocks on public interest grounds, arguing the human impact is an important part of the story and can inform public debate and policy. While journalists might argue a death knock interview can be cathartic for a witness, or close friend or relative, a trauma-literate approach suggests that people in grief or shock in the immediate aftermath of an event might not be of sound mind to offer informed consent to an interview and that in some cases the retelling of the circumstances may heighten the risk of negative post trauma impacts.

Another debate centers on news media access to victims’ social media sites in the wake of a traumatic event, which can include appropriating photographs and publishing tributes and other quotes from comment streams. Many leading news organizations have editorial protocols regulating such practices.

The law of such intrusion varies markedly internationally, with privacy, confidentiality, trespass, nuisance, and surveillance device restrictions each active in different jurisdictions. In the United States, protections in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution apply to publication of material breaching privacy, but not to journalists committing unlawful intrusions in the course of their newsgathering. In the United Kingdom, the laws of confidentiality and privacy have been morphed to give legal recourse to celebrities and high-profile crime victims experiencing media intrusion into their grief or solitude. In Australia, the breach of surveillance devices laws underpinned regulatory action against a radio station who made a prank call to a London hospital impersonating the royal family and contributing to the suicide death of a nurse who had been duped in the lark.

With the advent of user-generated content, another legal issue includes the livestreaming of acts of terrorism, such as occurred during the Christchurch, New Zealand, mass shooting in 2019. Governments moved to pass laws—likely unenforceable—to require Internet platforms to take down such footage immediately.

Potential Impacts on Audiences

The phenomenon of “vicarious trauma” (or “secondary traumatic stress”) emerged in the psychological literature in the 1970s and is defined as

empathic exposure to the experiences of trauma in others. Yet communication researchers have long known the difficulty of demonstrating “media effects,” and an assertion of vicarious trauma by definition is suggesting a particular effect of news media outputs upon those who watch them. Vision of the collapsing Twin Towers during the 9/11 attacks was played and replayed internationally in the aftermath, including footage of victims taking their own lives by leaping from the inferno. Psychological studies, such as the one conducted in 2007 by Michael W. Otto and colleagues, analysed the potential impact of such material, particularly on children. They found they had the potential to compound the trauma of those who had witnessed or survived the news event, and to contribute to the trauma of those who had not been involved but were essentially living the trauma via the media.

Those broadcasting or reporting using graphic imagery should take extra care during the editorial process and develop a series of questions for each situation that includes extreme graphic content including human beings and animals. The Radio, Television, Digital News Association (RTDNA) proposes points to help guide thinking around this. The organization does not distinguish between living or deceased human coverage and recommends approaches that ensure needless graphic content is not aired and avoiding repeated use of graphic content.

Journalists and Trauma

Studies have shown that 80% to 100% of news professionals experience at least one event during their careers that has the potential to cause significant psychological injury. While most media professionals are resilient and have no long-term effects, there are some who can experience impacts to their psychological functioning. The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma was established in 1999 as a resource center and global network of journalists, journalism educators, and health professionals dedicated to improving media coverage of trauma, conflict, and tragedy. It is based at Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism in New York City, with international satellite offices in London and Melbourne, Australia. Since the 2000s, some news organizations have offered

training and counseling to reporters and photographers to enhance their resilience in the face of such exposure, and more recently some have been training managers and editors in the duty of care responsibility to create policy and protocols around such reporting. This training is underpinned by the emergence of mental health and media research that has been examining the issue more closely in recent decades.

Signs of posttraumatic injury might include substance abuse, memory loss, and uncharacteristic or antisocial behaviors. Clearly war correspondents are prime candidates for mental health concerns, while other examples of impacts in journalists have arisen from coverage of disasters, famines, car crashes, and court trials of violent crimes such as sexual abuse and murder. In 2019, an Australian crime reporter was the first journalist in the world to successfully sue a news organization for lack of duty of care in regard to trauma exposure. The reporter, who had covered more than 30 murder trials, was awarded \$180,000AUD in damages in a PTSD civil action where the court ruled her newspaper employer had failed to provide her with a safe workplace.

Traumatic responses can also stem from demeaning attacks and sexual harassment from the public during assignments, and can be exacerbated through ethical conflict, a sense of an unsupportive work environment, self-blame, and personal identification with the subjects of their stories. There is also the potential for compassion fatigue, particularly for reporters who have experienced other personal traumas in their lives. Some studies have examined vicarious trauma among journalists whose work has required them to view graphic and disturbing images and footage of traumatic news events. Editing and production roles across media involve the selection of such material—often user-generated content from witnesses or victims. Decisions have to be made about which images and footage are too confronting for audiences, but this involves the sourcing, viewing, and reviewing of much material that is so graphic that it might contribute to psychological trauma.

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See also Criminal Justice and Journalism; Terrorism, Coverage of

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TRAVEL JOURNALISM

Travel journalism is broadly defined as any communication about a voyage outside one's immediate vicinity. An alternate, slightly more narrowed definition of travel journalism is any piece of consumable writing or media in which traveling plays a role in the story. By this definition, a story called "The Ten Best Coffee Shops to Visit on Your Portland Vacation" is travel journalism, whereas a story titled "The Business of Portland's Mail-Order Coffee Scene" would not be. The former aims to inform travelers about activities to engage in while traveling, whereas the latter is more focused on the business side of the coffee industry and not aimed at potential travelers. That said, whether a story is travel-related or not is often a matter of opinion, decided more by what publication or website the piece appears in rather than by a delineated set of parameters. Many magazines are devoted to the subject, myriad blogs and websites exist purely to help plan travel, and popular travel destinations readily provide their own online and print content about what to do in their towns and cities.

Travel writing can take the form of a guidebook on a vacation hotspot, an exposé on political unrest in a foreign country, a restaurant review from an out-of-town diner, or a feature story on a blog about what it's like to travel through an under- or overvisited location. Travel writing may appear glamorous to some people, so they may consider themselves amateur travel writers, imagining either an Indiana Jones-style of adventuring and raconteuring or that they can simply create a blog and start traveling the world for free. However, neither of these views are reflective of the current trends and challenges of the travel journalism landscape.

After briefly reviewing the history of travel journalism, this entry discusses several forms of travel journalism. The entry concludes with a discussion of current challenges and controversies related to travel journalism.

History of Travel Journalism

In the broadest sense, travel journalism has been around since the written word began. After

surveying new land, explorers would come back with tales of new cultures and places. Marco Polo's *Il Milion* was widely popular among 13th-century Europeans, and publications from missionaries and explorers were published for those who remained at home (and who often financed the voyages). In later centuries, tales came back to the old country extolling the beauties and abundance of the new American continent. Early-19th-century writers became famous with tales of their voyages; notable authors like Herman Melville gained fame with his chronicles of voyages as a sailor (*A Narrative of Adventures on the South Seas*), as did Robert Louis Stevenson (*In the South Seas*).

As faraway destinations became less expensive and easier to reach due to the technological expansions of the 19th and 20th centuries, greater accessibility increased the demand and interest in travel writing. Early publications like *National Geographic* (first published in 1888) began as research journals but slowly changed to allow armchair travelers (those who read for entertainment value with no intention of traveling to the destinations covered) to go to remote, foreign locations via the page. Although the magazine was published irregularly for the first decade of its existence, it was a monthly magazine by the end of the 19th century. Initial readership was low but quickly escalated with the introduction of photography—most notably color photographs of the natural world—by 1910. Color photography, maps, and in-depth articles gave a boost to *National Geographic*, so much so that the magazine was lengthened in the 1950s, indicating the growing public demand for travel coverage. And many publications stepped into the growing market. *Travel and Leisure* (introduced in 1971) targets budget-minded travelers, while *Conde Nast Traveler* (introduced in 1987) caters to higher-end travelers, although both claim to appeal to both demographics.

By the 1990s, travel journalism was further aided by printing developments, including digital typesetting and inexpensive color printing, which enabled publications to easily and instantaneously publish at a minimal cost. Technological advances have led to developments ranging from travel blogs, which provide a venue for anyone to post photos and stories from vacations, to multimillion-dollar travel companies like the Travel Channel.

Forms of Travel Writing

This section discusses several kinds of travel journalism.

Destination and Experiential Coverage

A well-known style of travel journalism is the destination piece, which is usually a feature article in a magazine, website, or newspaper focusing on a specific journey or place. Such pieces aim to appeal to both armchair travelers and avid world explorers. Although *National Geographic* offers a mix of destination pieces and (more recently) exposés, these pieces are often in magazines that are mainly devoted to coverage of other topics like current events (*The Atlantic*), culture (*Vanity Fair*), or music (*Rolling Stone*).

Online travel sites like TripSavvy.com, LonelyPlanet.com, and OutTraveler.com are known for this style of writing, though travel guides and sponsored content (also called *advertorial*) have become popular in recent years. Although recently passed laws supported by the U.S. Free Trade Commission require all advertising and monetary or product transactions to be adequately disclosed to consumers, many consider this to be a grey area of travel journalism.

Exposés

A popular style of travel journalism related to destinations is exposés. These are usually investigative stories focused on a serious issue (e.g., illegal diamond smuggling, minority oppression) in a location foreign to the intended audience. These pieces are not intended to encourage travel, but rather to inform readers of what's happening somewhere else. They often have a political slant and may make judgments on the social, environmental, or humanitarian acceptability of the issue covered. Pieces falling into this category are usually aimed at consumers of hard news and are more likely to be found in news publications and websites like CNN or Time rather than niche or entertainment magazines and papers. Exposés are a popular type of story for television travel journalism as they tend to be informative, entertaining, and often have gripping visuals.

Travel Guides

One of the oldest types of travel journalism is the guidebook or travel guide. Created for travelers planning trips to specific destinations, they come in many varieties. Guidebooks are produced by both freelance and staff writers who work for such publishers as Fodor's and Lonely Planet and include reviews of hotels and restaurants, cultural advice, tips for pre-trip planning, maps and local information, and suggestions of what to do and see. They can cater to youth backpackers (Rough Guides) or older, more experienced travelers (AFAR.com). These publications, intended to guide day-to-day travel, include specific information rather than the anecdotal or emotional perspectives often found in shorter destination pieces.

Although guidebooks remain popular with travelers, their sales have been on the decline since the mid-2000s as online resources, often free, became more mainstream. Sites like Roadtrippers.com, TripAdvisor.com, WikiTravel.org, and ArrivalGuides.com offer hundreds of thousands of articles tailored explicitly to travelers' interests. The massive amount of online resources means that travelers can find guides that offer in-depth detail on their interests and leave out what they don't care about. Rather than buying a guidebook to everything Japan offers, a traveler can instead read 15 articles that go in-depth into topics they are most interested in; for example, "A complete guide to the best beignets in Kyoto," or "The Hello Kitty lovers guide to Tokyo's Harajuku district." To address this trend, many traditional guidebook companies have strong web presences that now have more readers than their print publications, such as Fodor's, Frommer's, and Lonely Planet. Many companies also offer their books in digital and phone-app editions.

Novels

Another mass-consumed style is the travel novel. These are intended for audiences reading at home, not for readers desiring a step-by-step guide. They are usually lengthy and often share more about the author and the author's life experience and takeaways than the location discussed. Famous examples of this genre of writing include John Steinbeck's 1961 novel about traveling with his French poodle, *Travels with Charlie*; and

Ernest Hemingway's 1926 novel *The Sun Also Rises*, which follows a group of American and British expatriates living in France and traveling to Spain. Popular modern-day authors have achieved notoriety in this genre, such as Bill Bryson with his book *In a Sunburned Country*, which recalls his travels in Australia. Whether pensive, humorous, thought-provoking, or morose, travel-based novels are intended to contribute to the reader's literary repertoire, not necessary to encourage visitation.

Video

A more recent travel journalism format encompasses many of the aforementioned genres of writing but presents them via a different platform. Multimedia travel journalism combines television and online venues to present travel stories with video and sound. Viewers can find this type of journalism on television and streaming sources, such as the Discovery Channel and Netflix; in exposé form, as in programs like *60 Minutes* or *Anderson Cooper 360* that cover world issues; and in travel inspiration and guide form, such as *Andrew Zimmern's Bucket List* on the Travel Channel.

Blogging and Social Media

Since the mid-2000s, several new forms of travel-related content creation have entered the mainstream travel-planning process: social media, video sharing sites, podcasts, and blogs. Social media platforms (primarily Instagram) now allow travelers to produce and share travel-related video and photo content; indeed, some of the most popular Instagram accounts and "influencers" have several million followers. These content creators are often paid to visit destinations, create and post content, and, due to the ability to search networks by keywords or hashtags, reach thousands of people every day. As of 2020, it remains to be seen if this trend will continue or be replaced by a new medium entirely in a few years.

Video-sharing sites (e.g., YouTube) and blogs have also become accessible travel resources. To some readers, blogs like NomadicMatt.com and ThePointsGuy.com may be indistinguishable from corporate travel websites like TripSavvy.com. The

blogging form of online journalism allows travelers to post photos and reviews of their travels for a personal audience of friends and family or a global audience of online readers. However, blogs can face conflict-of-interest and disclosure issues, especially if they are run by one person who receives free travel in exchange for coverage.

Video-sharing sites, such as YouTube.com, on which users can upload video content, are a mix of both professional video (e.g., compete travel programs uploaded and shared by the Animal Planet TV channel) and content made by bloggers and noncorporate travelers (e.g., travel blogger account Lost LeBlanc, whose YouTube channel has nearly 1.5 million subscribers as of 2020). Video content is increasingly available online, with many city, country, and travel-related organizations featuring video tours on video-sharing sites and/or their own websites.

Travel podcasts operate in a very similar vein to video-sharing sites, albeit audio only: Users can create and share a podcast. Many popular podcasts are created by corporate producer and smaller, independent podcasters alike.

Challenges

In this section, several current trends and challenges of travel journalism are discussed.

Economic Outlook

With the trend away from paid newspaper and magazine subscriptions and toward free (or very inexpensive) online travel content, many traditional forms of journalism have greatly reduced their staff and budgets. As a result, travel journalism (and journalism in general) in most forms is a low-paying field. It is not unusual for entry-level writers to be offered \$10 for a 1,000-word article, or nothing other than “exposure.” Many blogs do not pay contributing writers. Only the most senior and veteran writers are offered higher sums, such as \$1 a word for a feature story in a major publication.

Objectivity

Objectivity arises in all facets of travel journalism, but especially with regard to guides and

features on business or destinations. Because travel writers are usually paid little for a single piece, one of the ways they can afford to travel is on press trips (also called familiarization tours) paid for by destinations in the hopes that the writers will then publish stories about them upon the conclusion of the trip. However, this raises questions of objectivity, as some publications feel accepting free travel will cause the writer to want to please the destination and write only positive, biased stories. Those who contend stories from press travel should be accepted argue that editors ought not to work with writers who they don’t trust to be unbiased, and that by only accepting stories from writers who can afford expensive travel, they’re ensuring only wealthy, rather than diverse, voices get to tell stories. Occasionally, a publication will pay travel expenses for a writer. Still, given the reduced budgets across most publications, this is rare and usually reserved only for the few writers at the very top of their careers.

Parachute Journalism

Parachute journalism refers to the concept of an outsider quickly visiting a destination, seeing just a few sights, then leaving and writing articles that position themselves as an authority on the area or make sweeping statements about the destination. Given the desire for constant content and quick, poorly paid articles, parachute journalism is becoming more common. To address this issue, many publications aim to hire writers living in the areas they’re writing about and/or may prioritize writers from specific groups or affiliations to tell stories from those groups.

Suzanne Dundas

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Environmental Journalism; Journalism and Globalization

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TRIBUNE PUBLISHING COMPANY

The Tribune Publishing Company is a print and online media publishing corporation based in Chicago, Illinois, and incorporated in Delaware. Among the largest newspaper publishers in the United States, the company has 11 daily newspapers and commuter tabloids. Its portfolio includes the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, *The Baltimore Sun*, the *Orlando Sentinel*, and the *Hartford Courant*, as well as other titles in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Syndication operations and websites also are part of Tribune Publishing's listings, plus several local newspapers in metropolitan regions of the United States.

Incorporated in 1847 with the founding of the *Chicago Tribune*, Tribune Publishing operated as a division of the Tribune Company until it spun off into a separate public company in August 2014. On June 20, 2016, Tribune Publishing adopted the name Tronc, short for "Tribune Online Content." In October 2018, the company reverted to its original name Tribune Publishing. In May 2021, the Tribune Publishing's shareholders approved a \$633 million bid from Alden

Global Capital, a New York-based hedge fund, to acquire the newspaper chain.

This entry traces the historical development of Tribune Publishing beginning in the mid-19th century under the leadership of Joseph Medill. The company, starting in the early 20th century, rose to become a national multimedia company through growth in acquisitions. Tribune's mergers and layoffs through the early 21st century, concluding with the company's acquisition by Alden, also are discussed in this entry.

The Early Beginnings

The history of Tribune Publishing is rooted with the publication of the *Chicago Tribune* newspaper, the leading newspaper in the Midwestern United States that launched on June 10, 1847, in a one-room plant at LaSalle and Lake streets in Chicago. Led by Canadian-born, later Ohio resident Joseph Medill as editor and part-owner after acquiring an interest in the bankrupt *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1855, the *Chicago Tribune* was a strong pro-Union and antislavery paper during the American Civil War. Under Medill's tenure, the newspaper actively covered city news, generally avoided shaping news to conform to politics, and took editorial positions independent of their respective parties.

For four generations, the Medill family shaped the story of journalism in the United States. Joseph Medill influenced the political landscape that transformed the country during the mid-19th century by fostering the Republican Party, campaigning for the election of Abraham Lincoln, and serving as an engine for the outbreak of the Civil War. A 32-year-old lawyer at the time of his involvement with the *Chicago Tribune*, Medill opposed disunion and considered secessionists to be traitors.

After the Civil War, the Tribune Publishing Company built a four-story structure at Dearborn and Madison streets in 1869, known as the *original Tribune Tower*; however, the building was destroyed, along with most of the city, by the Great Chicago Fire in October 1871. Medill at this time was elected mayor and led the city's reconstruction. While Medill was mayor, Horace White—later editor of the *New York Evening Post*—gained editorial control of the *Chicago Tribune*. Post-Civil War, White shifted the paper's policies toward liberal positions. Subsequently,

circulation declined among the vast Republican readership, although the paper continued to profit from advertising. However, when the paper lost money after the Panic of 1873, Medill gained full control of the newspaper's editorial decisions and operated it until his death in 1899. This 25-year span represented a monumental journalistic period of Medill's life in which he exercised increasing influence in municipal, state, and national affairs through the editorial columns of the *Tribune*. Throughout his time as editor, he promoted departmentalization of specialized news, including foreign, city, financial and commercial, books, religion, sports, and women. These changes were received well by readers.

Medill's two grandsons, cousins Robert R. McCormick and Joseph Medill Patterson, took over the company in 1911. That same year, the *Chicago Tribune's* first newsprint mill opened in Thorold, Ontario, Canada. This led to the beginning of the Canadian newsprint producer later known as *QUNO*, in which Tribune held an investment interest until 1995. The Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate was formed in 1918, leading to Joseph Patterson's establishment of the company's second newspaper, the *New York Daily News*, on June 26, 1919. The Medill dynasty also included Joseph Patterson's sister, Cissy Patterson, who became the innovative editor of the *Washington Times-Herald*. In the fourth generation, Alicia Patterson founded Long Island's *Newsday*, an accomplished publication of post-World War II America.

In 1922, the *Chicago Tribune* organized an international design competition, an historic event in 20th-century architecture, for the new Tribune Tower to house the newspaper and its parent company. Under construction from 1923 to 1925, the new Tribune Tower was a 36-floor, neo-Gothic skyscraper, standing 470 feet tall on North Michigan Avenue in Chicago. It is listed on the City of Chicago's official website as a Chicago Landmark, a designation granted in February 1989.

Growth in Acquisitions

In the early 20th century, the Tribune Publishing Company gained its early start in print and broadcast acquisitions when McCormick guided the purchase of Chicago's WGN-AM radio in 1924

and WGN-TV in 1948. In 1963, the company acquired the Fort Lauderdale-based *SunSentinel* newspaper, and 2 years later, the *Orlando Sentinel*. A decade later, the company began sharing stories among 25 subscriber newspapers via the newly formed news service, the Knight News Wire. By 1990, this service was known as *Knight-Ridder/Tribune* and provided graphics, photo, and news content to its member newspapers. Knight-Ridder/Tribune became McClatchy-Tribune Information Services, when the McClatchy Company of Sacramento, California, purchased Knight-Ridder Inc. in 2006. Tribune later acquired the Newport News, Virginia-based *Daily Press* in 1986.

Since investing \$5 million in America Online (AOL) in 1991, the Tribune Publishing Company moved toward becoming a national multimedia operation poised to distribute its news content via print, television, Internet, radio, cable, and broadband. By 1992, Tribune Publishing was running Chicago Online with AOL and working on creating an all-news cable TV station, Chicagoland TV. Five years later, the Tribune Company was committed to a future involving the Internet, as well as to the idea of having its newspapers work closely with broadcast and cable television in places where Tribune owned both. The company partnered with Time Warner Cable to launch a cable station in Orlando, leveraging the newsgathering operation of the Tribune-owned *Orlando Sentinel*.

In 1995, after setting the Tribune Company on the online path, Charles Brumbach retired as the company's chief. Jack Fuller became president of Tribune Publishing Company in 1997. As editor of the Tribune's editorial page, he won the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Writing in 1986 and, in 1989, he became editor of the paper and later publisher and chief executive officer. Under Fuller's leadership, Tribune developed integrated multimedia approaches to newsgathering and distribution to create an interactive market.

The trend toward media mergers and corporate growth that started in the early 1990s grew ambitiously as the country started to enter a new century. In June 2000, Tribune created America's third largest newspaper corporation when it acquired the Los Angeles-based Times Mirror Company in a merger deal worth \$6.5 billion,

considered at the time to be the largest newspaper transaction in the history of the print industry. The merger added seven daily newspapers to Tribune's portfolio, including the *Los Angeles Times*, the Long Island-based *Newsday*, *The Baltimore Sun*, and the *Hartford Courant*. Along with its newspapers, the Tribune company owned 22 television stations. This meant that Tribune owned newspapers and TV stations in the nation's three top markets. Tribune Media Net, the national advertising sales organization of Tribune Publishing, was established in 2000 to take advantage of the company's expanded scale and scope.

Later in the first decade of the 21st century, Tribune launched daily newspapers targeting urban commuters, including the *Chicago Tribune's RedEye* edition in 2002. Scott C. Smith was promoted in early 2005 to president of Tribune Publishing. In 2006, Tribune acquired the minority equity interest in *AM New York*, giving it full ownership of the newspaper. However, in December 2007, Chicago-based investor Sam Zell bought the company, which fell into bankruptcy with \$7.6 billion listed in assets against a debt of \$13 billion—regarded at the time as the largest bankruptcy in the history of the media industry in the United States. More than 4,200 people lost jobs as a result of the purchase, and resources for the Tribune media outlets were reduced.

Tribune Deals, Rebranding, and Layoffs

On July 10, 2013, Tribune announced that it would split into two companies—its publishing division would become the Tribune Publishing Company, and its broadcasting, digital media, and other assets would remain with the Tribune Company. The spin-off was finalized on August 4, 2014.

After the split, in October 2014, Tribune Publishing purchased six daily and 32 weekly newspapers in the Chicago metropolitan area. On May 7, 2015, Tribune Publishing announced that it had reached a deal to acquire the *San Diego Union-Tribune* and its associated properties for \$85 million, ending the paper's 146 years of private ownership. After the acquisition, the *Union-Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times* became part of the new California News Group. Both papers

maintained distinct operations, with content sharing between them.

In April 2016, Gannett Co., in a surprise move, sought to acquire Tribune Publishing, but Tribune's shareholders rejected the deal in May. Consequently, Gannett increased its offer from approximately \$400 million to around \$800 million. On May 17, 2016, Tribune announced it planned to make a bid to acquire Gannett instead. Then, in November 2016, Gannett announced that it would no longer pursue the acquisition.

In the middle of the sought-after acquisition by Gannett, the Tribune Company announced on June 2, 2016, plans to rebrand itself as Tronc. The rebranding was finalized on June 20, 2016, and Tronc began trading on NASDAQ under the symbol TRNC. In addition, that day, the company announced initiatives in content optimization, machine learning, artificial intelligence, and increasing the amount of video to 50% of all content by 2017—all were goals designed to increase reader engagement and ad revenue.

The newly branded company set to work on expanding its enterprise. On March 13, 2017, Tronc declared that it would license Arc, the content management system of *The Washington Post*. On September 4, 2017, the company announced that it had acquired the *New York Daily News*. Having been established in 1919 by the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, the *Daily News* had been owned by the Tribune Company before its sale to Robert Maxwell in 1991 and then to Mortimer Zuckerman in 1993. Tronc purchased the *New York Daily News* for \$1 plus the assumption of its liabilities.

Despite its acquisitions, Tronc encountered financial challenges. On July 23, 2018, Tronc broke the news that massive layoffs were planned and ousted its editor in chief. Furthermore, the Tronc brand did not last. In mid-June 2018, it was reported that Tronc would return to its original name of Tribune Publishing.

After the company returned to its former identity of Tribune Publishing, in January 2019, newspaper industry veteran Timothy P. Knight became CEO, succeeding Justin Dearborn who had served in the role since 2016. The company's board of directors also elected former congressman and chairman of the House Rules Committee, David

Dreier, to succeed Dearborn as chairman. In February 2020, both Dreier and Knight stepped down as chairman and CEO, respectively. Knight was replaced by the chief financial officer, Terry Jimenez.

The New York-based hedge fund Alden Global Capital won shareholder approval in May 2021 for its \$633 million bid to acquire the Tribune Publishing newspaper chain. Alden, which held a 32% ownership in Tribune, owns roughly 100 newspapers and 200 publications. Alden's founder, Randall Smith, is a member of Tribune's board. Heath Freeman is the fund's president who oversees Alden's newspaper holdings.

Alden is known in the newspaper industry for making recurring layoffs and buyouts to yield escalated profits. Prior to the shareholder approval for acquisition, union members in Tribune Publishing newsrooms had sought potential buyers in numerous Tribune markets who respected the public service role of journalism.

Melony Shemberger

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Gannett; Media Conglomerates; Newspaper Chains, Ownership of; Publishers

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TRUST IN JOURNALISM

Trust is considered an important concept for explaining why individuals are willing to consume and believe the news that media institutions distribute. A lack of trust in journalism has been linked to significant consequences for democracies, such as a less informed citizenry and a lower willingness of individuals to accept democratic

decisions. Scholarly investigations of trust and related constructs have a long history, but they intensified with the advancement of the Internet and the global rise of populism, which also sparked fierce debates about so-called "fake news" and the "lying press."

This entry provides a definition of trust in journalism and outlines the state of trust in different countries. It illustrates ways of measuring trust, offers an assessment of causes and consequences of trust, and concludes with a brief discussion of future directions in research on trust.

Definitions

Trust is a key element of social interactions that aim at cooperation but involve a certain degree of uncertainty. The literature defines trust as a voluntary relationship between two actors, namely someone who trusts (i.e., a trustor) and someone who is trusted (i.e., a trustee). The trustee often possesses skills or resources that the trustor cannot acquire easily, thereby making the relationship asymmetrical. Trust reduces social complexity and substitutes the trustor's lack of knowledge about the future performance of the trustee; it is a hypothesis that the trustee will act in a way that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to the trustor. Consequently, trust is the willingness of a trustor to accept the risk of being vulnerable to the actions of a trustee. This willingness is usually based on some positive past experiences with the trustee.

Individuals are intrinsically motivated to monitor their social environment, yet they cannot acquire firsthand experiences regarding every possible event. The system of journalism selects and communicates information about the world outside people's immediate reach. From this perspective, trust in journalism is the willingness of people to take the risk of accepting journalism's depiction of social reality as accurate and appropriate. Defining journalism as the object of trust implies that people form trust-related judgments about the system of journalism as a whole rather than only evaluating the trustworthiness of single journalists or media outlets. Thus, trust in journalism is a form of generalized trust, largely independent from specific situations and trustees, which

measures broad attitudes of the audience toward the system of journalism. As such, trust in journalism is related to concepts of institutional trust in the news media and other public institutions.

State of Trust

Globalization, digitization, and a changing political environment have intensified concerns about a decline of audience trust in journalism. Empirical evidence partly supports these concerns. Comparing findings from the World Value Survey and the European Value Survey in 45 countries between 1981 and 2014, Thomas Hanitzsch and colleagues reported declining levels of trust in the press in 24 countries. This decline was particularly severe in the Anglo-Saxon region, above all, in the United States. Countries in the Asian region, in contrast, have faced the opposite trend. In Europe, the average level of trust in the media and journalism is relatively stable over time. Still, a series of studies in Germany indicate an increasing polarization of trust perceptions: Over time, less and less people indicate that the media can be trusted sometimes, while the shares of people grow who either fully trust or distrust the media.

Various studies have reported associations between trust in journalism and trust in public institutions, such as the government or the federal congress. It has, therefore, been posited that developments regarding trust in journalism are often part of an overall societal shift toward a more critical assessment of institutions.

Measurement

As of today, there is no gold standard for measuring trust in journalism. Existing measures vary in terms of concept and objects, number of items and dimensionality, and scaling. Regarding concept and objects, studies that aim at measuring generalized trust have surveyed how much “trust,” “confidence,” or even “faith” people have in “the press,” “the news media,” “the news,” or “journalism.” The multitude of concepts and objects of trust studied likely impedes the comparability of findings. In terms of the number of items and dimensionality, large-scale and comparative studies often measure trust with a single item. An early example is the research conducted by the Roper

Center, which, starting in the 1950s, measured the credibility of television, radio, and newspapers over a longer period of time. This research was an important predecessor of various long-term studies that use single items to measure confidence in the press and other institutions. Such measures are highly efficient from practical considerations, yet their reliability and validity are disputable.

Other studies rely on multi-item scales that are more or less well established in credibility and news quality research. For example, researchers have asked respondents to indicate their agreement with statements such as “the news media are accurate” and “the news media are fair.” Respondents’ average agreement across these different items is then reported as a measure of trust. This research conceives of trust as a multidimensional construct, yet it seldom validates the dimensionality of the scales. Such validation is done by research that derives different dimensions of trust from theory and then uses confirmatory factor analyses across different samples. For example, the trust measure by Matthias Kohring and Jörg Matthes considers the tasks of journalists to select, communicate, and contextualize news. Using confirmatory factor analysis, the researchers suggest four dimensions of trust, namely, trust in selectivity of topics, facts, accuracy of depictions, and journalistic assessment. Subsequent research has adjusted this scale to measure generalized trust in the news media and compared it to established measures of credibility. While these scales are methodologically sound, an open theoretical question remains whether they actually reflect the concept of trust or rather different reasons why people trust or distrust journalism or the media.

Regarding scaling, measures differ in terms of numbers and value labels of response options. Choosing one scale over another can significantly affect the results. Although this is a general issue in survey research, it is particularly severe in non-correlational trust studies that primarily aim to report the share of people who trust or distrust journalism. For example, compared to five-point scales that allow respondents to choose that they trust the media “sometimes,” four-point scales that do not include this response option seem to overestimate the share of distrusting people.

Causes and Consequences

Explaining differences in individuals' levels of trust in journalism is at the heart of trust research. One line of research suggests that varying levels of trust are a consequence of the (perceived) performance of journalism. If journalism performs well (or is perceived to perform well), people will be more likely to trust and vice versa. Low levels of trust in tabloid newspapers in many countries seem to support these assumptions. Research has also found that cynical and game-framed news reporting—as an example of low journalistic performance—can decrease peoples' trust in journalism. A seminal work by Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Joseph Cappella complemented this research by suggesting a reinforcing spiral between cynical political news coverage, trust in politics, and trust in journalism. Various studies also measure perceptions of news quality as an immediate indicator of trust, distrust, or skepticism. Critics of such approaches argue that news audiences have difficulties in judging news quality along normative criteria, such as balance and impartiality. Thus, performance-based approaches may not be able to comprehensively explain trust in journalism. This view is supported by comparative research that has found only limited associations between performance-based variables on the macro-level (e.g., freedom of press) and trust in the media.

Another line of research argues that the likelihood of individuals to trust journalism is rooted more deeply in their predispositions, values, and socialization. Findings are inconsistent regarding the associations between trust and various sociodemographics such as age, sex, and education. In contrast, research has reported stable correlations between the tendency of individuals to trust people in general and their levels of trust in journalism. This interpersonal trust is assumed to be rooted in childhood and further developed in early socialization experiences. On the macro-level, research has additionally found negative associations between people's embrace of postmaterialist values, such as freedom of speech or political participation, and trust in journalism. According to this research, postmaterialistic societies strive for more autonomy from public institutions and are, therefore, also less trustful of journalism and the media.

Political attitudes and ideologies constitute another area of research on the causes and consequences of trust in journalism. Research has consistently found that political cynicism, anti-elitism, ideological extremism, and endorsement of populist attitudes coincide with lower levels of trust in journalism. High levels of satisfaction with democracy, political trust, political interest, and political knowledge, in contrast, often go hand in hand with higher levels of trust. Different levels of trust, then, can have several political consequences: Distrust in the media and journalism increases the chance that individuals will avoid current information about politics, have biased perceptions of current social and political developments, and vote more in line with their party identification. Individuals with low levels of trust are also more likely to engage in violent forms of political participation, such as vehement protests against democratic decisions. Higher levels of trust, in contrast, are associated with an increased engagement of individuals in various forms of institutionalized and discursive participation.

Research has also investigated the associations between trust in journalism and media-related variables, such as media effects or the news consumption patterns of individuals. Regarding media effects, studies have found that distrustful individuals are less likely to share the news media's agenda of important topics in a society. At the same time, they are more resistant to news-induced persuasion than individuals with high levels of trust in journalism. Associations between news consumption patterns and trust are likely reciprocal: Since individuals build, to some extent, trust and distrust on past experiences, their experiences with journalistic products can affect their trust in journalism in the first place. This trust or distrust can then be used as a justification for consuming less or more news from legacy news media. In fact, empirical research has reported a relatively robust and positive influence of the exposure to various legacy media on peoples' levels of trust and vice versa. Typically, these relations are stronger the less abstract and less generalized the trust measure is.

Even individuals holding cynical attitudes toward journalism do not completely abstain from consuming its products. Explanations for this finding circle around peoples' need for

cognition and their lack of functional alternatives for retrieving specific information. The Internet could provide such alternative information sources, which is why an increasing number of studies investigate relations between Internet use and trust in journalism. Findings are, however, inconsistent. Some studies report negative associations between the frequency of Internet use and media trust, which are explained against the background that Internet users could often be exposed to information that contradicts that from legacy news media. Other research, however, did not find significant correlations or called for a more nuanced view regarding which information users actually consume online. These studies report that the general frequency of news consumption on social media platforms is not associated with lower levels of trust in journalism. Yet, trust is particularly low among users who regularly consume alternative online media with an affinity to populism and among users who rely on social media platforms as their main news source.

Future Directions

While research has extensively investigated the factors associated with trust and distrust, it is still unclear how much trust people should have in journalism and the media. Researchers agree that too much distrust in journalism is dysfunctional to democracies, yet a certain degree of critical vigilance to question journalistic information is a vital component of enlightened societies as well. Therefore, research has begun to differentiate between a functional skepticism and a dysfunctional cynicism as two sources—or subdimensions—of trust and distrust in journalism. Disentangling the complex relationship between these factors and investigating ways to support skepticism and reduce cynicism appears as a fruitful avenue for future theoretical and empirical work.

Trust research could also benefit from conducting additional panel studies. Those could help to shed light on the role (i.e., cause or consequence) of the various political, social, and media-related factors associated with trust. Additionally, generalized forms of trust, such as trust in journalism, are often assumed to have a trait-like stability. Still, research suggests that the share of people trusting or distrusting journalism changes over time. Panel studies

could contribute to identifying when and why people's experiences with legacy news media matter for their development of trust in journalism.

From a methodological perspective, previous research has already proposed sophisticated scales for measuring trust in journalism and the media. Further methodological standards regarding the objects, dimensions, and scaling of trust measures would increase the comparability of different studies. Additionally, a short scale for measuring trust, one that combines the brevity of established credibility measurements with the specifics of the trust concept, would be highly valuable.

Finally, with journalists continuously worrying about a crisis of trust, interventions to rebuild trust should be developed and tested. Experimental research has already begun to test the efficacy of a more transparent news reporting and increased newsroom interactivity with the audience. Expanding such endeavors could provide newsrooms with knowledge regarding how they could build trust in their organizations and, potentially, also in the system of journalism as a whole.

Marc Ziegele

See also Audience Research; Credibility; Democracy and the Media; Fake News; Appendix: Journalism Organizations

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TWITTER

Twitter is a social media platform used for micro-blogging, the practice of expressing ideas and opinions through short messages. While communication is the primary function of Twitter, it is also utilized by a variety of users for purposes as varied as advertising, seeking employment, and gathering news. Twitter is unique among messaging applications in its open accessibility and public-facing user experience; unlike contemporaries such as Facebook or Instagram, Twitter does not require the permission of a user for others to be able to see their output except in rare instances when a user sets their account to private.

Increasingly, Twitter has become a platform used by journalists to break news and build their reputations in order to secure positions with larger institutions. Some news organizations look to Twitter as a proving ground for potential recruits based on their skills as well as the influence they've already established, although many news organizations also have struggled to draw clear lines about what they consider acceptable uses of the platform by employees. This entry

further describes Twitter's users and some of its uses, before discussing its creation, functionality, and evolution. The entry then looks at some of the key events and figures in Twitter's history and concludes with a discussion of some concerns about Twitter as well as the implications of the platform for professional journalism.

The profile of the prominent Twitter user has evolved since the application's introduction in the mid-2000s. Celebrities have adopted the service as a way of growing their fan base through communication and notification, sharing updates on their creative endeavors as well as their opinions. Many news organizations were initially reluctant to use Twitter as a medium for sharing content but they have gradually adopted the platform. Twitter has also empowered a rise in so-called citizen journalists, or those other than professional journalists who break news on the platform. Politicians employ Twitter to garner support for initiatives, educate the public, and increase their own sphere of influence. Twitter has allowed like-minded individuals to connect with one another and making businesses, institutions, and political and organizational leaders more accessible to the average person.

In many senses, Twitter can be seen as the start of a large conversation. While it can be cumbersome to present an entire argument or article on the platform, a tweet or series of them can serve as the headline would in traditional news media to draw an audience in for the rest of the story. Content creators have found value in Twitter as a way to preview and entice consumption of blogs, websites, or even other social media services.

Creation

Jack Dorsey, a computer programmer, web designer, and entrepreneur, conceptualized what would become Twitter in early 2006 while working for the podcasting group Odeo. Dorsey refined existing short messaging system (SMS) technology that had been developed in the 1980s to serve as a communication method that would bridge the gap between different tools, allowing people to keep track of one another and to send a message via desktop computer that could be received by a cellphone or vice versa. Odeo cofounder Noah Glass coined the name "Twtr" for the prototype

program and worked with Dorsey as well as cofounder Evan Williams and their colleague Biz Stone on its initial creation and launch. The basis of Twttr was creating short messages from a plugin that would populate across multiple platforms.

The first iteration of Twttr launched on March 21, 2006, internally for Odeo employees with Dorsey sending out the first message—or tweet—that read “just setting up my twttr.” In July 2006, the application, now called *Twitter*, went live to the public. Tweets constituted messages of up to 140 characters. Due to the instability of Odeo, which was unable to compete with Apple as a podcasting platform, Dorsey, Stone, and Williams purchased Twitter from the investors and broke away to form their own company.

Twitter made its first significant impact at 2007’s South by Southwest Interactive Conference (SXSW) in Austin, Texas. Attendees adopted Twitter as their primary method of interacting and communicating with both others at the conference as well as the outside world. Over the course of the event, more than 60,000 tweets a day were sent. Twitter received the Best Blog award from SXSW and would continue to gain momentum at subsequent technology conferences throughout the remainder of 2007.

Functionality and Evolution

Initial versions of Twitter only allowed users to post to a mass audience without defining who they were directing comments at. It was customer feedback that led to the creation of the @ symbol as a method of specifying conversation targets. Users can place an @ sign before the name of their intended recipient and that person will be notified that they have been mentioned and given the opportunity to reply. It is common to employ the @ sign as a way to involve other parties in a conversation or to denote credit. Other social media platforms adopted variations on this function in the wake of Twitter innovating the method.

The concept of the hashtag also originated on Twitter before migrating across other avenues of social media. Using the # or hash symbol, a category, catchphrase, or other form of demarcation can be assigned to an individual tweet, grouping it with similar comments. Users can then access the search function to find all tweets that share a

hashtag in common. The hashtag is used as much in casual conversation as it is in marketing as companies associate with larger trends in order to increase visibility of their message. Hashtags are also a convenient way for users to track events as they happen or develop.

Retweeting is one of the most popular and frequently used features of Twitter. The platform allows an option to duplicate another user’s tweet on one’s own feed, automatically providing the originator of the comment with credit while also sharing it with one’s followers. Retweeting developed out of Twitter wanting to create a larger sense of community while also alleviating ill feelings over perceived plagiarism. While users initially retweeted “manually,” Twitter would begin automating the operation in 2010 and later added the ability for additional comments along with the retweet as a quoted response.

As with most innovations associated to Twitter and its ongoing evolution as a digital media service, the @ sign, the hashtag, and the retweet all grew out of user exploration and were integrated into the application’s functionality following development by Twitter participants. Robert S. Anderson, a digital creative director, is credited as the first Twitter user to employ an @ sign as a means of responding to a comment made by Buzz Andersen. The interaction occurred on November 2, 2006, early in Twitter’s development; within the next year, the ability to reply to comments directly became a key part of the platform.

Another digital product designer, Chris Messina, suggested publicly the concept of using the # symbol to group content, what would become known as a *hashtag*, on August 23, 2007. Twitter proved initially resistant to the concept of hashtags, but the trend gained momentum among users until it was made an official feature by July of 2009.

On April 17, 2007, web designer Eric Rice used the phrase “ReTweet” to copy and paste an opinion social media expressed by Jesse Malthus. Up to this point, “ReTweet” had referred to restatements of your own tweet, but Rice continued using it—and the variation “Re-Tweet”—to reference others, a trend that caught on. In 2009, Twitter created a feature allowing users to retweet without creating a new thread, though even today some users prefer to perform the function manually.

Key Events

Twitter has been at the forefront of several social and political movements since its inception. Every major news outlet has adapted to the reality of digital media and its prominence in the 21st century. Because Twitter is the most open of the social platforms and provides real-time updates, it has been utilized in particular to break news and for journalists to corroborate stories. It has become a leading source for information sharing and dissemination.

In 2011, details about the May 1 assassination of terrorist Osama bin Laden surfaced on the platform more than an hour before President Barack Obama confirmed the event during a live address of the nation. Later in the same year, the Occupy Wall Street movement against economic inequality that began in New York City's financial district gained attention and spread to other cities in large part due to its organizers using Twitter to gather support. Around the same time, anti-government uprisings in Arab nations—collectively referred to as the *Arab Spring*—utilized Twitter and other social media platforms to organize. Initially, activists involved in calling for reform in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen, employed Twitter as a key method in sharing their sentiments and garnering support from around the world. Later, coordinators of rallies and other events would turn to the online service in order to plan their efforts across several regions.

Since the July 2013 acquittal of white police officer George Zimmerman in the shooting of Black teenager Trayvon Martin, “Black Lives Matter” has been used as a rallying cry for exposing racial inequality. While the first documented use of the phrase occurred on Facebook, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter quickly became more commonly associated with Twitter. According to a 2016 study conducted by the Pew Research Center, over a 3-year period beginning in 2013, #BlackLivesMatter appeared on Twitter nearly 11.8 million times.

On October 15, 2017, actress Alyssa Milano repurposed the designation “Me too” from activist Tarana Burke as an identifier for women who had been victimized by sexual assault or harassment. This followed articles in *The New York Times* and *New Yorker* highlighting allegations

brought forth by several women of sexual misconduct by film studio executive Harvey Weinstein. The Pew Research Center found a year later that the hashtag #MeToo had been used over 19 million times on Twitter, averaging out to roughly 55,000 tweets a day.

The 2012 and 2016 U.S. presidential elections unfolded in large part on social media, particularly Twitter, with both major political parties' nominees utilizing the channel to campaign and to gain support from a younger voting demographic. In some cases, campaign staffers “speak” for their candidates on social media, crafting messaging for their approval, but many politicians have begun to use Twitter directly. President Donald Trump in particular took to the platform as a substitute for traditional news releases or press briefings, placing increased onus of journalists to be vigilant in monitoring the channel.

Key Figures

After leaving the Missouri University of Science and Technology and subsequently dropping out of New York University prior to graduation, Jack Dorsey resettled in Oakland, California, during the late 1990s where he started a software provider in 2000. Dorsey pitched what would become Twitter to Odeo before breaking away to form a separate company of which he was CEO; he stepped down from that position in 2008 and remained as chairman. In 2010, Dorsey invested heavily in the social platform Foursquare and developed the Square mobile credit card payment application. As of 2020, Dorsey remained CEO of both Square and Twitter, a role he resumed with the former in 2015.

A software developer and cofounder of Odeo, Noah Glass headed up aspects of Twitter's early development—and coined the working title “twittr”—but did not make the jump to Dorsey and company's Obvious Corporation and later Twitter itself.

A Boston-born and educated designer, Biz Stone joined Odeo from Google along with Evan Williams in 2005. Stone accompanied Williams and Dorsey in the formation of Twitter and acted as the new group's creative director through 2011. After several outside endeavors on his own and with collaborators, Stone returned to Twitter in 2017.

A Google executive who founded Odeo in 2005, Evan Williams fostered Dorsey's initial ideas for a social messaging service and assigned Glass, Stone, and others to work on its development. Williams would cofound Twitter in 2006 and become its CEO following Dorsey stepping down in 2008. He ceded the CEO position back to Dorsey in 2015, but remained on Twitter's board until 2019.

Concerns and Implications for Journalism

Some critics of Twitter argue that it's too unregulated and fast-moving, with quality of content being sacrificed for immediacy and frequency. Many Twitter users will ignore the larger narrative and greater context that can be found beyond the platform and believe they have gleaned full stories from headlines, leading to misinformation as well as conflict and aggression. Yet Twitter has become an important tool for journalists both to collect news and report it. In awarding the Pulitzer Prize to The Denver Post for its coverage of a 2012 mass shooting at a movie theater in Aurora, Colo., the Pulitzer Committee noted the Post's use of Twitter and Facebook in capturing a breaking story with context. The newspaper noted that it was Twitter that alerted an overnight staff member to the shooting, which allowed staff to begin a series of late-night social media posts once the report was verified. A collection of tweets was part of the prize-winning package.

For better or worse, Twitter endures as a powerful social media tool that has impacted social and cultural events and landscapes and delivered a voice to millions of users. This can mean professional journalists are in some senses competing with amateurs who are breaking news but are not necessarily bound by the same ethics to do diligent reporting. Social media users may not always be able to distinguish between a thoroughly researched piece of journalism and a hastily assembled tweet. This adds a level of responsibility and challenge to the job of the journalist.

Benjamin Morse

See also Citizen Journalism; Facebook; Instagram; Social Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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TYPE AND TYPOGRAPHY

Typography concerns the design, arrangement, placement, and usage of machine-printed type. Although the notion of mechanical printing

predates Johann Gutenberg, the father of modern printing, by at least six centuries, essentially, the history of typography begins with the German goldsmith's invention of the letterpress around 1450. Gutenberg's invention was so well conceived that it remained the principal method of printing for more than 400 years. Gutenberg's process for printing from movable type brought together four skills: calligraphy, chemistry, metallurgy, and engraving. The key to the system was metal type.

Gutenberg used steel punches and brass molds to cast individual letters from an alloy of lead, tin, and antimony. Each character was cast hundreds of times as a separate block, and then the thousands of individual letters were assembled into pages. After printing, the pages could be disassembled and the type cleaned and reused. Type was stored in compartmentalized storage cases—capital letters in an uppercase and small letters in a lowercase (thus the terms we still use today)—and pulled out letter by letter to set the lines. The German inventor also had to develop a method of holding the type in place for printing, a slow-drying ink sticky enough to adhere evenly to the metal type, and a press capable of forcing the paper down onto the type for an even impression. Gutenberg modeled his printing press after the wine and cheese presses in use at the time and formulated a linseed oil-based ink, using lead and copper compounds for pigment.

The 42-Line Bible

Bringing all the elements together, Gutenberg began working on the first typographic book, a two-volume, folio-sized (11.75 × 15 inches) Latin Bible. The pages were printed in two columns; the first nine pages had 40 lines per column, the 10th page had 41, and the remaining 1,270-plus pages had 42 lines per column. He may have used this layout for the manuscript, or he may have started a 40-line Bible and increased the number of lines per column to save time and paper. Forty-eight copies of this landmark publication, out of an estimated press run of about 200, are known still to exist (one is always on display at the Library of Congress, for example). Gutenberg's 42-line Bible remains a magnificent example of the printer's art.

Development of the printing process and printing the 42-line Bible was expensive. Over a period of years, Gutenberg borrowed a considerable sum from wealthy Mainz merchant Johann Fust, putting his printing equipment up as collateral. In 1455, just as the Bible printing neared completion, Fust foreclosed on Gutenberg for nonpayment and seized possession of the equipment and all work in progress. Fust then hired Gutenberg's chief assistant, Peter Schoeffer, to finish production. It is unknown whether Gutenberg had any further hand in completing the project or reaped any financial benefits from his work. But his invention quickly spread throughout Europe. It is estimated that by 1500, there were already more than 1,000 printers operating out of some 200 locations in Europe. The basic printing process remained little changed for the next 400 years. Typography, on the other hand, began to change almost immediately. Gutenberg's heavy Textura typeface was quickly eclipsed by more graceful, easier-to-read letterforms.

Development of Typography

The 42-line Bible was designed and printed to look like a handwritten manuscript. According to early accounts, Fust tried to sell the Bibles as hand-copied originals before being found out in Paris. But during the first 50 years of printing, the so-called *incunabula* period (1450–1500), typographers such as Erhard Ratdolt and Claude Garamond started moving type design away from its dependence on calligraphic models to letterforms more in accordance with metal type and the technical possibilities of printing.

According to the best estimates, close to 10,000 different typefaces have been created since Gutenberg. Early on, printers began to experiment with the size, shape, weight, and spacing of the letters. In particular, they produced typefaces with the following variations.

- Letter strokes, the lines that are drawn to form the letters. These can vary from hairline to quite thick or can be monotonal, with little or no variation at all.
- Serifs, the finishing strokes at the end of a letter's main stroke. Serifs can be rounded or

flat, straight or cupped, bracketed or unbracketed—or missing entirely.

- Finials and terminals, the final or ending stroke forming a hook or a ball that is attached to some curved letterforms.
- Counters, the enclosed or partly enclosed white space within letters.
- Ascenders and descenders, the strokes which rise above or go below the main body of some lowercase letters such as b and h and p and y. No uppercase letters have ascenders and the Q is the only uppercase letter with a descender.
- X-height, the height of the body of lowercase letters in proportion to the ascenders and descenders. The measure is actually based on the letter x.

Letterforms also vary in posture—whether the letter sits straight or seems to lean; weight, which can range from light to extrabold; and width, which can expand or condense a standard shape. Over the centuries, typographers have tried in several ways to classify the multitudes of type designs. Perhaps the most common is to group typefaces according to common characteristics, into faces, subgroups, families, and fonts.

Faces of Type

Black Letter

Gutenberg modeled his first typeface after the calligraphy of the local German monks. The face of type that developed from Gutenberg's first font is known as *black letter* because of the heavy, compact strokes of the letters. This face is also known as *text* because of its early association with the text or body copy of printed books. Today it is sometimes referred to as *Old English*, although old English is actually a particular typeface of the black letter and not a face itself.

Black letter faces feature pointed letters that look as if they were drawn with a broad-nibbed pen. The vertical stems are tightly spaced with pronounced stroke contrast. The terminals often have diamond-shaped finishing strokes. Because of the centuries of tradition associated with this face, many newspapers still use black letter type for their nameplates.

Roman

Gutenberg purposely designed his type to look like the hand lettering it replaced. But within 20 years, printing had expanded south to Italy, and there a new face of type soon developed that has remained dominant through five centuries. In the spirit of the Renaissance, Italian printers moved away from handwriting as a model toward the simpler, more open letterforms chiseled on Roman buildings. Nicholas Jenson, a French-born Venetian publisher and printer, introduced the first truly successful roman typeface in 1470. Fellow Venetian publisher, Aldus Manutius, and his typographer Francesco Griffo refined Jenson's roman face. Griffo also produced the first italic typeface, although his design had only lowercase letters set with regular roman capitals. Another Viennese printer added matching italic capitals in 1524. The influence of Venetian printers soon made roman type dominant in all Europe outside the German-speaking areas. Development has continued through the generations, with the romans still the most numerous typefaces by far, and the most popular for text type. Most books, nearly all newspapers, and at least half of all magazines use roman types for body copy. One of the most popular is Times New Roman, designed in 1931 under the direction of Stanley Morison. Times New Roman was designed for the exclusive use of *The Times of London* but was released for general sale a year later. It has become one of the most widely used typefaces in the English-speaking world, not just by newspapers but also by book and magazine publishers, advertisers, and printers.

Roman types are defined by contrasting thick and thin strokes and the presence of a finishing stroke or serif at the end of the major stem and hairline strokes. Because these faces are so profuse and so varied, they are usually divided into subgroups based on three characteristics: contrast in the thickness of letter strokes; stress—the angle or axis of the curves; and serif treatment. “Old face” or “old style” types feature strokes that make a gentle transition from thick to thin. Serifs are bracketed or molded into the terminals of the main strokes. The serifs of the ascenders in the lowercase slant and at the bottom of the uppercase E and top of the uppercase T extend outward.

The axis of the curves is inclined to the left. Giambattista Bodoni, the renowned Italian type designer and friend of Benjamin Franklin, popularized modern romans after French typographers introduced their prototypes in the late 1700s. In the moderns, the last vestiges of type's origin as handwritten letterforms disappeared. Rather, these faces have a distinct mechanical look reflecting strict emphasis on form and structure. These faces have a strong contrast between thick and thin strokes. Serifs are straight, thin, and unbracketed. The serifs on the lowercase ascenders are horizontal. Stress is vertical. Many designs fall somewhere between old style and modern with characteristics of both. Contrast between thick and thin strokes is not as pronounced as in modern, but more than in old style. Serifs are bracketed and those of the lowercase ascenders are oblique, but the slant is not as steep as old style. These faces are known as *transitional roman*.

Some typographers would classify italic typefaces as a separate face, but it is better to look at them as roman. Like the romans, their strokes vary in thicknesses with serifs (or curved finishing strokes) called *finials*. Their letter shapes correspond to their companion roman face. Their most striking difference is their slant to the right.

Romans come in every weight and size and are suitable for almost any application.

Sans Serif

Second only to romans in number and frequency of use are sans serif faces. Sans means "without" in French, and as the name implies, none of the members of this large face of type has serifs of any kind. Their variety comes from variations in stroke thickness and weight differences. Modeled after the flat, uniform strokes of ancient Greek letters, the first recorded sans serif typeface was introduced in 1816, but the designation sans serif was not applied until 1832. They had become very popular by the mid-1800s. Their stature was propelled further a century later by the German Bauhaus Institute, which emphasized functional design in furniture, architecture, product design, and typography. In the last half century, their popularity has increased to the point that today the use of sans serif faces rivals that of romans.

Sans serifs can be divided into two easily distinguishable categories: monolines and gothics. Monolines, sometimes called *true sans serifs*, have little or no variation in the thickness of strokes. They are geometric, precise, and elegant. Their letterforms are round and lightweight as compared to gothics. Gothics have some variation in the letter strokes, although the contrast is not as apparent as in romans. Thickness variations are often found where curved and stem strokes connect, causing them to look somewhat less graceful than their monotonal counterparts.

At one time, most newspapers set their headlines in a roman typeface, but now more than half use sans serif or a combination of serif and sans serif. The switch to sans serif for body type, however, has not been as pronounced. Roman typefaces are less monotonous, are considered easier to read than sans serif faces, and have been retained by most newspapers for text type. But sans serifs play an increasingly important role in advertising, magazines and newsletters, consumer product labeling, and web design.

Square Serifs or Egyptians

About the same time sans serif type was launched by William Caslon IV early in the 19th century, a fourth face of type was introduced by another English typefoundry, the Vincent Figgins Foundry in London. The first of the square serif faces was listed in the catalog as "Egyptian," and the name stuck. There was a great fascination at this time in both England and America with all things Egyptian, intensified by Napoleon's invasion and occupation of Egypt in 1798 and 1799, and the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799. This tablet of black basalt had parallel inscriptions in Greek and Egyptian hieroglyphic characters that provided the key to deciphering the ancient Egyptian writing. Whether Figgins wanted the shape of his letters to call to mind Egyptian architecture or to suggest the visual qualities of popular Egyptian artifacts, the face became associated with the tremendous interest in Egyptian culture.

Egyptian faces are also called *square serifs*, *slab serifs*, and *antiques*, but the Egyptian designation is the most prevalent, leading to names such as Cairo, Karnak, and Memphis.

Pronounced square or rectangular serifs, uniform stroke formation, and short ascenders and descenders characterize Egyptian faces. Serifs vary from tall serifs thicker than the stem strokes of the letters, to monoline types with little or no contrast between the serif and letter thickness, to more moderate serifs, which contrast with stroke thickness.

The Egyptian faces were designed for advertising purposes rather than for book or newspaper printing. They are monotonous and tiring when used for body copy but work well for headings and headlines. In the mid-1800s, they were used extensively for large theatrical posters and often produced with wooden rather than metal type. Since then, they have gone through several periods of decline and revival. Today they are popular for newspaper and magazine ads, especially for reverses, white lettering on a dark background, and surprints, copy that is printed over photographic illustrations.

Hand-Formed

With scripts and cursives, typography comes full circle. These forms are designed, as was Gutenberg's first typeface, to resemble handwriting. They are meant to emulate letters written with hand-held instruments—first quill pens, then fountain pens, brushes, broad-nibbed lettering pens, or felt-tip markers. Together, scripts and cursives make up the hand-formed face, sometimes shortened to “hands.”

Script letters generally slant to the right and the lowercase letters connect or appear to connect. The capitals are graceful and flowing and can stand alone without connecting to the lowercase letters. Cursives also slant like handwriting, but neither the upper or lowercase letters connect. Cursive faces often include flourished capitals and may include some alternate lowercase characters. Cursives are sometimes confused with roman italics, but italic typefaces have serifs that cursives do not. Some typographers refer to all hand-formed faces as “scripts”—those with connecting letters as “formal scripts,” and those with letters that do not connect as “informal scripts.”

Hand-formed faces, both scripts and cursives, have proliferated since the 1930s, but only a few examples produced before that time are still in

use. These faces are much more difficult to read than serif or sans serif faces. Newspapers and magazines occasionally use them for titles, headings, and subheads. Their more common use is for announcements, invitations, letterheads, and in retail advertising.

Decorative

Gutenberg's 42-line Bible had blank spaces left for decorative initials to be drawn in later by a scribe. Soon afterward, printers were using two-part blocks to stamp in highly ornate capitals after the text was printed. From there it was but a short step for typographers to “embellish” existing, identifiable letterforms.

Actually, this sixth face is not a face at all. Rather, it is a catchall category for miscellaneous designs with indistinct characteristics. Also known as *novelty*, *specialty*, *ornamental*, or *mood*, this category includes standard forms that have been modified with outlines, inlines, shadows, and textures; typefaces that have been decorated with flowers or leaves or other designs; and specially created faces with letters fashioned from natural forms such as paper clips, wooden logs, or smoke.

These typefaces are very rarely used in news typography. In other uses, they are attention grabbers used almost exclusively for display type expressing ideas of a few words.

Families and Fonts

Within the faces and subgroups are the various individual typefaces. Most of these have a number of closely related faces, all very similar in design but varying in posture, weight, or style. The collection of related designs all bear the name of their parent typeface and are known as *families*. A font consists of the upper and lowercase alphabet, numbers, punctuation marks, and symbols in any one size of a particular typeface.

Before computerization, each font of a typeface had to be cast separately, and most type was available in fewer than a dozen standard sizes. Measurement was not standardized until the late 1800s, when the U.S. Type Founders Association adopted a point system. A point equals just under 1/72 of an inch. Another common measurement used by typographers is the pica. A pica equals 12

points. So there are approximately six picas or 72 points to the inch.

With the advent of photocomposition and digital composition, designers are no longer limited to a few faces in a limited number of sizes. The computer age has given every desktop publisher easy access to virtually every typeface that has ever existed.

But typography is more than just the development of typefaces. It is also their selection and arrangement to convey a message. In this respect, typography revolutionized human society. Printing—first books, then newspapers and magazines—became the basis for education and enlightenment that began the modern information age, to which the print news media are so indispensable.

Jim Martin

See also Editing, Print Media; Gutenberg Press; Printing

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U.S. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

U.S. international communications encompass strategic efforts, funded or sponsored by the U.S. federal government, that seek to inform or engage foreign civil publics and actors regarding the interests, behavior, and image of the United States. It can also include U.S. communication intended for domestic audiences abroad, such as deployed servicemen and women, that also regularly reaches foreign nationals.

Facilitated in the 2020s by cutting edge fiber-optic and satellite communication infrastructure, the 21st century's speed and breadth of global information-sharing poses opportunities, challenges, and threats never before imagined. While the United States may not share the same unipolar dominance it once had in the immediate post-Cold War era, still, no country today has a stronger influence on global politics than the United States, making U.S. international communications a topic of paramount interest.

While a presidential State of the Union address or feature story in *The New York Times* or *The Wall Street Journal* carries substantial international reach, they do not constitute U.S. international communications as defined in this entry. Both examples lack a predominantly foreign target audience while the latter functions under private entities. This entry positions U.S. international communications as the outputs of the U.S. Department of State (DOS) and U.S. Agency for Global

Media (USAGM) and, to a lesser degree, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD). It first discusses the origins of U.S. international communications, then looks at the Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), the more recent expansion of outlets under USAGM, and outlets for international communications run by the DOD.

Origins

The birth of U.S. international communications is embedded in the very founding of the country, with the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 serving as the Second Continental Congress' first formal communication with a foreign government. It was also the U.S. government's first attempt to manage its international image, framing itself in the international arena as a righteous, self-determined people seeking fundamental freedom from a tyrannical and oppressive government.

Systematic and sustained efforts at U.S. international communications, however, trace their roots to the early 20th century, when the Committee on Public Information (1917–1919) was founded during World War I. Similar efforts reemerged during World War II with the Office of War Information (1942–1945) and the U.S. Information Service (1953–1999), more commonly the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), during and following the Cold War.

In 1965, Ambassador Edmund Gullion coined the term *public diplomacy* as strategic

communication with foreign publics carried out by the United States to advance its foreign policy interests. As of 2018, federal funding for public diplomacy initiatives was \$2.19 billion. Responsibility for U.S. public diplomacy was initially spread across DOS and USIA. In 1999, USIA was dissolved, redistributing public diplomacy assets to DOS and the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which was renamed the USAGM in 2018.

The journalistic approach to U.S. international communications largely resides within distinct news networks operated formerly by USIA, and today, USAGM. The oldest, and most iconic, networks giving voice to U.S. international communications include the VOA and RFE/RL.

Voice of America

The VOA was established in 1942 to counter Nazi propaganda efforts in Latin America. Once the United States entered World War II, VOA was repurposed to broadcast to the United Kingdom, North Africa, and Italy. By the end of the war, VOA produced over 1,000 programs spanning 40 languages.

In 2020, VOA is the United States' largest governmental broadcast network, reaching 275 million people weekly in more than 100 countries on a budget of approximately \$250 million. Surveys of VOA audiences between 2016 and 2020 show that, on average, 83% of audience members view the network as trustworthy. Broadcasting via television, radio, and the Internet, the network makes use of satellite, cable, FM, and medium-wave radio, and over 2,500 affiliate stations around the globe to report news and spread the democratic values of free press and free speech.

While VOA is directly funded by the U.S. federal government, it is an independent journalistic institution and member of the free press. A 1976 legislative mandate signed by President Gerald R. Ford established that final editorial decisions rest with VOA leadership, not members of the executive or legislative branches of government. This aims to protect the authenticity and credibility of VOA as a globally respectable and credible news outlet rather than a mouthpiece for U.S. propaganda.

Proof of such independence can be seen in recurring tense relationships between VOA, the

White House, and Congress. In the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy accused VOA broadcasts of being sympathetic to communism, leading to substantial staff, budget, programming reductions, and Congressional hearings. In the 1970s and 1990s, VOA journalists tirelessly reported on, respectively, the Watergate and Monica Lewinsky scandals, providing unfavorable coverage of the presidential administrations of Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton. Further, in 2020, President Donald Trump publicly criticized VOA coverage of the coronavirus pandemic, suggesting it overly favored China's lockdown approach in Wuhan; such criticism was the basis for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention blacklisting VOA reporters and media requests.

VOA began strictly as a news information outlet, however, once President Dwight Eisenhower moved the network from DOS to USIA in 1953, programming was expanded to include entertainment and educational broadcasting. *Jazz Hour* with Willis Conover was an iconic way U.S. culture and values were spread behind the Iron Curtain. Beyond the creativity, freedom, and originality inherent in jazz improvisation, *Jazz Hour* regularly hosted artists such as Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald, and Irving Berlin who openly discussed their thoughts on societal issues of the time, including race and gender relations. While the 1950s and 1960s in the United States were plagued with social equality issues, giving voice to those who were critical of the government reinforced VOA's global credibility as an independent organization and the federal government's commitment to free speech and free press.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Although a single network now, RFE/RL started as two separate entities with parallel missions. RFE launched in 1950, targeting audiences in Eastern Bloc countries including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany. RL launched in 1953, targeting audiences inside the Soviet Union itself. Where both organizations launched with substantial funding from the Central Intelligence Agency, ties were severed in 1971 when funding shifted solely to Congressional appropriations. The networks merged in 1976 to form RFE/RL.

Unlike VOA, which covers U.S. and global events, RFE/RL aims to provide region-specific coverage to each country in which it broadcasts. Headquarters were based in Munich until 1995 when they were moved to Prague. As of 2020, RFE/RL broadcast in 27 languages to 23 countries across Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia, including Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Kazakhstan. Funding for RFE/RL was \$124 million as of 2018.

Much of RFE/RL's popularity came from rigorous investigative reporting and quality information sharing, starkly contrasting censorship by the Kremlin in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc. RFE/RL openly reported on such events as the death of Joseph Stalin, the Berlin riots of 1953 and Poznań riots of 1956, and defections to the West, such as that of Polish public security minister Józef Światło. Following the Chernobyl nuclear accident, Soviet media did not cover the meltdown for up to 48 h and provided highly censored and often contradictory reports in the following months. Despite Kremlin efforts, audiences in Eastern Bloc countries were largely aware of the Chernobyl events thanks to continual coverage by RFE/RL.

Despite its popularity, the network was placed under intense scrutiny for the role it played in the failed 1956 Hungarian revolution. While a much contested and debated subject, RFE/RL broadcasts into Hungary supported the sentiment of the revolution and, whether intentional or not, suggested to Hungarian listeners that foreign assistance would be provided if the revolution achieved success early on. No such aid was ever provided, and the revolt was defeated by Red Army forces and Hungarian forces backed by the country's communist party. In all, some 16,000 Hungarians were killed or wounded in the failed uprising, with 200,000 displaced as refugees.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the demand for broadcasting in Europe declined, and funding cuts in the early 1990s led to programming reductions across the network. In 1998, however, with growing tensions in the Middle East, RFE/RL launched an Arabic broadcast service called *Radio Free Iraq* that operated until 2015. Following a trend of growing U.S. interests in the region, in 2002, RFE/RL launched Radio Farda as a Persian language service

broadcast in Iran. With significant censorship by the Iranian government and IP address blocks on Facebook and YouTube, Radio Farda adopted an innovative approach stressing customized content for mobile audiences, such as an Instagram account with over 1.8 million followers as of March 2020. Given the rise of substantial populist sentiment in Europe over the 2010s, in 2019, Romanian and Bulgarian programming was reinstituted, with Hungarian services aimed for expansion by 2021.

RFE/RL's adoption of 21st century digital journalism has not been without issues. In 2018, RFE/RL used paid Facebook advertisements to push its content to audiences inside the United States. The Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 makes it illegal for USAGM networks to broadcast or provide their content inside the United States. Where 20th-century broadcasting was a function of physically pointing transmitters in certain directions, the boundaries of cyberspace are just now being tested both practically and legally in terms of international communications. The Smith-Mundt Modernization Act of 2012, signed into law by President Barack Obama, still restricts USAGM networks from broadcasting their content inside the United States, but it does allow them to distribute content to audiences inside the United States when directly requested by members of the public.

Post-Cold War Expansion

With the decline of the Soviet Union in the 1980s and eventual collapse in 1991, the United States began appropriating funding and assets more broadly. In 1985, Radio y Televisión Martí was launched as a Cuba-specific network. Based in Florida under the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB), content aims to bring credible news in Spanish to Cuban citizens. Funding for the network reached \$29 million in 2018. In 2019, USAGM reported that while the network's cultural and entertainment content was in good standing, its news content did not reflect quality journalism and, as such, was in need of substantial editorial reform.

The Middle East Broadcasting Networks, Inc. (MBN) oversees U.S. engagement with the Arab world, spanning the Middle East and North

Africa. Headquartered in Virginia, MBN has a budget of \$110 million, broadcasting to 22 countries in various Arabic dialects. The organization operates two television networks, one radio network, five websites, and numerous social media accounts. Radio Sawa launched in 2002, seeking to engage with Arabic youth, and Alhurra in 2004 as a satellite TV channel. Alhurra reaches upward of 15 million viewers weekly, down from 26 million reported in 2011, and has consistently struggled to compete with regional competitors such as Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, or Al Iraqiya. Given declining effectiveness, Alhurra underwent a substantial editorial transformation that launched in 2018, aiming to rebrand the service and provide a new look and feel that would resonate better with target audiences.

Radio Free Asia (RFA) is a private, nonprofit organization overseeing U.S. engagement in Eastern Asia. After a brief stint between 1951 and 1955, the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests renewed U.S. interests in a regional broadcaster, with President Clinton approving a relaunch of RFA in 1994. As a private entity whose mission is mandated by Congress, RFA operates on grant-based funding provided by USAGM, which makes up the network's board of directors. With an approximate budget of \$44 million, RFA broadcasts in nine languages to six countries.

In June 2020, after substantial lobbying from the White House, the Senate confirmed conservative filmmaker Michael Pack as the new USAGM executive director. Pack's confirmation raised significant concerns among lawmakers and journalists about the safeguards ensuring the editorial independence of U.S. international broadcasters from the White House. In what was dubbed the "Wednesday Night Massacre," Pack fired the directors of RFE/RL, RFA, MBN, OCB, and USAGM's Open Technology Fund. The firings were followed by a handful of senior-level resignations in VOA. Pack also acted to weaken the regulatory firewall protecting USAGM's networks and their journalists' editorial autonomy and independence. Although the regulatory firewall is Congressionally mandated in the 1994 International Broadcasting Act, Pack claimed the rule is unconstitutional and undermined his own editorial oversight of the agency.

U.S. International Communications Through the DOD

Beyond DOS and USAGM, DOD also engages in international communications, primarily through the American Forces Network (AFN). Based in Maryland, AFN provides news and entertainment broadcasting in areas of U.S. military deployment. Despite U.S. target audiences, AFN has a history of functioning as an outlet for federal communication with foreign audiences. In the 1950s and 1960s, AFN was widely listened to across Western and Eastern Europe, particularly cultural programming like John Vrotsos' *Music in the Air*.

In the 1950s through 1970s, AFN radio and TV services in Tehran were widely popular among Iranian nationals, especially children. Following the nationalization of Iranian broadcast networks in 1969, AFN provided the only broadcast content not controlled by the Iranian government until its closure in 1976. Through the latter half of the 20th century, similar networks and affiliates were established in Vietnam, Thailand, Taiwan, the Caribbean, Panama, and Honduras. Armed Forces Radio Saigon's *Dawn Buster* with Air Force DJ Adrian Cronauer was the inspiration behind the 1987 hit *Good Morning, Vietnam*.

DOD also provides a newspaper service through the *Stars and Stripes*. With a Congressional mandate requiring editorial independence and providing an ombudsman to ensure quality journalism practices, *Stars and Stripes* is the only autonomous news outlet within the U.S. military. While the newspaper produces editions for Europe, Guam, South Korea, the Middle East, and Japan (with separate editions for mainland Japan and the island of Okinawa), all content is in English and available in print only at U.S. military installations. Target audiences include U.S. military servicemen and women, civil employees, veterans, contractors, and their families.

Stars and Stripes began publication in 1861 during the American Civil War and has offered daily newspaper coverage since World War II. The Pentagon's 2021 proposed budget stripped the newspaper of its federal subsidy, approximately \$15.5 million. The remainder of the newspaper's annual revenue, approximately \$15 million, is generated by sales, subscriptions, and advertising. Although the funding that went to *Stars and*

Stripes in previous Pentagon budgets was dwarfed by the overall size of the \$705 billion budget proposal, then Defense Secretary Mark Esper argued the *Stars and Stripes*' funding needed to be redistributed to higher priority areas and proposed cutting its entire budget. In September 2020, following tweets by Trump in support of *Stars and Stripes*, the DOD reversed its position in a statement requesting Congress approve defense funding for the newspaper network through 2021.

DOD also engages foreign audiences through psychological operation efforts in support of stability operations. Where DOD wishes to provide foreign humanitarian and civic assistance, it does so through one of four routes: noncombatant evacuation operations, counterdrug operations, humanitarian mine action programs, and peace operations. If the U.S. Air Force plans to bomb a target in a densely populated urban area, for example, DOD can deploy personnel to inform civilians to evacuate for safety, making use of in-person, print, and broadcast communication. While psychological operations do not constitute journalism, they do constitute U.S. international communications.

U.S. International Communications in 2020 and Beyond

U.S. international communications have achieved global recognition over the latter half of the 20th century. While the 21st-century role and tactics of such U.S. efforts have been less clear, there is little question that programs across the DOS, USAGM, and DOD have paramount roles to play in the coming years and decades. While state-sponsored international journalism was largely limited in the 20th century, with a few networks such as VOA and RFE/RL, the BBC World News Service, and the Soviet Union's Radio Moscow, the 21st century has seen a growing number of countries launching their own international news services, including China's Global Television Network and Xinhua News Agency, Iran's Al-Alam News Network, Qatar's Al Jazeera, Saudi Arabia's Al Arabiya, Germany's Deutsche Welle, France's France 24, Japan's NHK World, Singapore's Channel News Asia, Turkey's TRT World, and Russia's RT (formerly Russia Today).

Along with global competition from other state-sponsored outlets, U.S. international communications outlets operate at a time when rising disinformation, fake news, and computational propaganda make the need for objective, transparent, and fact-based journalistic practices more critical the world over. For U.S. international communications to remain as relevant as they were in the 20th century, with a fast-growing list of competitors in an ever-growing segmented market, will require governmental support in the form of funding, commitment to editorial independence, new broadcasting models, and 21st-century strategies for effective journalistic storytelling. These strategies could include interactive multimedia presentation, data visualization, user-generated content, audience analytics research, and tailored content distribution.

Phillip C. Arceneaux

See also Agence France-Presse; Al Arabiya; Al Jazeera; Al-Manar; British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); Deutsche Welle; Xinhua News Agency; Propaganda; RT and Sputnik; Stars and Stripes

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UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

United Press International (UPI), a 1958 amalgamation of the International News Service and United Press, was a major American news agency for more than seven decades. Owned in the early 21st century by News World Communications, UPI is now a remnant of its previous status as a major international news and information provider.

Origins

Though founded under its present name in 1958, UPI traces its roots to United Press Associations

(UP). Publisher E. W. Scripps, in order to battle AP's then-restrictive membership policies, had formed three regional Scripps news services in the early 1900s and merged them to become the UP on June 21, 1907. He argued there should be no restrictions on which papers (369 of them at first) could buy his developing news service. He hired Roy Howard to lead the wire service and it is Howard who is largely credited for the spirit of innovativeness and doggedness at UP, pioneering the use of bylines on wire service reports and offering feature stories long before they appeared on the AP. In its early years, as the number of subscribers doubled, the UP scrounged and scraped to cover the Mexican revolution and the growing labor movement, and then it scored big with coverage of the tragic 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City.

Among these stories of UP's early years was its handling of the Armistice ending World War I. Receiving word from a bogus informant, the U.S. Embassy in Paris passed word to UP that an armistice had been signed. On November 7, 1918, UP ran the bulletin pronouncing the war's end and tens of thousands of Americans poured into the streets to celebrate. For hours, the AP stubbornly held out for official word and was subjected to angry demonstrations and cries of being pro-German. When the AP was able to confirm that the Germans had not yet signed the agreement, UP was forced to issue a correction, and the AP was redeemed. Three days later, the war did officially end. The UP restored some of its reputation when roles were reversed in 1927 and the AP prematurely reported that Charles Lindbergh had landed safely after the first solo transatlantic flight from New York to Paris.

Competing after the war with "The Ring" news agency cartel operated by Reuters, Havas, Wolff, and the AP, UP became the first American news service to provide service to subscriber newspapers in Europe, South America, and the Far East. Indeed, its success was such that Reuters invited it to join the ring in 1912. UP turned down the offer and continued to expand. Direct service to Europe came in 1921, China a year later, and, through a subsidiary, colonies of the British Empire by 1922. By 1929, UP was serving nearly 1,200 newspapers in 45 countries. Despite the Depression, that number grew to 1,715 newspapers and radio stations

(UP was the first news agency to serve them, starting in 1935) by 1939.

UP staffers often toiled in less than optimum conditions and the agency was seriously understaffed. But the circumstances became something of a badge of honor, and many who went on to television news fame with CBS, including Walter Cronkite, recalled their work for UP as demanding yet enjoyable. As a UP war correspondent, Cronkite covered D-Day, parachuted with the One Hundred and First Airborne, flew bombing missions over Germany, covered the Nuremberg trials, and opened the UP's first postwar Moscow bureau.

World War II helped boost the UP as newspapers sought the latest and most compelling accounts of the battles in Europe and in the Pacific. UP had the only news transmission system in Hawaii and helped break the news of the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack. Toward the end of the war, the UP scored major scoops with stories about the crossing of the Rhine River by Allied forces and the joining of American and Russian troops in Germany. The UP gave rise in this period to some of the biggest names in journalism. Besides Cronkite, UP claimed credit for the early careers of David Brinkley, Merriman Smith, Howard K. Smith, H. Allen Smith, Eric Sevareid, and Helen Thomas, among others.

Thomas (1920–2013), who joined UP in 1943, began as a radio news writer for the agency and was one of its longest-serving and best-known correspondents. Early on in her career, she covered several capital beats including the Department of Justice, FBI, and Capitol Hill. In 1960, she began covering President-elect John F. Kennedy, and she reported on every White House administration since. She resigned from UPI in 2000, when News World Communications acquired the agency. She is known for her hard-hitting questions and persistence during briefings and press conferences, and more recently stridently challenged President George W. Bush on his reasons for going to war in Iraq.

When she first joined the UPI White House staff, Thomas worked for UPI's Merriman Smith—known to UP colleagues as “Smitty.” Smith had covered the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Truman, but he is most remembered for his coverage of the assassination

of President Kennedy. Riding several cars behind the President in the Dallas motorcade on November 22, 1963, Smith was able to grab the car phone first, battling AP's Jack Bell, who pounded on Smith's back for the phone. Smith dictated to UPI that three shots had been fired at the motorcade. Arriving at Parkland Hospital, he was able to confirm that the President had been hit and was first to report that the President had died, minutes ahead of AP. He flew back to Washington, DC, in Air Force One with new President Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy and witnessed Johnson's swearing in. For his coverage of the assassination, Smith received the Pulitzer Prize, one of 10 eventually earned by the agency.

In the early 1950s, UP expanded its technology with the teletypesetter, which allowed news stories to be set into type at subscribing newspapers. It began a newsfilm service for television stations as well as a facsimile service for news pictures in 1952. The news agency turned 50 in 1957. But all was not well behind the scenes.

Merger

The amalgamated UPI was formed in 1958 when UP merged with William Randolph Hearst's International News Service (INS) under Scripps's leadership. The merger was the ironic result of a 1945 federal antitrust action against the Associated Press, which, for many years, had refused membership (and thus news service) to many of Scripps's and Hearst's newspapers. When the government ruled that AP's actions constituted a violation of antitrust law, the AP was forced to open up its membership to any paper or broadcast station willing to pay for its service. Many papers subsequently dropped the weaker agencies for the AP, leaving the UP and INS financially weak.

Discussions to merge the two wire services had taken place many times, some as early as the 1920s, but the changing competitive landscape created by the AP lawsuit made the situation one of some peril. On May 24, 1958, UP and INS became UPI serving roughly 5,600 print and broadcast clients. The AP at that point served more than 7,000 U.S. and international news organizations.

The coverage of Kennedy's assassination 5 years later was proof that despite the financial urgency

of the merger, UPI could provide a lively news report of aggressive spot news and interpretation that often matched the AP's dependable and accurate, if more stodgy, news reporting. UPI began an audio service of news and actualities for radio stations the year of the merger. But UPI's doggedness would not be enough to sustain the agency as a long-term competitor.

UPI's Decline

During the 1960s, both UPI and AP were roughly comparable in terms of their financial security, technological innovation, and customer relations. UPI was at least marginally profitable. By 1970, however, UPI was beginning to suffer pressure from the costs associated with technology upgrades, aggressive news coverage by broadcast television, and the decline in number of local daily newspapers. The chief subscriber problem was that fewer papers could afford subscriptions to two at least partially overlapping news agencies—and given the choice, they nearly always chose the more robust AP. UPI was soon losing \$3 million to \$4 million a year.

The introduction of computers in the 1970s and satellites (where UPI was a pioneer) a decade later proved to be an enormous expense and led to major personnel shifts and some layoffs. On March 18, 1974, the reporters' Wire Service Guild struck UPI, the first strike ever in the agency's history. The financial stresses began to show. In the summer of 1974, UPI established a 15-member Newspaper Advisory Board to address common management concerns and policies for all UPI subscribers. By 1977, the board approved UPI rate hikes of 9.5% and ended its practice of price bargaining to gain subscribers. In 1978, during negotiations with the Wire Service Guild, UPI asked for a wage freeze for most of one year to help offset a \$2.2 million annual jump in its costs of leased telecommunications circuits. The union agreed to the request. The situation grew dire enough by 1979 that UPI sought to entice more than 40 news organizations to become partners in UPI, but the request failed, and the Scripps Company put UPI up for sale in 1980, at which point UPI served more than 7,000 subscribers (including 2,250 in 92 countries), most of which were broadcasters. Indeed, UPI was the world's

largest privately owned news service. But the inception of Cable News Network (CNN) that same year was another indicator of the changing news agency marketplace. UPI operated 177 bureaus around the world with some 1,200 staff in the United States and 580 abroad.

On June 2, 1982, Scripps sold the New York-based UPI for a nominal one dollar to Media News Corporation, a group specially formed to acquire the troubled agency. It was reported in the trade press that Scripps had given Media News \$12 million in cash and forgiven debt to rid itself of the continued costs of operating UPI. The UPI Audio service became the UPI Radio Network in 1983. But the new owner could not stop the financial losses that continued to mount. In 1984, the guild at UPI accepted a 25% pay cut for 3 months and the firing of 100 staff. The atmosphere affected the leadership, and by 1985, just 3 years after the ownership change, UPI was forced to file for bankruptcy.

A year later Mario Vazquez Rana, a millionaire publisher of daily newspapers in Mexico, bought the agency and invested almost \$7 million on new technology. But Rana's acquisition prompted cancellations by many subscribing newspapers and other clients and led to the resignations of several top managers. Industry leaders viewed the sale to Rana as further evidence of UPI's decline. Others viewed Rana's inability to speak English and his unfamiliarity with American journalism as significant hurdles to rescuing UPI. In 1988, Rana handed off control of UPI to Dr. Earl W. Brian and sold his World News Wire (WNW), part of the Financial News Network, an irrevocable proxy to operate UPI for at least 10 years. Under the agreement, Rana gave up all management and financial obligations, though he retained ownership. Dr. Brian was chairman of Infotechnology, Inc., an information technology company based in New York, and that company became a minority investor in WNW. But faced with rising costs and declining subscribers, WNW cut more jobs. In 1990, the Securities and Exchange Commission announced a formal investigation into the company, and WNW announced that it might be forced to sell due to UPI's increasing debt.

In 1991, UPI filed again for bankruptcy, listing total liabilities at \$65 million owing to some

4,000 creditors. It was serving just 16% of American daily papers, down from more than half in 1966. It emerged from bankruptcy again in 1992, thanks to a group of Saudi investors. Middle East Broadcasting Center Ltd., a London-based television news and entertainment company, acquired UPI in bankruptcy court for nearly \$4 million in cash. The court selected the Saudi investors over religious broadcaster Pat Robertson, who also sought control of the wire service. At the time, UPI had about 450 full-time staff members and 2,000 part-time employees. By 1997, however, those numbers were down to about 300 staff members and 800 part-timers, serving about 1,000 broadcast and 1,000 newspaper and Internet clients. The UPI Radio Network accounted for about half the new service's income but was closed down in August 1999. UPI adopted a new writing style for its main news feed, limiting its stories to no more than 350 words.

In May 2000, News World Communications, a conservative media group founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon that includes *The Washington Times* newspaper, purchased UPI for an undisclosed sum, pledging to retain its editorial independence. At the time of that sale, UPI had dwindled to 157 employees and the Washington, DC, headquarters building was soon put up for sale. The rest was a slow but continuing dwindling of people and capacity. By 2007, it appeared that UPI had only a handful of reporters, all based in Washington and no longer reporting breaking news.

Into the 21st century, UPI delivers an updated stream of breaking news from the United States, covering developments in science, health, technology, the economy, and in-depth coverage of space, as well as celebrity interviews, original photography, sports, and miscellaneous news to round out coverage.

Conclusion

UPI began in 1907 as United Press and became UPI in 1958 when UP merged with the INS. While UP and later UPI maintained an active competitive alternative to the Associated Press for much of the 20th century, it ultimately failed due to the costs of changes in information technology and within the newspaper business that began in

the 1970s. Surviving "Unipressers" left behind a record of which they could be proud.

Victoria Ekstrand and
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See also Associated Press; United Press International

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USA TODAY

USA Today is a U.S.-based general-interest news product distributed digitally and with a printed edition published and distributed Mondays through Fridays from 37 sites across the United States. It is owned by Gannett Co. Inc. and is based in McLean, VA. *USA Today* is also part of a cooperative news operation, the USA Today Network, which utilizes newsgathering and

production resources from more than 300 of Gannett's local news operations across the United States and in Guam. Since 1984, *USA Today* has also published an international edition tailored to American travelers, available in Asia, Europe, and Canada.

Launched in 1982 as a newspaper with a national audience, the circulation for *USA Today's* print product reached 2.28 million in 2000, making it the largest circulation newspaper in the United States at that time. However, the digital transformation of the newspaper business has caused a steady decline from that peak. By mid-2019, print circulation had fallen to 520,000, with nearly two thirds of those newspapers distributed to hotel guests. *USA Today* began digital distribution in 1995 with a website that did not employ a subscriber paywall. In 2019, the company reported a combined print and digital circulation for *USA Today* of 1.4 million.

USA Today was launched under the direction of Gannett's chairman, Allen H. Neuharth, who described the new venture as a paper with national distribution that would appeal to the television generation and would be "so different, so advanced in design and approach and content that it would pull the rest of the industry into the twenty-first century, albeit kicking and screaming" (Neuharth, 1989, p. 107). The antecedent to *USA Today* was *Today* (now *Florida Today*), which was launched by Neuharth in 1966 in Brevard County, FL, as "Florida's Space Age Newspaper" and featured many of the same design and features that would later be used in *USA Today*.

At the time *USA Today* was launched, the only American newspapers with limited national circulation were *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*, which were available in the largest cities. Prior to the launch, Gannett hired research firms to conduct thousands of personal interviews with prospective readers who responded positively to prototypes of the *USA Today* concept. Armed with that data, Neuharth was able to convince Gannett's board to approve the project, despite initial projected losses in the millions.

Gannett was uniquely suited to launch a newspaper with truly national circulation and distribution. Then the nation's largest newspaper chain, it already operated printing plants and

production facilities across the country that could be used to put out a national paper. *USA Today* was produced at the company's headquarters in Arlington, VA, and distributed to production sites via satellite. With this system, *USA Today* managed to transcend geographic limitations on newspaper distribution that had been the dominant model in the United States to that time. Other Gannett papers also loaned staff to *USA Today* and contributed content to the national publication.

USA Today, which called itself *The Nation's Newspaper*, was divided into four sections (News, Money, Sports, and Life), each color coded (news, blue; money, green; sports, red; and life, purple). Major features were located in the same place in every issue for reader familiarity. Stories were shorter than in other major newspapers; only a small number of stories on the sections fronts jumped to inside pages. *USA Today* also made extensive use of spot color and graphics, including maps, charts, and informational graphics, which were then uncommon in U.S. newspapers. The front page was designed to attract readers buying the newspaper from blue-and-white vending machines that resembled a television set, which were installed on streets and airports around the country. In 1984, *USA Today* introduced full-color photographs, and in 1985, it launched a multi-million-dollar television marketing campaign, in which celebrities from the worlds of television, business, and politics sang, "I Read It Every Day."

Travelers were a key market for *USA Today*, which was distributed to hotel guests across the country and, eventually, internationally. Among the daily features was a national round-up with a single news story from all 50 states and a color national weather map and forecast, along with color comics.

News copy also used "USA" as an abbreviation for the United States, rather than "U.S.," as was dictated by the influential *The Associated Press Stylebook*. It also used personal pronouns "we" and "you" in an effort to be friendly and accessible, a style that was frequently lampooned by critics, particularly a 1983 headline which read, "MEN, WOMEN: We're still different."

With its graphics-heavy format and use of short, cohesive, tightly written stories, *USA Today*

was roundly criticized as superficial and inconsequential by journalists at other publications and came to be dubbed as “McPaper,” a reference to the fast-food franchise McDonald’s. It would take 36 years for *USA Today* to win its first Pulitzer Prize. However, the newspaper proved enormously popular, breaking 1 million in circulation in just 7 months, and would have a substantial impact on the newspaper business, as other publications began imitating its use of color, graphics, maps, and charts.

On its editorial page, the newspaper uniquely took a centrist, nonpartisan approach; its editorials were often coupled with opinion pieces written from the contrary point of view for balance. *USA Today* had a long-standing policy of not endorsing political candidates until 2016, when it offered a “disendorsement” of Donald Trump that urged readers not to vote for him but stopped short of endorsing any of his opponents.

While circulation for *USA Today* was strong from the time of its launch, production and distribution costs outstripped circulation revenue and advertising, as national advertisers proved reluctant to take a chance on a new and unproven product. By 1984, losses for Gannett were totaling more than \$10 million a month; during its first 5 years, *USA Today* lost more than \$230 million. But in 1987, the newspaper finally became profitable, and circulation exceeded 2 million for the first time in 1988, when it published its largest edition ever with 78 pages, more than half carrying advertising.

However, mirroring a trend seen across the U.S. newspaper industry, *USA Today*’s print circulation began to decline starting in 2001, prompting Gannett to begin a slow shift to emphasizing the digital distribution space. *USAToday.com* was redesigned in 2001, broadening the navigation to include two new sections: Tech and Weather. That same year, *USA Today* moved its operations from Arlington to a more suburban site in McLean, VA.

In 2010, *USA Today* reorganized the structure of its staff around the content verticles on its website and mobile platforms, rather than the four-section paper. The digital focus accelerated in 2012 after Larry Kramer—the creative force behind the websites MarketWatch and CBS Digital Media—was named *USA Today*’s president and publisher.

USA Today launched a major redesign of the print product in September 2012 to allow better integration of content for digital and mobile platforms, which included new sections for travel and technology. It also replaced its iconic globe logo with a blue dot. Stock market tables were dropped; readers were referred to the website for that information.

Starting in 2013, *USA Today* also began distributing its content as an insert inside Gannett’s largest local newspapers. Audit circulation rules allowed those copies to be counted as part of *USA Today*’s circulation, which allowed it to reclaim the title as the nation’s largest circulation newspaper.

In 2014, Gannett split itself in two, spinning off its broadcasting properties into a separate company, Tegna, and leaving the newspaper properties as part of Gannett, with *USA Today* as the flagship. In 2015, Gannett launched the USA Today Network, a branded national digital newsgathering service that shared content between its national, digital, and local publications. Local subscription-based digital sites were branded with the network logo, and in 2017, local papers were rebranded to more closely resemble *USA Today*.

USA Today also built a national investigative team to focus on data-driven, collaborative projects between the national newspaper and other Gannett publications. In 2019, the network won its first-ever Pulitzer Prize for an investigation of President Donald Trump’s proposed wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, a joint effort with the *Arizona Republic*.

In early 2019, Gannett began dropping cobranded *USA Today* content from its local newspapers, triggering speculation that it might be considering ending the print edition entirely, which company officials denied. In August 2019, Gannett announced that it would merge its operations with GateHouse Media Inc., combining the nation’s two largest newspaper chains into an operation with more than 260 daily newspapers, along with nearly 270 weekly titles. The merged company, which kept the Gannett name, billed itself as a “digitally focused media and marketing solutions company,” with *USA Today* again as the flagship property.

Rich Shumate

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Circulation; Design and Layout, Newspaper; Digital Distribution; Distribution; Gannett

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USER-CREATED CONTENT

User-created content, also called *user-generated content*, describes various kinds of content produced by Internet and social media users. Generally, user-created content is created by the user of a product or platform rather than the product or platform itself, represents a creative or original contribution, and is shared online and made accessible to other users. Content created by users has come to account for or shape much of the information, images, and videos that users encounter online, whether via social media or other sites. The relationship between user-created content and journalism is complicated, as user-created content can contribute to journalism, compete with it, or be used to promote and disseminate it. This entry describes the history of user contributions, defines various types of user-created content, explains the relevance to and influence of user-created content on journalism, and discusses criticism and concerns about it.

History and Types

The Internet, and social media in particular, was not the beginning of user contributions to public information. Newspapers had published letters to the editor and radio stations had allowed listeners to call in for years before the Internet was invented and widely adopted. Notably, the Oxford English Dictionary was written by public contributions in the 19th century. Amateurs had created their own newsletters, books, and radio broadcasts, particularly before the professionalization and regulation of those media. However, the Internet provided a platform that allowed

users to contribute more easily and quickly than before, allowing more people to participate in information creation and leading to a massive increase in user-created content. Manuel Castells (2007) called this “mass self-communication” (p. 238) because every user was able to communicate to everyone else.

Cheap portable cameras, easy-to-use blogging platforms, and other technology made the work of capturing content and putting it online more accessible. From the late 1990s into the 2000s, a great deal of all kinds of content was being created by users. Blogging platforms allowed users to easily post personal reflections or comment on everything from the news to sports to their favorite shoes. Flickr, Snapfish, and other photo-sharing sites provided platforms for users to share hundreds of thousands of photos and even organize them with geotags and other tags that could make them useful to others. Many of these functions were later incorporated in tools such as Google’s image search, which identifies the content in photos without user labor, and Twitter, which utilized hashtags to organize related information. YouTube provided the same possibilities for video sharing, creating a giant library of video content from amateurs, ranging from highly produced and edited amateur movies to recordings of users simply talking into the camera. Wikipedia, launched in 2001, provided a platform for users to collaborate in creating a massive online encyclopedia that was free to everyone and reflected the combined knowledge of users. Advocates promoted the value of mass participation, but most studies have found that less than 20% of users create content, and the vast majority only lurk and consume content.

Some sites allowed users to post links to news stories, creating curated news feeds reflecting the interests and opinions of users, rather than the editorial judgment of professional journalists. Reddit is perhaps the strongest example of a site that is built entirely by users posting stories. On curation sites, users generally do not report and write their own news stories or post their own photos or videos (although that also happens) but post stories or items from professional news organizations’ websites and other online sources. These feeds are somewhat similar to the social media news feeds that users see, which are created

by algorithms that select among the stories posted by a user's friends and other accounts they follow. Similarly, news aggregators, such as Google News, present users with lists of news stories generated by algorithms' interpretations of other users' behavior. In these cases, users are not directly—or even consciously—creating content but are nonetheless contributing to how content is filtered and selected.

User-created content also took the form of memes, mash-ups, fan fiction, and other activities in which Internet users took existing material, whether from professionals or other users, and remixed it to make something new, for comedic, critical, political, or creative purposes. In some cases, users simply organized information to provide context and perspective on reporting produced by professional journalists, but that kind of analysis or commentary can certainly constitute an original contribution. Axel Bruns called these users *produsers* and described the process of creating content in this way as *produsage*, in which users produce and use content.

By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, social media had grown significantly, becoming a central place for sharing content created by users. Several social movements, including protests against Iranian elections in 2009 and the Arab Spring in 2010–2011, made use of social media tools to organize and spread messages about their movements. While in some cases the significance of social media in aiding protests was later questioned, certainly the ability of the public to create original content that differed from the professional news media, particularly in countries where the news media was state-owned or state-controlled, gave an international platform to the movements.

In the United States, some movements effectively created awareness through the use of hashtags and user posts. The Black Lives Matter movement and #MeToo campaign spread through social media, in the latter case, as thousands of users sharing their personal experiences with sexual abuse and assault on social media. Some have questioned the effectiveness of users' online shows of support for social movements and the extent to which they translate into deeper engagement, however. The term *slacktivism* was coined to describe the desire to appear socially engaged

without contributing materially, whether through a physical presence at protests or donations to needy causes.

As new tools evolve, the definition of user-created content may evolve as well. Twitch is a livestreaming service primarily used by gamers to broadcast their game-play feeds. In 2019, Twitch claimed 3.7 million monthly broadcasters and 15 million daily active users. Although the majority of streamers play video games, there is an increasing number of channels dedicated to charity fundraising and education. While it is difficult to ascertain the income made by streamers, estimates claim that the top 10 streamers may be bringing in a combined \$20 million annually. Streamers may have a variety of sources of income, including sponsorship, donations from followers, affiliate links, selling merchandise, and tournament winnings. Twitch partnerships are also available by invitation. This type of user-created content is different in that users stream live, rather than creating and sharing static content that can be viewed long after it is created.

User-Created Content and Professional Journalism

Not all content created by users is relevant to public information or journalism aside from competing for users' attention. Most individual social media posts might be considered to fall within the category of user-created content but are not relevant to a wide audience and would not be considered journalism by most widely accepted standards. In terms of information of public interest, user-created content can range from independent, random acts of citizen journalism, such as witnesses who record and share videos of police misconduct, to coordinated reporting efforts organized or overseen by journalists, as in the crowdsourced reporting done by *The Guardian* (UK), National Public Radio, and CNN's iReport.

One of the earliest examples of citizen journalism took place before the widespread use of the Internet. The video taken by George Holliday of Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King was shown on local television news stations in Los Angeles in 1991. That video sparked an outcry against police brutality and riots when the officers were eventually exonerated. Videos of police

abuse recorded by users remained a common theme on social media for decades.

Interest in and research about citizen journalism peaked in the first decade of the 2000s, when tools to capture and share news content first became widely available and adopted. Nonprofessionals are often the first and sometimes the only witnesses to major events, and when they are carrying phones with embedded high-quality cameras and Internet connections, they are uniquely positioned to document newsworthy events. In the first decade of the 21st century, citizens played key roles in reporting several major stories, such as the 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia, the 2005 London Tube bombings, and shootings of unarmed citizens by police. Videos and images captured and shared immediately online by citizens provided firsthand documentation of significant events and gave a voice to many participants in news stories.

Citizen journalism was heralded as an opportunity for nonprofessionals to participate in the creation and selection of news content, upending journalists' roles as gatekeepers. Books such as Dan Gillmor's 2004 *We the Media* and Scott Gant's 2007 *We're All Journalists Now* reflected this enthusiasm. Proponents of citizen journalism saw the control exerted by a few professionals over the news agenda as problematic and hoped that bringing more contributors to the process would lead to news coverage that was more representative of the general public's issues and concerns. Critics of citizen journalism pointed out that nonprofessionals may lack training and awareness of ethics, while others noted that the term *citizen* was problematic, given the particular legal status it implies.

While many professional journalists were skeptical of, or even dismissive of, citizen journalism, there were some efforts to take advantage of public contributions. Participatory journalism, and especially crowd-sourcing, describes these more coordinated efforts, in which the collective efforts of a group of users are put toward completing a task or generating content. A notable crowd-sourcing effort organized by journalists was the work by *The Guardian* (UK) to acquire hundreds of thousands of pages of expense reports of members of Parliament and publish them to the web with a request for readers to help identify which

documents merited further examination. Within hours, the newspaper's readers had reviewed nearly half the documents. The site Talking Points Memo similarly posted on its site hundreds of Department of Justice documents it had received as part of a Freedom of Information Act request and sought reader participation in reading the documents to identify important information.

Professional journalists sought user contributions in other ways. One of the first steps in allowing users to contribute to news was the addition of comments sections to news stories that were posted online. Journalists are increasingly influenced by the audience, even if the audience is not directly involved in the creation of content. Many professional news sites feature most read or most shared stories, which are lists based on the behavior of other users in viewing, reading, and sharing stories. In this way, users are influencing the creation of news feeds by their behavior on the site.

It is important to distinguish between sites that are curated by a human who exercises news judgment and sites that are algorithmically aggregated based on user behavior online. The increasingly sophisticated audience metrics provided by online news can shape the behavior of journalists. New roles, such as engagement editor, social media editor, and audience editor, have been adopted in newsrooms to respond to audience data. While this might not strictly be considered user-created content, news produced by professional journalists may be increasingly user-shaped content. Some have argued that social media activity amounts to citizen journalism, but mostly citizen journalism appeared to have been displaced or subsumed by social media. In 2015, CNN dropped its iReport site, which had allowed citizens to upload original content and instead began sourcing stories directly from Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, using the hashtag #CNNiReport.

User-created content has been viewed as a competitor to professional news media outlets or at least a threat to the authority journalists asserted over information and the financial viability of news organizations. User-created content is cheaper to produce and generally freely available, thus undercutting professional news media's control of the market. Many social media posts are links to professional news stories, which generate ad revenue for social media platforms

when posted there, but not for the news outlets that reported the stories, unless users click through to the original source. As more advertising moved online and the news industry lost significant revenue, many daily newspapers closed or moved to online-only editions, while social media platforms often profited from the reporting newspapers had done.

Criticism

Although users may experience benefits from creating content, including potential emotional benefits from participating in crowdsourced projects and other similar efforts, much of the work done by users results in content that is served to other users by social media platforms and sites to generate revenue. The labor of users is uncompensated, and the content they create is used to sell ads and glean data from users, which can also be sold for marketing purposes. A political economic perspective might note the exploitative nature of this system. All social media users are somewhat exploited in this way; the value they receive is free access to the site, but in return their data and attention are sold, and the content they create, whether directly or through likes, comments, and shares, is shown to other users to attract their attention. Meanwhile, the apps and sites they use are designed to demand and keep their attention, and there is increasing evidence that heavy users of social media are more likely to be depressed.

Some content creators are compensated, and this also creates problematic incentives in the system. Influencers who receive benefits for promoting products are expected to disclose those relationships, but may not do so consistently. YouTube personalities who generate revenue from advertising depend on high numbers of views to make more money, so they are incentivized to create content that is more outrageous and likely to go viral. This often means appealing to the audience's biases and anger and trying to post videos immediately following a news story, rather than attempting to confirm facts and discuss them rationally.

User-created content also raises questions about ownership and intellectual property rights. It may be difficult for users in a digital environment to maintain control over the use of the content they

have created. Some efforts to address this include the creation of Creative Commons and public copyright licenses that allow a creator to give other users the right to share, use, and build upon content they have created.

On some platforms and social media sites, user-created content appears alongside and competes with content from professional news organizations, companies, and others. YouTube features channels from individual YouTube personalities but also major network shows and programs, such as HBO. The distinction between users and professionals is sometimes clear and other times not so obvious. In some cases, the presumed authenticity of a citizen report can be used to mislead audiences. For example, some prominent media personalities who have made a career of media agitation, brand themselves as "citizen journalists," when they are effectively media professionals with strong ideological positions, entirely dedicated to shaping media campaigns, who might be more properly considered entrepreneurial journalists.

Finally, the constant flow of information of all kinds places a strain on the capacities of users and especially voters to access, judge, and respond to information. The vast library of content online means that voters have more choice and information than ever before, but it also challenges their cognitive abilities, creating confusion, fatigue, and stronger emotions like anger or outrage.

Jessica Roberts

See also Audiences; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; News Aggregators; Participatory Journalism; Social Media

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VIACOMCBS

ViacomCBS was formed in 2019 after CBS Corporation and Viacom merged for the second time. It includes Viacom's three segments of TV channels: Music and Entertainment (MTV Networks, VH1, Comedy Central, the Paramount Channel, and others), Kids & Family (Nickelodeon channels), and Black Entertainment Television (BET) channels. It also includes Paramount Pictures, 30 television stations, 117 radio stations, various production companies, Showtime, the CBS Sports Network, and the Simon and Schuster book publishing company. The company is also the home of more than 140,000 premium TV episodes and 3,600 film titles. This entry opens with an overview of the origins of CBS and Viacom and then discusses the acquisitions and growth of Viacom, as well as the growth of CBS. The entry also examines the merger between Viacom and CBS Corporation, their subsequent split, and their eventual reuniting.

CBS Origin

The initial origin of CBS came from William Paley who managed to turn a handful of struggling radio stations in 1928, initially called *United Independent Broadcasters*, into what would later become known as the *Columbia Broadcasting System*. Within 10 years, CBS had 114 affiliates throughout the country.

Initial radio programming focused on dramas and entertainment, including shows featuring legendary entertainers Bing Crosby, George Burns, Gracie Allen, Jack Benny, Jack Haley, and Lucille Ball. Orson Welles broadcasted his famous Mercury Theater, presenting classic pieces of literature such as *A Christmas Carol* to the radio airwaves. Welles also famously produced *The War of the Worlds* in 1938, a fictional account of aliens landing on Earth that was so realistic that people panicked thinking it was actually happening.

CBS created its own news division in 1934. Edward R. Murrow was a key hire in 1935. CBS sent him to London in 1937 to develop a European bureau in London amid conflicts before and during World War II. During that time, his reporting gave CBS prominence by creating the European News Roundup, a series of reports from news correspondents from various European cities and anchored by Robert Trout. It gained immediate popularity and quickly became a daily show.

As CBS rose in stature in the 1940s, Paley led the charge in acquiring talent from rival NBC, including performers Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll (famous for their hit *Amos and Andy*), Charlie McCarthy, Red Skelton, and Jack Benny. By 1949, CBS overtook NBC in the ratings.

Television gained prominence in the 1950s. Popular hit shows such as *I Love Lucy* and *The \$64,000 Question* boosted the network's television stature. In 1956, CBS announced that its radio operations lost money, while its television operations made money. The network dominated the television market in the late 1950s to

mid-1960s with programs such as *Route 66*, *The Twilight Zone*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *The Beverly Hillbillies* among others.

Viacom Origin

In 1970, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) forced CBS to split because of the ruling that television networks could not have financial stakes in cable television systems or syndication rights to the shows it aired. Viacom was officially developed in 1971 as a result and became one of the largest cable operators. The company also owned many popular previously run CBS programs for syndication, including *I Love Lucy*, which was a big source of their overall revenue early on.

Viacom created the premium network Showtime in 1976 to compete with Home Box Office (HBO). The move was significant because most of Viacom's revenue came from cable subscribers and sales of television series through syndication. Showtime's initial premise was to show recently run films that had just left movie theaters, similar to what HBO did. The following year, the network started transmitting to local cable stations. In 1978, Showtime signed a deal with Teleprompter Corporation, which was the largest cable provider in the United States at the time, to offer its customers Showtime instead of HBO.

By the 1980s, Viacom continued to invest in its cable infrastructure to expand its audience reach. However, the company also expanded its media portfolio. By 1981, it had added a number of radio stations in five markets including New York, Chicago, and Washington, DC. It had also acquired one television station in Albany, NY.

Viacom Acquisitions and Growth

Viacom merged with Warner-Amex in 1983 to create a joint ownership with Showtime and The Movie Channel. Warner-Amex sold its interest in 1985, giving Viacom sole ownership of both pay channels.

The company purchased the MTV Networks in 1984, which included MTV, VH1, and Nickelodeon. MTV was a channel devoted to showcasing music videos. VH1 had a similar model but focused on older video for an older audience.

Nickelodeon, originally developed in 1979, was a channel geared toward children. It did not have much success until it was acquired by Viacom, which ultimately gave it more of a flashy look to help distinguish it from other kids' channels.

That same year, Viacom merged its Cable Health Network with Hearst-ABC's Daytime cable television service. The new network was renamed Lifetime, which aimed itself toward women.

National Amusements, Inc. bought a controlling interest in Viacom in 1986 for approximately \$3.4 billion. Sumner Redstone was the president of National Amusements, which was a large movie theater chain that had been in the Redstone family for 50 years. At the time, National Amusements had grown to 350 screens nationwide.

After Congress deregulated cable in 1987, Viacom sold some of their cable systems for large profits. The company started its own productions operations in 1989, developing feature films and producing network television series. The company made a series of acquisitions in the mid-1990s, purchasing Paramount Communications, Blockbuster Video, and Spelling Entertainment in 1994 and 1995.

Growth of CBS

The 1970s saw a time at CBS where they shifted their television programming away from rural America. Shows such as *Gunsmoke*, *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Hee Haw*, and *Green Acres* were canceled to make way for *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The Bob Newhart Show*, *All in the Family*, *M*A*S*H*, and others. The company's commitment to news programming paid off with *60 Minutes* and the *CBS Evening News*, which was anchored by Walter Cronkite.

On a corporate level, CBS battled to prevent an aggressive takeover attempt by Ted Turner, who owned Superstation WTBS and the Cable News Network (CNN), in 1985. The company spent approximately \$1 billion to buy back some of its own stock in order to substantially drive up the cost of purchasing the company. Turner continued the challenge but eventually backed off to acquire Hollywood's MGM-UA Entertainment Co. CBS also sold off its book, magazine, and record

business in the 1980s to focus solely on radio and television broadcasting.

By the mid-1990s, CBS had fallen to Number 3 in the national ratings, behind NBC and ABC. After decades of independence, CBS was sold to Westinghouse Electric Corporation in 1995 for \$5.4 billion. The merger gave the new company operations of 15 television stations and 39 radio stations. Together, they reached approximately 35% of all households in the United States.

Two years later, Westinghouse Electric Corp. became CBS Corp. and also moved its headquarters from Pittsburgh to New York City. After the CBS acquisition in 1995, Westinghouse spent an additional \$9 billion to acquire radio and television stations while selling off its industrial assets to focus solely on its media empire.

1999 Merger

In the 1990s, the FCC had a cap on television station ownership. Rules dictated that companies could not own stations that had a reach of more than 35% of the country's population. In 1999, Mel Karmazin, who was the president of CBS, engaged in talks with Viacom about purchasing some of their UPN network stations. However, the discussions became much bigger and led to a discussion of a complete merger between Viacom and CBS Corporation. The merger would give the new company a 41% reach to the country's population. The two companies announced an agreement on September 7, 1999, but still needed to gain approval from the FCC. The deal was completed in April 2000 after the FCC allowed the new company a 1-year window to shed some of its TV stations to comply with the previous rules. It became the largest media merger in the United States at \$44 billion. The company kept the name Viacom, which became the second-largest media company behind Time Warner.

Redstone remained the chairman of the merged company, while Karmazin became president and the chief operating officer of Viacom. Karmazin had only been president at CBS Corp. for less than a year, but in that time, its stock had tripled and the network earned a Number 1 ranking in total viewers and households.

At the time, the merger gave Viacom an opportunity for the prestigious CBS network to reach

out to the younger MTV generation and vice versa. It also allowed synergy between different networks from the two companies. Soon after the merger, the TV show *Survivor* premiered to huge ratings, which Redstone attributed to the power and reach of the newly formed union.

The merger produced other cross-platform opportunities as well. TV Land, a Viacom channel made up of syndicated programming, aired a weeklong marathon of *The Fugitive* in advance of CBS' revival of the franchise on their network. CBS created a Saturday morning Nick Jr. kids block of shows and also introduced an MTV-produced Super Bowl halftime show for Super Bowl XXXV and Super Bowl XXXVIII.

Unfortunately for Viacom, the halftime show during Super Bowl XXXVIII on CBS proved to be controversial. Justin Timberlake briefly exposed Janet Jackson's breast during the performance, resulting in a huge public uproar and numerous FCC complaints. As a result, the National Football League banned MTV from producing future halftime shows.

The relationship between Redstone and Karmazin quickly soured due to disagreements on how to manage the combined operations. Karmazin left in June 2004 due to his working relationship with Redstone. He split Karmazin's duties into two roles, naming Leslie Moonves and Tom Freston copresidents. Moonves was previously the chairman of CBS Inc., while Freston was the chief executive of MTV Networks.

2005 Split

Redstone announced a split of the company in June 2005, which became official in early 2006. He believed that each company would be more valuable as separate entities rather than together, claiming that the age of the diversified media conglomerate was over. The company was split into two: CBS Corporation and Viacom. Redstone remained chairman of Viacom and also the controlling shareholder for both Viacom and CBS Corp. Stockholders were offered shares of both companies with the split. Freston became CEO at Viacom, and Leslie Moonves became CEO at CBS Corp.

Viacom kept MTV Networks (which included MTV, VH1, Nickelodeon, Nick at Nite, Comedy

Central, CMT, Spike TV, and TV Land), BET, Paramount Pictures, Paramount Home Entertainment, and Famous Music. CBS Corp. combined the UPN and CBS networks, Viacom Television Stations Group, Infinity Broadcasting, Viacom Outdoor, Showtime, Simon & Schuster, and Paramount Parks. CBS Corp. also retained the CBS, Paramount, and King World television production operations.

Initially, industry experts, including Redstone, believed that Viacom would flourish with the split. However, CBS Corp. remained steady, while Viacom struggled to adapt to the digital age. CBS continued to find success with police programs, such as the CSI franchise (*CSI*, *CSI: Miami*, *CSI: NY*), *NCIS*, *Cold Case*, *Without a Trace*, *Criminal Minds*, and *NCIS*. Other programs such as *Two and a Half Men*, *Still Standing*, *How I Met Your Mother*, and the *Big Bang Theory* helped vault the network back to becoming the Number 1 most watched network in the United States in 2005–2006.

After Viacom shares stagnated, Freston resigned in 2006. He was replaced by Phillipe Dauman on September 5, 2006. Dauman had served in a number of senior executive positions at Viacom, including Deputy Chairman from 1996 to 2000, before leaving for a private equity firm between 2000 and 2006.

The Road to Reuniting

The year 2016 was a tumultuous year for Redstone and Viacom. Redstone stepped down as executive chairman of both companies at the age of 93 after reports of declining health and mental capacity. His daughter Shari Redstone was president of National Amusements, which was still the holding company for both Viacom and CBS Corp. Leslie Moonves, who had served as CEO of CBS Corp., was named CBS Chairman after Sumner Redstone stepped down. He was replaced as Viacom's executive chair by Dauman, who kept that role for only a few months until Shari Redstone ousted him as CEO and nonexecutive chairman later that year.

In Dauman's time as CEO, Viacom's stock increased approximately 130% during his tenure. Robert Bakish, who had worked at the company

since 1997 in various roles, became the new CEO of Viacom in late 2016.

At the beginning of 2016, Shari Redstone sent a letter to Viacom and CBS urging the two companies to join together once again. However, she quickly withdrew the proposal after Bakish took over as CEO, citing his strategic plan to bring Viacom back to prominence. Moonves opposed the merger as well. Two years later, CBS rejected a second proposal by Shari Redstone.

Soon after merger talks were thwarted for the second time, Moonves was accused of numerous sexual misconduct allegations. In an interview, Moonves claimed that "there were times decades ago when I may have made some women uncomfortable by making advances." Moonves was stripped of his severance and CBS donated \$20 million to organizations supporting the #MeToo movement and equality for women in the workplace. CBS Corp. COO Joseph Ianniello stepped in as president and acting CEO.

2019 Merger

After the departure of Moonves, merger talks quickly ensued and a deal was completed on December 4, 2019. The new company was named ViacomCBS, with Bakish becoming CEO of the newly formed company. Shari Redstone was named chairman of ViacomCBS. The merger was an all stock-swap transaction, with a total market capitalization of \$26 billion. Ianniello shifted his role to chairman-CEO of CBS, a structure that was put in place as a part of the merger. He eventually left the company in March 2020 and was replaced by George Cheeks as CEO and president of CBS Entertainment Group.

Chris A. Bacon

See also CBS News

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VIDEO JOURNALISM

Video journalism is the practice of video news production whereby one person shoots, writes, and edits a news story, using digital technologies, for dissemination via broadcasting or broadband Internet. Video journalists (VJs) might also be called *backpack journalists* or *mobile journalists* or *multimedia journalists*. VJs might work for television stations, newspapers, websites, or citizen journalism organizations, or they might be independent freelancers. A VJ might shoot with a small video camera, a DSLR camera with interchangeable lenses, or increasingly, a smartphone.

Video journalism has taken hold in a variety of media institutions, changing journalistic narratives, practices, and identities. Shooting solo offers the possibility of a distinct style with filmic intimacy while at the same time it has led to concerns among many practitioners about quality, safety, and job security. The potential for narrative variability remains an inspiration for many VJs, and smartphone accessibility has put video's evidentiary power into the hands of human rights activists and marginalized groups. This entry discusses the history of video journalism, varying styles of VJs, controversies surrounding video journalism, and the use of video in citizen journalism.

History

While the term *video journalism* came into popular use relatively recently, its history goes back a century, and is rooted in both documentary filmmaking and photojournalism. Many of the earliest documentary filmmakers worked alone in spite of cumbersome, heavy equipment.

In the late 1980s, a former network television producer, Michael Rosenblum, saw potential in the new, highly portable Hi8 video cameras and titled a course he taught at Columbia University "video journalism." A few years later he established Video News International (VNI). VNI deployed VJs who, by working as solo international correspondents, constituted an operation that was cheaper to operate and more mobile than a conventional broadcast television network. VNI eventually became New York Times Television

and years later was folded into the larger news-gathering operation of *The New York Times*.

So-called one-man-bands were the exception in television news and documentary film before media digitization. News production in the field began to change in the 1970s when ENG (electronic news gathering) video cameras started to replace film. While these units were not nearly as small and portable as today's technology, they made possible the earliest one-man bands in the 1970s and 1980s. During this era, single-person units were more often found in smaller markets, where young reporters would shoot, write, and edit as they worked their way into larger markets to work as part of a team with a photographer and occasionally a sound technician. This is no longer the case. As of 2018, the annual Radio-Television Digital News Association survey found that more than half of U.S. TV newsrooms in the United States "mostly" employed VJs, with the smallest markets relying most heavily on the one-man band model.

In Great Britain, the BBC has trained hundreds of VJs. In places such as Oxford, England, a nearly all-VJ staff produces a daily hyperlocal newscast for the area, something that was not financially possible prior to digitization.

Smartphones have accelerated the trend. Because smartphones are so small and easy to use, many more journalists might work as VJs full or part time, and a newsroom might easily double the number of staff who can shoot video. Amber Worthy, an anchor-reporter in Chattanooga, Tennessee, told documentary-researcher James P. Mahon "Our iPhone video—sometimes it's the only video we have" (Mahon, 2019). Indeed, as Mahon reported in his 2019 documentary *The MoJo Revolution*, some news organizations, such as Léman Bleu in Geneva and NDTV in New Delhi, rely entirely on mobile smartphone technology.

Many VJs now work for organizations once associated with print journalism. Often they are former staff photographers who were once assigned to shoot still photographs but now might shoot both formats for the same story.

VJ Narratives

The narrative style of video journalism varies, according to organizational needs. VJs who work for online organizations have had the freedom to experiment with formatting, but those VJs who work for TV news organizations tend to produce stories in conventional broadcast style, shooting their own standups and voicing scripts. A local television station in San Francisco, KRON, was among the first local television stations in the United States to convert to an all VJ staff; yet KRON's stories were almost indistinguishable from those produced by competing, non-VJ stations. In other cases, a TV VJ might adopt the more emotional and "experiential" style lauded by the pioneers of solo video journalism.

VJs who work for online organizations often adopt this more documentary style, using only natural sound and interviews to create a narrative. Dirck Halstead, one of the original members of VNI, was a leader in helping still photographers make this transition with what he called *Platypus* workshops where he encouraged students to avoid trying to copy TV news. The host of Australia's VJ-staffed *Dateline* program, Jana Wendt, noted that "One of the benefits and charms of this style is that you can get in where others cannot" (Fidgeon, 2004). On the mobile web, vertically oriented video, once a mark of amateurism, is now widely accepted and is even the official format of a show on NDTV in New Delhi.

Recognition of video journalism as a distinct form solidified after the turn of the new century. The flagship professional publication of the National Press Photographers Association, *News Photographer*, began using the term regularly in 2004, and 2 years later, the organization's annual Best of Photojournalism contest included an entry for solo VJs.

Controversies

Video journalism offers considerable advantages for newsrooms seeking to extend coverage and produce more digital content, but many VJs complain that they are being asked to do more work with less support. Photojournalists have trained themselves, and some have been compelled to learn video skills in order to keep their jobs.

Critics argue that in the rush to embrace video, journalists have lost jobs and quality has suffered. News organizations have cut back and in some cases eliminated their photography departments, expecting writers to learn how to shoot with their smartphones.

Researchers report that newspaper VJs enjoy their creative autonomy but worry about quality and often feel unsupported. Reporters complain that they've received video training but never use it because shooting and editing take time their organizations won't give them. Concerns about quality are valid, as research has found that users associate video quality with credibility.

TV journalists also harbor concerns about solo practice even though most of their newsrooms now employ VJs. Solo practitioners complain that it is hard to shoot and write well at the same time, particularly during breaking stories. There are gender discrepancies, too, as VJs in TV news might still be expected to wear business clothing, an added burden for women who might need to shoot in one outfit but carry a change of shoes, or more, for their on-camera appearances. Safety issues are also a concern, especially during live coverage.

Citizen Journalism

Video journalism's accessibility means nearly anyone can create online stories, blurring the distinction between journalists and the audience. In 1999, activists with lightweight video cameras produced a form of "counter coverage" of the protest against the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Since then, citizen video journalism has taken root with human rights groups such as Witness and other organizations devoted to giving voice to those underrepresented groups. Nongovernmental organizations use digital video to tell their own "news" about their efforts instead of relying on journalists. Police accountability activists, or cop-watchers, use video as part of their ongoing efforts to document and critique law enforcement.

Mary Angela Bock

See also Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Photojournalists

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VIDEO NEWS RELEASES

Video news releases (VNRs) are audio/video public relations and marketing tools generally designed to attract news outlets to cover the VNR-promoted product, service, or firm. The simple formula is that one makes favorable coverage of a client more likely if one makes that coverage easier by providing all the materials necessary for a newsroom to cobble together the story. Broadcast use of VNRs has U.S. federal regulators asking questions, and taking action in extreme cases, about whether VNRs violate sponsorship identification rules. This entry discusses the distribution of VNRs, how they are used, research on VNRs, and ethical concerns about their use.

VNRs started in the 1980s as three-quarter-inch videotapes mailed to local television newsrooms. Even these early versions had the basic elements of VNRs: suggested scripts, a complete television news package with reporter-style narration track, a “donut” (narration missing) version of the package so a broadcast news reporter or anchor could add his or her voice to the narration, extra footage fitting the topic or subject, extra expert or consumer sound bites, and still graphics of the product, company logo. These elements made it easy for any television news producer to craft the material into a story type such as voiceover (VO) or voiceover with sound bite (VO/SOT, originally standing for “voiceover/sound on tape”), and even have an over-the-shoulder graphic as the anchor speaks.

The distribution methods for VNRs have changed over time. For many years the primary source was satellite feeds. Broadcast newsrooms could record on videotape VNRs using the same satellite system they use to get shared news items gathered by affiliated news operations. Indeed, VNRs sometimes tag along on the actual network satellite feed. For example, an ABC affiliate in the 1990s in the United States may have had available to it the ABC NewsOne news satellite feed and may have even been an affiliate of CNN News-source but also could record VNRs from a company then called MediaLink distributed on its own or sometimes mixed within network feeds.

Contemporary VNR distribution is more likely to occur via websites such as thenewsmarket.com or prnewswire.com. Though broadcast programming, notably television newscasts, remains a prime “target” of VNR distributors, one now can see VNRs being used as embedded clips on the websites of newspapers, magazines, specialty publications, and web-only news operations. VNRs also can become a component in an online corporate press kit made available not only to reporters but also to key audiences such as prospective investors and investment research analysts.

One day in early 2020, the following VNRs were available for download and use by television stations or any news entity with a website:

- Video and sound bites from International Monetary Fund spokesman Gerry Rice on the economic cost of the coronavirus outbreak.
- Still images, text, and video about Lamborghini introducing in Valencia, Spain, its “Surfaces” line of cars inspired by art and architecture.
- An array of promotional photos and stories from the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority including video of a nighttime parade of very large trucks down one city street, the NASCAR Hauler Parade.

Documenting routine VNR use can be tricky. News directors in large newsrooms are news executives, not regularly involved in day-to-day coverage and story decisions. Producers are better sources but may underestimate daily VNR use or may not consider brief VNR shots in a larger package as a “use.” The most reliable data come from SIGMA, an electronic verification service

offered by Nielsen Media Research to advertising, public relations, and marketing firms. SIGMA tracks embedded codes and can be used to verify use of commercials, infomercials, VNRs, or public service announcements.

VNRs effectively exploit the current demands that television newsrooms produce more content, both online and on air, with fewer staffers. Within the realm of U.S. local television newscasts, VNRs tend to appear most frequently in health reporting segments or in VO format for light, amusing “kicker” stories toward the close of newscasts.

Scholars have approached VNRs from a variety of perspectives. Public relations practitioners have plumbed the usefulness of VNRs in an overall public relations strategy and the elements that make VNR content attractive to newscast producers. Journalism researchers, however, have explored the ethical dimensions of VNR use—namely whether the unlabeled use of VNR footage is deceptive. One relevant study appeared in the *International Journal of Advertising* in 2020. It involved native advertising on websites, in which material paid for by an advertiser was made to resemble the websites’ editorial content. The study found that more detailed disclosure led audiences to see both the advertiser and the media in general as having more credibility. If true, then neither TV stations nor VNR producers should fear routine identification of the video source.

VNRs have been the subject of media criticism in recent years. In 2004, at least 40 stations aired at least part of a VNR made for the George W. Bush administration in support of a new Medicare prescription drug law that ended with a VO saying, “In Washington, I’m Karen Ryan reporting.” After *The New York Times* reported on the use of the segments, other news articles highlighted government VNR distribution from agencies such as the Defense, Agriculture, and Census departments dating back for years, and getting extensive airplay. Journalists asked whether the airing of government-produced news reports that look like independent journalism betrayed the watchdog role of the press and deceived the public.

The Federal Communications Commission in 2011 entered the fray over VNRs when it fined two TV stations \$4000 for airing VNRs without sponsorship identification. One was a Minneapolis station, which aired a piece on new General

Motors convertibles, speaking only about that company and showing 12 different visuals of GM cars. The other was a New Jersey station, which reported on using zinc to shorten colds, but only specifically mentioned the Zicam product and showed images of it.

For all the introspection, however, government and corporate VNRs remain in use today. It takes a clever, informed viewer to spot their use across media platforms because notice of source or sponsor identification may be fleeting or even absent.

Mark D. Harmon

See also Credibility; Deception; Hard Versus Soft News; Newsroom Culture; Objectivity; Spin

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VIOLENCE AGAINST JOURNALISTS

Journalism has meant different things in different times and places, but however it has been defined, it has encountered some form of violence. In some cases, violence has been an unofficial form of media regulation. In other cases, violence has marked the continuation of political conflicts by other means. In yet other cases, violence has been primarily personal, growing out of a sense of outraged honor or acting as an assertion of sexual power. In every case, violence has had an expressive dimension; in some cases, it has been primarily symbolic. Although usually physical and material, violence in the 21st century has evolved to include “virtual” acts.

This entry is organized around patterns (rather than discrete acts) of violence. Violent acts are often chaotic and random, but recurring patterns of violence usually are generated by the structure of the media system and the prevailing definition and norms of journalism. Research has identified a number of patterns that are relatively common across space and time. The most prominent include conflict zone violence, majoritarian violence, personal violence, workplace-related violence, inclusionary violence, and virtual violence.

Conflict Zone Violence

The likelihood of violence has always been a feature of war reporting. War correspondents wear their nearness to physical danger as a badge of honor, and their memoirs always emphasize how deeply they shared the perils of combat with ordinary soldiers. The best-known example in the United States is columnist Ernie Pyle, killed by a sniper during World War II. By the late 20th century, violent conflicts had overrun the borders of conventional military action. In the 2010s, the most dangerous zones for journalists included Syria, where a complex civil war raged, and Mexico, where a quasi-military drug war targeted reporters.

Conflict zone violence has been a matter of concern for international journalism organizations for a long time and was a motivating factor behind the attempt to create an international credentialing body for journalists during the debate over the New World Information and

Communication Order in UNESCO in the 1970s and 1980s. Organizations like Reporters Without Borders and the Committee to Protect Journalists monitor conflict zone violence, drawing attention to the extent of the problem as well as the fact that many victims are freelancers or local contract employees hired as translators or stringers by larger Western news organizations.

Conflict zone violence is unlike other patterns of violence in a number of ways. First, it exists in spaces where violence is expected. Second, it exists on the borders of social formations rather than within them. And third, it has a timelessness about it. One suspects that it will persist as long as journalism involves corporeal presence.

Majoritarian Violence

The most dramatic examples of violence against journalists typically come during riots and other crowd actions. In these cases, it is common for the crowd to present itself as the authentic voice of the people, emerging apparently spontaneously but as a stabilizing or recalibrating instrument rather than as a sign of disruption. The notion of the moral authority of the crowd was traditional in early modern Europe and became a common feature of democratic revolutions. During the American Revolution, both Patriots and Loyalists mobilized crowds to suppress opposition publications in areas under their control, asserting in effect that such voices were outside the legitimate political community. After the Revolution, crowd actions, like other techniques of mobilization, became a part of the repertoire of party politics. When reform movements, such as abolitionism, vexed majoritarian parties, their publications became targets of crowd actions.

Mass politics sometimes exacerbated violent intolerance, a dynamic that was particularly evident in the 19th-century United States. Antislavery activists provide the best example. Because the two major parties in the 1830s both required Southern support to win national power, neither could afford to be seen as “incorrect” on the slavery issue, and so both parties felt the need to make examples of abolitionists in their own territory. Democrat Martin Van Buren, while sitting vice president, took credit in private correspondence for an anti-abolitionist riot in his home turf of Utica, New York, while Usher Linder, Whig

attorney general of Illinois, led the mob that attacked and killed abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy in Alton. In such cases, violent actions exemplify broader lines of force that curtail non-mainstream expression within the political system.

Partisan media systems in general seem to nurture more violence against journalists than professionalized or “objective” media systems. Journalists in partisan systems are seen as combatants in political conflict, and so are targeted whenever that conflict becomes heated. They are also more likely to be targets of personal violence.

Personal Violence

Violence against a journalist is always to some extent personal, but there are specific circumstances in which attackers claim to be motivated by a personal affront. Dueling is perhaps the most dramatic and certainly the most scripted form of personal violence. The typical case involved the subject of a published piece claiming that his (almost always) personal honor had been attacked and demanding satisfaction. Physical violence was thus seen as a proportional corrective to a rhetorical violation. Dueling was supposedly rule-governed and, although generally illegal, was understood by its practitioners to be orderly and gentlemanly—a way of restoring a damaged order.

In practice, personal violence, including dueling, was often a covert form of political warfare. A “gentleman,” like anyone else, could find grounds for taking personal offense quite easily when engaged in political conflict. As late as 1882, Edward A. Burke, the treasurer of Louisiana, challenged C. Harrison Parker, editor of the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, for remarks he considered personally offensive. Journalists could be attractive targets for several reasons: they were usually unskilled in combat, having chosen the pen over the sword; they could easily be characterized as ungentlemanly or cowardly for avoiding conflict; and by making the conflict personal and public, the would-be attacker stood a good chance of reputational gain. But the prevalence of personal violence in any given place or time cannot be shown to have succeeded in silencing journalists; in fact, they often took pride in having provoked a violent response, and personal attacks became a stock feature of occupational culture,

waning in the 20th century with the rise of professionalized news.

Rising levels of personal violence often correspond to periods of social change. The rise of dueling, for instance, followed the democratic revolutions in early modern Europe and North America and indicated fragility in the boundaries between elites and the larger public. In any situation, personal violence against journalists points to instability in the demarcation between public and private.

Workplace-Related Violence

Labor activism has occasioned violence in much of the industrializing world. Often that violence has visited reporters covering labor conflicts. But news organizations have themselves been part of the Industrial Revolution, and industrial news organizations have experienced labor violence in their own production systems. Sometimes striking workers have resorted to violence, including Luddite sabotage, to shut down production; more often, strikers and labor leaders have been targeted. Like majoritarian and personal violence, labor-related violence has been muted since the middle of the 20th century, a trend that can be attributed to the formalization of labor laws and policies as well as the fragmentation and diminution of news industry labor organizations. In any case, the workers at news organizations most likely to become entangled in violent conflict were more often press operators, typesetters, drivers, and even newsboys than reporters or editors, the occupations conventionally defined as journalists. Pressmen and drivers were the main combatants in the violent strikes involving Rupert Murdoch’s Wapping printing plant in 1986 and at the *New York Daily News* in 1990.

As journalism has diversified, however, different forms of workplace-related violence have become familiar. In the 2010s, a series of spectacular reports of harassment of women journalists drew attention to the ways in which newsrooms had incorporated gendered definitions of key roles. It is fair to say that documented cases of sexual harassment point to a systemic disempowering of women in news workplaces; it is also likely that the sudden visibility of such cases indicates an emerging recalibration of the gendering of news.

Inclusionary Violence

As many sorts of violence diminished with the professionalization of journalism, other forms arose. Inclusionary violence refers to violent acts that are designed to force the inclusion of content that news organizations would otherwise ignore, as when James Hoskins occupied the newsroom of WCPO-TV in Cincinnati in an attempt to gain attention to inequality and injustice. The most dramatic examples of inclusionary violence are terrorist attacks: spectacular violent acts that are designed to force attention to non-mainstream ideas, groups, or movements. It is often asserted that terrorism would not exist without media. This is an overstatement, but especially since electronic media have become primary sources of news for most of the world, media coverage has become a fundamental element of terrorism. Even if terrorism has existed without media, there is no terrorist action today that does not aim at the media space.

Other forms of inclusionary violence are less disruptive. Activists print fake front pages of newspapers and insert them into newsboxes, for instance, in a relatively nonviolent form of inclusionary violence. In the 21st century, “hacktivists” attack news organizations’ websites and upload content, and both news organizations and individual journalists have become anxious about digital security.

Inclusionary violence became important when news organizations became effective gatekeepers. This occurred when already industrialized news organizations acquired something like a monopoly position on a specific niche of the news ecosystem and adopted professional standards as a way of reassuring the public that they were exercising their vast power responsibly. That moment of modernist control has passed, and professionalized news no longer controls the media space. Instead, post-professional organizations in new media formats, particularly digital ones, provide avenues for public attention to non-mainstream groups and ideas.

Virtual Violence

In the age of digital media, new forms of violence have appeared, which can be provisionally grouped

together as virtual violence. Some of these are native to social media, such as Twitter bots, which can be made to resemble the mobs of 19th-century majoritarian violence. Others are more palpably criminal, like ransomware attacks.

One can question whether virtual violence is violent at all. It is generally assumed that violence must be corporeal. Violence attacks the body, either immediately or, at one remove, by threatening bodily harm. No one would doubt that brandishing a gun is a violent act. Virtual violence sometimes can resemble brandishing a gun: “Doxxing” a journalist by publishing her home address or bank account numbers, for instance, is certainly understood as threatening violence and can have a powerful deterrent effect. Even seemingly whimsical acts, such as when a group of anonymous contributors to the website 4chan doxxed Anna Merlan, a reporter at the online news site Jezebel, by ordering pizzas delivered to what they seemed to think was her home, can seem to portend real danger.

Doxxing is characteristic of a social order that rigorously guards privacy in one sense while undermining it in others. Doxxing would seem mysterious to a 20th-century middle-class person in a Western country, for whom a listing in the phone book was an important sign of belonging to normal society. But the random personal material that appears on an ordinary Twitter feed or Facebook page would seem equally exotic. For journalists, as for others, a simple line between private and public has become a complex network of varyingly private/public spaces; as their boundaries multiply and blur, the opportunities for vandalizing them increase.

Conclusion

Journalists often think of their work as intellectual and therefore ideally remote from physical peril—except of course when braving conflict zones. But if journalism matters, it will likely be targeted by interests trying to influence it, peacefully if possible but forcibly if not. Journalists have been rudely reminded of this recently: by autocrats in the Philippines, by drug cartels in Mexico, and by police in the United States, where the Committee to Protect Journalists reported over a hundred acts of physical violence against

journalists covering the Black Lives Matter protests erupting after the death of George Floyd. Violence against journalists in the United States in 2020 was reminiscent of earlier waves of civil unrest, such as when Chicago police targeted reporters covering protests of the Democratic National Convention in 1968.

Violence has always been a part of journalistic culture. But it is not a single thing. Rather, there have been and are many different forms of violence. They all are meaningful in understanding the structures of journalism as a practice, an industry, an institution, or a profession. For the most part, violent acts have been intended to silence voices, but a significant proportion have intended to force recognition of excluded voices. In some cases, violence has been a form of media regulation that has operated beyond the law while understanding itself as enforcing lawful behavior. In almost all cases, violence is strategic: Contrary to its image as a passionate outburst of spontaneous rage, violence has usually been calculated and goal-directed. If, on the surface, this fact makes violence against journalists seem more ordinary and manageable, on a deeper level it should raise concerns.

John Nerone

See also Freedom of Expression, History of; Labor Unions in Media; Partisan Press; Press Freedom; War Correspondents

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- Reporters Without Borders: <https://rsf.org/en>

VIRTUAL REALITY

Journalism has changed due, in part, to the convergence of digital technologies, the Internet, and mobile media. Virtual reality (VR), sometimes referred to as artificial reality, is one of the formats journalism uses that integrates these phenomena. VR is defined as a computer-generated, three-dimensional environment that is interactive and immersive. For journalism, VR has three variants:

1. *Immersive journalism* is a first-person experience of a news event using a VR headset, or other VR technology. In the virtual environment, a user's body is represented digitally as an avatar, a 3D representation of themselves with a first-person view of the virtual environment. The avatar is situated in the scenario of the news story.
2. Another form of VR is called *augmented reality* (AR). For journalism, AR technology has two manifestations. The first is seen in virtual news

sets used for studio broadcasting. The second form AR can take is for journalistic storytelling in an AR-enabled media environment.

3. Third is a category of *virtual news writing* that has two subgenres: (a) news of, or about, VR technology and (b) journalism from virtual communities. The former is a type of science and technology journalism, and the latter is a journalistic form originating from virtual worlds that have their own newspapers, newscasts, and news organizations producing stories for and about virtual events, people, and communities.

VR lies on the far end of a continuum from reality to VR. Between the two ends of the continuum is mixed reality. Mixed reality refers to mixing the real with the virtual in varying degrees. AR is a form of mixed reality. In AR, the view of the real world is overlaid with computer-generated digital information or imagery (graphics, photographs, video, or animation). The yellow first-down line marker used for National Football League game broadcasts, Snapchat Lenses, and the Pokémon GO mobile game are popular examples of AR.

A Brief History

In 1935, science fiction writer Stanley Weinbaum wrote *Pygmalion's Spectacles*, in which a professor invents a pair of goggles that allows the main character to view a movie with sight, sound, taste, smell, and touch. The roots of VR, however, can be traced back to the 19th century in the form of panoramic paintings of battles and other scenes. Actual VR systems, as we know them today, have been around in experimental form since the 1950s. In 1957, filmmaker Morton Heilig invented the Sensorama, a large, booth-like contraption that was intended to give a user the illusion of being in a 3D immersive world complete with smell, stereo sound, and atmospheric effects like wind. Then, in the 1960s, head-mounted devices were being developed. Philco Corporation engineers created the first head-mounted system called *Headsight*, which had two video screens, one for each eye, along with a tracking system connected to a remote camera that allowed the user to look around an environment without physically being there. Computer graphics pioneer Ivan Sutherland

also developed a head-mounted system that displayed simple wireframe, computer-generated graphics in 1968. Around this time, the military was working on flight simulators for pilot training. In the late 1960s and into the mid-1970s, Myron Krueger worked on many interactive VR projects while earning his PhD at the University of Madison–Wisconsin. One of his later projects called *Videoplace* was an AR laboratory that combined projectors with video cameras that emitted onscreen images that surrounded users in an interactive environment. Through the 1980s, improvements in computer graphics and VR technologies made more advanced VR and AR possible. Stimulating wider interest in VR was the 1982 movie *Tron*, which depicted characters fully immersed in a computer-simulated videogame environment. Throughout the 1990s, VR continued to grow primarily in the console games and arcade sectors. In 1999, *The Matrix* came to theaters and enhanced the buzz about VR. In the 2000s, VR systems continued to improve, and although available to the consumer, the price tag for many VR systems was still too expensive for most people. One exception was Google Cardboard, a stereoscopic system that used a mobile phone inserted into the cardboard mounting device (more on Google Cardboard later in this entry). In 2010, 18-year-old inventor Palmer Luckey created the prototype for the Oculus Rift. The sale of his invention to Facebook for \$2 billion in 2014 was both controversial and legitimizing for the technology. Currently, hundreds of companies are developing VR products.

The first phase in the use of VR for journalism was 360-degree video. Shot with specially designed cameras, or multi-camera rigs, everything is recorded along a panoramic plane. *The New York Times* was one of the early users of 360-degree video for news storytelling. The company published its first VR application (app) in November 2015 and distributed more than a million Google Cardboard headsets to home delivery subscribers. The first journalistic VR piece in *The New York Times* was an 11-min story about the global refugee crisis titled “The Displaced.” It featured three children forced from their homes in Lebanon, South Sudan, and Ukraine. Since then, *The New York Times* has produced several VR news stories that have included topics such as the aftermath of the Paris terrorist attacks, the U.S. presidential

elections, and stories about the planet Pluto. Other news outlets followed in the footsteps of *The New York Times*, including ABC, Vice, and The Verge.

Immersive Journalism

The idea of immersion is associated with a sense of presence (i.e., being in the virtual setting). For journalism, it refers to the production of news that induces a first-person experience of the place and events of a news story. Sometimes referred to as the “duality of presence,” the person may feel they are there at the scene. A feeling of participating in the events of the news story creates a sense of being immersed in that event. The goal of the immersive journalistic experience is a greater sense of empathy for and, perhaps, a better understanding of the people and events that occurred.

There are various levels of immersion, from those in which a screen (computer, television, or mobile media) is used to view a virtual environment to higher level immersive systems with a wide field-of-view, high-resolution, stereo sound, head-tracked head-mounted display with real-time motion capture and auditory and haptic feedback. The latter is a “true” immersive experience. A “true” immersive experience is defined by the following:

1. 3D stereo vision via two screens—one in front of each eye;
2. surround vision—the real world is blocked from one’s visual perception (i.e., as the user turns their head from side to side and up and down, they only see the virtual environment);
3. there is user dynamic control of viewpoint, which means that the user’s head is tracked to update the display in real time according to where the user looks.

These immersive qualities allow the user to respond to the computer-generated situation as if it were real. Immersive journalism is a tool used to generate empathy and establish a connection with the story. Thus, VR journalism replaces journalism’s core principles of objectivity with subjective involvement. With its purpose being to engage the audience emotionally, VR news calls ethical concerns to question.

Even with these immersive innovations that often have a wow factor, there are some restrictions to the VR experience. First, the image resolution is low compared to reality and to standard computer screens or high-definition television. Second, in spite of the immersive nature of VR, there is still the understanding that this is not real. There is, in other words, still a disconnect to reality due to the lack of full sensory involvement. VR CAVE experiences are a promising way to overcome some of these sensory issues (CAVE is a recursive acronym for Cave Automatic Virtual Environment). Invented at the University of Illinois’s Chicago Electronic Visualization Laboratory in 1992, a VR CAVE typically has three or more projection walls where images display a surrounding environment. The user wears a pair of stereoscopic shutter glasses, which sync with the projector to generate 3D stereovision. The user can see through the glasses to view real objects in the environment (including their own body). The user can move through the CAVE environment and elements of touch, taste, smell, as well as simulated wind, and temperature changes are possible, all adding to the perceptual reality of the virtual situation.

In September 2014, the *Des Moines Register* was one of the first newspapers to use VR with one of their stories in a series titled *Harvest of Change*, which illustrated the life of today’s American farmer using satellite map imagery, photographs of the farm, the Unity 3D gaming engine, 360-degree video, and coders and game designers. Reaction from the public was positive. However, making *Harvest of Change* cost \$20,000, a price tag not many news organizations can afford.

Making VR Content

The production of journalistic VR content is different from traditional television news production and is divided into three stages. The first stage is capturing the content with cameras and microphones. The second stage is postproduction image processing with motion graphics and 3D modeling software. The third stage is distribution for headset, mobile media, or computer screen technologies.

Editing news stories for VR is changing the rules of journalistic work. For example, in making

VR content, the director has to work with non-fixed framing and edit content without using cuts, which is the traditional broadcast news editing method. In VR, there is a single piece of 360-degree video that creates the scene that users can explore as they want. The camera moves very little in most VR storytelling because camera movement can cause motion-related nausea for some users. This changes the narrative possibilities of news content. One solution has been to use video gaming techniques that allow users to explore scenes and discover characters and information at their own pace. Giving users this kind of freedom is a radical change to traditional journalism. Other considerations involve how much directed character action will take place in front of the 360-degree camera and how much computer-generated graphics or additional layers of video will be added to the news event in the postproduction phase. These concerns lead to issues about how much bias there may be with the production process and how much the virtual news story alters the facts of the actual event.

As with all media production, the audience should be considered. With the production of VR news content, however, audience considerations are different than for traditional news media. VR content producers have to decide which users they are trying to reach. A project with high-quality technology and interactive content requires a large budget and can include numerous VR specialists to create that content. This means that the end user will need to have high-end headset technology, thus reducing the audience size to those able to afford high-quality headsets. Lowering the quality is less costly but also means more limited technical and narrative possibilities. A larger number of users, however, can afford the less technically capable headsets needed to view the news story.

AR

AR technology was not initially designed as a media tool. Rather, in 1990, Preston Thomas Caudell developed the idea and coined the term “augmented reality” while working for Boeing where factory workers used AR to sort aircraft parts. AR technology then evolved into forms that could be used for other endeavors including

journalism. Virtual news sets are one type of AR used for television broadcasting. In this form, AR combines people and other real objects with computer-generated environments and objects in a real-time, seamless way. Although still largely experimental, AR technology has also evolved into a wearable news storytelling technology.

Virtual News Sets

Virtual news set technology grew from traditional chromakey techniques. It debuted as a technology presentation by the American broadcasting technology company Ultimatte and German engineering firm IMP GmbH at the National Association for Broadcasters Convention in 1994. For routine broadcast applications, however, early virtual studio systems were challenging. They cost nearly \$1 million, were very complex to use, were difficult for on-air performers to navigate, and, with jagged edges and other messy artifacts, they didn’t look good.

To work flawlessly, a virtual set for broadcast has to allow the real-time combination of people or other real objects and computer-generated environments and objects in a seamless manner. A studio camera has to move in 3D space, while the image of the virtual camera is being rendered in real time from the same perspective. The virtual scene has to adapt at any time to camera movement (zoom, pan, tilt, dolly, track, or any other move).

There are many examples of the use of AR in news broadcasts. One example of its use came after the devastating fire that ravaged the historic Notre Dame cathedral in Paris in April 2019. France 2 used its main news studio to create a 3D AR model of the cathedral to showcase the damage and the planned repairs. The segment aired on the network’s evening news, *Journal de 20h*. The model of Notre Dame was built using Avid’s Maestro Virtual Set solution and Unreal Engine and provided viewers with sweeping views of the structure as well as detailed views at specific areas of concern. The AR model was positioned on the studio’s floor and the news anchors could walk around the model as they spoke.

Wearable AR

In terms of journalistic use, AR can tell stories digitally. Using mobile, wearable computing systems that supplement the real world with virtual information, the goal is to engage people and provide contextual information about the news. Thus, AR devices can enrich a user's experience of the surrounding environment with computer-generated visual and auditory material. Early experimental work required the user to wear a bulky backpack and headset apparatus due to the need for the unit to provide both visual and sound information as well as GPS tracking technology.

Unlike the immersive forms of technology discussed earlier, this form of technology requires the user to be at the physical proximity where the news event took place. In other words, the AR experience allows the user to continue to see and hear the surrounding world but with additional computer-generated sights and sounds that are synchronized to the exact location of the user's geographic position (i.e., the actual location where the news event took place).

VR Journalism

VR journalism has two distinctive categories: news *from* VR and news *about* VR. The latter represents a host of publications about the technology and software used and being developed for VR systems, as well as the effects on users, including studies about the social, psychological, and behavioral aspects of VR technology use. This is a form of science and technology journalism found in consumer-oriented journals and magazines such as *Wired*, *AR/VR*, and *Popular Science*. Websites, blogs, and podcasts also disseminate a variety of social media information about VR products, technologies, and more to consumers. For professionals and academics, there are technical journals that publish original, multidisciplinary research such as *Virtual Reality*, the *International Journal of Virtual Reality*, the *Journal of Virtual Reality and Broadcasting*, and publications associated with the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, to name a few.

News *from* VR involves online games and virtual worlds where people, sometimes in very

large numbers, interact socially. They have their own unique cultures, communities, geographies, currencies, commodities and markets, languages, holidays, events, sports, aesthetic look, and rules and regulations. The history of online games and virtual worlds parallels the development of the computer and computer networking. Online games have goals, or quests and puzzles to solve that help players progress, or level up. Virtual worlds usually have no goals or leveling and exist primarily as extensions of early textually based chatrooms, but with a visual component. Players exist in these virtual environments as avatars, or digital representations of themselves. Emerging out of these games and virtual worlds are a variety of journalistic forms that mirror reality, including newspapers, television-style newscasts, blogs, podcasts, and magazines. Most of these publications are available both within and external to the virtual world via the Internet.

Second Life is one of the more popular virtual worlds. Released to the public in 2003, Second Life saw rapid growth, and in 2013, it had approximately 1 million users. Numbers vary, but its use has diminished since then. From 2006 to 2007, Reuters inserted one of its technology reporters in Second Life. When the Reuters virtual reporter was called back from the virtual world, many believed the hype about Second Life was dead. News from Second Life and other virtual worlds, however, continues to this day. Content focuses on gossip, entertainment, fashion, well-known and notorious residents, and a variety of soft news. Shopping information about where the best deals can be found in the Second Life Marketplace is a popular form of information covered in various online publications. Occasionally, there are hard news stories about criminal activity in the virtual setting. For example, there are stories about nefarious individuals and organizations using virtual world economies for money laundering and fraud, as well as crimes involving underage sex and other aspects of pornography. On a more upbeat note, news about virtual world businesses and profit-making, educational opportunities, and celebrity and entertainment news can be found.

The transient, ever-changing nature of online communities, such as Second Life, means that

news sources come and go (and sometimes come back again), changing names, editorial staffs, and writers with great frequency. *The Alphaville Herald*, *Second Life Enquirer*, and *Second Life Newser* are some of the current news publications. Others such as the *Metaverse Messenger* were short-lived enterprises, but old issues can still be found on the Internet.

The virtual environments of massively multiplayer online games such as *World of Warcraft*, *League of Legends*, and *Minecraft* have their own information outlets. Information about game strategies, new versions of the games, industry news, and more constitute a large amount of the flow of information about these virtual worlds.

Lawrence Mullen

See also Digital Journalism Ethics; Digital Journalism Tools; New Journalism; New Media; Objectivity; Science and Technology Journalism; Visual Journalism

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VISUAL JOURNALISM

Visual journalism includes all the ways in which the news is visualized and constructed for the human sense of vision. The visuality of journalism might also be called its form, visible structure, graphic design, or packaging. It is all the things that make a television production recognizable as a newscast. It includes the visual elements that make the *New York Times* look different from *USA Today* and the elements that make a news-magazine distinct from an entertainment magazine. That a North Korean televised newscast looks so different from a newscast originating in the United States, or other western nations, shows how culture, politics, and tradition play significant roles in how news looks. News can take on different meanings depending on how it is visually constructed.

One can also think of such visual form as creating an environment that invites readers into a world molded to fit not only the habits of journalists and readers but also the current principles in political and economic life. The news provides a dynamic experience that appeals to the senses and is reassuring. The form seems natural to the audience—words, images, colors, patterns, shapes, and sizes, all reflecting and portraying events, some that are local or regional and others distant. The form of the news structures and expresses an environment, a space that represents something larger: the world-at-large, its economies, politics, sociality, and emotions.

Every visually oriented medium is designed with compositional choices for communicating ideas, moods, and identities. For example, newspaper layout is designed so the content speaks to a particular audience. And television news sets are designed so that the look of a newscast is appropriate for the brand of news programming and the attitude and mood it seeks to present to its viewers. Indeed, a lot of research goes into the way a newscast looks. The newscasters need to look good, the background should not be distracting, and the set should be properly lit. Research on television news and its look includes makeup, hairstyle, clothing, even whether the newscasters should wear eyeglasses. A whole research industry is built around television news, how it looks, and

how the look of the newscast translates into audience ratings. This concern about the news and how it looks, especially in the area of television news, has led to controversial issues such as the firing of female newscasters when they get older, because they no longer have “the look” that gets a newscast good ratings. Although this form of age discrimination and sexism has largely been discontinued, instances of the practice may still occur.

These visual elements are part of the way news creates meaning, depicting social relations for the readers, users, and viewers. For example, should a newspaper have lots of white space on a page to suggest a sense of lightness, or fill as much of the page as possible with information to suggest a wealth of serious, valuable content? The latter treats the newspaper as a container for all the information needed by readers who wish to consider themselves well-informed. The condensed text and crowded pages signify this, even if it makes readability difficult and can, for others, signify pompousness, dullness, and conservatism. Spreading text and other content out to include white space provides a new experience for a changing market, targeting a different kind of audience, perhaps younger, on-the-move, yet still with a desire to be informed. Such choices influence not only the meaning of the content but also the meaning of the medium itself—how it is perceived, and how the content is communicated—thus setting up a kind of social relationship between the medium and the reader.

Audience needs and technological limitations also dictate the look or design of a medium. There are economic, political, and other factors such as media convergence which play roles in the way our media look. Today’s blogs and aggregator sites such as Google News and the Huffington Post have had a great economic influence on the whole field of journalism, including the way news is visualized. These sites compile news from other websites, and user preferences customize the news. The presentation of news stories on these sites makes a difference in what is seen and read. Readers generally will not scroll past the first page of a website, even if that is where the most significant information can be found. They tend to view the first available option presented to them by the aggregators. Aggregators use this idea to their

advantage when laying out their sites and selecting their resources. This way of presenting the news attracts readers to a news site they might not have gone to before. For example, Google News has a powerful impact on the traffic that other news websites receive.

The accessibility of the Internet means that the public can more easily influence the look of the news. Internet access is possible anywhere, anytime, so we get news whenever we want on mobile devices. Amateur online journalists are putting this technology to use and creating weblogs (“blogs”), adding a grassroots dimension to the journalism landscape. Bloggers and other amateur journalists are also scooping mainstream news outlets as well as pointing out errors in mainstream articles, while people who have been made subjects of news articles are responding online, posting supplementary information to provide context and counterpoints. In all, the public is increasingly turning to online sources for news and having a greater influence on what is regarded as news and how news is visualized.

Regardless of platform (newspaper, television, or mobile device), visual journalism is what makes news recognizable as news. Every medium that relies on the visual sense has distinctive visual characteristics. Newspapers, magazines, television, news blogs, websites, and social media news feeds (e.g., Facebook) all have a unique look and that look is not stagnant. For example, the look of the front page of newspapers has changed significantly over the years. More pictures, more color, and more variation in font size and style are a few of the changes that can be noted.

Furthermore, the shift to online and multiplatform publishing has resulted in rapid changes to visual journalism. Newspapers and magazines now have websites and are accessible anytime, anywhere on mobile devices. Video content and interactivity are also possible in the digital sphere. In addition, the smaller frame sizes of mobile media have forced newspapers and other news media to adapt and format their news for smaller screens. Despite these technological changes, however, the core principles of visual journalism remain mostly unchanged. The communication of news, opinions, ideas, and information generally, as well as values and attitudes, requires the right

kinds of visual materials, design, technology, production processes, and finances.

Readers, watchers, and users of news media often take the look, or form, for granted—not considering how the newspaper is laid out or why the lighting for a newscast is flat and without shadows. Only when an obvious mistake is made, or when a new form emerges, such as color photography in the newspaper in the late 1970s, does the audience take notice. Consideration of visual form is often left for academics to ponder. And although all media have visual qualities (arguably, even radio news broadcasts can have a visual aspect), the focus here is on explicitly visual media, and the discussion of visual journalism is organized around *text*, *images* (both still and motion imagery), and *presentation* (consisting of elements such as television set design, editing, screen or framing aspects including graphic layout, and acting). First, however, let us take a brief look at the relationship between human vision and the media used for journalistic purposes.

Human Vision and the Media

Understanding visual journalism begins with understanding the relationship between visual perception and mediated news imagery. The human eye and the brain's visual perception system are essential considerations for the way news, and indeed all media, are constructed. Indeed, as Marshall McLuhan pointed out, media are extensions of who we are at a biological level. Color, light, motion, patterns, contrast, facial recognition, and other variables are part and parcel of human visual perception, and our media reflect and utilize these qualities in ways particular to human vision.

As an extension of the human sense of sight, our media have particular characteristics. People have, for example, about 210 degrees of forward-facing horizontal field of view, or peripheral vision. The vertical range of the field of view is more restricted, around 150 degrees. This range of vision horizontally and vertically has implications for the media we have designed and their use for news dissemination. Media that are more horizontally than vertically oriented conform to the way the eyes see. Television screens are the best example of this. However, some media do not conform

precisely to the perceptual structures of the eyes. For instance, some media we use for news and information are more vertical than they are horizontal. Newspaper pages, magazines, smartphones, and iPods take on a more vertical dimension than horizontal. Our brain, however, is very good at adapting to a variety of visually constructed media environments, so no real problem is posed when media do not conform precisely to our visual perceptual construct. Additionally, many of these vertically oriented media can be folded (newspaper) or reoriented (mobile devices) to create the aspect ratio that conforms to the horizontal and vertical proportions indicative of television and human visual perception.

The positioning of our eyes on the front of our heads allows for binocular vision. Binocular vision, which is essential for depth perception, covers 114 degrees (horizontally) of the visual field in humans; the remaining peripheral 40 degrees on each side has no binocular vision (because only one eye can see those parts of the visual field). Our media, however, and the images seen within them, are two-dimensional (i.e., they lack any sort of “real” depth), so it is important to be able to create the illusion of depth perception with mediated images. In essence, our eyes are “tricked” into perceiving depth in a media image. The use of occlusion, size differences, linear perspective, spacing, light quality, light-and-dark color variation, and visual detail are some of the ways in which the illusion of depth is created for the two-dimensional frames of a photograph, television picture, or another image type.

Motion, as depicted in our media, is also an illusion. Because of the way our visual perceptual system works, we perceive motion in television and film images. Television is a series of 30 still images per second. In film, movement is depicted by showing 24 still images per second. The inability of our eyes and brain to process such a rapid succession of images allows us to perceive motion on television and in movie theaters and not a series of still images.

The perception of color is also important and has not always been a part of the news media landscape. Visual perception is concerned with the extraction of information from the external physical world, of which color is a dominant characteristic. Human color perception uses the part of the

electromagnetic spectrum encompassing visible light (from roughly 400 to 700 nm, between ultraviolet and infrared light). The color we see is the effect of waves of photons that bounce off objects and stimulate cells on our retinas called *cones*. Most people are trichromatic, with cells in the retina that are sensitive to red, blue, and green light. Used in combination, these three colors allow most humans to distinguish between roughly a million different colors.

Color in the Media

Color has given journalists new ways to communicate. Colorization of the country's newspapers began as far back as 1891 when *The Milwaukee Journal* used a blue-and-red bar on its front page to commemorate the inauguration of a new governor. Today, 97% of North American newspapers print some of their news pages in color. There are still some traditionalists who say that color detracts from the news, but the debate about whether to use color is largely over. Newspapers in California and Florida led the way in the use of color decades ago, and the audaciously colorful *USA Today* accelerated the move to color when it started publishing in 1982.

In television, the transition from black-and-white to color was a slow process. Until the 1970s, television was, for the most part, a black-and-white medium. High-definition color imagery came to television in the 1990s and again changed how we see the news: in exquisite near-realistic detail. For humans, color vision is concentrated in the center of the visual field and is an important way in which we perceive news images. The realism color gives to mediated images, text, and other graphics is tied to objectivity and, along with motion, is a superb way to grab the attention of an audience. Thus, color, contrast, tone, shading, color combinations and color patterns, and lighting are important to the discussion of visual journalism.

Text

Text, or typography, includes font style, size, and other features such as italics, bold type, underlining, spacing, and use of white space. These variables influence the way news is perceived.

Newspapers distinguish themselves by choosing and implementing typography to match their respective self-definitions. A serious newspaper of record might, for example, have headlines in several decks, stacked above a single column of text. Other newspapers might use banner headlines topping the pages with subordinate headlines moderately sized in contrasting typefaces.

Font styles come and go. In the late 1800s, fonts were bold, with thick and blocky serifs and a uniform stroke to make the newspaper printing process faster. This style is called *slab serif* and includes fonts such as Rockwell and Clarendon. In the digital age, thousands of font styles have become easily accessible, but only a relatively small number are currently used for newspapers. These include Times, Helvetica, Franklin Gothic, Century Old Style, Poynter, Utopia, Nimrod, Interstate, Bureau Grotesque, and Miller. There is also extensive use of custom typefaces or modifications made to existing fonts to make them fit the chosen look and feel of a newspaper. In all, the font chosen by a newspaper ought to be easy to read and become familiar, recognizable, and trustworthy to the reader.

Line spacing and text alignment are also important. They can influence the mood and attitude conveyed. Newer newspapers and webpage designs have used these qualities to create a sense of openness. Line spacing, or *leading* (a term going back to metal type and the use of strips of lead alloys to space out lines of type evenly), is the distance from the baseline of one line of type to the baseline of the next. When the spacing is small, there can be a sense of claustrophobia, crowding, or economy of space. Wider spacing suggests expansion, confidence, or even arrogance. There is a sense of modernism and openness when the line spacing is wide.

Alignment of typeface can be left, right, or justified, meaning that the left and right margins of each line are even. Justified lines give the appearance of being regimented. Some newspapers use justified lines to bring an attitude of efficiency, order, authority, and formality. But word spacing varies within a given line of justified type, especially when text is set in narrow columns. When the line lengths vary, there is a sense of informality, with a more organic look. The words are evenly

spaced, and the mood induced has been described as more relaxed and natural.

Images

Images, especially photographic images, are what one typically thinks of when “visual journalism” is mentioned. But as discussed earlier in this entry, visual journalism is more than photography alone. Images come in two varieties: still images and motion picture images such as those of television and film. Still images can be photographs, cartoons, graphs and other data visualizations, drawings, and more. Motion images are any kind of image that depicts motion. They can depict photographic reality, computer-generated cartoons, animated characters and scenes, interactive data visualizations, or any combination of these.

The images we see in our newspapers and nightly newscasts are messages created by analog (not computerized) technology, or nowadays more likely by digital technology, and transmitted through a channel of communication to a point of reception, a viewing audience, or a reader. The image is the result of a process. A host of sociocultural factors and decisions come before the actual creation of the image that determined when the image is captured by a camera or made with computer software. Then a team or sequence of professionals, editors, and technicians choose, compose, crop (or edit in terms of motion images), and otherwise treat the image, give it a title, caption, or other textual treatment, and place it within the context of a news story. The point of reception is the audience that reads or sees it. The channel of transmission can be a newspaper, television, news blog, or other medium. The image is set within a complex of concurrent messages, various texts, graphic layout, frame size, and the ideology of the news source. Moreover, the dissemination and reception of the photographic image and the variety of messages and meanings it can have exist within a complex social milieu; the same image can take on wholly different meanings when seen in the context of different news sources.

Photographs are complex, because not only is there the literal reality they depict but also a symbolic meaning. There is, of course, a reduction in proportion, perspective, color, and other aspects of the reality depicted in a photograph. But the

photographic image is an almost perfect analogy of the people, scene, and things within its frame. It is because of this convincingly accurate representation of visible reality that photographic images are tied to objectivity, truth, and factuality.

The claimed facticity of photography helped photojournalism to become an established practice in the 1920s. Before then, news events were often depicted through artists' illustrations. Before the 1930s, journalists commonly retouched, embellished, and manipulated photographs. In these early days of photojournalism, there was little in the way of an ethical code to govern what should or should not be done in terms of image manipulation. This situation did not change much in the years that followed. Decisions regarding the use of hidden cameras, posing and reenacting shots, using offensive imagery, invading the privacy of subjects, and other forms of image manipulation were ethical choices largely left up to the individual photographers or persons publishing the photograph.

In 1946, the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA) was founded (and then incorporated in 1947). Their Code of Ethics is, to this day, widely accepted as the standard for photojournalistic professionalism. Even so, the NPPA Code of Ethics is nonbinding, and although a breach in ethics might result in expulsion from the NPPA, membership is not required to work in the industry (though some employers may implement their own penalties). In the decades since NPPA's inception, ethical standards in photojournalism have been a process of trial and error and there have been several instances of photojournalistic image manipulation from the 1950s to the present day (see <https://www.cc.gatech.edu/~beki/cs4001/history.pdf> for examples).

The Digital Age brought about its own challenges with ethics involving news image manipulation. Indeed, the advent of digitization in the 1980s brought about historic changes in photojournalism. The acceptable things a photographer could do in the darkroom to enhance his or her photographs could now be done on a computer. Acceptable forms of photographic manipulation are those that make the photo more readable, such as dodging and burning, color, and contrast correction. These kinds of image changes are considered neither ethical nor unethical. Rather, they are

the technical aspects of the grammar of photographic editing. However, the possibility of digitally enhancing a photograph beyond these technical aspects was now substantial and more difficult to detect.

But aspirations for objectivity in visual journalism continue to support the desire to be accurate, thus ensuring that photojournalistic imagery depicts people and events as truthfully and authentically as possible. Backing these claims of objectivity and authenticity are the aforementioned ethical guidelines for visual journalism that state that journalists should “not manipulate images or add or alter sound in any way that can mislead viewers or misrepresent subjects” (National Press Photographers Association, 2018, n.p.), and “never deliberately distort facts or context, including visual information. Clearly label illustrations and reenactments” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014, n.p.). Visual journalists are also recommended to avoid staging and to “not intentionally contribute to, alter, or seek to alter or influence events” (National Press Photographers Association, 2018, n.p.).

Presentation

News is shaped by the visual constraints and liberties of the medium in which it is presented. Whether it's a newspaper, magazine, computer screen, movie theater, television screen, or mobile device, presentation encompasses the look of news within a frame, how people and objects are placed within the frame, and how they move and act within it. The combination of text and images communicates messages that journalists create, but the way they are presented using various visual tools adds another layer of meaning to their messages. Visual design is a fundamental part of the meaning of news content. To be successful, the design must speak the visual language of the audience. As the newspaper industry has changed, and as circulations have declined, especially for local news, much advertising has shifted to online formats. And, as readers themselves have changed their habits of information consumption, journalism has been called upon to create new identities for a struggling industry. Accordingly, design becomes instrumental in helping newspapers and other forms of news to portray ideas and attitudes

about the news that are shaping a new journalism landscape.

As noted above, font style and size, colors, borders, space, positioning, and images are among the many tools used for newspaper design. In the 1980s, computer technology enabled important changes to occur. Greater flexibility was one of the benefits. But change was slow. Much of the newspaper industry stuck with the traditional methods of production. The transition from older ways of laying out and printing the newspaper to new digital electronic forms was not without conflict. But since the 1980s, the creative processes of designing and editing a newspaper could be done at a computer screen. As a result, column widths, picture size, and line spacing became more flexible and could be edited with greater precision. Innovations in computer software brought new speed and versatility. Editing software has allowed cut-out images, rapid collages, and other forms of graphics, charts, and compositional elements to be incorporated into designs much more creatively. This resulted in waves of redesigned newspapers through the 1990s and into the 21st century. Not all redesigns were successful, and some proved to alienate established readers. Merely redesigning a newspaper did not save those that failed to adapt to changing market and technological forces that were radically reshaping the industry.

As for television, the immediacy of the medium creates opportunities for live breaking news and the kinds of visuals associated with such broadcasts. No other medium provides the opportunities television does for live imagery, happening right now. The unrelenting flow of events, and the constraints of time and the need to limit what can be said and shown to an audience, the lack of in-depth analysis, and reflection on the news of the day are some of the constraints of television news's look. At another level, there are the production components such as editing, live news, news packages, interviews, technologies to divide the frame into multiple images, lighting, background design, set furniture, and the physical appearance of newscasters that are among the multitude of visual components of television news.

In the early days of television news broadcasting in the 1940s and 1950s, film newsreels were the most readily available model for the visual

presentation of the news. During World War II, they were filled with military stories that employed footage provided by the U.S. government. Besides that, newsreels specialized in events that were staged and of interest to the widest possible audience. These included celebrity weddings, movie premieres, beauty contests, and ship launchings. Newsreels showed only visual content recorded on film, with an unseen announcer providing commentary; the on-air newsreader sitting behind a news desk (also called a *news anchor*) would come later. In the mid-1940s, WCBW, CBS's wholly owned subsidiary in New York, developed several innovative techniques for visualizing stories for which they had no film and established the practice of sending a reporter to cover local stories. New, inexpensive video and microwave technology made newsgathering economically feasible in the 1960s; accordingly, many network affiliates expanded their news programming.

The advent of cable television, especially the founding of the Cable News Network in 1980, was a watershed moment in televised journalism that caused massive changes in the way we see the news today. Since then, the news that U.S. Americans watch on national cable channels and on their local news stations has continued to change significantly while network evening newscasts have remained largely unchanged. The parallel-like changes to the visual structure of the three cable news networks, Cable News Network, Fox, and MSNBC, has made them all look remarkably similar nowadays. Each contains a mix of interviews, packaged segments, and live coverage. Local newscasts have placed greater emphasis on traffic, weather, and sports and have reduced the number of edited packages and shortened the lengths of their news stories. These changes may reflect the economic strains affecting the industry. Many newscasts now include eye-catching graphics and updated sets. In addition, newscasters no longer just sit behind a news desk. Often they move around during the newscast to keep viewers interested. Many news sets also incorporate plasma television monitors, which provide flexibility by displaying pictures of different locations as backdrops for newscasters. Local broadcasters showcase their news anchors and rely on traditional visual elements such as skylines of their home cities.

Lawrence Mullen

See also Aerial Photography; CNN; Design and Layout, Magazine; Internet: Impact on the Media; Television News, History of

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Vox Pop

In the original Latin, “vox populi” means “voice of the people.” Over time the phrase has become “vox pop.” It is used to refer to both a type of interview and a structuring element in a story or a newscast. In a sense, what is now known as “vox pop” is what was once referred to as the “man (or woman) on the street.” This entry examines vox pop style journalism and its utility for both story and newscast production. Specific attention is paid to the content, structure, setup, and editing of vox pop journalism and to its notable pros and cons.

Content Element

As an element of content, vox pops are generally used as a way to get short reactions from people “on the street,” who might be asked about serious issues—a recent action by the government, for example. The opinions generated are then edited into a story, either a packaged piece or an

anchor-read voice over B-roll around the constructed story. Most often, though, the vox pops are used to present more lighthearted stories since the sound bites are usually opinions. Using a vox pop in this manner is often referred to as “low-hanging fruit” because they are relatively easy to shoot and edit quickly.

Structuring Element

To producers of a newscast, vox pops can be used in a number of ways to help structure a story or a newscast. In either case, the format of a vox pop will be the same. Since this type of story normally runs short, the story can be placed within the local segment of the newscast to help give structure to that story block. Producers are often looking for stories that will change the pace within the newscast, and like readers, short vox pops can provide some variety to the story lengths that will help the producers give better flow to the newscast. If the piece is to be lighthearted, a good vox pop story can provide a nice finish to the segment or even the newscast.

A more serious story can also be helped by a vox pop element. To be sure, the structure of the bite itself remains the same; opinions would be sought and edited down to a solid sound bite that may include breaking stories since vox pops can be produced quickly and may help clarify the story for viewers.

Setup

In any case, shooting for a vox pop is relatively easy, with one camera recording all the sound bites. In an age of multimedia journalists, reporters are responsible for the entire production of their stories, from shooting and editing their stories to transcribing the story and, commonly, producing any graphics needed. The reporter sets up a camera on a tripod in a busy area where the prospect of getting enough material is assured. As people walk by, the reporter asks for opinions on whatever the story is about. The reporter asks for comments or opinions from passersby, making sure to get good, clean audio and framing each person in a slightly different pose. This is an important consideration, since the bites are “stacked” against each other to form one bite. If

each person faced the camera squarely, the edited cuts would look like jump cuts and would appear to be very two-dimensional.

Reporters need to visualize how the story will look on playback. This means the reporter should also record their own stand-ups. The stand-up may start the story off or the intro to the story could be read by an anchor in the studio. Reporters often will need to have a couple different versions of the story, so enough B-roll should be shot to allow for this eventuality. Stand-ups, bites, and B-roll are the three elements needed for a good story.

Editing

Standards of good editing need to be apparent in any story but are crucial in vox pop stories. In most cases, there will not be enough time in each of the clips for identifiers in the lower third of the screen. That means that imperfections in the editing process are more noticeable to the average viewer (things like jump cuts, flash frames, or bad audio). If enough B-roll was shot while in the field, the story could be compressed or expanded, depending on what the producer needs for that newscast. For example, a reporter may bring back five clips for editing into a vox pop, along with a stand-up. The reporter then edits each of the clips to about 5 seconds each and edits the opening stand-up, putting that clip into an editing sequence. All five of the edited clips are then put into the sequence, one after the other. The tag at the end of the story could be read by the anchor over B-roll. The total runtime for this type of story is generally no longer than 1 min. The reporter may also be asked to split the vox pop responses into slightly longer sound bites that can be used as voice-over or voice-over sound stories in a second newscast.

It is important to understand how each format of news story functions as journalists try to clarify the issues on the local, regional, and national scenes. Whether a reporter uses a voice-over, voice-over sound on tape, package, reader, or stories like vox pops, each has an important part to play in a good newscast. Producers often say that, even though there may be a dearth of producers, they don’t want simple “stackers” but rather look for people who can make a newscast flow, who understand the relationship between story-type

and viewer comprehension, and who can consider all these different story types as tools in their tool boxes.

Pro and Con

The great part about vox pop stories is their ability to be flexible in gathering local opinions about the issues of the day. Since they are easily constructed and quickly put into any show, vox pop stories are favorites of producers who seek a lighter story inside the newscast to relieve some of the downside that is seen in many shows.

The negative side of this type of story is its subjective nature. Since it is structured as an opinion piece, vox pop stories are sometimes criticized for being too one-sided, especially if the story concerns a local issue or notable person. Reporters and producers need to be careful with those issues since that “man on the street” will, undoubtedly, have an opinion to be shared. Often used as public opinion polls, vox pops become ubiquitous during election years and audiences can get tired of hearing the “results” since public opinion changes rapidly.

In the end, stories structured as the “voice of the people” can serve many uses in the production of a newscast, not the least of which is providing short stories with wide appeal among viewers. In particular, stories in reaction to unclean restaurants, faulty construction, and other targets of “activist journalism.” In these cases, the stories are sometimes labeled a “franchise” that carries the signature of the reporter or anchor that does the work of the story and often leaves the follow-up

public responses to the end of the piece. This type of journalism is well-liked by the viewing public, many of whom believe that this addresses a needed solution to local problems. When people feel there is no one to help them, the “vox populi” stories in a newscast indeed give strength to the “voice of the people.”

The use of vox pop stories as either content type or as structural elements within a newscast can be seen as having great utility. As audiences change over time, stories in this format can change with them. Most news consumers, like all persons on the street, want to give voice to the issues of the day, particularly if those issues have parts to play in the consumers’ lived realities.

Gary W. Larson

See also Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET); Digital Journalism Ethics; Interpretive Journalism; Sky News; Social Media

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WALL STREET JOURNAL, THE

The Wall Street Journal is an English-language, U.S.-based business and general interest news product with national and international distribution through digital and mobile channels and a print product that is published weekdays and Saturdays. The *Journal* is part of Dow Jones & Company, which is owned by News Corporation (News Corp.), with headquarters in New York City. Since 1996, the *Journal* has been distributed on WSJ.com, which was an early adopter of a paywall for digital content. In mid-2019, the newspaper reported a circulation of 1 million for its print product and 1.83 million paid digital subscribers. The number of digital subscribers surpassed 2 million in February 2020.

Through most of its history, the *Journal* focused on business and financial news, but it expanded its focus to political and general interest news coverage after being purchased by News Corp. in 2008. The *Journal's* conservative editorial perspective is influential in U.S. conservative political circles, although it rarely endorses political candidates. The *Journal* has printed continuously since 1889, never missing an issue, not even after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that damaged its newsroom in lower Manhattan. As of 2020, the *Journal* and its staff have won 37 Pulitzer Prizes.

Until a redesign in 2007, the newspaper had maintained the same six-column format, using small headlines and drawings instead of photographs. The newspaper's masthead, unusually,

also contains a period at the end. An in-depth feature story—known as the “A-hed” because of the shape of its headline—was featured in the fourth column and influenced the structure of feature stories throughout the newspaper industry. A roundup of top news stories, called “What’s News,” has been a staple of the paper since 1941. The paper went to two sections in 1980, well after most other newspapers had adopted the format, and did not add color capacity until 2002. However, after the 2007 redesign, the newspaper began to look less distinct from its competitors, with increased use of color photography and graphic design elements.

The Wall Street Journal was launched in 1889 by Charles Dow, Edward Jones, and Charles Bergstresser, whose firm—Dow, Jones & Company Inc.—distributed information used by traders on Wall Street, New York City's financial center. The newspaper, originally published at the end of each trading day, was conceived as a way to make distribution of information more efficient than hand delivering it to individual subscribers. The object of the newspaper was “to give fully and fairly the daily news attending the fluctuations in prices of stocks, bonds and some classes of commodities” in order to present “a faithful picture of the rapidly shifting panorama of the Street” (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 10). In 1898, the paper began publishing both morning and evening editions; the evening edition was discontinued in 1934.

While *Journal* staff members were allowed to buy and sell stocks, the company required them to avoid conflicts of interest and not use inside

information to manipulate stock prices or make trades, in order to bolster the newspaper's credibility. Among the most influential innovations of the *Journal* was the Dow Jones Industrial Average of leading industrial stocks, which was introduced in 1896 and remains among the most influential barometers of U.S. market health.

In 1897, the company launched the Dow Jones News Service, which operated alongside the newspaper to provide real-time market news that was distributed to subscribers on ticker machines. The newspaper prospered along with U.S. industrial development during the 1890s and began extending its coverage beyond Wall Street to any topic that impacted the nation's economy, including devoting two columns of coverage to Spanish-American War news in 1898. As described by one of the paper's early editors, William Peter Hamilton, the aim of the paper was "to make its news staff not second-rate specialists who might be able to explain a matter to someone already acquainted with the subject, but first-rate specialists who know the subject so well that they can make any portion of it clear to a school boy" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 41).

In 1902, the original partners were bought out by Clarence Walker Barron, who owned similar financial publications in Boston and Philadelphia and had been the *Journal*'s Boston correspondent. Barron borrowed the money to buy the company from his wife, Jessie Waldron Barron, who held most of its stock and played a behind-the-scenes role in managing the company until her death in 1918. When Barron died in 1928, his stepdaughter and son-in-law, Jane and Hugh Bancroft, took over the paper, and their descendants controlled Dow Jones for the next 80 years before selling it to News Corp. in 2008.

Dow Jones and the *Journal* flourished in the 1920s, as the stock market boomed. In 1921, the company launched *Barron's*, a weekly financial newspaper with national distribution, and a Pacific Coast edition of the *Journal* in California, which made it the first daily publication available on both the East and West Coasts. As stocks began to gyrate in October 1929, the *Journal* tried to reassure its readers "conditions do not seem to foreshadow anything more formidable than an arrest of stock activity and business prosperity like that in 1923" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 50). Three

days later, the markets crashed, ushering in a chain of events that led to the Great Depression and a market downturn that shrank the newspaper's advertising and circulation. The *Journal*'s editorial pages became a leading source of criticism of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal after he won the presidency in 1932.

In 1941, a new managing editor, Bernard Kilgore, sought to give the paper a wider reach and shift it from an emphasis on Wall Street to a national business newspaper. This effort gained traction on Monday, December 8, 1941, the day after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, when the newspaper published extensive coverage of the attack and its implications for the U.S. economy. Under Kilgore's leadership, the *Journal* launched a system of national distribution that would push circulation above 1 million by the 1960s.

The newspaper faced a crossroads in 1954, when General Motors—angered when a *Journal* reporter revealed details of designs for its new 1955 models—decided to pull its advertising from the *Journal* and block reporters' access to GM leadership. The newspaper went public with details of GM's actions and refused to back down to the pressure. Executive editor Bill Kerby would later say "this dramatic incident, and the spate of national publicity it engendered, firmly established in the public mind, including millions who never had read *The Wall Street Journal*, and presumably never would, that here was a newspaper of unshakable independence and integrity. GM had done us a priceless favor" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 86).

In the 1965, the *Journal*'s Louis M. Kohlmeier won a Pulitzer Prize for an investigation into President Lyndon Johnson's finances, focusing on how the president had managed to amass a personal fortune despite spending years in public service. The public attention forced Johnson, infuriated by the coverage, to provide a detailed disclosure of his personal finances.

In 2007, News Corp., led by Australian-born media entrepreneur Rupert Murdoch, made an unsolicited offer to buy Dow Jones & Company and the *Journal* from the Bancroft family. Murdoch's history as an operator of tabloid newspapers and the politically conservative Fox News Channel engendered resistance to the offer from the newspaper's staff and some members of the

Bancroft family. After several months of negotiation, Murdoch bought the company for \$5 billion, after agreeing to establish a committee to oversee the *Journal's* editorial integrity. However, within a year of his purchase, both the newspaper's publisher and managing editor had departed, and the *Journal* began broadening its content to position itself as a competitor to *The New York Times*, which was a key motivation behind Murdoch's purchase, along with Dow Jones's financially lucrative news service.

Under News Corp., the number of lengthy stories in the *Journal* dropped sharply, with stories of more than 2,500 words virtually disappearing from its pages by 2011. While business coverage remained the largest topic addressed on the *Journal's* front page, the amount of front-page business coverage had dropped by about one third by 2011, as coverage of government and foreign policy increased. In 2012, the company launched WorldStream, a streaming service featuring video shot by *Journal* journalists.

In 2013, the *Journal* and Dow Jones became a part of a new News Corp. when Murdoch splits his broadcasting and publishing properties into two companies. While the *Journal* is no longer part of the same company as the Fox News Channel, the Murdoch family still controls both entities.

In 2016, the print product underwent a major redesign, which reduced the number of sections, folding stories about sports, art, and culture into the first section and reducing coverage of metropolitan New York. Reporters were also instructed to reduce the length of stories and focus on the needs of digital and mobile distribution, as well as moving deadlines earlier in the day to boost readership.

The *Journal* also launched efforts to increase the number of digital visitors and their level of engagement, and the website and mobile app were redesigned in 2019.

Rich Shumate

See also Business Journalism; Murdoch, Rupert; News Corporation

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WALT DISNEY COMPANY, THE

The Walt Disney Company is an entertainment and media corporation with global holdings that span theme parks, merchandise, films, and broadcast and cable outlets. This entry includes a brief history of Disney, its key acquisitions in the media industry, and several connected journalistic issues, including conflict of interest, press control, and Disney's status as a media conglomeration.

A Very Brief History of the Disney Universe

The Disney universe traces its origins to 1923 in Los Angeles, California, with the production of short cartoons by brothers Walt and Roy Disney. The iconic Disney character Mickey Mouse made his debut in the animated film *Steamboat Willie* in 1928. The Walt Disney Studio started as a small, independent studio and eventually became an entertainment giant with full-length animated movies such as 1937's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, considered a "masterpiece" and after which the name Disney became synonymous with feature-length, animated films. *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia* followed in 1940. World War II saw the Disney studio producing military training films and propaganda starring the character of Donald Duck as a "loyal, dedicated American citizen," as described by Janet Wasko in *Understanding Disney: The Manufacture of Fantasy*. With the stalling of entertainment production, Disney experienced some financial troubles, but regained its place as the leader in animated film with *Cinderella* in 1950.

A television special on NBC in 1950 served basically as a promotional piece for the Disney film *Alice in Wonderland*, and Walt Disney saw TV as a medium through which to promote his idea for his Disneyland theme park. The production of an anthology show called *Disneyland* for ABC came with the network's \$500,000 investment in the park. The children's daytime series *The Mickey Mouse Club* during the mid-1950s and *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color* in the early 1960s added to the company's presence on the airwaves. Disney continued to produce family-friendly entertainment in the form of live-action films throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Walt Disney died in 1966. The company continued to expand its theme park empire with the opening of Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, in October of 1971. Roy Disney, who had overseen the financing and construction of Disney World, died in December of 1971. Additional theme parks in Japan and France during the 1980s and 1990s accompanied the global reach of classic Disney characters, films, and merchandizing.

In terms of American culture, Disney in some form or another became a familiar part of everyday life. By the mid-1970s, the company relied more on its revenue from its theme parks and "was proving to be rather sluggish, both moving into newly developing distribution technologies (such as cable and home video) and in producing a wider range of media products" (Wasko, 2001, p. 26). In 1984, former television network executive Michael Eisner took over as the CEO, and annual revenues more than doubled. In 1986, the company known as Walt Disney Productions changed its name to The Walt Disney Company. Eisner would oversee changes in the Disney universe over the next two decades, which would establish Disney's reign as a corporate megapower—especially in the field of mass media entertainment.

Disney, the Mega-Media Company

Synergy—in terms of cross-promotion of all things Disney across all aspects of the Disney corporation—has made the company legendary in the business arena, as well documented in explanations of the Disney business model by scholars such as Wasko and Andi Stein. Media synergy within the Disney universe increased dramatically

during the mid-1990s, as deregulation allowed for expansions in media companies' acquisition ability; the Federal Communications Commission had "unshackled" the three big television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, which let them make and distribute an unlimited amount of their own programming, as described by Geraldine Fabrikant.

It was under these circumstances that in 1995 Disney announced its \$19 billion acquisition of Capital Cities/ABC, giving Disney control over not only the ABC network and its news and entertainment divisions but also several other media outlets, including the sports television and radio network ESPN, and cable channels Lifetime and Arts & Entertainment (A&E), as well as ABC-owned and affiliated television and radio stations. Prior to the merger, Disney had owned KCAL-TV, a television station in Los Angeles, and its cable outlet the Disney Channel. KCAL-TV was sold because of FCC regulations. The acquisition also gave Disney ownership over four newspapers, including the *Kansas City Star* and the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, which it soon sold to Knight-Ridder for \$1.5 billion, as the newspaper holdings did not fit with Disney's synergistic agenda. Divestiture in its more than 20 radio stations in major markets followed during the 2010s, with an AM station in Los Angeles kept to be used as the originator for Radio Disney programming.

With its purchase of Capital Cities/ABC, "Disney firmly established its role as one of the dominant players in the U.S. media industry" (Wasko, 2001, p. 60). Synergy and cross-promotion between Disney and ABC soon appeared in network programming. Storylines of ABC sitcoms, such as *Roseanne*, featured visits to Walt Disney World. This practice continued in the 2010s, such as with the series *black-ish*, as well as ABC's *Good Morning America* weekday news programming. Through ABC and its affiliate stations, Disney reaches 99% of U.S. households, according to Sourcewatch, published by the nonprofit Center for Media and Democracy.

As Stein details in *Why We Love Disney: The Power of the Disney Brand* (2011), the expansion of the Disney media universe continued at a cosmic pace under Robert Iger, who took over as CEO in 2005, with the acquisition of Pixar Animation Studio in 2006 at a \$7.4 billion price tag and the \$4 billion purchase of Marvel

Entertainment—which included film, television, and digital properties, merchandising, and comic books—in 2009. As if to complete its universe metaphor, Disney bought Lucasfilm, with its franchise of *Star Wars* films and merchandise, in 2012 for \$4.05 billion; by 2018 Disney already had recouped the purchase price.

In March of 2019, Disney acquired 21st Century Fox for \$71.3 billion, which included the 20th Century Fox and Fox Searchlight film studios, the entire film library and every TV show made by 20th Century Fox, the FX and National Geographic cable channels, and a 30% stake in the streaming service Hulu, added to its already-held 30%. Excluded from the deal was the Fox broadcasting network, Fox News Channel, and Fox Sports Channel. The purchase created what Brooks Barnes, reporting in *The New York Times*, described as “an entertainment colossus the size of which the world has never seen” (p. B3).

Journalistic Issues and Implications of Media Conglomeration

Disney news topics over the decades since its founding include high-profile cases in which Disney either brought suit or threatened to do so against those whom the company accused of copyright violation. Garnering national attention were two stories in 1989 in particular: the televised 1989 Academy Awards which featured a stage number in which performers dressed as the Disney version of Snow White, and the case of a Florida day care center whose murals depicted Disney characters, as summarized by Wasko (2001). Neither case was prosecuted by Disney, but both illustrated the company’s seriousness regarding what it saw as the unauthorized use of its characters.

When ABC News became part of the Disney universe in the mid-1990s, the interconnectedness of the Walt Disney Company with a news organization that it owned brought to the fore issues of conflict of interest. In 1998, the quashing of a news story critical of Disney by the ABC news magazine program *20/20* received wide press coverage. The report was an investigation of lax hiring practices at Walt Disney World, which put into question the company’s concern over security. While ABC executives cited editorial problems with the script, those

problems were not made clear. Disney issued a statement saying that its own executives had nothing to do with the decision to pull the story. Questions surrounded the company’s explanation, given that a second version of the script also did not pass approval. No written policy about Disney news coverage by ABC had been in place, although CEO Michael Eisner, in a 1998 NPR radio interview, had expressed his desire that ABC News not cover Disney. This, coupled with hazy rationales for canceling the story, and the inclusion of a story about dogs on Prozac in a subsequent edition of the show, made the case ideal for analysis as a conflict of interest. In their review of the incident in their 2001 chapter “Conflict of Interest in Journalism,” Sandra Borden and Michael Pritchard considered the position of ABC and concluded that “a reasonable case can be made for the appearance of a conflict of interest, and this appearance cannot be resolved simply by an expression of confidence on the part of the decisionmaker” (p. 87). The *20/20* case thus presented the challenges that reporters have when investigating their own companies.

In 2017, Disney’s treatment of a news organization became fodder for national news coverage as well as a short boycott of its films by other newspapers. In September 2017, the *Los Angeles Times* published a three-part investigative series of Disney’s relationship with the city of Anaheim, California, home to Disneyland and other Disney resorts. In “Is Disney Paying Its Fair Share in Anaheim?,” *L.A. Times* reporter Daniel Miller outlined the ways that Disney has benefited from various deals with city. “Over the last two decades or so,” wrote Miller, “as Disney’s annual profit has soared, the company has secured subsidies, incentives, rebates and protections from future taxes in Anaheim that, in aggregate, would be worth more than \$1 billion, according to public policy experts who have reviewed deals between the company and the city” (p. A1). While Disney appeared to profit from those deals, “some of the city’s working-class residents said they don’t see enough of the upside,” Miller further reported.

The *Los Angeles Times* story coincided with the impending release of a Disney-Marvel movie, *Thor: Ragnarok*. In November of 2017, it became public that Disney had imposed a ban on the newspaper’s reporters from advance screenings of the film, citing the *Times*’ “complete disregard for

basic journalistic standards” in reporting the Anaheim story (Sims, 2017). In response to Disney’s ban of the *L.A. Times*, film critics from other news outlets, such as *The Washington Post*, as well as four film critics’ associations announced a counter-ban against Disney. Less than a day after the critics’ associations issued a joint statement that it would not consider Disney-related films for its year-end awards unless Disney lifted its ban against the *Los Angeles Times*, Disney relinquished via a statement in *The New York Times*. The company said it had “productive” discussions with the *Los Angeles Times*’ new leadership and would restore that newspaper’s access to advance screenings of its films. The ban/counter-ban episode between Disney and the press lasted less than a week, but created negative publicity for Disney, belying the wholesome corporate image it has fostered for nearly a century. As David Sims, writing in *The Atlantic*, concluded, “Beyond the lesson learned about such bullying tactics, the message of the pushback should be clear—that even a behemoth like Disney can be vulnerable to bad press.”

In her history of the Walt Disney Company, Wasko (2001) spoke to how not only has the name “Disney” become almost sacred regarding its stature and place within U.S. American culture, but how it has perfected the art of corporate synergy. As a, if not *the*, most successful purveyor of entertainment content on a global scale, Disney serves as a quintessential example of media conglomeration. The Disney universe appears to continue expanding, certainly beyond what scholars who have studied the implications of media conglomeration had previously considered. Henry Giroux and Grace Pollock, in 2010, noted how mergers like Disney’s buyouts of ABC and Pixar Studios “consolidate corporate control of assets and markets, extending the influence of media conglomerates over public opinion” (p. 211). With its accumulative array of media outlets, Disney’s influence continues to increase. In terms of how media conglomerations might affect democracy and the protection of a pluralistic media landscape, one must take into account the Walt Disney Company’s political campaign contributions and lobbying efforts on issues such as copyright, advertising, and television broadcasting, as noted by Sourcewatch.

The complexities created when a media corporation owns a news organization include the scrutiny of coverage of the owner by the journalists in its employ, as well as questions regarding the integrity and ethical standards of those who supervise those journalists. How ABC news programs present stories about Disney leaves the news arm of the network open to inspection by others, including other news organizations. In the case of the *Los Angeles Times* in 2017, Disney’s pushback to the newspaper’s investigation of its business dealings with the city of Anaheim wherein one of its major attractions resides resulted in a pushback against Disney by the press itself.

Disney’s recent acquisition of 21st Century Fox and its accompanying media properties has decreased the number of studios that produce cultural content. As media ownership looks to be held in fewer and fewer hands, Emily VanDerWerff (2019) observed that “while the most obvious concerns surrounding that possibility stems from how news might take on corporate interests, there are host of others than range from the political to the artistic.” The decrease of voices and viewpoints, and layoffs that result in redundancies between media organizations that have real-life consequences for those who work in the industry are among the effects of almost endless media mergers. As VanDerWerff concluded, “The big fish are eating each other, and soon there may be only one left.” That one last fish just might look more like a mouse.

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See also ABC News; Conflicts of Interest; Copyright; Ethics; Investigative Journalism; Media Conglomerates; Media Ownership; Television News Magazines

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WAR AND MILITARY JOURNALISM

War and military journalism can be defined as journalism that covers war and armed conflict, internationally and intrastate. Literature in this field includes both perspectives about journalism practices in war and conflict zones such as pool systems and embedding with military forces, and analyses of disseminated content; military psychological operations (PSYOP); and spin and propaganda disseminated prior to, during, and after wars. Since journalism is both a professional practice and a “public good,” the study of war and military journalism reveals a merge of scholarly traditions, where studies of professional practice and media content unite. Issues such as truth, bias, and objectivity—key issues in reporting from wars—cannot be discussed without reference to practice and individuality. Thus, studies of war

and military journalism tend to rely on various approaches and are found across disciplines. Research in this field may derive from both quantitative and qualitative traditions and use a wide scope of methods such as ethnographic studies, large-scale surveys, and content analyses of discourse, rhetoric, and narratives in the media.

War and military journalism scholarship is a well-established field within journalism and media studies largely related to other dimensions of the discipline. Affected by technological development, globalization, and market demands, this field of journalism relates to historical development, and aspects of technology, digitalization, and globalization are relevant to discuss within its scope. International relations and U.S. and allies' intervention abroad are also relevant for perspectives on censorship and media freedom. Another side to media freedom is legal issues, crime and impunity, and media ownership structures and economy.

This entry first sets the historical context of war and military journalism and defines some of the most prevailing and significant turns and developments in history of war and military reporting. It presents an overview of dominant discussions in the field, specifically the debate surrounding objectivity and truth, and divides in theoretical and practical approaches such as war and peace journalism. The local journalists and fixers in war and military conflict are discussed, prior to a section on the scholarly focus and development of research within the field. Contemporary approaches and subjects of study are outlined, including perspectives on information war and the subsequent violence against the press, which are closely related to issues of globalization and new media technology in contemporary war journalism. Views and discussions related to gender issues are presented where relevant throughout the entry.

The History of War Journalism

Attempts to control the media during war has taken various forms throughout history, and with somewhat different outcomes. The Vietnam War, also referred to as “the first television war” and “the living room war” for its role in narrowing down the distance between public and the media, demonstrated the important part media play to the outcome of war. While the U.S. public in the

beginning showed support for the war, the loss of control over the news narrative both within and outside the United States brought about growing public dissent and ultimately defeat. The use of film was a new practice in journalism and turned out to have significant impact on a growing number of television viewers across the world. Despite attempts to control the media by embedding journalists with military units, circulation of uncensored news reports and critical perspectives from the approximately 600 accredited foreign journalists on the ground ensured that the world outside were exposed to eyewitness accounts of critical events. Some hold that stories that managed to escape U.S. censorship provided valuable information to North Vietnam, although very few security breaches by journalists were reported.

The lesson learned from the Vietnam War was to keep a closer tie to the media. The importance of maintaining public support in prolonged wars was manifest, and thus the U.S. administration imposed a pool system to control the narrative when invading Grenada in 1983 and Panama in 1989. By denying media staffs access to the frontlines and placing them in pools to receive military briefings and field visits only after battles had been fought, lesser uncensored information was disseminated. The denied access was justified with a concern for the safety of the reporters. However, the pool practice in Panama prompted harsh criticism of the system and resulted in public protests. While some 800 journalists would eventually arrive in Panama to cover the conflict after the invasion had begun, only 12 journalists were included in the pool that went with the U.S. forces. Their access was limited to staying at an air base and only entering the field accompanied by forces and never during battle.

The intentional exclusion of media during these wars represents a turn in the history of war and military journalism that would affect the position of reporters as neutral observers to conflict in wars to follow. And media safety has continued to increasingly become an argument to reduce freedom to report. Especially the confrontations of the Cold War exposed journalists to fragmented frontlines and information war. The war in former Yugoslavia was a turning point in which many journalists experienced for the first time that their status as neutral observers no longer applied.

Women in War Journalism

As war reporting has since the beginning been a strongly male-dominated job, some women journalists joined the line of work already during the European revolutions and the U.S. Civil War. Their numbers increased slightly in the First and Second World Wars and significantly during the Vietnam War. In more recent wars, women reporters have been regularly deployed to war zones while still facing restrictions both from military and editorial leaders. Their denied access is regularly explained by assumptions that women war reporters require extra facilitation and that the army units are unable to accommodate them, so-called pseudo-protectionism. Until today, war and military journalism remains male-dominated in participation and influence, although a rapidly increasing number of women are entering the field. The masculine traits of the military culture make women still vulnerable to assaults, sexist abuse, and discrimination. Attacks are not only perpetrated by sources and others in the field, but regularly occur in newsrooms by colleagues and supervisors. Physical and psychological attacks are particularly difficult to report for women war journalists because of the machoism and bravado in this field of work and the fact that their presupposed vulnerability has traditionally been the argument used by leaders to deny women staff access to wars.

Debating Objectivity: Peace and War Journalism

Manipulation of media content to promote either war or peace and reconciliation is a topic that has been problematized among practitioners and academics. The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 states an example of how media content can be skewed to sway public opinion, to play a critical role in inciting and prolonging violence. Strategically targeting and shaping public opinion, even inciting to act, radio, and other media platforms were utilized to plan and execute a genocide. Today, the case of Rwanda has, in contrast, become an example of how so-called constructive journalism can be used to reconsolidate a nation and build peace in postconflict situations.

While subject to academic criticism and dispute among scholars and practitioners of journalism, the theoretical discussion about the content of war and military journalism is to some extent divided in two: one that relies on the potential of the media to play a constructive role in war and conflict, and another that deals with criticism of their neglect. To some extent, the constructive approaches have responded to the criticism.

War Journalism and Mythmaking in the Gulf

The line of theory centering on the shortcomings of mainstream media is focused on their capacity to present objective news and stories from the battlefield, especially when embedded with military units. Departing from a focus on Western foreign correspondents covering international wars, this literature similarly to peace journalism directs a main concern toward the inquiry about journalistic ideas about truth and objectivity and how these are kept at the core of correspondents' work in the field. With main attention to the 2003 NATO led invasion of Iraq, the war correspondents' reflections about living dangerously and the impacts these dangers have on their work frequently surface throughout research on the foreign war correspondent.

This literature further focuses on dissemination of spin and constructed myths as part of military strategy to control the narrative and win public support. Examples of such myths are the narratives presented about Saddam Hussein in Western media in relation to the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait in 1990, resulting in international condemnation and a United Nations mandate for Western intervention. And so, the Persian Gulf War broke out with the massive U.S.-led air offensive Operation Desert Storm. In years to come, the stories about "weapons of mass destruction" (WMDs) circulated in the mass media leading up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq becoming a main argument for U.S. President George W. Bush and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair to go to war, along with ending Hussein's "support for terrorism" and to "free the Iraqi people." In 2003, Hussein was captured and sentenced to death in the United States.

Due to the lack of documentation of WMDs and the obviously skewed portrayal of enemy leaders, these arguments are being referred to as *myths* in the scholarship. A similar narrative of a "terrorist leader" was presented in Western media when NATO invaded Libya in 2011 and Muammar al-Gaddafi was overthrown and murdered. Although media mythmaking tends to frame leaders, the UN Security Council did not issue a mandate for regime-change in Libya. With mythmaking in war and foreign interventionism in the Gulf as starting point, a significant share of this literature pays attention to media strategies of the U.S. and NATO allies. Spin, PSYOP, and sentiment manipulation is a key topic in content of war and military journalism.

Peace Journalism

Peace journalism as a concept and method in journalism emerged first from the work of Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge's study about what makes foreign news newsworthy, in 1965. Suggesting that the media is inherently biased toward violence and conflict, they also noted that coverage from war and conflict presented news stories in which events were detached from the larger context in which they were situated, and by such did not contribute to foster understanding among its readership. Galtung then suggested peace journalism as an alternative to "war journalism," offering constructive guidelines for how to do "good" journalism. The peace journalism script encourages reporters to take active responsibility in explaining the context of news events. The approach also suggests that journalists may use certain skills and outlooks when reporting and that this can help avoid a natural bias otherwise tending to reinforce the conflicts and thus maintain a negative status quo.

The practice of *constructive journalism* is a newer concept within the media, which applies techniques from the field of positive psychology. Its fundamental idea is that audiences respond more positively and are more likely to engage in prosocial activities when exposed to stories about solutions or positive developments in society. *Solution journalism* is a similar kind of approach, aiming to present solutions to problems to the audience in order to avoid "compassion fatigue"—that is, apathy toward human suffering—but

scholars who have tested solution-oriented content perception refrain from persisting it actually leads to (positive) action. It has similarities with peace journalism in the sense that both are prescriptive in their approach to how media can play a role in building peace and enhancing reconciliation or performing an otherwise responsible role in society for the better of the future. The social responsibility of journalism as an institution is the theoretical fundament for these perspectives.

The idea behind these approaches is constructivist in nature, assuming that complete objectivity is unachievable and that journalists should strategize and make well-considered choices in order to change a negative development, such as in war. It similarly assumes that if the journalists do not take that responsibility, other forces such as market or political demand will influence the coverage and uphold a potentially destructive bias. Its critics, on the other hand, understand this approach as a mere attempt to promote solutions for peace and to influence politicians, and that although unattainable, objectivity should still be a normative value to strive for. Criticism has concern for the so-called *journalism of attachment*, in which reporters in wars through history have taken sides with conflicting parties. It fears that objectivity and consequently truth will be compromised by the normative guidelines and tangible recommendations of peace journalism and that an approach that undermines the aim of objectivity (however unattainable) can be exploited by partisan press. That noted, the value of objectivity has a firm position in journalism across the world today, perhaps especially so in the international and mainstream media, and downplaying such a fundamental cornerstone in journalism is controversial at least. Despite this, peace journalism is listed on the curricula of journalism education programs across the world, and scholars still advocate for its potential and contribution to journalism education.

The Local Journalists and “Fixers” in War

War correspondents aside, local journalists covering intrastate wars is another side to war and military journalism. Local journalists, often working as “fixers” for national news staff travelling to the province or foreign correspondents coming from

abroad, have a key position in making the news. Depending on the extent to which they are involved in their local environments, local journalists are easily accused of bias toward local conflicting parties. They are targets of illegal economic and political activity and their capacity to report on military operations in their area depends on how pronounced forces of crime, corruption, and impunity are in society. When it comes to covering intrastate military conflict, the local journalists often claim to be the ones who cover the war from the battleground while serving foreign correspondents or so-called “hotel-journalists” with footage from the field.

The extent to which local journalists have become targets of international war, which according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is significantly high, underpins a situation that is receiving growing attention from researchers globally. UNESCO estimate that more than 90% of journalist killed annually are local reporters.

While little research has yet investigated the role of the local journalists and fixers in war and conflict, they are argued to play a significant role in the newsgathering of foreign correspondents in war. This perspective on war journalism gained attention especially in relation to the 2003 to 2007 war in Iraq. Interviewing a number of “fixers” in Iraq during the war, Jerry Palmer and Victoria Fontan did a study of the practical details around choices and frames for the production of news stories in Iraq, finding that journalists who rejected embedding with forces relied instead heavily on the assistance of local fixers. The need for security was the main argument for them to rely upon help from locals, while language, network, and local knowledge were other important reasons. The extent of this reliance was illuminated by the fact that the fixers interviewed in the study stated that they even sometimes had to conduct full interviews on behalf of the correspondent and that the role of the correspondent was superfluous at times.

New Media and the Global Discursive Order

With increasing focus on security in what some scholars have called the “threat society,” the

mediated culture of fear is constructed in a dominant global discursive order disseminated by mass media. With reference to the narrative about the terrorist leader outlined earlier, the increasingly united media landscape constructed the global War on Terror. It is described as one of greater dimensions than wars before, representing a global divide between the rich dominating world powers and the poorer dominated peoples and cultures, and the media served as a conveyor of the discursive order that has constructed this divide. In the scholarship, this literature represents a merge between studies in war journalism and crisis communication, and centers on the idea that the hype of a crisis is used strategically to incite public concern for security and subsequent demand for knowledge and information. The strategy assumes that people will pay the price of civil liberty (such as right to information and expression of own opinion) at the cost of security and that they will settle with less accurate and documented information if they feel it is necessary and urgent.

Information War and New Threats to the Media

New literature suggests the postmillennium period brought deteriorated conditions for journalists in the shape of increasing economic pressure, new media platforms, and globalization. Centuries of military propaganda and information operations has contributed to directed attacks on journalists and media centers. The targeting of journalists in what scholars call the new world order includes the U.S. Air Force's bombing of Al Jazeera's headquarters in Kabul in 2001 and another 2 years later in Baghdad. A Serbian television station was targeted and bombed in 1999, and scholarly criticism points to Western media's inadequate coverage of the legal aspects of these wars. This context has also been brought to attention by academics in the United States addressing the lack of legal protection of foreign correspondents as a focal point to consider following criticism of U.S. foreign correspondents embedding with troops in Iraq. The censure of the academy is that the media are servants to control of the narrative, while placing emphasis on the role of its government as a threat and their consequent incapacity to protect their own journalists. While there is significant

focus on attacks by the U.S./NATO alliance, it is established that most killings of reporters in Iraq during the 2003 to 2007 war were perpetrated by Iraqi militants or insurgents.

The frontline to which the classic war correspondent was sent has been replaced by multiple fragmented frontlines while the use of drones, sent from bases and battleships far away, splits up the site of warfare. Reporters are increasingly on their own in differing locations. While the benefits of new media platforms such as WikiLeaks make it more difficult to keep information from journalists and the public, journalists continue to fight another battle to get access to the frontlines.

Journalist Safety and Restricted Media Freedom

Although journalists' possibility to operate in a conflict zone depends greatly on their options for security, this perspective was merely an underlying connotation in journalism research from war and military journalism until the latest decade. The threat and security perspective also concern scholars in the field of human rights and freedom of expression, and in 2015 UNESCO launched a research agenda on the topic that had significant impact on the growth of academic research in this field, including the issue of impunity for crimes against journalists. Although organizations working to promote the safety of journalists appear to be convinced of an increasing threat against the media, scholars are not united in this view. An increase may be logically explained as a direct consequence of a media out of state and military control, owing to new media technology and growing Internet access across the world. New communication systems and opportunities to participate, distribute, and obtain information are widespread and the traditional gatekeeper for editorial control weighs lesser on the output than it used to. New actors such as in the telecom industry are in position to gather information and surveil people, journalists among others. This has made it possible to trace and attack journalists in the field in recent wars such as was claimed with the killing of Marie Colvin and Rémi Ochlik in Homs, Syria, in 2012.

Recent wars in the Middle East have also contributed significantly to burgeoning media

attention on the issue of journalists' safety. Media attention to the suffering and deaths of their own staff at work in the war zone has become an inescapable part of the narrative of war journalism since the turn of the 21st century. In competition for viewers and readership, the media displays themselves as an inevitably important and proximate witness to events in times where audiences could otherwise turn to a vast array of other sources for their information.

Concluding Thoughts

Media coverage of wars and armed conflicts has throughout the history of military warfare been an important asset to succeed in accomplishing their goal. Military forces depend on public support and trust to win the wars they are set to battle, and consequently how the media portrays that battle is essential to remain control over. Often, defeat is undermined, and success exaggerated. One's own loss is concealed to the possible extent, and victory over the enemy extensively displayed. Public support is a crucial element for winning a war. Recognizing that the media has since long been a significant player of war, it seems logical if they were increasingly targeted as a result of reduced opportunities for state censorship.

On the other hand, along with globalization and new media development, journalists are also more exposed than they used to be to surveillance and targeted reprisals. With global communication and social media, the journalist's work becomes more visible and they are more likely to be held personally accountable for what they publish. The traditional gatekeeper function in which responsibility rests on the editorial leadership is merged with new media systems where journalists are increasingly on their own. This puts them at extra risk for retaliations when publishing sensitive information or presenting critical political views. They increasingly pay the price for covering wars and armed conflict. The lack of security is reinforcing the need for protection in the field and thus journalists are still depending on travelling with military units to the war zone today. Another consequence of the attacks on journalists is that the increase in retaliation attacks may prompt higher levels of self-censorship among journalists, while a narrative of an unsafe profession may also

keep them from wanting to enter the conflict hotspots and thus control of the press remains intact.

Marte H. Høiby

See also Military and the Media; War Correspondents; Objectivity; Self-Censorship; Violence against Journalists

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WAR CORRESPONDENTS

War correspondents provide accurate, reliable, and firsthand reports of armed conflicts, military operations and strategies, and the war's impact on civilian home fronts. These journalists are stationed in conflict zones or distant battlefields and

perform a central role in helping the public follow, visualize, and understand past and present conflicts. War reporters access frontlines, cultivate sources, gather a wide range of perspectives (from authorities, noncombatants, and expert observers), and share their news with audiences all over the world. This type of reporting produces live footage, interviews, and close-up pictures of war that are usually outside of the reach of ordinary citizens. The work of war correspondents is both difficult and challenging.

War correspondents are impacted by the location and sociopolitical environments in which they operate, external and psychological pressures, and are expected to meet tight deadlines while engaging across multimedia platforms. Throughout the history of journalism, war correspondents have been jailed as spies or held back by military or police. Scholars of media and conflicts have documented governments' firm censorship efforts and goals to control information in the interest of security versus journalists' difficulties to provide comprehensive, let alone objective coverage of wars. The question of how journalists source information in times of national crisis has been subject of much debate. Over the past 200 years, the practice of war correspondence has evolved due to changes in technology, military-media relations, including self-censorship, and embedding practices. The job description is fluid but questions of access, balance, ethical responsibilities and the materiality of portraying human conflict, suffering, and death remain part of the job. In the digital age, changes and expansions in the use of technology, video livestreaming, multimedia platforms, and the rise of participant and citizen journalism have further impacted the work and demands of war correspondents.

This entry offers an introduction to the history and practice of war correspondence and reviews the biographies of noted American war correspondents from the mid-1900s up to the present.

History of Reporting War and Early Pioneers

Historians have chronicled conflicts long before the concept of journalism was clearly defined. Athenian general Thucydides covered the

Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE) and was perhaps the first participant-observer and correspondent reporting on a long and divisive battle. In the modern era, correspondents were commissioned by British newspapers to cover the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, journalists did not routinely cover battles as frontline correspondents. Instead, they gathered information from soldiers' letters, printed correspondence, other newspapers, and gossip. The practice of war reporting came of age during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), when American newspapers—the primary vehicle of mass information—assigned full-time correspondents to cover military action. News from the battlefield was relayed via horseback, steamboat, and telegraph lines to American cities by reporters such as George Wilkins Kendall of the *New Orleans Picayune* or Jane McManus Storms Cazneau of the *New York Sun*. Scholars have noted that the rise of the commercial and penny press newspapers accelerated the need for war reporting in the mid- to late-1840s.

During the Crimean War (1853–1856), the British military practiced rigid censorship of all battlefield news and information was held back or not allowed to be published, which caused criticism among newspapers in London. In the United States, the American Civil War (1861–1865) was a turning point for military warfare, technology, the role of visual media, and war reporting. Black and white photographs became an important element of recording horrific battles as well as soldier's frontline experiences. In the 19th century, before the notion of journalistic objectivity or detachment was practiced, journalists engaged in advocacy and often shared partisan opinions and propaganda. By the 1890s, the "golden era" of wartime correspondence, professional reporters such as Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916) were widely known, and there was minimal pressure and military restriction on what to write and publish. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was a unique precursor to later 20th-century propaganda and information wars. In their goal to shape the news, Japanese censors delayed and regulated

correspondents' access to news and used a pool system to share official information.

First World War and Second World War

By the start of World War I (1914–1918), the global public knew what a war correspondent was. At the onset of the conflict in August 1914, all British correspondents were banned from the fronts and the documentary of events was left to members of the military staff. In 1915, pressured by politicians and influential newspaper owners, the British government loosened its restrictions and allowed correspondents on the battlefields. American correspondents had covered the conflict from the start of the war. Some scholars have contended that American and British correspondents during the Great War served as an extension of the national propaganda efforts. Press historians have also chronicled the rise of women correspondents during the Great War, the unique challenges of female war correspondents, and their complex relationship to both authorities and audiences. In World War II (1939–1945) American radio journalists, who had covered the fighting during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), rose to new prominence but also faced stricter military censorship due to the medium's immediate and widespread distribution. Most famously, CBS radio journalist Edward R. Murrow was reporting from the rooftops during the London blitz raids. Murrow and his team of reporters, referred to as the *Murrow Boys*, followed in the footsteps of previous influential war journalists and correspondents and set a new standard for modern war journalists.

Wars in Korea and Vietnam

The Korean War (1950–1953) and Vietnam War (1959–1975) changed the relationship between military officials, government information officers, and war correspondents. Scholarship has found that journalists covering the Korean War continued to exercise self-censorship, which often meant leaving out the grim realities or photographs of combat. The Vietnam War influenced the professional ethos of journalists, as they became “participant-observers.” News from

correspondents in Vietnam hardened antigovernment attitudes and public criticism of then-president Lyndon Johnson. In the following years, military-press relations were at an all-time low and the military restricted journalists' reporting from invasions in Central America in the 1980s.

Gulf and Iraq Wars

The Gulf War (1990–1991) and Iraq War (2003–2011) marked the return of restricted access and the embedding of journalists with combat troops. In their effort to manage the perception of war and breaking news, military limited access to frontlines and journalists could no longer report with absolute autonomy. Military public affairs staff embraced publicity efforts to engage and embed journalists, and sustain a supportive media coverage. Independence, in turn, became a new hallmark for journalists who had to work with—but often around—official sources to verify information and provide a balanced picture. During the first Gulf War, CNN provided 24/7 live coverage of the war and became an immediate source for international viewers. People could watch the war unfold in almost real-time. Some journalists did not accept this restricted access policy. They wandered around and reported from enemy warzones without military protection. In the case of CBS News correspondent Bob Simon, he and his crew were jailed, which in turn created chilling effects for other journalists. During the beginning of the Iraq War, many journalists shared promilitary stances in favor of the U.S.-led invasion and commentators on cable news perpetuated the myth of widespread weapons of mass destruction, which did not exist, as U.N. inspectors concluded.

Elements and Demands of the Job

Together with foreign correspondence, some observers consider war correspondence to be the most difficult type of journalism. War correspondents have excelled at their job and received many Pulitzer Prizes and awards for their critical work. Reporting from war zones is dangerous and includes psychological, emotional, and physical

costs that may impact correspondents for the rest of their lives.

War reporters perform a critical function through their eye-witnessing role that renders authority and proof during battles. From a cultural and theoretical perspective, historians of film, photography, and the press have also studied the significance of photography for memory and truth in war. James Carey (1987) argued that eyewitness accounts may be perceived as truth, but these perspectives are quick, subjective and incomplete (p. xxix). Scholars have suggested that the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 were a turning for reporting on conflict and correspondents increasingly became part of the story.

Modern Forms of War Correspondence

In the digital age, freelance war correspondents have become an important source for news in addition to traditional reporters. These freelancers work across media platforms and mainstream news networks use their content, which raises questions of risk-transfer but also authenticity. Scholarship on conflict reporting and social media curation has found that people living amid armed conflicts increasingly act as microbloggers and contribute to warblogs. The widespread use of mobile phones and social media make it harder to restrict information from wars and conflict zones. In the 21st century, new types of warfare, global terrorism, and wars in Afghanistan and Syria have also added new risks and pressures to being an eyewitness of warfare. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011—and has become too dangerous for many Western correspondents—has seen the rise of the collaborative news clip, in which legacy media use eyewitness content from citizen journalists in multimedia videos and live blogs.

Noted American War Correspondents

While most war correspondents—including journalists and photographers who perform the job of a war reporter, even if they do not bear that label—have to operate in dangerous battle zones, navigate relations with military officials, shift through official propagandas and viewpoints, interview observers, combatants, and civilians, and produce news

stories in a timely manner, throughout the history of journalism, some of these reporters stand out. This section provides nine profiles of important American war correspondents.

Christiane Amanpour

Christiane Amanpour (1958–) is one of the world's top war correspondents and has covered almost every conflict in the late 20th century up to the present. She was born in London to a British mother and Iranian father, grew up in Iran and escaped with the family after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. She graduated with a degree in journalism from the University of Rhode Island and worked as a reporter for WBRU, a local radio station in the early 1980s. In 1983, only 3 years after Ted Turner had created the 24-hour TV news network, she became an assistant at CNN's international desk. Amanpour quickly made a name for herself in 1985 with her report on the political situation in Iran, as well as her detailed reporting on the Bosnian crisis and Balkan conflicts in the late 1980s and early 1990s. She became well-known and respected for her coverage of the Persian Gulf War. Together with CNN reporter Peter Arnett, she provided live coverage of the war from a hotel in enemy capital Baghdad and helped establish the network as a serious source for international news. Amanpour has interviewed numerous heads of state, politicians, presidents, and leaders around the globe, including in the Middle East. She has won many Academy of Television Arts & Sciences Emmy awards and other accolades for her journalism. Throughout her career, Amanpour's reporting has emphasized the toll of war on civilian populations and the difficult ethical choices that journalists make in covering conflicts.

Peter Arnett

Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and New Zealand-born Peter Arnett (1934–) is best known for his breaking news coverage from the Persian Gulf War in 1991, when he and a TV crew broadcast live news from a Baghdad hotel. He started his career as an Associated Press print reporter covering the Vietnam War and was an eyewitness

on the ground for more than 13 years (1962–1975). In 1966, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage, which exposed the confusion and chaos of the U.S. military's strategy. In 1981, Arnett started working for CNN and covered conflicts, war, and civil unrests in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Central Asia. In 1991, Arnett and his TV crew provided live 24/7 coverage of the Persian Gulf War and the American-led invasion of the capital city from a Baghdad hotel room. Conservative leaders criticized the vivid pictures of nonmilitary casualties, including the bombing of civilian buildings, air raid shelters, and a baby milk factory. A majority of the American public, however, as a Gallup poll after the war showed, were in favor of Arnett's reports, which chronicled the brutality of U.S. warfare. In March 1997, he was the first Western journalist to interview the arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. Although Arnett ceased working for CNN in 1999, he continues to report and comment on wars for other networks.

Richard Harding Davis

Journalist and writer Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916) was the best-known American reporter at the turn of the 20th century. His view on war changed over the course of his career, and in later stories he often highlighted the human toll and bloodshed of modern warfare. At the beginning of his career in New York, Davis was the epitome of a masculine, handsome star reporter who had started out writing fiction and short story novels, including the bestseller *Soldiers of Fortune*, but he had longed to cover war. Newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) sent Davis to report on the Cuban rebellion against Spain in 1897, which led to the Spanish-American War (1898). During this conflict, Davis's colorful accounts and his narrative of the Rough Riders, an American volunteer unit in Cuba during the war, helped frame Theodore Roosevelt's reputation as a man of action. Scholars have argued that Davis also sensationalized his news, self-censored stories, and rarely reported on authorities' mismanagement or mistakes. Davis covered every major battle until his death in 1916, including the Greco-Turkish War

(1897), the Spanish-American War (1898), the Second Boer War (1899–1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and in 1914 the first weeks of World War I (1914–1918).

Martha Gellhorn

Maverick journalist, travel writer, and war correspondent Martha Gellhorn (1908–1998) started her career as a contributing writer for several publications, including the *New Republic* magazine. During the Great Depression, she traveled across the United States working for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and in 1936 wrote the reportage *The Trouble I've Seen*. That next year, in 1937, Gellhorn left to report on the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) for *Collier's Weekly*. During this time, she met American writer and correspondent Ernest Hemingway, and the two were married for a brief time (1940–1945). In the late 1930s, Gellhorn covered the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany and during World War II, and was the only female journalist to land with Allied troops on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day in June 1944. Gellhorn was also one of the first reporters to witness the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp, and she described the horrific scenes she saw in vivid and illustrated pieces for *Collier's Weekly*. Her career spanned more than six decades, and she reported on pivotal events, including the Nuremberg trials, the Arab-Israeli wars (1967), parts of the Vietnam War, and the wars in Central America in the mid-1980s. In her 1988 antiwar autobiography, Gellhorn claimed to have followed the war wherever she could find it.

Marguerite Higgins

Trailblazing American journalist and war correspondent Marguerite Higgins (1920–1966) reported on World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Her persistence, skills in frontline reporting, and the ability to get access and gather information demonstrated that war reporting was not exclusively a male career. In 1951, Higgins working for the *New York Herald Tribune* received a shared Pulitzer Prize for international reporting on her coverage of the Korean War. Previously she

had covered World War II and rode with the Seventh Army, which liberated the Dachau concentration camp. She also covered the Nuremberg Trials after the war. In spring 1950, three weeks before the Korean War broke out, she became the *Herald Tribune's* Tokyo correspondent. As one of the first journalists arriving in Korea, Higgins became an important eyewitness and reported on the clash between North Korean invaders and U.S.- and South Korean troops. She survived repeated gun shelling. Some U.S. Army officials tried to ban her and other female correspondents from the front (citing the lack of toilets as a reason) but General Douglas MacArthur rescinded this order and gave Higgins and other women equal access to news and army sources. Scholars have noted that Higgins's fearlessness and sense of competition increased when she and *Herald Tribune* veteran reporter Homer Bigart (1907–1991) became rivals. Higgins died at the age of 45 after having contracted the tropical disease leishmaniasis while on assignment in South Vietnam. She was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

George Wilkins Kendall

In the mid-19th century, George Wilkins Kendall (1809–1867)—who trained as a printer and worked with Horace Greeley—cofounded the *New Orleans Times Picayune* in 1837 and was working as the first documented American war correspondent during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Kendall used the *Picayune* as a platform to advocate for westward expansion and he joined an expedition from Austin, Texas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, that claimed to be searching for new trade routes in the west. His paper, which sold cheaply and reached a considerable audience, was strategically positioned as New Orleans was the closest American city to the Mexican interior and accessible via horse and steamship. When war between the United States and Mexico was declared in 1846, Kendall attached himself to the Texas Rangers under Ben McCullough and to Generals Zachary Taylor, William Jenkins Worth, and Winfield Scott, moving freely among the American lines and witnessing the battles first hand. The *Picayune* used a pony express service, nicknamed “Mr. Kendall's Express,” as well as a system of steamboats to

deliver news, frontline reports, and relayed information to newspapers on the East Coast and in the North, often via railroads and telegraph lines. This pioneering communication system helped Kendall report news faster than military or political authorities. By the end of the war, Kendall had written more than 214 reports. His book *The War Between the United States and Mexico Illustrated* (1851) chronicled his experiences and became an authoritative account of the war.

Edward R. Murrow

American broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) was one of the 20th century's most influential journalists. His news reporting and war correspondence for CBS News—from Europe during World War II (1939–1945) and during the Korean War (1950–1953)—helped establish radio and television journalism alike as a pivotal and preeminent news media. Murrow graduated from Washington State College (now University) with a major in speech, learning how to “report for the ear.” He served as president of the National Student Association (1929–1931) and joined CBS in 1935; in 1937 Murrow became CBS's European director in London. Murrow's reliable and dramatic eyewitness reporting from Europe in the late 1930s, including the German occupation of Austria and the Munich Conference in 1938, the Nazi's annexation of Czechoslovakia in 1939, and the German bombings raids of London during the Battle of Britain, known as *The Blitz* (1940–1941), brought him national fame and widespread recognition. In 1947, after the end of World War II, Murrow and journalist Fred Friendly (1915–1998) coproduced a weekly radio newsmagazine *Hear It Now*, which in 1951 turned into a television program, *See It Now*. The program aired information that exposed misinformation circulated by conservative Senator Joseph R. McCarthy who spearheaded the anticommunist hysteria of the postwar years. In 1954, Murrow broadcast the “Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy,” which further criticized McCarthy's tactics and, in turn, shaped public opinion. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Murrow as director of the U.S. Information Agency. During his career, Murrow won nine Emmy awards. Journalism scholars widely agree that Murrow's

eyewitness reporting, his scrutiny of official information, and the creative use of modern media to tell his stories influenced later generations of war reporters, political journalists, and international correspondents.

Ernest Taylor “Ernie” Pyle

Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Ernest Taylor “Ernie” Pyle (1900–1945) was one of the most influential war correspondents during World War II. He grew up on a farm near Dana, Indiana, and studied journalism at Indiana University but never graduated. After several smaller jobs, he became a reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. In 1935, he became a roving reporter and traveled around the world, writing a successful column about the people he met. After the United States entered World War II, Pyle became a war correspondent and covered the military campaigns in North Africa, Sicily, Italy, and France in widely circulated stories. In 1944, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting, which often emphasized the experiences and perspectives of the common soldier and average men. His direct and engaging style of writing resonated with readers and critics alike. Pyle called his observational skill *the worm’s-eye view* of war. After his work in Europe, he also covered the U.S. military and Pacific Theater on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, and accompanied the 77th Infantry Division. Pyle was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire on Ie Shima, an island off Okinawa, in April 1945.

George Washburn Smalley

During the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865) George Washburn Smalley (1833–1916) was a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and provided some of the war’s greatest scoops. As a battlefield correspondent, Smalley made a name for himself, in particular reporting the Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest battle in American military history. His reporting style was marked by dense, accurate, and forceful prose. In September 1862, fewer than 36 hours after the fighting, the readers of the *Tribune* devoured Smalley’s six-columns’ long account of the Battle of Antietam. He moved with Union troops, running small errands for Union General Joseph Hooker, which allowed him unique

observations and frontline experiences. After some of the most devastating battles in Maryland, Smalley took on numerous risks to get his stories to his paper in New York, having discovered that his first telegraphs were sent to the War Department and President Lincoln. In 1866, Smalley was sent to cover the war between Prussia and Austria. Having returned to New York for a few months, his editors sent him to London in May 1867 and tasked Smalley to set up a foreign bureau and organize a network of overseas reporters for the *Tribune*. He instituted a partnership with the *London Daily News* and later became the U.S. correspondent to *The Times* of London (1895–1906). Scholars have pointed out that Smalley had immense social capital; he had been educated at Yale University and Harvard Law School. He was a direct descendant of the Pilgrims, the son of a Congregational minister, and an antislavery advocate.

Outlook: Shaping News and Views on Conflicts

For almost 200 years, correspondents have covered battles, conflicts, and wars that have impacted societies and shaped geopolitical realities. War reporters remain important and critical eyewitnesses. Over time, their professional roles have evolved from being advocates who shared partisan perspectives during the mid- to late-19th century, to becoming more detached and independent observers in global wars in the mid-20th century, to embedded reporters in the late-20th century. The scope of their reports has continuously widened, from covering the on-the-ground warfare, military strategies, plans, and operations to providing more nuanced accounts that emphasize the civilian toll and social-political cost of armed conflicts.

Modern technologies, including the telegraph, radio, wireless, the television, and the Internet, have all revolutionized how stories, images, and information can be moved from distant frontlines to audiences at home or across the world. During the Vietnam War and the Gulf Wars, television provided live coverage of combat, in color, and journalists became correspondents-commentators. In an effort to build and expand viewership and trust, journalists and media pundits shared their opinions, which

was often criticized. In today's digital world, war correspondents provide multimedia accounts of battles, terrorists attacks, and guerilla-style civilian wars. They share stories, blog, or tweet out their clips, images, and video reportage. In addition to broadcast and print news, correspondents everywhere use platforms such as YouTube, blogs, social media to television, podcasts, and online news. More fundamentally, the pressures of the job will remain extremely high, as correspondents seek balance between the notions of objectivity and advocacy, both of which inform their professional roles and personal conscience during wartime.

Elisabeth Fondren

See also Censorship; Embedded Reporters; International Journalism; Military and the Media

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WARNERMEDIA

WarnerMedia is a United States–based mass media conglomerate and one of the world's leading news organizations. In 2020, WarnerMedia generated approximately \$30.4 billion in revenues from its three operating divisions: Turner, Home Box Office

(HBO), and Warner Bros. While HBO develops and screens investigative and sports documentary specials and news-based comedy shows, WarnerMedia's News and Sports operations are principally based on the Turner's subsidiary Cable News Network (CNN), which, through its multiple digital distribution platforms, is central to the international production of television and online news.

In June 2018, WarnerMedia, then known as Time Warner, was acquired by AT&T Inc., the world's largest telecommunications company. Headquartered in Dallas, Texas, AT&T's 2020 revenues of \$171 billion placed the company ninth on the Fortune 500 rankings of the largest U.S. corporations. The vast majority of these revenues (\$139 billion, or 81%) came from its Communications division. AT&T is the largest wired and wireless telecommunication carrier in the United States and also the country's largest provider of direct broadcast satellite service. Through AT&T Mexico, the corporation is the third largest telecommunication services provider in Mexico. Although WarnerMedia produced just 17.7% of AT&T's revenues, WarnerMedia is the third largest media conglomerate behind the Walt Disney Company and Comcast: In 2020, Disney produced \$65.4 billion in revenue, and Comcast's NBCUniversal and Sky operations produced combined revenues of \$46.7 billion (or 45% of Comcast's total revenues).

After reviewing WarnerMedia's journalistic origins and operations, this entry focuses on cable news channel CNN, examining its editorial independence and political coverage.

WarnerMedia's Journalistic Origins

Although a comparatively small part of WarnerMedia's overall operations, news and journalism has been an integral part of the corporation's undertakings since its establishment in 1922. In that year, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden founded Time Inc. and a year later began publishing *Time* magazine. Although initially criticized as a "rewrite sheet" that was dependent on newspapers' journalism, the *Time* news magazine proved to be highly profitable and soon established its own professional standards and relative editorial autonomy with the formal separation of editorial and publisher functions. In the first half of the

20th century, Time Inc. published additional magazines such as *Fortune*, *Life*, and later *Sports Illustrated* and became a major force in U.S. journalism.

In the 1960s, Time Inc. sought to diversify away from its dominant magazine operations through investments in television production, book publishing (Time-Life books), and most consequentially the U.S. cable television industry (via Sterling Manhattan Cable). Time's corporate management had initially opposed involvement in television, viewing it as far removed from the practice of "quality journalism," but by 1958 Luce felt that TV offered an opportunity to provide a new "window on the world" for Time Inc.'s journalism. As Time Inc.'s editor in chief, Luce had sought to foster conservative, free market politics and an increasingly interventionist role for the United States through the notion of "the American century."

Faced with cable's heavy capital investment demands, in 1973 Time Inc. unsuccessfully attempted to sell its controlling share of Sterling Manhattan Cable to Warner Communications Inc. (WCI). When this failed, Sterling, and its newly launched pay TV cable program service, HBO, became wholly owned subsidiaries of Time Inc. In 1975, HBO became the first cable network to use satellites for regular transmission of television programming, and by the end of the decade, HBO and Time Inc.'s video group was the fastest growing and largest producer of profit for Time Inc.

In 1987, Time Inc.'s senior executives put forward a long-term strategy to produce "the new Time Inc." by combining Time Inc., WCI, and Turner Broadcasting System (TBS). Prior to its entry into cable television systems in 1973, WCI (formerly Kinney Services Corporation, a diversified conglomerate) had acquired Warner Bros. in 1969, giving it control not only of one of Hollywood's original film studios but also of Warner Bros.' substantial television program production and recorded music operations. Cable programmer TBS, based in Atlanta, Georgia, had pioneered the "superstation" concept in 1976 by transmitting its local channels via satellite to cable systems, a venture that signaled the further development of advertising-supported basic cable channels. In 1980, Turner Broadcasting had established CNN, the first 24-hour news cable channel, and by the

late 1980s, TBS was the largest proprietor of successful cable networks, including TBS and CNN and the movie channel TNT.

In 1990, Time Inc. announced it would assume considerable debt to acquire Warner Communications Inc. and form Time Warner, the world's largest media corporation. In response to rapid consolidation in the cable and wider media industries, the deal united Time's cable systems and networks and Warner's cable systems, television, and motion pictures businesses. In 1996, Time Warner's preeminent position within the Hollywood-cable-TV complex was reinforced by its merger with TBS. Although Time Warner housed some of the world's largest operations in music, magazine, and book publishing, the corporation's overall strategy was driven by developments in the cable system and network industries and by a need to extract higher profits to manage debt.

In January 2001, as the so-called dot-com stock bubble was bursting, America Online (AOL), then the United States' largest Internet service provider, completed its purchase of Time Warner. Brought on principally by a write-down of its AOL unit's value, the renamed AOL-Time Warner announced a net loss of \$98.7 billion in 2002, the largest in U.S. corporate history. The disastrous purchase served to highlight existing operational and financial problems that beset the corporation. This prompted a process of deconglomeration and a series of significant divestitures: in 2003 Time Warner dropped AOL from its name and sold its music group and then, in 2006, its book publishing operations. It spun off its AOL unit and cable division in 2009 and its magazine publishing company in 2014. This process left Time Warner with three principal, yet separate content-driven businesses: Turner, HBO, and Warner Bros.

Having rejected an \$80 billion merger bid in 2014 from Rupert Murdoch's 21st Century Fox, in 2016 Time Warner accepted an \$85.4 billion acquisition offer from AT&T, a deal which would give the telecommunications giant control of Time Warner's cable networks, filmed entertainment operations and sports rights. During 2017–2019, AT&T's acquisition survived a series of legal actions initiated by the U.S. Department of Justice. The Department of Justice's opposition to the potential market power associated with AT&T and Time Warner's vertical integration was echoed

by the Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, who stated that the deal represented "too much concentration of power in the hands of too few." As President, Trump derided CNN as "Fake News!" in response to the network's early reporting of the "Trump–Russia dossier" and for its strident criticism of the administration's treatment of the press. However, media and political speculation that AT&T would be forced to divest CNN, or the entire Turner division, to achieve the acquisition proved unfounded as the Department of Justice's legal action failed.

WarnerMedia's Operations

AT&T continues to report revenue and other financial information on three content-producing units of WarnerMedia (Warner Bros., HBO, Turner) as separate corporate divisions, as they were when acquired in 2018. However, between 2019 and 2020, AT&T introduced new management structures that sought to eliminate some of the operational partitions in the media conglomerate. WarnerMedia News and Sports combines Turner's CNN Worldwide, Turner Sports, and AT&T SportsNet regional networks. WarnerMedia Studios and Networks Group manages television series and motion picture development, production and programming across Warner Bros., HBO, and Turner's TNT, TBS, and TruTV networks. HBO Max, the subscription video-on-demand service launched in 2020, has been designated as a separately managed unit, reflecting the importance that WarnerMedia and AT&T place on it as a global competitor to services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, and Disney Plus. AT&T has vowed to invest \$4 billion in HBO Max between 2020 and 2023 to cover costs such as programming and the lost earnings from external buyers of WarnerMedia content.

In 2020, the HBO segment produced revenues of \$6.8 billion, or 22.4% of WarnerMedia's total revenues, and operating income of \$682 million. The Home Box Office segment operates premium cable and satellite television networks, HBO and Cinemax in the United States and in over 50 countries in Latin America, Asia, and Europe and reached over 35 million subscribers. AT&T's purchase of WarnerMedia has reinforced HBO's strategy of acquiring subscriber growth through an extended catalog of costly, high-quality

original content such as *Westworld* and *Succession* and *His Dark Materials*. HBO content is also a mainstay of HBO Max and in 2020 HBO spent \$1.8 billion on programming related to HBO Max. At the end of 2020, WarnerMedia had 41.5 million HBO Max and HBO subscribers in the United States and almost 61 million globally. In 2021, WarnerMedia plans to launch HBO Max in 60 markets outside the United States and a new ad-supported version of the streaming service. AT&T expects to reach between 120 million and 150 million HBO Max and HBO subscribers worldwide by the end of 2025.

HBO Max has also been used to distribute Warner Bros. films such as *Wonder Woman 1984* as the global COVID-19 pandemic shut down cinemas for an extended period in 2020. Despite a major reduction to its box office earnings in 2020, the Warner Bros. segment produced revenues of \$12.2 billion, or 40% of WarnerMedia's total revenues, and an operating income of \$2 billion. This segment of WarnerMedia principally produces and distributes motion pictures and television programming as well as videogames and live stage plays. It also distributes home video products and licenses rights to WarnerMedia's related intellectual property. These activities take place through three principal divisions: Motion Pictures (Warner Bros., New Line Cinema), Warner Bros. Television Group (WBTVG), and Home Entertainment. The segment also contains Global Brands and Franchises (home to DC Comics Superman, Batman, and Wonder Woman characters) and Kids, Young Adults and Classics (comprising former Turner operations Cartoon Network, Turner Classic Movies, Adult Swim, and Boomerang). WBTVG is the largest part of Warner Bros.' operations, producing \$6.2 billion in revenue in 2020. As well as having production operations in 16 countries, WBTVG houses Warner's 50% stake in the CW television network, a joint venture with CBS Corporation, which owns and operates eight stations and is affiliated with some 200 stations in the United States. Based on total studio revenues, Warner Bros. was the second-largest television and film studio in the world in 2020, only overshadowed by Netflix.

The Turner segment primarily operates multi-channel basic television networks and digital properties from which it generates significant advertising and subscription revenues. Indeed, the

largest proportion of WarnerMedia's 2020 revenue (\$12.6 billion or 41.3%) was produced by Turner, which also produced the largest operating income (\$5.3 billion). Turner earned \$7.6 billion from subscription revenues and almost \$3.9 billion from advertising. As noted earlier, the management of Turner operations has been subsumed under different areas of WarnerMedia. The leading entertainment cable networks (TBS, TNT, and truTV) are now managed together with HBO as part of the WarnerMedia Studios and Networks Group. For 2020, TBS and TNT ranked in the top five cable networks in terms of 25- to 54-year-old viewers in the United States. Turner International's distribution of entertainment and news brands in over 200 countries has now been assumed by WarnerMedia International.

WarnerMedia News and Sports brings together networks that can amass large, live audiences that are sought after by both advertisers and cable and satellite distributors. In 2020, CNN claimed to reach 96.2 million U.S. households and more than 402 million households and hotel rooms worldwide. It was coordinated from Atlanta and three regional headquarters in Abu Dhabi, Hong Kong, and London in a network of nine news bureaus and editorial operations in the United States 27 located outside of the United States.

CNN Worldwide is a portfolio of more than 20 news and information services in more than 200 countries and territories. These included CNN International, CNN Philippines, CNN Indonesia, CNN-News 18, CNN Turk, CNN en Espanol, HLN, CNN Chile, and CNN.com. The network claimed 900 affiliated local stations in North America, which received CNN content via the video newswire service CNN Newsource and which supplied news to the network in areas where CNN had no crews of its own. CNN has expanded its digital operations and as of 2020 ranks as the most trafficked news and information digital outlet for U.S. and global unique visitors, ahead of competitors such as the BBC and *The New York Times*.

CNN, Political Partisanship, and Editorial Independence

Having been appointed as president of CNN Worldwide in 2013, Jeff Zucker sought to improve

CNN's ratings, which at the time were hovering near 20-year lows. As well as significantly increasing investments in digital operations and reality-style documentary series, Zucker has focused the network's news coverage on two or three breaking news events and has sought a more aggressive, "crusading attitude" in its coverage, particularly of politics. Starting in 2015, CNN started concentrating on political coverage, often interrupting regularly scheduled programming for Trump's presidential nominee speeches. As well as relying heavily on a pundits-on-panels model of presentation and analysis influenced by sports channels, CNN recruited an additional 40 political reporting staff in the 2015 to 2016 period.

Along with the other main cable news networks in the United States, CNN has benefited from increased ratings during the 2016 election campaign and the subsequent Trump administration, as political partisanship in the country has grown. In 2020, according to Nielsen ratings, CNN finished third behind Fox News (average 3.6 million viewers) and MSNBC (average 2.2 million viewers) in news channels during primetime. CNN had an average of 1.8 million viewers, giving the channel its most watched year in its 40-year history. In the fourth quarter of 2020, CNN ranked first in all of cable viewership, not just news, in the United States.

While CNN was the third most watched cable news channel in the United States, its viewership was marked by the deep political divide in the country. Research conducted by the Pew Research Center suggested that political partisanship with regard to media usage and trust widened over the 2014–2019 period—none of the 30 news sources reviewed in the Pew survey were trusted by more than 50% of all U.S. adults. In 2019, CNN was the most distrusted source among conservative (67%) and moderate/liberal Republicans (43%), and this level of distrust has increased since 2014. Among Democrats and Democrat-leaning voters, CNN was the most trusted source, with 67% of such respondents trusting the network for political news; however, while this mirrors the level of trust that Republicans have for Fox News, Democrats trust and frequently use a wider range of news sources. Nonetheless,

overall CNN's more assertive form of "journalistic objectivity" has been an effective response to the more partisan political coverage of Fox News and MSNBC.

Driven primarily by its U.S. news channel's improved ratings, in the period 2016–2019, CNN Worldwide has lifted its annual profits to more than \$1 billion a year. On this basis, CNN's 2020 profits would represent at least 15% of WarnerMedia's annual profits. Cable news channels enjoy profit margins between 30% and 55% based on a robust dual-stream business model incorporating advertising and license fees, which they receive from cable companies and satellite operators (the latter can account for around 70% of total revenues). According to S&P Global Market Intelligence, during the period 2014 to 2018, the combined revenue of Fox News, MSNBC, and CNN increased from \$3.6 billion to \$5.3 billion, a 47% increase, and total profits for the three networks rose to \$2.8 billion, almost a 70% increase.

When AT&T acquired WarnerMedia, its management sought to allay concerns it would interfere with the editorial independence of CNN. The profit upswing of CNN's operations has meant that, as compared to 2014 when it cut 300 jobs, the news organization has been relatively shielded from significant rounds of job losses at WarnerMedia. In 2020, WarnerMedia announced it would eliminate at least 1,800 jobs in the WarnerMedia Studios and Networks Group to reduce costs by at least 20%. As former CNN President Jon Klein noted, there is "nothing like profitability to shield a journalistic organization from pressure" (Flint, 2016). Nonetheless, CNN faces the uncertainty of the probable end of an electoral cycle rating bonanza as well as pressure from a corporate owner that has signaled that discretionary cash flow will go to paying down debt and developing WarnerMedia's streaming services. The issue of self-censorship over AT&T wider operations also looms large.

Scott W. Fitzgerald

See also Cable News; Media Ownership; Objectivity

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WASHINGTON POST, THE

Founded in 1877, *The Washington Post* has been the leading newspaper in Washington, DC, since the 1950s. The quality, depth, and influence of its reporting on American politics and international affairs are unrivaled by any news outlet except *The New York Times*. It publishes a daily print edition and is one of the world's most popular online news destinations. Under the ownership of Amazon founder Jeff Bezos, who bought the paper in 2013, the *Post* has become one of the few major print newspapers to achieve economic success in the digital age. This entry traces the history of the *Post* from its founding through its purchase by Bezos. It discusses some of the *Post*'s journalistic innovations, its notable stories and approach to political coverage, and its financial ups and downs.

Founding and Early Years

Like many newspaper owners of the 19th century, *The Washington Post*'s founding publisher, Stilson Hutchins, was motivated by politics as well as profits. A staunch Democrat, Hutchins recognized that none of the five dailies being published in Washington during the 1870s represented his party (most newspapers in that era were openly partisan). He knew that if he put out a quality newspaper, Washingtonians who supported the Democrats would flock to it, and politicians of all stripes would read it. The first issue of Hutchins's *Washington Post* appeared on December 6, 1877, roughly a year after the disputed presidential election that put Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House. Although the Democratic Party accepted the result (it was part of a compromise that allowed the Democrats to reestablish White supremacy and political dominance in the South), Hutchins did not. In news articles and editorials alike, the *Post* blasted Hayes for his alleged corruption and incompetence, referring to him as “the bogus President” and “his fraudulency.”

Partisan vitriol aside, Hutchins built *The Washington Post* into a solid paper, with comprehensive coverage of politics and local news. Reliably profitable, its circulation hit a high of 54,000 the day after the presidential election of 1888. But Hutchins chose to sell it 2 months later to focus on promoting and selling Linotype machines—an invention that revolutionized newspaper production and would be a fixture in most newsrooms until the 1970s. The new owners of *The Washington Post* were a Republican (one-time Postmaster General Frank Hatton) and a Democrat (Congressman Beriah Wilkins). They toned down the *Post*'s partisanship and solidified its reputation as a good-but-not-great newspaper. After Hatton and Wilkins died, their heirs sold in 1905 to John R. McLean, a wealthy Democratic power broker and owner of the Cincinnati Enquirer. A friend of yellow journalism practitioner William Randolph Hearst, McLean jazzed up the *Post* with comics, reader contests, and large headlines about murders and love affairs, but he allowed the quality of its news coverage to deteriorate. It had never been the undisputed leader of Washington dailies before, but under McLean it sank to third place (out of four) in circulation.

The *Post* declined further when John McLean's son Ned took over after his father's death, in 1916. A volatile alcoholic and profligate spender (he lived in a 60-room mansion with a staff of 23 and purchased the Hope Diamond for his wife), Ned McLean alternately ignored and mismanaged the paper. When the Great Depression hit, the *Post* tanked. In 1933, the paper was \$500,000 in debt and had to be sold at auction to avoid going out of business.

Purchase by Eugene Meyer

The man who snapped up *The Washington Post* in 1933 was Eugene Meyer, a brilliant financier who had made millions on Wall Street as a young man and had gone into public service, appointed to high-level positions by a series of U.S. presidents: Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover. For several years, Meyer had toyed with the idea of buying a newspaper in Washington. He even offered Ned McLean \$5 million to buy the *Post* in 1929, but McLean turned him down. Meyer got it in 1933 for \$825,000. With his tremendous wealth, Meyer could afford to pump money into the paper to keep it afloat, and he had to do so for the first 22 years of his ownership. His main concern was the paper's editorial page, which would express the publisher's moderate Republican views: in favor of civil liberties, international cooperation, and free trade. Meyer had an eye for talent. He hired an unknown named Alan Barth to write editorials (in 1943) and an unknown named Herbert Block to draw political cartoons (in 1945), even though both held views to the left of Meyer's own. In short order, Barth established a reputation as the nation's best editorial writer and "Herblock" as its best cartoonist. During the Red Scare of the early 1950s, no major newspaper's editorial page opposed Senator Joe McCarthy more forcefully than *The Washington Post's*.

Phil Graham as Publisher

Meyer wanted *The Washington Post* to stay in his family following his death. Passing over his daughter, Katharine Meyer Graham, he named her husband, Phil Graham, as publisher in 1946. Graham's greatest business triumph came in 1954 when the *Post* bought out its larger rival, the

Washington Times-Herald (a deal that Graham and Meyer orchestrated with the *Times-Herald's* aging owner Robert McCormick, the arch-conservative publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*). Although the *Times-Herald's* isolationist, anti-elitist outlook was the polar opposite of the *Post's*, roughly 75% of *Times-Herald* buyers converted to the *Post*—a remarkable achievement. It vaulted *The Washington Post* from a third-place position among Washington's dailies into a tie for first with the *Washington Star*, which published in the afternoon (the *Post* was a morning newspaper).

With *The Washington Post* profitable at last after acquiring the *Times-Herald*, Graham invested in it. From 1947 to 1962, the paper's news budget more than tripled (in inflation-adjusted terms), even as Graham expanded the company's media holdings by purchasing several TV and radio stations and, in 1961, *Newsweek* magazine. By the early 1960s, *The Washington Post* was the capital's dominant paper and Graham was one of the capital's most influential figures (he was a close friend and advisor to President John F. Kennedy). Privately, however, Graham had struggled for years with mental illness, and in 1963 he killed himself at his family's country home in Virginia.

The Katharine Graham–Ben Bradlee Years

When Katharine Graham took over the Washington Post Company following her husband's suicide, most people assumed she would be a hands-off publisher, serving briefly as a custodian then stepping down to make way for her oldest son, Donald, who was in college at Harvard. They were wrong. Graham soon realized that, apart from the editorial page, *The Washington Post* was a mediocre newspaper, and she set out to change that. Two years after taking over, she eased out the longtime managing editor in favor of Ben Bradlee, the brash, 42-year-old Washington bureau chief of *Newsweek*.

Bradlee and Graham forged a long, fruitful partnership. She increased his budget, and he hired a slew of ambitious young reporters to be based not only in Washington but also throughout the United States and overseas. Above all, Bradlee wanted to produce a lively, exciting newspaper. In 1969, he replaced the antiquated "For and About Women" pages with a new daily section called *Style*, which merged coverage of the arts and entertainment with lifestyle stories and cultural

commentary. It succeeded both journalistically and financially, inspiring newspapers around the country to launch their own imitations.

The Washington Post would lead the press pack again 3 years later, on one of the biggest news stories in U.S. history. From June 1972, when five men were arrested for breaking into Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate building, to August 1974, when President Richard Nixon announced his resignation, the *Post* owned coverage of the Watergate scandal. Because it was initially classified as a local crime story, the *Post* assigned it to two young reporters on the Metro desk: Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. As it became clear that the Nixon White House was involved, Bradlee and managing editor Howard Simons allowed Woodward and Bernstein to stay on the story, rather than handing it off to more experienced political reporters. This turned out to be a crucial decision. “Woodstein,” as the pair became known, worked harder and more single-mindedly on Watergate than any other reporters. Rather than relying on longtime Washington insiders who might mislead them, they covered it as they would cover a police story—chasing down leads by knocking on doors and cold-calling sources on the phone, coaxing reluctant people to talk. Despite intense criticism from the Nixon administration, Graham and Bradlee steadfastly supported their reporters. (The duo had shown similar resolve in 1971 when they faced down tremendous legal and financial risks to publish revelations building on *The New York Times*’s Pentagon Papers exposé—an episode dramatized in the 2017 film *The Post*.) Woodward and Bernstein produced one scoop after another and won the Pulitzer Prize. Their 1974 book about the experience of reporting on Watergate, *All the President’s Men*, became a bestseller and was adapted into an acclaimed Hollywood film, glamorizing and lionizing the two journalists, *The Washington Post*, and the enterprise of investigative reporting.

From the 1980s to the Digital Age

When Katharine Graham handed control of the Washington Post Company to her son Donald in 1979, it was thriving. The company’s stock had risen steadily since its initial public offering in 1971, and the newspaper was still basking in the

afterglow of its Watergate coverage. Its journalistic reputation took a serious hit 2 years later, when it published a story by reporter Janet Cooke called *Jimmy’s World*, about an 8-year-old boy addicted to heroin. The article won the Pulitzer Prize, but shortly thereafter it emerged that no such child existed—Cooke had fabricated the story and none of the editors had detected it. Financially, the *Post* flourished throughout the 1980s, boosted by the closing of its longtime competitor the *Washington Star* in 1981. Another daily, the *Washington Times*, launched in 1982, targeting conservative readers put off by the *Post*’s alleged liberal slant, but it was a perennial money-loser and never dented the *Post*’s readership.

Signs of trouble appeared for *The Washington Post* in the mid-1990s, when its circulation began to decline after having increased steadily for decades. The decline accelerated in the 2000s, with many readers substituting free news on the web for the morning newspaper. As circulation dropped, so did advertising revenue, and the *Post* began shrinking its newsroom to cut costs. Four rounds of staff buyouts from 2003 to 2009 eliminated hundreds of jobs. The cuts likely would have been deeper if not for the Washington Post Company’s fortuitous decision in 1984 to buy a small test preparation company called *Kaplan*, which had grown into a massively profitable giant by the 2000s. In 2008, Donald Graham announced that the Washington Post Company would become “an education and media company”—Kaplan was producing more than half of the company’s revenue, while the newspaper was bleeding money.

Despite the *Post*’s financial struggles, it continued to produce outstanding journalism. Reporter Dana Priest, for example, earned two Pulitzer Prizes in 2 years; her investigations exposed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)’s use of “black site” prisons around the world to conduct extralegal interrogations of terror suspects (2006) and the horrific treatment of wounded veterans at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center (2008). Like most news outlets with well-known brands, the *Post* built a website (washingtonpost.com) that attracted millions of visitors each month, but the money it made from online ads was not nearly enough to offset the huge decline in revenue from print advertising. By 2013, the *Post* was losing over \$50 million annually, and the Graham family, which had owned it for 80 years, was quietly exploring a sale.

Turnaround Under Jeff Bezos

The Grahams got the buyer they wanted in Jeff Bezos, Amazon's founder and one of the world's richest people. He purchased the *Washington Post* for \$250 million in August 2013 and took it private, removing the stock market pressure to create quick profits (the newspaper is not affiliated with Amazon or Bezos's other holdings). Bezos and his leadership team engineered a remarkable turnaround. By 2017, the *Post* had doubled its web traffic, signed up over 1 million paying digital subscribers and created a lucrative sideline licensing its software to other online publishers. The paper was once again profitable even after going on a hiring spree—the newsroom employed more journalists than ever before.

The *Post* remains at the center of American politics. During the presidency of Donald Trump, it won Pulitzer Prizes for exposing the dubious nature of Trump's charitable giving, for showing the links between Trump's team and Russian interference in the 2016 election, and for revealing credible accusations that U.S. Senate candidate Roy Moore had engaged in sexual misconduct with underage girls. Trump labeled the paper "thoroughly disgusting," "crazed and dishonest," and "the enemy of the people." Marty Baron, then the paper's editor in chief, refused to respond in kind. "We're not at war, we're at work," he said of the *Post*'s approach to Trump. However, from the beginning of Trump's presidency, the *Post*'s opinion articles were almost uniformly anti-Trump, and its White House reporting often took an aggressive and critical approach (with good reason, its supporters say, given the Trump administration's misdeeds). Critics who accused the press of "normalizing" Trump and drawing false equivalencies between Democrats and Republicans in the Trump era focused their ire on *The New York Times* more frequently than on the *Post*.

Although the *Post*'s political coverage earns it the most attention, the newsroom also produces an array of niche online sections and reports enthusiastically on viral human interest stories. Some critics decry the viral content as "clickbait," but it has contributed to the *Post*'s digital success (*washingtonpost.com* often gets more than 90 million unique visitors per month). With a sustainable business model and a deep-pocketed owner, *The*

Washington Post will likely continue to be an influential force in American journalism and politics for years to come.

Matthew Pressman

See also Graham, Katharine; *New York Times*, *The*; Pentagon Papers; Political Reporters; Pulitzer Prize; Watergate

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WATERGATE

In June 1972, during President Richard Nixon's campaign for reelection, five men broke into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) at the Watergate complex in Washington, DC. The subsequent investigations by the media and Congress ended with Nixon's

resignation 2 years later, in August 1974. “Watergate” refers to that break-in, Nixon’s abuses of power, and the resulting congressional hearings. The press played a major, though somewhat mythologized, role in bringing to light those abuses. Watergate has been remembered as a watershed for political news coverage and became the namesake for future political scandals. Those scandals, which from the 1970s have had the suffix “-gate” appended, often also involved federal investigations into wrongdoing—for example, “Billygate” in 1980, when Jimmy Carter’s brother was investigated for influence peddling; “Monicagate,” the 1998 investigation into Bill Clinton’s sexual misconduct; and “Bridgegate” in 2013, when New Jersey governor Chris Christie’s staffers and appointees improperly closed lanes on the George Washington Bridge.

The Watergate Complex Break-In and Early News Coverage

On the night of June 17, 1972, a security officer at one of the Watergate complex buildings, which then housed the headquarters for the DNC, found a piece of tape that had been placed over a door so that it could be reopened without a key. He called the police, who subsequently arrested five men, later found to have been there to repair listening devices planted 3 weeks earlier. Those men were Bernard Barker, Virgilio Gonzales, Eugenio R. Martinez, James W. McCord Jr., and Frank A. Sturgis. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, two reporters on *The Washington Post*’s Metro desk—responsible for local news coverage rather than national politics—quickly linked McCord, a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent, to Nixon’s reelection committee. Those two reporters would go on to write hundreds of articles about Watergate and its consequences.

The Washington Post continued reporting on the burglary and making connections between the break-in, the Committee to Re-Elect the President, and the White House, even as the White House denied any involvement. The *Post*’s 1972 coverage, which included Woodward and Bernstein’s reportage, editorials, and the well-known cartoonist Herblock’s editorial cartoons, would win them a Pulitzer Prize for public service journalism in 1973. The cartoons provide an especially vivid

record of how explicit the newspaper made Nixon’s wrongdoing prior to his reelection. For instance, one September 1972 cartoon depicts Nixon and his top aides promising to investigate the break-in thoroughly, while in reality leading the American public in circles and carrying out criminal activities. In the cartoon, Nixon and his aides wear burglars’ masks and carry sacks of money with labels that include “Secret Nixon Funds” and “Violations of Corrupt Practices Act” and have a tool bag labeled “Break-in and Political Espionage.”

The press had made Nixon’s complicity in the Watergate break-in as well as other crimes clear before Election Day. However, on November 7, 1972, Nixon won a landslide reelection victory: 520 votes in the Electoral College to Democratic presidential nominee George McGovern’s 17 votes, and 60.7% of the popular vote compared to 37.5% for McGovern. Based on the outcome of the election, Nixon seemed to have been right when he privately told aides not to worry about the effects of Watergate.

Continuing Coverage and a Special Prosecutor

In 1972, *The Washington Post* was, indeed, important to keep the Watergate story alive, as the Pulitzer Prize committee recognized. However, contrary to popular memory, *The Washington Post* was not the only media outlet pursuing stories related to Watergate, nor was the media the most decisive factor in the investigations. By early 1973, newspapers besides *The Washington Post* were covering the story intensively. *The New York Times*’ Washington bureau knew it was at a disadvantage in reporting on Watergate because it did not have a good investigative or crime reporting team in its Washington office. In 1972, they had hired Seymour Hersh, who in 1969 had broken the story of the My Lai massacre, and they soon assigned him to the Watergate beat. On Sunday, January 14, 1973, Hersh broke the important story that the Watergate burglars were being paid hush money monthly out of a slush fund.

The New York Times was a leader in setting national news coverage, and their coverage of the Watergate story increased the coverage in other newspapers. Meanwhile, James McCord, one of

the five burglars, wrote to the judge in his case, Judge John Sirica. He told Sirica that he and others had been pressured and paid off to plead guilty and remain silent and that there were others involved in the Watergate break-in. Sirica read that letter into the record, before handing down lengthy sentences for the burglars and ensuring the break-in would remain a news story. By early 1973, with Nixon beginning his second term as president, Watergate had risen to widespread public awareness and seemed to be a scandal with staying power.

Top White House staffers were soon implicated in the coverup of the Watergate break-in, and in April 1973, two of Nixon's closest aides—H. R. Haldeman and John Erlichman—were asked to resign. Nixon also fired the Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, and White House counsel, John Dean. The new appointee for Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense Elliott Richardson, promised in his Senate confirmation hearings to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Watergate independently. That special prosecutor, Archibald Cox Jr., a Harvard law professor, took on the independent investigation beginning in May 1973 and, along with the press and Judge Sirica, became an important factor in Nixon's downfall.

The Senate Investigation and the Saturday Night Massacre

Meanwhile, in February 1973, the Senate had voted to authorize its own investigation. The Senate Select Committee to Investigate Campaign Practices, also known as the *Ervin Committee* for its chair Sam Ervin, a Democrat from North Carolina, had broad powers of subpoena. As they subpoenaed records from the White House, they triggered a wave of defiance from the president. But after claiming for 2 months that executive privilege meant that his aides did not have to testify, Nixon relented on allowing the testimony. On May 17, 1973, the public hearings began, and Watergate for the first time was a national media spectacle.

The Senate hearings of the summer of 1973 were televised on the new public television network, which had only just been mandated 6 years earlier with the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The television played a central role in how

ordinary Americans experienced the Watergate story—as entertainment. Indeed, many viewers tuned into the Watergate hearings every day, like they would a soap opera that had heroes, villains, confessions, and stories. The Watergate hearings were the first widely watched televised hearings since the Army–McCarthy hearings of 1954, and the Senate and its investigators, wary of being charged of being histrionic like McCarthy, were especially measured. The central question of the television hearings became one that most Americans could recite by heart: “What did the president know and when did he know it?” The hearings revealed a pattern of abuses of power. These abuses included instigating the so-called Plumbers’ Unit, designed to plug and investigate leaks from the White House. The public also heard through these hearings about the White House using the Internal Revenue Service to harass political opponents. And, perhaps most significantly for the course of the investigations, the Senate and the American people found out that Nixon had secretly recorded all of his Oval Office conversations. The record of these conversations became known simply as *the tapes*. The Senate committee and the special prosecutor both subpoenaed the tapes, which the White House refused to hand over, claiming executive privilege. Judge Sirica ruled against the White House, which was determined not to release the tapes and appealed Sirica’s decision.

On October 20, 1973, an evening that became known as the *Saturday Night Massacre*, and in an effort to prevent turning in the tapes, Nixon told Attorney General Richardson to fire the special prosecutor, Cox. Rather than reneging on his promise to the Senate that there would be an independent investigation, Richardson resigned. Nixon then told the Deputy Attorney General, William French Smith, to fire Cox, and when he also refused, Nixon fired him. The third in command at the Justice Department, Solicitor General Robert Bork, agreed to fire Cox, and the White House then sealed off the offices of the Watergate special prosecutor. They appointed a new prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, whom they thought would be more sympathetic to the White house. However, by now public opinion had turned against the president, whose behavior made it clear he had something to hide. As the decision on the release

of the tapes continued making its way through the courts, it became clear that one tape was missing 18 and a half minutes, further implicating the president in criminal behavior in the public's mind.

Impeachment Hearings and Resignation

Just after the Saturday Night Massacre, on November 1973, Nixon gave his famous "I am not a crook" speech at a press conference. "People have got to know whether or not their president is a crook. Well, I'm not a crook," he said. Few people believed him by that point. Chief among those people who were suspicious of the president were members of Congress, who in November began steps to hold impeachment hearings in the House of Representatives.

In April 1974, as those hearings were organized and while still in a legal battle over the subpoenaed tapes, the Nixon White House released transcripts of some of the tapes to the House Judiciary Committee. People were horrified at the seemingly unpresidential language they heard Nixon using when the transcripts were released. At that point, even the conservative *Chicago Tribune* joined with other newspapers across the nation in calling for Nixon's resignation, hoping to save the country from the imminent impeachment hearings. They wrote that their opinion of Nixon had changed and that he was unfit for public office.

Nixon did not budge, and the House Judiciary Committee began televised impeachment hearings in July 1974. Again, public television carried gavel-to-gavel coverage, and again the country was gripped by the drama. Television had done more than print in conveying to the public the extent of Nixon's wrongdoing. On July 26, 1974, the House Judiciary Committee passed three articles of impeachment against Nixon: for obstruction of justice, misuse of power, and contempt of Congress. However, the full House of Representatives would never vote on those articles. At the same time as the impeachment, the Supreme Court was deciding *United States v. Nixon*, with the question of whether the president was immune from subpoena by executive privilege. The Court was split between liberals and conservatives, but in a unanimous decision on July 24, 1974, they decided that executive privilege applied only in

certain cases, such as military and diplomatic affairs, but not others, including "the fundamental demands of due process of law in the fair administration of justice." The court ruled that the White House would have to hand over all subpoenaed material, including the tapes.

On August 5, 1974, the White House released what became called the *smoking gun* tape. That tape was a recorded conversation from June 1972, right after the break-in, when Nixon plotted to use the CIA in obstructing the FBI investigation into the break-in, a scheme that never materialized. Publicly, Nixon had been claiming to help the investigation, so the American public now had evidence of Nixon lying to them in addition to misusing the power of his office. On August 8, 1974, facing impeachment and without admitting any wrongdoing, Nixon announced he would resign the presidency. The following day he left the White House for California. He was never prosecuted for his crimes. Instead, a month later, in September 1974, his successor, President Gerald Ford, granted Nixon a full and unconditional pardon for any crimes he might have committed against the United States while president.

Memory and Legacy

Watergate has loomed so large in the public's imagination that political scandals for at least the next 50 years included the suffix "-gate." Depending on one's political perspective, Watergate could be interpreted in different ways, though—as the carrying out of justice, as a media conspiracy against Nixon, even, though more rarely, as a national security state conspiracy against the public. The most common, liberal view was that the system had worked but that it had only worked somewhat randomly. Watergate proved, they thought, that the Constitution needed to be reaffirmed and legislative reform was needed to prevent further abuses of executive power. The 1970s saw legislation that attempted to limit presidential power as well as acts like the Presidential Records Act of 1978, which decreed that all White House documents, tapes, and other material belonged to the American people and must be preserved.

The country also emerged from Watergate with myths about journalism. One of these was that journalistic initiative had led to a president's

resignation, which was only partly true. In May 1974, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, the reporters who pursued the Watergate story for *The Washington Post*, had published a book based on their experiences, *All the President's Men*. It was the fastest-selling nonfiction hardback in the history of American publishing, selling 300,000 copies. The paperback rights were sold for a record million-plus dollars. The famous actor Robert Redford meanwhile acquired the film rights and put together a team to make the movie, which came out in 1976 during the presidential primaries and assured that Woodward, Bernstein, and the *Post* had a secure place in the public memory of Watergate. The anonymity of their confidential source at the FBI, dubbed "Deep Throat" after the 1972 pornographic film, also made their reporting seem mysterious and glamorous. (White House tapes that were released in 1996 revealed that Deep Throat was an FBI agent, Mark Felt, and the tapes also made clear that the White House knew Felt was the leak as early as October 1972. In a 2006 *Vanity Fair* article, 2 years before his death, Felt confirmed he was Deep Throat, as many had long suspected.)

The popularity of the movie and the mystery surrounding Deep Throat made it seem in the popular imagination that Woodward and Bernstein singlehandedly solved the Watergate case and brought down a president. But the special prosecutor, the Senate committee, the House Judiciary Committee, and the judges overseeing the subpoenas had a much greater effect on the outcome. The myth that the media brought down Nixon remains a touchstone for Nixon supporters who believed in a media conspiracy to oust the president.

Another journalism myth holds that Watergate forever changed political reporting—making it more investigative and combative, creating a surge of interest in young people studying to be journalists, and increasing scandal reporting. None of these trends can be attributed solely, or even mostly, to Watergate. Journalism majors did increase, but the doubling of majors largely happened because of the student activism of the 1960s, prior to Watergate. There was also, indeed, more reporting on the private lives of public figures after Watergate. The American public had glimpsed the private and sordid life of a politician who never

expected his incriminating tapes would be heard, and that surely piqued public interest in salacious news. But there were other factors in scandal reporting, including the women's movement, which made the personal political, as well as events like Senator Edward Kennedy's apparent vehicular manslaughter at Chappaquiddick, and Ford's successor, Jimmy Carter, promoting his own character and morality, making that a requirement for the highest public office for decades to come.

Richard Nixon's legacy also remains contested, just as his reputation fluctuated during his lifetime. He almost immediately began to rehabilitate his image upon leaving office and styled himself a senior statesman until his death in 1994. Some historians have argued that his obstruction of justice and other crimes have overshadowed any legislative accomplishments, while others focus on his relatively liberal domestic agenda or internationalist foreign policy. Regardless of the impact of Watergate on journalism or on Nixon's reputation, it certainly had an effect on the public and public memory, cementing the idea of a "credibility gap"—the idea that politicians cannot be trusted to tell the truth. Journalists had coined the phrase in the 1960s and applied it to the Vietnam War, but polls after Watergate consistently showed that respondents trusted public figures, including the president, less than they had in the 1940s and 1950s when polling became popularized, and that Watergate played a considerable role in that deterioration of trust.

Kathryn J. McGarr

See also Investigative Journalism; Political Reporters; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; *Washington Post, The*

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WEATHER JOURNALISM

The term *weather journalism* describes the publication and broadcast of information pertaining to climatic activity, precipitation, and atmospheric conditions. Often referred to as *meteorology*, the practice aims to study weather patterns and distribute predictions about future climate conditions. Weather journalism has historically been vital to predicting weather-related catastrophes where preventative measures can be taken to protect the lives of affected individuals in certain regions. Weather journalism allows modern methods of news spreading to compare current weather patterns with previously set records in categories such as temperature, rainfall, and air quality. Weather journalism is most prominently seen in forecasts on television, radio, online, and in-print. The significance of weather journalism is demonstrated through the broadcast of many notable instances of severe weather events, especially as climate change exacerbates the damage associated with these weather developments. Advancements in technology and distribution methods have greatly improved the ability to prepare for inclement weather and increased survival rates in severe weather instances. This entry examines the role of meteorologists, the presentation of weather-related information on television, in newspapers, and on the radio, as well as applications for weather journalism that encourage citizen participation. The entry also discusses improvements in

weather forecasting technology, various types of weather warnings, and weather organizations.

Role of Meteorologists

Meteorologists are the face of weather journalism in most forms of media. Meteorologists use a combination of satellites, radars, and remote sensors to analyze and calculate how weather conditions will likely develop. Meteorologists present these predictions in the form of weather journalism to explain factors that are causing the weather conditions and give advice on how to best prepare for incoming conditions. Despite their frequent appearance on news media and prevalence in the broadcasting field, meteorologists typically obtain a bachelor of science degree in meteorology or atmospheric science. As of 2021, universities such as Texas A&M and the University of California–Los Angeles offer some of the top meteorology and atmospheric science programs for graduate students.

Meteorologists and weather broadcasters require an education balanced with journalist-style classes and atmospheric science–related courses. The American Meteorology Society (AMS) holds a Certified Broadcast Meteorology Program (CBM) which trains prospective meteorologists in the art of presenting weather forecasts and understanding a range of scientific and environmental topics. The program has ongoing professional development requirements that keep each CBM graduate informed of newly released scientific information and tools. Applicants to the program require at least a bachelor's degree in atmospheric science or meteorology from an accredited university or a designated list of coursework posted on their website. Subject areas that are covered in these education requirements include statistics, physics, remote sensing, and computer science. Meteorologists are expected to have strong analytical skills, interpersonal skills, critical thinking skills, and verbal communication skills.

Television, Newspaper, and Radio

Meteorologists in cities and towns are typically featured on TV news stations as hosts who present their findings on current and future weather patterns in their local region. The first TV

meteorologist to present a weather forecast on a national network was Clint Youle in 1949. These TV personalities are a standard and customary part of most local news stations, especially during evening news hours. Among the information presented by these meteorologists are temperature, precipitation patterns, humidity levels, and incoming severe weather predictions. Daily newspapers also feature this information in print with predictions for the current day as well as up to a week's worth of weather predictions. In cases of inclement weather, local news stations are primarily responsible for keeping citizens informed on road, business, and school closures. News reporters film at remote locations to display real-time weather conditions in various locations that are of importance to news viewers. National news stations such as NBC and ABC offer broad United States weather updates to TV viewers. Morning talk shows on these stations feature the weather news segment within the period of the show.

The decline of paper newspapers has contributed to the rise of online platforms for weather forecasting. The circulation of daily U.S. newspapers reached a point of significant decline in the early 1990s. As of 2021, well-known newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are looking to expand the growth of their digital advertising. Weather reports on these online newspaper websites are presented in a variety of forms. *The New York Times* primarily features stories highlighting weather events that have already occurred in typical journalistic fashion. Other newspapers provide predictions for weather on upcoming days, mainly in 5-day or 7-day breakdowns.

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) livestreams weather reports on the radio in cities across the United States. Listeners can tune in to the appropriate frequency by using a computer or mobile device. More than 750 transmitters are used across the United States, in Puerto Rico, and in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Radio reports include a daily summary as well as short-term forecast updates. The radio frequently performs test transmissions to ensure the reliability of their warning system. Weather radio devices can be purchased in-store and online. These devices scan through local weather radio stations

to locate frequencies transmitted in the region that provide warnings and alerts.

Weather information is also available to listeners in the form of podcasts. Some podcasts share weather information in more localized regions of the country that is updated periodically throughout the day. Weather podcasts that do not provide updated forecasts draw on previous weather events to create a discussion. Podcasts such as WeatherBrains and Weather Geeks gather specialists who provide their own commentary on weather phenomena.

Modern Applications and the Rise of the Internet

Climate change and rising global temperatures have created further applications for weather journalism that encourage action by individuals. Journalists and citizens alike have taken to filming and detailing the devastation online to broad audiences in order to raise awareness of the catastrophes. These instances blend previous forms of weather journalism with more modernized methods of involving citizens in documenting weather events. Social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook are frequently used to update individuals about weather events, especially with the decline of TV. Since its development in 2006, Twitter has become a popular social media for news updates. With more than 330 million monthly active Twitter users as of 2021, there is no denying the impact of the news media posted on the platform. Twitter features an option to search and view trending hashtags, with many tailored specifically to individuals in certain regions. Twitter released a restructured method of posting stories in October 2015 with a showcase called *Moments*. Weather journalism through Twitter Moments found new life as stories could be curated and collected in one central location accessible to Twitter users. Inclement weather events such as Hurricane Harvey in August 2017 were described and tweeted about in these Moments, and Twitter users across the world instantly received updates and posted their own related content.

Weather services have leveraged Facebook as a tool to share photographs and videos of weather events. Although launched as a primarily social application in 2004, Facebook has grown to

become a popular news sharing platform. With around 50% of respondents in a survey by Wired claiming a preference for Facebook as a social media news source, Facebook remains a highly trafficked online site for live weather updates. The interactive nature of the platform increases engagement, which ensures that predictions and true weather events are accurate. Online users are encouraged to post weather conditions that are being experienced in order to provide warning to others who will soon be affected. Online profiles for national weather media outlets including The Weather Channel, AccuWeather, and the U.S. National Weather Service are frequently updated with weather news and related media content. Facebook users can then reshare, like, and comment on these posts.

The use of social media has changed the communication dynamic of weather journalism to be more two-way, rather than one-way. Social media users can post their own updates on weather they are observing to inform meteorologists and media outlets of the situation. Meteorologists can then improve existing weather predictions. Live updates from individuals experiencing weather events can lead to more accurate news reports. Hashtags on posts can aid in categorizing and localizing weather data to fit certain regions. Social media users can search for current weather events using these hashtags.

Another growing trend as of 2021 is the association of crowdfunding and fund-raising with disastrous weather events. The ease of publication and information transmission with modern technology has made it possible to raise money that helps victims of weather tragedies. Popular online sites such as GoFundMe and other specific organizations related to local weather catastrophes are often linked or promoted in news stories. Social media influencers, in particular, use their internet fame and power online to raise awareness of the events. Wildfires that began spreading across Australia in December 2019 were heavily documented and publicized on many media sites, and individuals across the world have raised unprecedented amounts of money in support of local firefighters using their influence online.

Online websites and platforms are popular sources of weather information. People often use these online weather centers in lieu of TV and print weather information as they can be updated in real

time and provide the most accurate and reliable information on current weather conditions. Although the technology used to perform calculations and measurements is largely the same for all media sources, the speed of information delivery has allowed the internet to drastically change the way individuals are kept up to date. Media outlets reporting on the news frequently utilize designed social media pages and profiles to post weather updates or findings. Many local and national weather stations have created phone apps that give updated information on weather in various geographic regions. With certain location services preferences selected, app users can use radar and satellite features to see live precipitation or severe weather maps.

Text message and phone call updates have become popular forms of communication for weather alerts. The National Weather Service offers Wireless Emergency Alerts (WEA) to mobile devices across the United States. Governmental partners include organizations such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and the Department of Homeland Security. These updates speed the rate at which individuals can receive danger alerts without requiring the use of installed applications or subscriptions. Updates are provided as a free service through various phone carriers, but opt-out features can restrict the types of messages received.

Weather media outlets provide Doppler radar and satellite data to enable users to see and interact with weather projections. Doppler radars make forecasts by calculating the direction and velocity of atmospheric conditions, such as precipitation. Satellites monitor weather conditions from orbit and make observations using channels of the electromagnetic spectrum. Information collected from doppler radar and satellite data are condensed and made public to audiences using the Internet, especially through mobile apps. Opt-in mobile weather updates are available through some media outlets. Individuals sign up using a phone number or email to get alerts of incoming severe weather in their area. Once subscribed to receive these updates, individuals indicate their preference for event alert types ranging from typical timed weather updates to severe weather warnings.

Improving Technology

The importance of reliable weather updates cannot be overstated in cases of extreme weather. The speed with which these updates can take place relies entirely on improvements in technology and tools that can predict weather and transmit information. Weather forecasting equipment is evolving to utilize some of the technology industry's most innovative designs and systems.

Green screens were invented and put to use in the mid- to late 1900s, but they have continued to be heavily used for TV weather forecasting. The green screen, also called a *chroma key screen*, is a solid-colored wall behind a subject that can be altered to show another video projection in post-production. On-screen meteorologists standing in front of these walls face a smaller screen to the side to see what is projected behind them. This helps give a reference for where to point and give hand motions toward weather patterns or predictions. The strategic use of green screens then allows for an interactive view of oncoming weather patterns.

Improvements in virtual and augmented reality technology are expanding the realm of possibilities for checking for weather updates in more lifelike settings. For example, 360-degree visual components in virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) goggles show upclose views of weather events. Animated weather scenes allow VR users to experience simulated weather events such as thunderstorms or tornadoes in a highly immersive setting. When goggles are paired with rooms that are altered to set the scene in the simulation, users can adjust temperatures and humidity levels to achieve the overall feel of a particular weather event. The use of this technology has practical applications in both the entertainment and educational sectors. Consumers can purchase headsets or sign up for VR experiences to view the technology. Trainings for future meteorologists can also be completed using the simulations. As technology continues to improve, these simulations are becoming more lifelike to give an authentic feel. As of 2021, an anticipated future recreational use for the technology displays idealized simulated weather conditions meant to provide a weather paradise away from the severe weather incidents occurring on Earth.

In May 2015, The Weather Channel's meteorologist Jim Cantore presented one of the first

looks at virtual weather broadcasting. Simulations presented in this early stage demonstration featured a tornado seen from many viewpoints. Augmented reality from then on became a powerful medium to demonstrate the impact of various severe weather situations. Water surges displayed as a rising water wall next to on-screen meteorologists put into perspective the level of damage that could occur in severe floods. Since the introduction of these technological breakthroughs, The Weather Channel has produced augmented reality graphics for lightning strikes, hailstone formations, and precipitation formations in winter storms.

The Weather Channel won an Emmy for a weather segment from June 2018 featuring the use of immersive mixed reality. The technologically innovative media form presented information on how tornadoes form as well as details on safety tips and tricks. The segment was nominated for Outstanding Science, Medical, or Environmental Report. The Weather Channel was nominated again in the Outstanding Business, Consumer, or Economic Report category for its documentary entitled *Hidden Cost: Our Laws Have Not Kept Up With the Climate*, which won an Emmy award.

Types of Warnings

To appropriately inform the public of oncoming inclement weather events, a warning system with various degrees of severity is used. The National Weather Service divides weather alerts into three categories: watches, advisories, and warnings. Watches take place ahead of the severe weather event to indicate that risks for severe weather are heightened and that monitoring is still in process to determine when and where danger might strike. Common watches include Winter Storm Watches and Blizzard Watches. Advisories are issued when the likelihood of severe weather is fairly high, especially for instances of snow, sleet, and freezing rain. Winter Weather Advisories and Freezing Rain advisories address the nature of the weather events. Warnings are for the most severe weather events that pose a significant threat to life or property. Divisions such as Winter Storm Warnings, Ice Storm Warnings, and Blizzard Warnings are used in areas with incoming cold weather danger. Flash floods, tornadoes, and thunderstorms are severe weather events that are most frequently reported on news and radio stations.

Modern Weather Organizations

Prominent weather organizations of the 21st century include the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the National Center for Atmospheric Research funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation, the World Weather Watch under the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and The Weather Channel.

The NOAA was founded in 1970 with a mission to track weather conditions and conduct research on the environment that ultimately improves the delivery of weather forecasts and warnings. The National Weather Service is a key component of the NOAA which offers continuous updates, including watches and warnings, over radio transmission and broadcast. In 2011, the National Weather Service launched an initiative to improve responses to severe weather warnings. Scientific and technological improvements combined with organizational and governmental pairings paved the way toward achieving this goal. Upgrades to the dual-doppler system improved rainfall, hail, and general precipitation predictions. Improvements to existing forecast models better account for space weather impacts on Earth. Also included within the NOAA are the National Ocean Service, the Office of Oceanic and Atmospheric Research, and the National Environmental Satellite, Data, and Information Service. The NOAA's Weather Radio (NWR) was founded in 1954 and features a network of radio stations that provide weather updates from regions across the United States.

NASA offers a complex weather tracking project called *SPoRT*, an acronym for the Short-Term Prediction Research and Transition Center. The online system associated with the project offers numerous highly specific and concentrated weather data. Originating in the Southeast region of the United States, the project has since expanded to include partners across the country. The program developed a plan in 2008 to highlight phases for expansion and strategic approaches to be taken over the next 5 years. NASA also hosts the World Weather Program which is an interactive, 3D simulation that is available online for users who can customize their weather information experience.

The National Center for Atmospheric Research was founded in 1960 by the National Science Foundation. The mission of the center focuses on expanding the use of state-of-the-art facilities across the world in universities and institutions. Included in the collection are extensive data sets, supercomputers, sophisticated computer modeling systems, and research aircraft.

The center also offers education and outreach opportunities with workshops and free public lectures. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is a United Agency given the task of observing the interaction between the Earth's atmosphere, land, ocean, climate, and weather. The organization was founded in 1950 and was officially designated as a specialized agency within the United Nations in 1951. The WMO promotes the unrestricted sharing of information pertaining to environmental issues to ensure environmental protection, as well as economic and social welfare. The WMO founded the World Weather Watch as a new initiative for the organization in 1963. The program aims to increase the exchange of meteorological information, especially through the dissemination of forecasts and weather warnings. To achieve this goal, the program's functions include coordinating the development of facilities, designing communication strategies, and improving the presentation of information for general audiences.

The Weather Channel was officially released in 1982 as a news broadcast channel. Cable satellite viewers have access to the channel, which can offer selected segments of national or localized forecasts. In an effort to expand to international audiences, the Weather Channel also hosts websites in regions including the United States, Latin America, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The Weather Channel websites are targeted to certain geographic regions when GPS and location preferences are activated. Map options include regional maps, classic weather maps, and radar maps. Videographic and photographic media for weather events are collected in galleries online. Previous series featured on The Weather Channel include *Atmospheres* in 2000, which featured three seasons, and *Storm Stories* in 2003, which featured nine seasons.

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See also Facebook; Twitter; Virtual Reality

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WEB ANALYTICS

This entry focuses on web analytics and how it is used in journalism. It begins with a discussion of what web analytics is. It then describes the extent to which newsrooms across the world are using web analytics and what they are using it for. It discusses factors that influence the use of web analytics as well as criticism of its use. The entry also provides insights into the implications using web analytics has on journalistic practices as well as traditional journalism norms.

Web analytics by definition work as the collection of measurements, analyses, and the reporting of data from the internet in order to understand and optimize web usage. Since the first web analytics companies were founded in the mid-1990s, web analytics have been widely used in marketing communications as part of strategies to boost sales through a stronger understanding of

audience behaviors toward online advertising and marketing content.

As news began to move online in the latter half of the 1990s and in the context of dwindling resources, rising audience fragmentation as well as increasingly competitive markets, news organizations have gradually embraced web analytics, in an attempt to retain audience attention. Popular ways to track audience data to news sites include the use of free programs such as Google Analytics that are preferred by smaller news organizations with a limited budget. Larger news sites, despite some initial hesitance, have jumped on the bandwagon by turning to more sophisticated web analytics services such as Omniture, Chartbeat, and Stela, hoping to get the best insights about readers. Those insights to a news site can include numbers of hits, views, unique visitors, the geographical locations where users access the page from, what time they visit, how many comments there are on a story, how many times it is shared via email or social media, most used search terms, and amounts of time each user spends on a news item, among others.

Newsrooms' desire to learn about the audience is not new. In the traditional media environment, information on audience interests was pulled from several types of sources including market research, ratings, telephone calls, letters to editors, or simply from casual conversations with people at informal or formal gatherings. Even with these different ways of getting audience feedback, such information was provided sporadically, hence it did not help news producers and editors very much in adjusting their daily editorial decision making. In many cases, audience information only reached newsroom managers and not individual newsroom members. News, therefore, continued to be identified, produced, and published using a top-down, centralized approach, with stories being put together based on the assumption that whatever journalists find interesting will also be interesting to the audience. Research (e.g., Wendelin, Engelmann, & Neubarth, 2017) has demonstrated that journalists' news selection did not align well with audience interests and journalists were often accused of being aloof from their audiences. The Internet and digital technologies have offered news organizations unprecedented mechanisms to learn about the audience.

Nowadays, new digital tools can track every click and scroll and turn them into data to provide newsroom members in real time with myriad types of information on audience insights. At *The New York Times*, for example, the news analytics team has worked closely with the newsroom to use these insights in strategic content planning since 2013. The aim is for journalists at *The Times* to gain a better understanding of audiences in order to align their editorial decision making toward them. The team has helped newsroom members with tasks ranging from identifying potential readers and their interests and reading habits to planning for how a story should be covered in order to make it relevant to target groups.

Since its adoption of Stela, a digital tracking tool, *The New York Times* began to make audience insights open to its entire newsroom in September 2015. Stela displays all analytics about individual stories, from basic ones such as page views, referrals, and top comments to where readers of Nicholas Kristof's international column come from and whether they are subscribers or random visitors. Based on these data, newsroom members would make various types of editorial adjustments to their content ranging from tweaking headlines, promoting articles on social media, or reusing the language of the posts that perform well. On the morning of July 8, 2016, when five police officers in Dallas were shot, *The Times* changed the headline of its story more than a dozen times to add more information as its journalists monitored the changes in online traffic and audience response across platforms.

The recently adopted audience strategies at *The Times* reflect a change in the U.S. flagship newspaper, given the fact that not so long ago *The Times* was known for being "publicly dismissive, even scornful, of the idea of using web analytics to inform editorial processes" (Petre, 2015, p. 9). Such disdain subsided as *The Times* made changes in its leadership during the 2010s.

Like *The Times*, other newsrooms have developed initiatives to find out how to best use web analytics to support editorial strategies. At *The Dallas Morning News*, the audience and the breaking news and photo/video teams were the latest change to its editorial structure. The audience team, consisting of social media producers and data analysts, was responsible for pushing content to people and

reaching audiences via social media. Mike Wilson, then editor of *The Morning News*, was quoted in an interview as saying that based on the data provided by the team, the organization began creating specific goals for every journalist to attract digital audience members. The *Morning News's* editorial staff members were instructed not only to focus on getting clicks but also to develop a greater local, loyal audience and were provided support and strategies on how to do so.

Seeking to better understand the audience for editorial work is not happening only in the United States. In Europe, *The Financial Times* (FT) launched its own analytics tool, Lantern, in early 2016. The objective was to capture a more holistic picture of the readership and how audience members are interacting with FT's content beyond just page views and clicks. Lantern, which was part of the plan to increase FT's print and online subscriptions from 780,000 to one million, can provide FT's journalists with various types of web analytics such as time on page, retention rate, scroll rate, social performance, what type of devices readers are coming from, and whether they are subscribers or nonsubscribers. Another leading European publication, *The Guardian*, was among the earliest in the news industry to adopt metrics technologies. Since 2011, the organization began using Ophan, its own analytics tool, to make web analytics accessible to everybody in the newsroom in real time. *The Guardian's* audience team has also been working toward the goal of integrating web analytics into newsroom routines by supporting subeditors in writing and tweaking headlines or involving journalists to consider audience data when producing content.

Other news organizations increasingly embracing web analytics include *The Wall Street Journal*, National Public Radio, HuffPost, and Quartz.

Several similar patterns across newsrooms about the use of web analytics can be observed. First, although page views and clicks remain important, audience monitoring has evolved into a more complex process of tracking and breaking down different types of web analytics data including how much time audience members spend reading, how they are interacting with content, what devices they use, whether they only stumble upon the page or are loyal subscribers, and which social media platforms take them to the page. Initially,

web analytics was used to simply understand what stories or visuals draw in more traffic, which helped track how a story performs and also collected data for advertisement purposes. However, recent technological developments have fostered the use of web analytics to provide support for content planning both from short-term work such as writing and editing headlines and moving a story up or down to longer term strategies like tailoring content to specific audience groups and looking for ways to reach and appeal to those who have not visited or are not loyal readers of news sites.

Second, social media, among the different types of analytics, have become increasingly important to newsrooms as their user base has expanded and more readers are coming from such sites as Facebook and Twitter. With the influence of social media analytics on news production, scholars have suggested not binding news to being newsworthy but rather developing a new concept of shareworthiness in journalism.

Third, institutionalizing the use of web analytics to build it into the newsroom culture has been a priority for leading digital news organizations. Often, this initiative began with a structural change within the news organization through the addition of an analytics team, which works in tandem with the editorial body to collect and analyze web analytics to help the content team identify opportunities to reach audiences. Those with limited resources have made web analytics data available to journalists through other types of communications including erecting panels or screens with graphics in newsrooms or informing journalists about how stories have performed via emails or morning meetings. Results from a survey on the use of web analytics showed three quarter of newsroom managers in 25 countries indicated that the use of web analytics for audience insights is critically important to the future of news organizations.

Compared to marketing businesses, news organizations are laggards in adopting web analytics, mostly because of newsrooms' reluctance to using this type of audience data. The question then is: Why would such objective and benign information about audience interests cause concerns among journalists? While the new mechanisms allow for an improved understanding of what the

audience wants, they have also challenged the journalistic authority. It invokes an important debate around the core value of journalism.

Traditional gatekeeping is based on the normative journalistic ideal that journalists have autonomy in deciding what the audience needs to know as the institutional role of journalism in the society is to inform the public of what is important. News, therefore, is a public good not a commercial product. Recipients of news are citizens not regular consumers. Allowing web analytics to drive news content may result in journalism heading down the market orientation road, which, according to some journalism scholars, will speed up tabloidization and lead to a dumbing-down of news.

Not all reactions to the use of web analytics in newsrooms are negative. In a 2016 report for the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Rasmus Kleis Nielsen and Federica Cherubini observed that journalists were curious in learning how to use web analytics, which was in contrast to previous findings about journalists' resistance to the introduction of various types of audience data in newsrooms.

This new shift in the newsroom culture toward incorporating web analytics into day-to-day and longer term editorial strategies does not necessarily mean that journalists' fear of losing their editorial autonomy over the gatekeeping process or declining news quality no longer exists. It means, however, that to some extent, the desire to stay connected with the audience as well as to salvage the industry from further shrinking has compelled journalists and news organizations to compromise. In addition, news, at the end of the day, is only relevant if it serves the purpose of informing and educating the public.

There remain grounds for concern, though. That is, whether the use of web metrics would shift journalism toward a direction that turned news into being data-driven instead of data-informed and sensationalized instead of educational and informational. The presence of technologists and audience development teams in the newsroom and how they work with journalists may easily be construed as paving the way to knock down the wall between the business and editorial sides in a news organization, a fear that many journalists have about losing their autonomy to web analytics for advertising purposes.

There is a growing body of scholarly literature on the use and impacts of web analytics on newsrooms, which has contributed to a better understanding of the transformation of news work in the digital media environment. However, extant research in this area has focused primarily on newsrooms in Western countries with democratic systems of governance. Perhaps, investigation into how newsrooms in countries in the global South where the news media are operating under different systems would provide a more complete picture of the use of web analytics.

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See also Clickbait; Gatekeeping; Google; Search Engine Optimization (SEO)

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WECHAT

WeChat is the dominant smartphone-based messaging application in China developed by tech giant Tencent in 2011, which also owns the popular instant messaging software service QQ. To take advantage of its existing user base on QQ, when WeChat was first released, Tencent encouraged QQ users to move their QQ contacts and mobile contacts to new WeChat accounts. After its release in 2011, WeChat quickly reached 50 million users in 10 months. By 2018, WeChat had over 1 billion monthly active users. This entry discusses how WeChat works, the ways it is used, concerns about censorship and fake news on the platform, and security concerns raised by governments outside China.

Users can initiate text, voice, and video chat with friends on WeChat. Also, they can post and see friends’ updates on the Moment page. Every user can have up to 5,000 friends on WeChat. Although WeChat also allows its users to form groups, it sets a limit of 500 members per group. Any one-sided following activity is not permitted on WeChat. In other words, users can only interact when both sides agree to be friends on WeChat. As a result, unlike many popular social media sites, WeChat focuses on limited person-to-small-group communication. It is not uncommon for celebrities who have millions of followers on Weibo, the Chinese Twitter-like microblogging site, to have far fewer friends, numbering in the hundreds, on WeChat because of this setting.

WeChat also has had a series of functions to help users find new friends on WeChat since its release. For instance, users can use the location-based “Look Around” feature to find people near them, the time-based “Shake” feature to find people who are using it at the same time, and message random strangers using the “Drift Bottle” feature.

The most popular function on WeChat is that users can leave a voice message instead of a text. It helped illiterate or semi-literate people to communicate with asynchronous messages. It is also easier for those who are literate but have trouble typing on small virtual keyboards on a phone screen to communicate on WeChat. WeChat can even convert most voice messages into text messages, so recipients can read when listening to voice messages is inconvenient.

WeChat also has some unique settings on its Moment page, where users check a newsfeed of updates from friends. Each time users post on the Moment page, they can decide among their friends who can and cannot see their posts. Only mutual friends can see each other's updates on the Moment page. In other words, WeChat users may be able to see a few recent posts when reviewing stranger's profiles based on their privacy settings, but strangers have to become mutual friends for further interactions. Also, likes and comments on the Moment page are only visible to mutual friends. In other words, people can only see likes and comments made by their own friends. For example, if Emily is not friends with April on WeChat, but they are both friends with Frank and commented on Frank's recent post on the Moment page, Emily cannot see April's comment or Frank's reply to April, and April cannot see Emily's either because they are not friends. Emily can still see all the likes and comments under Frank's post made by their common friends on WeChat. On social media like Facebook and Twitter, even on private pages, strangers may see each other's comments and reactions because of a mutual friend. This doesn't happen on WeChat because of its strict privacy settings. Scholars have argued WeChat's strong preference for interpersonal and small group communication limits the potential of online discourse and reduces its users' ability to create large online communities or spur social mobilization.

WeChat also has broad-based communication tools such as public or official account pages. Similar to personal blogs, an unlimited number of strangers can follow these public account pages to read, forward, and comment on their blog posts, as well as share them on their Moment page. Anyone who can provide a mobile phone number and government-issued identification document can apply to set up a public/official account page, and

each page can post updates to its users once a day. Instead of the Moment page, those public account posts show up under the "subscriptions" tab on the WeChat home page called *Chats*.

Just as companies find it useful to advertise on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, many businesses rely on WeChat to reach Chinese consumers. Research shows that users, especially young and well-educated ones, rely on WeChat for their entertainment, social, and information needs, as they enjoy sharing and communicating with others on WeChat about their personal lives, they also tend to recommend products and services they like to others. More importantly, many Chinese businesses also rely on WeChat to process payments. During the 2010s, Tencent, along with Chinese e-commerce giant Alibaba, played a role in shifting the Chinese economy to mobile payments from cash.

Every WeChat user has a WeChat Pay tab on their WeChat profile page, which is a digital wallet that can be connected to the user's bank account and allows users to transfer money to friends and send money gifts, also known as *virtual red envelopes*, on special occasions. WeChat Pay also gives each user a unique quick response (QR) code, which they can use to send and receive money immediately after scanning each other's code. In China, it's not unusual for WeChat Pay users to regularly pay for goods and services with their phones without any cash in hand. Small business owners, taxi drivers, and online merchants often ask customers to scan their WeChat Pay QR codes for payments without setting up a complicated system or expensive payment device. WeChat Pay not only has over 900 million monthly active users, but it is also considered one of the few potential competitors to Visa, Mastercard, and American Express. In recent years, the success of WeChat Pay has inspired Facebook to work on its own cryptocurrency, so that its messaging service users can send money to each other, although it is unclear whether Facebook can replicate the success of WeChat Pay in the West.

In 2020, to fight the spread of COVID-19, the Chinese government worked with Alibaba and Tencent to assign Chinese citizens a health QR code. To get a health QR code, WeChat users need to submit basic information, including any recent symptoms, travel history, the user's main

residency, and government-issued identification documents. Once such information has been confirmed by authorities, a mini-program on WeChat assigned its user a personal health QR code that could indicate whether they need to be in quarantine or were allowed to enter public places with different color codes.

Censorship and Surveillance

Like many social media companies in China, Tencent is required by government rules to monitor users' conversations and mainly when specific political terms are used in those conversations. Although Tencent pays close attention to users who express anti-Communist Party opinions and even blocks users who repeatedly raise controversial political issues on WeChat, recent studies also show it seems to be unable to control the amount of fake news circulating on WeChat. For instance, right-wing anti-Hillary Clinton memes and conservative stories were viral on WeChat during the 2016 U.S. presidential election among first-generation Chinese immigrants in the United States. Most stories are not original news articles; rather, they are often repackaged news stories mixed with a biased reinterpretation of actual events in the United States. Because WeChat prioritizes person-to-small-group communication, the spread of rumor and fake news usually happen in private conversations or in small social groups. It is almost impossible for third parties such as journalists, researchers, or fact checkers to detect and trace the spread of fake news.

Moreover, censorship not only affects Chinese citizens' ability to engage in political discussion and organize political activities domestically, but recent research has also shown it affects how WeChat users who live overseas access information and express themselves. As the number of international WeChat users grows and a large percentage of Chinese who live overseas heavily rely on WeChat for personal communication and other information needs, foreign governments and the press have expressed concerns about privacy threats posed by the Chinese government's censorship on this platform. For instance, research shows that news published on WeChat accounts catering to Chinese immigrants living in Australia is very different from the news broadcast by the Mandarin service of the

Australian government-funded Special Broadcasting Service. Specifically, political coverage on WeChat channels is similar to news published by Chinese news agencies, which reflects the position of the Chinese government. Many Australian government officials fear that the Chinese government still has control of the information that Chinese immigrants (who rely heavily on WeChat for news) receive through the censorship on WeChat. Foreign government officials also express concerns about the possibility that the Chinese government uses those popular Chinese apps, including WeChat, as powerful data collection tools as well as propaganda machines.

Security Concerns

In June 2020, the Indian government banned the use of WeChat, along with many other popular Chinese apps, because of reports on the misuse of users' data that could jeopardize the privacy of Indian people. Around the same time, the Australian government planned to investigate whether some popular Chinese apps including WeChat share users' data with the Chinese government. In the United States, the Trump administration also considered taking "strong action" against Chinese apps TikTok and WeChat for engaging in "information warfare" against the United States. As those attempts were blocked by courts, the new Biden administration appears to be distancing itself from such effort.

It is unclear how strict those actions taken by Western governments would be or how long those bans will last, many WeChat users, both individuals and businesses in mainland China and those locate overseas, are deeply concerned. Because most popular social networks and chat apps in the West, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Telegram, are banned in China, Chinese who live overseas heavily rely on WeChat to connect with family and friends in China and form local Chinese communities. Many businesses also rely on WeChat to reach their Chinese customers. It would not be easy for them to find a reliable alternative if WeChat is banned.

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See also Asia, East and Southeast; Censorship; China; Facebook; WhatsApp

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WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

The term *weekly newspaper* (aka “weeklies”) is a catchall for news media that publish less frequently than daily and usually serve distinct communities such as communities of place (rural

communities, small towns, mid-sized cities, urban neighborhoods, or suburbs); communities of identity (based on, e.g., religion, race/ethnicity, avocations, sociopolitical ideologies); or combinations of both. In addition to more traditional community newspapers, the “weekly” sector of the newspaper industry includes alternative weeklies (aka “city papers”), regional farm newspapers, military-base newspapers, sports-centered newspapers, many scholastic and collegiate newspapers, and a variety of other niche newspapers. In some countries, small-circulation weekly newspapers outnumber larger daily newspapers—in the United States, for example, weeklies account for about 70% of all newspapers, and the vast majority have circulation below 10,000.

As the term indicates, most weekly newspapers publish one issue per week, but some publish more frequently (two or three issues per week) and some less often, such as biweekly or monthly. The term *weekly* has more to do with news cycle than publication frequency, however, with news and content compiled over multiple days rather than daily (or hourly), as is more common among daily newspapers. In the 2010s, some large-circulation daily newspapers shifted to weekly or twice-weekly print cycles, but those news operations maintained daily news cycles online. By contrast, weeklies that have shifted to publishing articles online first before print tend to maintain a weekly or twice-weekly news cycle even while publishing online. This entry first discusses the characteristics of weekly newspapers, including their news and opinion content, advertising and other forms of revenue, distribution, market penetration, and staffing. It then summarizes research on weekly newspapers.

Content

Content of weekly newspapers varies widely, but often includes articles falling into the traditional newspaper sections of local news, sports, business, and lifestyle. Regular content generally includes mostly local/communities news, especially coverage of local government and community institutions (or for communities of identity, news items about government actions, social trends, or organizational changes that resonate with those communities). Weeklies typically do not subscribe to

news wires or syndication services, so the vast majority of content is produced by staff and community members. Weeklies are usually adept at “localizing” regional, national, and global news to provide community-specific information about larger news stories. The mix of weekly newspaper content also usually includes “micronews” about community members (e.g., births, graduations, marriages, promotions, anniversaries, obituaries), events calendars, and advertising from businesses within the community. Weeklies focused on proximate communities also include local sports coverage, often with an emphasis on subprofessional, amateur, or scholastic/collegiate sports.

Journalistically, weekly newspapers tend to focus on coverage of community routines and trends rather than emphasizing in-depth/investigative reporting or breaking news. Weekly newspapers often include reports of regular meetings by local governments and community agencies; summaries of police activities and fire calls, including the mundane (often including reports about minor disturbances and false alarms); previews of regular community events such as annual festivals and holiday activities; and news about the ongoing activities of youth and civic groups within the community. Much of the coverage is driven by announcements from governments or institutions, although some weeklies—especially alternative weeklies in major cities—are known for their aggressive investigations of government corruption and/or institutional malfeasance. By and large, though, the role of the weekly newspaper in the media landscape is to chronicle and facilitate community engagement.

Opinion sections are common in weekly newspapers, though unlike daily newspapers few weeklies publish syndicated columnists with national or global popularity. Rather, emphasis is on publishing unique opinions from the newspaper’s community, often via letters to the editor and op-eds from community members. Because most weeklies have relatively small circulations, the volume of submissions to opinion sections tends to be manageable enough for the newspapers to publish all acceptable submissions and, in some cases, to encourage revisions of rejected submissions to meet the newspaper’s publication guidelines. It is not unusual for weekly newspapers to devote several pages each week to local opinions and to publish additional commentary online.

Because of their relatively small staffs, most weekly newspapers rely heavily on submissions from the community, or so-called user-generated content (UGC), to fill pages. Beyond letters to the editor and community-sourced op-eds, such UGC can include wedding/anniversary announcements, press releases from local businesses and nonprofit organizations, obituaries, calendar items, news about military or professional promotions, scores from amateur and youth sporting events, and announcements of forthcoming public events. Many weeklies have regular “community columnists” who write summaries of news from their neighborhoods, often with little or no compensation—an extreme example of that is *The Budget* newspaper, which each week publishes dozens of pages of small updates from Amish and Mennonite communities around the world that are submitted by volunteer “scribes” in each community.

Revenue

Weekly newspapers often provide affordable channels for advertising by small and/or local businesses, local governments, and community institutions. In addition to affordability, weekly newspaper advertising delivers a default niche audience for community businesses. Many local businesses consider advertising in weekly newspapers as a form of sponsorship to support the local newspapers and its journalistic mission. Reciprocally, many weekly newspapers treat advertising as editorial content and will reject advertising requests that are inappropriate for their communities. Many weekly newspapers also have popular classified advertising sections featuring “help wanted” ads, personal announcements, public auction notices, and private sales of specific items. In many small towns and rural communities, weekly newspapers are considered “newspapers of record” and as such are suitable for public legal notices, which can constitute a significant portion of the weekly newspaper’s advertising revenue.

Not all weekly newspapers charge for single-copy sales or subscriptions; many weeklies are free within their communities. As with daily newspapers, many “paid” weeklies offer a variety of purchasing options, with subscriptions costing much less per issue than single-copy prices and options for print only, online-only, or combined access.

Free newspapers may solicit “memberships” from audience members who wish to provide additional financial support. In some countries, government and industry-subsidized programs provide funding to weeklies with community service missions. Niche weeklies may also be underwritten by affiliated organizations such as religious organizations, regional consortiums, or nonprofit foundations.

Although many weekly newspapers had their own in-house presses through the mid-to-late 20th century, by the 21st century, most weeklies were printed externally. For independent weeklies, that usually involves production contracts with larger newspaper companies in the region; for chain-owned weeklies, printing is usually done at centralized hubs that service multiple newspapers owned by the same company. Independent weeklies with their own presses generally take on additional printing jobs to generate revenue, such as printing other newspapers in the region, scholastic and collegiate newspapers, advertising inserts, and commercial jobs such as catalogs, event programs, and specialty publications.

Distribution and Market Penetration

Distribution of weekly newspapers typically relies on box/newsstand delivery and, especially in rural communities, mail subscriptions. Home delivery of weeklies is more common in suburban areas where the major daily newspaper also publishes localized weekly editions for various neighborhoods and suburbs. In many large cities, alternative weeklies (aka “city papers”) are usually free and available from street boxes and racks in supportive businesses. Niche weeklies may have more dispersed audiences and therefore rely entirely on mail and online-only delivery, such as regional farming newspapers and religious newspapers with regional or national circulations. Mailing costs for weeklies often exceed printing costs, even with postal discounts for news media and bulk mailing. Many weeklies offer limited mail subscriptions outside of their circulation areas to provide “news from home” to residents who are away for reasons such as military service, mission work, or higher education, or to seasonal residents who spend only part of the year in the community.

Market penetration varies widely among weeklies, often depending on the idiosyncrasies of the

markets themselves. In urban and suburban markets, weeklies are typically considered a “second read” to provide granular local information to supplement the more regional news coverage of metro dailies and regional TV, radio, and online news sources. In such markets, weekly newspapers may only reach a small percentage of households and businesses in the community. In rural areas, however, weekly newspapers may be the only sources of local and regional news, and as such may reach most or all households and businesses in the coverage area. In some resort communities, market penetration of the local weekly may exceed 100% due to mail subscriptions by seasonal visitors who form emotional attachments to their vacation communities.

Weekly newspapers typically outnumber daily newspapers in their regions, and as such weekly newspapers often make up the bulk of the membership of regional, state, and provincial press associations. Those state/regional press organizations often provide training, limited legal advice, regional and national lobbying, and other support services tailored to the interests of weeklies and small-circulation dailies. Those organizations also often have annual or ongoing award programs that are focused specifically on recognizing high-quality work by weekly newspapers. Because of their emphasis on community news, weekly newspapers rarely receive national or international attention, although a small number of major awards have gone to weekly newspapers, mostly for commentary or criticism. In the United States, a handful of weeklies have won Pulitzer Prizes for public service or breaking news coverage.

Staffing

With the exception of large-circulation weeklies, most weekly newspapers are low-budget operations with relatively small staff. It is not uncommon for a weekly newspaper to be produced by only a handful of people—some are produced entirely by a single owner every week. Weekly newspaper journalists are usually generalists rather than specialists, being able to cover a broad range of issues and topics as well as the full gamut of newsroom skills: They not only report and write articles but also take photos, produce audio/video reports, copy edit, lay out pages, write

opinion columns, update websites and social media accounts, manage submissions from the community, and handle all other “news side” operations. Many weeklies are produced by editor-publishers who manage both the “editorial side” and the “business side” of the newspaper, such as advertising sales and markup, circulation management, and accounting.

For professional journalists, weekly newspapers have long been considered essential entry-level publications for novices, whether interns, recent university graduates, or mid-career professionals entering the reporting field. Given the nature of the work, weekly newspapers give novices the opportunity to explore and develop a variety of skills in reporting, editing, and packaging for print and online media. Whereas larger news media may require new editors to have many years (even decades) of experience, many weekly newspapers offer subeditor positions to relatively new journalists with only a few years of experience, most of that gained while university students. However, a combination of factors—relatively low salaries, few benefits, and few opportunities for advancement—creates a “revolving door” culture at many weekly newspapers in which new journalists may only work there for a year or two before moving on to jobs at larger media. Top editors, publishers, and department heads tend to be the most stable positions at weekly newspapers, particularly “family newspapers” at which the editor/publisher is also the owner.

Research

Despite being the largest sector of the newspaper industry, both in terms of total newspapers and in terms of aggregate circulation, weekly newspapers tend to get little attention from media researchers and collegiate journalism educators. Few collegiate journalism programs offer coursework specifically focused on weekly newspapers (or, more broadly, community journalism across media platforms) or that provide students with significant exposure to high-quality weekly newspapers. Researchers who focus on the newspaper sector likewise often omit or ignore the weekly newspaper sector, even when making broad claims about the newspaper industry overall. Renewed interest

in “community journalism” has reversed that trend somewhat in the early 21st century, particularly among professionals and scholars who believe society benefits from strong, consistent coverage of local and community news.

Bill Reader

See also Alternative News Media; Hyperlocal Journalism; Local Journalism

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WELLS-BARNETT, IDA B.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931) was one of the most prominent African American political activists of the 19th and 20th centuries and a journalist known for her role as a daring anti-lynching crusader. While Wells-Barnett was well-known during her lifetime, her accomplishments were not fully recognized during her lifetime and were largely overlooked after her death until the 1970s. Wells-Barnett used all of the communication tools at her disposal—her voice, her pen, and her press—in advocating for human rights and social justice.

Wells-Barnett engaged in domestic and international lecture circuit tours and letter and editorial writing campaigns. She used investigative techniques to generate data-based reports designed to expose injustices, particularly the horrors of lynch law, and to prompt collective action that demanded equal rights for all U.S. citizens, regardless of color or sex. Though her work as an investigative journalist is often overlooked, she helped to pioneer a brand of data-based, investigative reporting that is still in practice today and her

advocacy journalism remains a model for those who engage in the practice.

Wells-Barnett's tireless campaign to expose social injustices and her crusade for human rights contributed to the political enfranchisement and empowerment of women and people of color and the decline in lawless, barbarous acts of lynching. Moreover, her words continue to resonate with people of color who have long endured the carceral state and unjust police brutality. This entry discusses the development of Wells-Barnett as an investigative and advocacy journalist, public speaker, and nascent public relations innovator; her work to expose and end the injustice of lynching; her other efforts as an activist; and her ongoing relevance today.

Training Her Voice and Her Pen

Wells was born into slavery in Holly Springs, Mississippi, on July 16, 1862, 6 months prior to Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the first of eight children born to Elizabeth "Lizzie" and James "Jim" Wells. Deeply involved in the Freedmen's Aid Society after the Civil War, Ida's father insisted that she attend classes at nearby Shaw University (now Rust College), the school he had helped to establish. In keeping with her father's passion, Wells became a teacher out of necessity after the death of her parents and youngest brother from a yellow fever outbreak in 1878. Over the next several years, Wells trained her voice and her pen in her diary, where she considered her future and critiqued racial inequities and emerging human rights violations. Wells moved to Tennessee in the early 1880s and taught in Shelby County, then in the Memphis public schools.

Amid emerging Jim Crow segregation practices, Wells tested her voice in mid-September 1883 when after boarding a train with a first-class ticket for the ladies' car, she refused to move to the smoker car. Moreover, after being forcibly removed by the train conductor, she sued the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company and won her case in the local court system. In doing so, she had taken a stand against the repeal of the 1875 Civil Rights Act, which the U.S. Supreme Court had overturned in 1883. But Wells's legal victory was short-lived as the local court ruling ultimately was overturned by the Tennessee Supreme Court in

1887. After the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, "separate but equal" became the law of the land.

Recognizing the failures of the legal system to protect civil rights, she turned to the pen and writing under the pseudonym "Iola," she critiqued the racial inequities she witnessed in the South, particularly the segregated Shelby County school system. Her journalistic exposes prompted the termination of her employment in the Shelby County school system in 1891, and shortly thereafter, she became part owner of the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight*. From this vantage point, she would initiate her decades-long anti-lynching campaign.

Exposing that "Old Thread-Bare Lie": Transnational Anti-Lynching Crusade

On March 9, 1892, Thomas Moss, a dear friend of Ida B. Wells, and his two business partners were "murdered with no more consideration than if [they] had been a dog," the "barbaric retribution" for racial tensions and violence that ensued after they threatened the financial prosperity of a white grocer (Wells-Barnett, 1970, 52). In the days that followed, from her post as editor of the *Free Speech*, Wells critiqued the horrors of lynch law and encouraged the boycott of white businesses and migration from the city. After she penned a scathing editorial that exposed "the old thread-bare lie that Negro men assault white women" on May 21, a white mob burned down her press and threatened her life. Nevertheless, she courageously persisted in unmasking criminal "lynch law in all its phases" and in revealing the injustices of Jim Crow laws that effectively nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution over the next four decades.

In the ensuing decade, her transnational anti-lynching campaign involved penning articles for Thomas Fortune's *New York Age*; publishing several influential pamphlets, including *Southern Horrors* (1892) and the *Red Record* (1895), and participating in domestic and international lecture tours from 1892 until 1894. To make her case against lynching, Wells turned to empirical evidence and investigative techniques that would come to define muckraking and data-based

investigative journalism in the next century. Despite opposition of the vilest sort, Wells succeeded in changing public sentiment toward what had once been considered a type of vigilante justice frowned upon by polite society but otherwise tolerated.

Wells's efforts, which proved through empirical data that less than a quarter of those lynched from 1892 to 1894 were even accused of assaulting white women, prompted the proposal of anti-lynching legislation at state and federal levels and contributed to the slow decline of the practice. Despite the best efforts of Wells and her fellow activists and allies, the lynching of Black men continued and more than a century passed before the U.S. Senate passed anti-lynching legislation in 2019. The House followed with the Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act in February 2020, but the two measures were slightly different and as of mid-2020 it was uncertain whether the Senate would pass a new bill that could be enacted into law.

As Wells exposed in the pamphlet *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900), based upon these conditions, the innocent who stood accused, men such as Robert Charles, "who in any law abiding community . . . would have been justified in delivering himself up immediately to the properly constituted authorities and asking for a trial by a jury of his peers," understood that "his arrest in New Orleans, even for defending his life, mean[t] nothing short of a long term in the penitentiary, and still more probable death by lynching at the hands of a cowardly mob" (as quoted in Roessner & Rightler McDaniels, 2018, p. 50).

The "Modern Joan of Arc": From National Activist to Local Reformer

When her image appeared alongside those of "race leaders" in a book published around 1900, Wells-Barnett was at the apex of her fame as a "lecturer [and] defender of the race," as the caption put it. However, some fellow human rights activists, including Susan B. Anthony, remained concerned that after marrying Chicago journalist, lawyer, and civil rights activist Ferdinand Barnett and starting a family, Wells might become less involved in the struggle for enfranchisement of women and people of color. Quite the opposite was true.

Over the next three decades, which marked Wells-Barnett's transition from national activist to local reformer, she remained committed to practicing the activism that she once orchestrated on the national stage on a local level. Counter to Anthony's presumption, the transformation in the trajectory of Wells-Barnett's advocacy campaign was not prompted by the "divided duty" of home and work, but instead, by her contemporaries. By privileging college-educated reformers and middle-class respectability, other activists elbowed Wells-Barnett to the margins of national movements and wrote her out of the historical narrative. Nevertheless, during this period, Wells-Barnett persisted in her activism, particularly in her primary advocacy efforts against lynching and for universal suffrage.

Wells-Barnett exposed the horrors of lynch law to shift public sentiment in favor of anti-lynching legislation through publicity pamphlets, such as *Lynch Law in Georgia* (1899) and *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900), and through advocacy journalism, such as "How Enfranchisement Stops Lynching," which appeared in former abolitionist Charles Metz's *Original Rights Magazine* in June 1910. She advocated for the enfranchisement and empowerment of women and people of color through local clubs and organizations, such as the Alpha Suffrage Club (1913) and the Women's Forum (1926); addressed poverty and injustices within her local community through her work as an advocacy journalist for the *Chicago Defender*, as the chair of the Negro Fellowship League (1908), and as a probation officer (1913–1916); and engaged in politics as a local organizer and candidate for an Illinois State Senate seat (1928–1930). In the aftermath of outbreaks of mob violence against African Americans in her new home state of Illinois (the 1908 Springfield race riot and the November 9, 1909, lynching of William "Froggie" James in Cairo), Wells-Barnett sought to stage a national intervention that demanded the voting rights of all Americans to ensure the halt of lawless, barbaric acts of "vigilante justice."

Despite her efforts to remain involved in leadership roles of national organizations, the militant social justice crusader often encountered the threat of marginalization by Black men and white women during this period. In 1909, for instance, though she later became a member of the

organization's executive committee, W.E.B. Du Bois removed Wells-Barnett's name from the original list of 40 organizers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Likewise, 4 years later, in March 1913, National American Woman Suffrage Association leaders, based on threats of a boycott from Southern suffragists, attempted to relegate Wells-Barnett to the back of a parade with a procession of "colored women," but Wells-Barnett refused to be sidelined. When the Illinois delegation marched past, Wells-Barnett joined Alpha Suffrage club cofounder Belle Squire. Her defiant act prompted national media attention, prompting Robert Abbott's *Chicago Defender* to celebrate her as the "modern Joan of Arc" and the *Chicago Tribune* to recount her brave retort to Illinois suffragist leader Grace Wilbur Trout: "If the Illinois women do not take a stand now in this great democratic parade then the colored women are lost" (as quoted in Roessner & Rightler-McDaniels, 2018, p. 67).

Wells-Barnett was prompted to write her autobiography in 1928 after an exchange the year prior with a young woman who did not understand why she was once heralded as the "modern Joan of Arc." This work, alongside her budding experience as local political candidate, remained unfinished when she died of kidney disease at the age of 68 on March 25, 1931. Despite her national fame as a radical race leader three decades prior, Wells-Barnett's death went relatively unnoticed in newspapers across the nation, except for the *Chicago Defender*, one of the most prominent African American newspapers, which published several tributes to the local resident and national hero in the days following Wells-Barnett's untimely death. Even the nation's paper of record, *The New York Times*, failed to notice Wells-Barnett's passing in an obituary, a mistake only rectified in 2018 when it launched its "Overlooked" series on "remarkable people" who were not featured on its obituary page at the time of their deaths with an obituary of Wells-Barnett.

Wells-Barnett's Continued Relevance Today

Shortly after the death of Wells-Barnett, fellow *Chicago Defender* columnist and human rights activist Rebecca Stiles Taylor lamented the absence

of a physical monument to Wells and encouraged those who were impacted by the social justice crusader to construct a spiritual monument to preserve her legacy. For more than a generation after her death, those closest to Ida, including her daughter Alfreda Duster, remained committed to preserving those spiritual monuments to her collective memory, but despite their best efforts to champion her legacy, Wells-Barnett remained relegated to the footnotes of American history until a new generation of historians, biographers, and documentarians reclaimed her story in the 1970s.

In the 2010s, based on the efforts of her descendants and those committed to preserving Wells-Barnett's legacy, including prominent journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones, the Ida B. Wells Monument Committee secured the necessary funding to commission sculptor Richard Hunt to carve a tribute to Wells-Barnett near her former home in Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood. In 2020, the Pulitzer Prize board issued a special citation honoring Wells-Barnett for "her outstanding and courageous reporting" on lynching. The award came with a \$50,000 bequest, with recipients to be announced at a later date.

Historians have suggested that the cultural surveillance of African Americans and incidents of police brutality toward Black men in the 21st century mark the continuation of the culture of lynch law that Wells-Barnett worked tirelessly to expose and eradicate. Through her advocacy campaign, which deployed empirical techniques later associated with data and investigative journalism, Wells-Barnett revealed the emerging carceral state at the turn of the 20th century and the coordinated surveillance efforts to police the behavior of Black men that often resulted in their unjust brutalization. Her anguished words of resolve upon losing her lawsuit in 1887 (as quoted in Wells-Barnett, 1970, xvii)—"Oh, God, is there no redress, no peace, no justice in this land for us"—remain particularly salient today for activists in the Black Lives Matter movement. Moreover, as some scholars have suggested, by returning to Wells-Barnett's advocacy campaign, particularly her use of data-based investigative journalism, social justice crusaders might raise awareness and address this emerging human rights crisis.

Lori Amber Roessner

See also Advocacy Journalism; African American News Media; Diversity in Journalism; Douglass, Frederick; Human Rights and Journalism; Investigative Journalism; Public Relations, History of

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WHATSAPP

Over the last decade, mobile instant messaging applications have radically transformed human communication. In addition to affordances offered by short message service (or text messaging), cross-platform mobile applications such as WhatsApp enable users to send and receive location information, record and distribute voice messages, and share video and images as well as documents and contacts in real time at no cost. Over time, WhatsApp has evolved into more than

just a messaging system by adding features such as voice calls, video calls, and group calls to individuals and groups of friends.

When launched in May 2009, the application was intended only for interpersonal communication. The application was created by WhatsApp Inc. based in California, which was bought by Facebook in 2014. Since 2014, the app has used end-to-end encryption technology that allows for “data between communicating parties to be secure, free from eavesdropping, and hard to crack” (Endeley, 2018, p. 96). The ability to gather and share content for free has made WhatsApp a conducive tool for creating and distributing mass media content. Although it has a browser version for desktop computers, it is designed for use on mobile phones and is often used on smartphones. This entry discusses the global popularity of WhatsApp, its use in journalism, and the challenges presented by distributing news through WhatsApp.

The rapid proliferation of personal mobile phones combined with the low cost of mobile data prices has contributed to a sharp increase in WhatsApp’s use worldwide. As of January 2020, the mobile application had over two billion users in 180 countries, which according to the company made it the most popular messaging app in the world. The application is ubiquitous in Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America. As of 2020, India is the biggest WhatsApp market globally, with over 400 million people using the application, followed by Brazil, where over 120 million people have adopted it for their day-to-day communication. The Netherlands had the highest market penetration, with over 85% of the mobile phone users using the application, followed by Spain (83.1%) and Italy (83%). The U.S. WhatsApp market was relatively small as of 2019, with only 68.1 million users embracing the mobile application. Unlimited data use offered by mobile networks in Asia and Latin America have also contributed to an exponential rise in the number of WhatsApp users in those countries.

WhatsApp and Journalistic Practices

The advantages of WhatsApp have turned the app into a useful tool in the production of news. For instance, its end-to-end encryption has made

WhatsApp an essential medium of communication for journalists and their sources, particularly in nondemocratic countries where state actors have often accessed off-the-record conversations to target and suppress reporters. For example, Marie-Soleil Frère reported in 2017 on how the application had become the main conveyor of information and the location for debate in Burundi, where journalists operate in a climate of constant fear and intimidation by the government. Likewise, researchers who investigated the use of WhatsApp in Malaysia during the country's 2018 general elections found that the application enabled journalists and citizens to engage in political chat and allowed them to circumvent government censorship and surveillance of more open social media platforms. WhatsApp also has seen exponential growth in countries such as Turkey, where citizens are wary about expressing anti-government views on relatively open social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

In addition, WhatsApp has had a significant impact on journalistic routines such as contacting sources, collecting information, communicating with collaborators, and transmitting audiovisual material from the field to the newsroom. COVID-19 related safety measures adopted in many parts of the world in 2020 put limits on the ability for journalists to report in the field and have only enhanced the usage of mobile phones and applications such as WhatsApp for journalistic newsgathering. Tomás Dodds (2019), who examined the use of WhatsApp in Chilean newsrooms, found that reporters, particularly from small journalistic projects, conduct interviews using the app, which drastically reduced their cost of news production.

The use of WhatsApp also diminishes the technological requirements that small newsrooms need to have for information gathering, including obtaining soundbites and quotes from sources. Besides, such news organizations, which made their way to a WhatsApp group of journalists, gained access to press releases, information about activities, pictures, and even the voice recordings of political candidates. In Dodds's study, journalists also reported that the informal communication style on WhatsApp helped them build a tacit level of intimacy and trust with their sources, which was "very different from the fatigued voices

that picked up the phone . . . or the emails signed with perennial 'regards'" (2019: 732).

Similarly, Karen McIntyre and Meghan Sobel (2019), in their study on the use of WhatsApp by Rwandan journalists, found that reporters regularly used the app to generate story ideas, communicate with sources in remote areas, disseminate news, receive audience feedback, and invite the audience to submit tips. Journalists interviewed for their study claimed that official sources were more responsive to WhatsApp messages than phone or email requests. Research on WhatsApp as a communication tool for journalists also highlights the application's use to communicate with a network of reporters.

In addition to reaching sources and networking with fellow journalists, media personnel also use WhatsApp to engage with their audiences. According to research carried out in 34 countries by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, by 2018 WhatsApp use for news had almost tripled since 2014 and had surpassed Twitter in many countries. The increase in WhatsApp use coincided with a steady decline in Facebook use for news. With a growing user base, this mobile application has become an essential platform for news organizations to disseminate their stories, particularly among younger audiences who may have migrated from Facebook or Twitter to WhatsApp to discuss and share the news with their friends.

Since WhatsApp is a closed network, it does not provide a public platform for hate speech and trolling. This also makes the app appealing to an audience that may feel uncomfortable expressing their political ideas and opinions on more open platforms such as Facebook or Twitter. Although leading news organizations, including the BBC and *The New York Times*, have used the app in their coverage of the Ebola virus in Africa and Pope Francis's visit to Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay, such efforts remained largely experimental.

However, more recently, news organizations have started paying more attention to WhatsApp by designing news content specifically for the users of the app. For example, *Oxford Mail* in the United Kingdom and *inFranken.de* in Germany deliver the most important news of the day to WhatsApp accounts of registered users. Unlike on other social media platforms, news organizations

limit messages to two or five WhatsApp alerts a day. Similarly, several Spanish, Sudanese, and Chilean radio stations commonly ask listeners to send in short voice recordings via the service, and a large number of news portals have added share-to-WhatsApp buttons to their pages. Likewise, the WhatsApp channel, “Shotty,” launched by Germany’s Axel Springer Akademie, has reported that the interactive and informal communication style on WhatsApp has enabled the creation of a strong bond to their community.

Ethical Questions and Concerns

The widespread use of WhatsApp for journalistic newsgathering has raised several questions related to its impact on journalists’ well-being and the distinction between off-the-record and on-the-record communication between the sources and news reporters. The ubiquity of mobile phones and the ease of sending a WhatsApp message have allowed sources to contact journalists even at odd hours. Since the online rhythms of news production value immediacy, journalists are forced to respond to the sources immediately to ensure that the information is not shared with other news organizations. As a result, journalists are constantly on duty, creating a unique situation where they “find themselves hostage to the technology they celebrate” (Dodds, 2020, p. 731).

In addition, using emojis, gifs, and memes in the texts and informal tone of communication could blur the lines between what constitutes on the record and off the record. Technically, sources and news reporters understand that information exchanged is on the record unless the source clearly states otherwise. However, the informal nature of communication on WhatsApp requires journalists to make several subjective judgments each day and seek permission from their sources to publish information from their conversation on the messaging app. Also, in recent years, WhatsApp has been employed by several vested interests to spread misinformation and hoaxes, which have raised questions about the accuracy of the information obtained from the app. Many journalists have shared and published false information secured from WhatsApp forwards—forcing them to eventually issue a rejoinder and clarification.

Tool of Civic Engagement?

Studies have shown that the consumption of news on mobile phones is characterized by regular checks to receive news updates. A 2011 study by John Dimmick and colleagues also demonstrated that mobile users tend to consume news on their phones to fill the intervening spaces between things or small intervals of time in their day, which they referred to as “interstices.” More recent research indicates that news sessions on mobile phones are much shorter than those on other devices. Scholars also contend that WhatsApp’s affordances may lead the users to adopt a practice called “snacking,” or “news grazing,” which Meijer and Kormelink (2015, p. 670) describe as a habit of “grabbing bits and pieces of information in a relaxed, easy-going fashion to gain a sense of what is going on.” Such short sessions of news consumption on mobile applications such as WhatsApp, coupled with exposure to low-quality news, do little to expand public knowledge on topics relevant for civic engagement. Further scholarly investigation is needed to gain insights into the relationship between the types of news content consumed by the audience and their ability to participate in public deliberation.

Challenges in News Distribution

Newsrooms using WhatsApp also face several challenges in distributing news content using the platform. For instance, since December 7, 2019, to crack down on “automated or bulk messaging or non-personal use” on the platform, WhatsApp blocked news publishers from sending out newsletters through the app (Owen, 2019). The app launched WhatsApp Business and WhatsApp Business API for large organizations, including media houses, to send bulk messages to the users.

In addition, with the proclaimed intent to prevent the spread of misinformation on its platform, WhatsApp has limited the number of participants in each group to 256 users. While some newsrooms have had to create several groups of 256 members in each, others have relied on unauthorized third-party software like WAppSenderPro and WhatsBroadcast to automate the process of communicating with their readers through the app. However, third-party software and chatbots

don't support certain features, requiring news organizations to manage the distribution of content on various WhatsApp groups manually. The other disadvantage of sharing content via WhatsApp is that every image and video sent using the app takes up considerable space in the user's phone. Since many of these images seem like spam and intrude into the user's photo gallery, some mobile users may "unsubscribe" from a news channel. Besides, WhatsApp channels are an off-label use, that is, the audience must be persuaded to allow news organizations into their personal communicative space, and not many users might be accessible via WhatsApp channels.

Another challenge in using WhatsApp to distribute news content is its unwillingness to offer engagement metrics and analytics to the publishers. The limited analysis tools make it harder for newsrooms to assess click rates and link sharing data. Journalists and news organizations have asked WhatsApp to be more flexible to media houses and provide them with basic engagement analytics, create verified accounts for news organizations, and create a one-way publishing system through which publications can push content.

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See also Facebook; Internet Impact on Media; Social Media; Twitter

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WIKILEAKS

Founded in 2006 by Australian publisher and activist Julian Assange, WikiLeaks analyzes and publishes censored and restricted materials. The United States government has increasingly used the Espionage Act, a law passed during World War I,

to prosecute leakers of classified information, including those who have supplied information to WikiLeaks. The organization gained notoriety in 2010 when then-army intelligence analyst Chelsea Manning leaked hundreds of thousands of classified government documents to WikiLeaks, resulting in Manning being convicted under the Espionage Act and sentenced to 35 years in prison before President Barack Obama commuted her sentence in 2017. WikiLeaks has published material on its own, as well as shared materials with established news organizations so that they can independently analyze and report on the leaked records. Whether WikiLeaks's activities constitute journalism and founder Assange is a journalist have been the subject of debate. Such questions raise important ethical and normative implications for how "journalism" and "journalist" are defined, as well as important considerations in the United States for First Amendment jurisprudence governing the publication of national defense information and other materials that are lawfully obtained and truthful.

Background

In 2006, Assange launched WikiLeaks, an international nonprofit organization known for publishing leaked government documents and other classified materials. WikiLeaks has published more than 10 million restricted or censored documents and analyses, sometimes through its contractual relationships and secure communication channels with more than 100 news organizations around the world. Over time, WikiLeaks has shifted from releasing troves of documents on the Internet to working more closely with select news organizations to analyze, redact, and release information.

Espionage Act

Two months after the United States entered World War I, on June 15, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which prohibits the acquisition, recording, or copying of information that could injure the national defense or U.S. foreign relations. The Espionage Act was also passed to target individuals who authorities believed were disloyal to the United States or obstructed enlistment in the U.S. military.

In 1919, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the convictions of three individuals who the government believed were dissidents and had threatened the war effort: Charles Schenck, the general secretary of the Philadelphia Socialist Party; Eugene V. Debs, the head of the American Socialist Party; and Jacob Abrams, an anti-war activist in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), *Debs v. United States* (1919), and *Abrams v. United States* (1919). However, in *Abrams*, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. wrote a dissenting opinion in which he ruled in favor of Abrams, holding that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the right to dissent and disagree with the government.

Chelsea Manning Leak

During President Obama's administration, the Espionage Act was increasingly used to target the sources of government leaks, including those who disclosed information to WikiLeaks. Perhaps most notably, in 2010, WikiLeaks published hundreds of thousands of classified military documents on its website. The documents, leaked by Manning, included incident logs from the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, diplomatic cables from American embassies, and dossiers on Guantánamo Bay prison detainees held without trial. Among the classified military documents was also a video from a U.S. military helicopter as it shot and killed a Reuters photographer in Baghdad in July 2007, an incident referred to as *Collateral Murder* by WikiLeaks.

In July 2013, a military court found Manning guilty on six counts of violating the Espionage Act, as well as on 14 lesser charges. On August 21, 2013, Manning was sentenced to 35 years in prison, the longest sentence ever imposed for a conviction related to leaks of classified information. The day following her sentencing, Manning publicly announced that she was a transgender woman. In 2014, Manning and the American Civil Liberties Union sued the U.S. Department of Defense over their refusal to treat Manning's gender dysphoria, a condition requiring treatment through social transition therapy. On January 17, 2017, President Obama commuted Manning's sentence to seven years. Although Manning was jailed once more in 2019 for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating WikiLeaks, she was later released.

“Vault 7” Leak

In ensuing years, WikiLeaks would obtain and publish emails, documents, and other materials, including U.S. State Department cables in 2010 and 2011, emails by Syrian political figures in 2012, Saudi Arabian government documents and cables in 2015, and details about many U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials and employees in 2018.

Another notable instance of WikiLeaks publishing a significant amount of classified government information occurred in March 2017 when the organization published over 8,000 documents exposing various types of software hacking programs, lines of computer code, viruses, and malware and other tools that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) may use to steal data from intelligence targets. The leak, known as the *Vault 7* leak, was regarded as the largest such acquisition of confidential information in the CIA’s history.

Over 1 year later, in May 2018, the Federal Bureau of Investigation named Joshua A. Schulte, who formerly worked for the CIA and National Security Agency, as the prime suspect in the case. On June 18, 2018, prosecutors charged Schulte with 13 counts, including three under the Espionage Act, in addition to previous charges for possession of child pornography. The government contended that the leaked materials included national defense information, among other claims. In March 2020, the trial in the Southern District of New York against Schulte ended in a hung jury. However, Assistant U.S. Attorney David Denton said during court proceedings that the Department of Justice intended to retry Schulte on the Espionage Act charges. The retrial is expected to take place in late 2021.

WikiLeaks Versus Traditional Press Outlets

President Donald Trump’s administration also targeted several leakers, including Assange himself. Although the Espionage Act has not been used to prosecute a traditional journalist who published leaked documents, the move marked perhaps the closest the federal government has come to prosecuting a news organization for its involvement in publishing leaked government documents.

In April 2019, U.S. prosecutors unsealed charges against Assange for conspiracy to “access a [government] computer without authorization” under the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (CFAA), 18 U.S.C. § 1030. The indictment was originally filed on March 6, 2018, in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia but was kept secret until prosecutors mistakenly mentioned charges in an unrelated case’s court filings. The charges were formally unsealed after British authorities, on April 11, 2019, arrested Assange at the Ecuadorian embassy in London, where he had been seeking refuge since 2012 after losing an appeal against extradition to Sweden, where he faced two sexual assault allegations. Although the sexual assault charges were later dropped, Assange was found guilty in Westminster Magistrates’ Court of breaching his 2012 bail conditions. Ecuador’s President Lenín Moreno had revoked political asylum and evicted Assange.

The count under the CFAA alleged that Assange attempted to assist Manning in cracking a password to log on to the U.S. Department of Defense computers under a username that did not belong to Manning. Assange also allegedly actively encouraged Manning to collect other classified documents. In addition, the indictment stated that Assange knew that Manning was providing WikiLeaks with classified records containing U.S. national defense information.

Following the indictment, some observers attempted to distinguish Assange from traditional journalists. For example, in an April 11, 2019, interview with *Vice News*, David A. Schulz, a First Amendment lawyer who advised *The Guardian* when it published documents leaked by Edward Snowden, said, “If you break into someone’s home to get information, you don’t have legal protection under the guise of sharing the news” (Uberty, 2019, April 11).

Other observers expressed concern that the CFAA charges were the next step in targeting journalists for reporting on leaked documents. Jane Kirtley, a professor at the University of Minnesota and director of the Silha Center for the Study Media Ethics and Law, told *Vice News* that the CFAA charges could be an “incremental step” toward charging traditional journalists under the Espionage Act (Uberty, 2019, May 24).

On May 23, 2019, the U.S. Department of Justice released an indictment alleging 17 counts under the Espionage Act against Assange. The indictment alleged that Assange and WikiLeaks had “repeatedly sought, obtained, and disseminated information that the United States classified due to the serious risk that unauthorized disclosure could harm the national security of the United States,” among several other claims.

Once again, media law experts expressed deep concern with the charges. For example, Kirtley said in a May 24, 2019, interview with *HuffPost*, “This is serious . . . Everybody in the news business and frankly everybody who is a consumer of information needs to be paying attention to this . . . Whatever happens to Julian Assange could potentially happen to any journalist, anywhere—including someone who the government would acknowledge has a more traditional journalistic role” (Robins-Early, 2019).

Jameel Jaffer, director of the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University, told *Vice News* on May 24, 2019, “I don’t think there’s any way to understand this indictment except as a frontal attack on press freedom.” Jonathan Peters, a media law professor at the University of Georgia, agreed, calling the charges under the Espionage Act a “five-alarm fire for the First Amendment” (Uberty, 2019, May 24).

There are several implications of Assange being characterized as a journalist and WikiLeaks being classified as a traditional news organization. First, Assange’s legal team would likely mount a First Amendment defense and emphasize that a traditional journalist had never been prosecuted under the Espionage Act. Second, the prosecution of Assange could raise the question of whether journalists soliciting information, such as tip lines or encrypted messaging systems, could be subject to criminal charges. Third, the debate around whether Assange is a traditional journalist further complicates determining who is a journalist and what constitutes journalism, which may have legal consequences, such as around the reporter’s privilege. Finally, efforts by the federal government to criminalize the receipt and publication of classified information threatens journalists’ ability to publish such information that would be in the public interest. It also establishes precedent for giving

government greater control over what journalists can disseminate to the public.

On February 24, 2020, United Kingdom District Judge Vanessa Baraitser for the Woolwich Crown Court in London began hearing opening arguments for the United States’ extradition request of Assange following the CFAA and Espionage Act charges. U.S. government attorney James Lewis reportedly contended during opening arguments that the case was not about First Amendment rights or journalistic practices, but instead about computer hacking and the publication of classified materials. Attorney Mark Summers, who represented Assange, countered that his client had not helped Manning crack a password or hack into a secure system, explaining that Manning already had access to the information. He added that WikiLeaks had partnered with news organizations around the world, including *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*, and that WikiLeaks had a procedure in place to identify and redact the names of individuals considered to be at risk.

On January 4, 2021, Baraitser refused to order the extradition of Assange to the United State to face the Espionage Act and CFAA charges. She reasoned that extraditing Assange would be “oppressive” to his mental health, citing the risk that he might commit suicide in an American prison.

Key Supreme Court Precedent

An important line of U.S. Supreme Court precedent implicating WikiLeaks and Assange is the First Amendment protection for lawfully obtained, truthful information. In *Cox Broadcasting Corporation v. Cohn* (1975) and *Florida Star v. B.J.F.* (1989), the Supreme Court held that the publication of a rape victim’s name was protected by the First Amendment because the information was truthful and lawfully obtained. In *Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia* (1978), the Court held that it was contrary to the First Amendment to convict a newspaper for publishing confidential complaints against a state judge. Finally, in *Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co.* (1979), the Court held that the First Amendment protected the publication of the name of a juvenile defendant obtained lawfully through routine

newsgathering practices even though there was a state law against it. More recently, in *Bartnicki v. Vopper* (2001), the Court held that members of the press could not be held liable for publishing or broadcasting illegally obtained information if they were not involved in its acquisition.

Also relevant is *New York Times v. United States* (1971), also known as the *Pentagon Papers* case, in which the Supreme Court held that the federal government could not enjoin *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from publishing portions of a top-secret study about the Vietnam War, despite the government's purported national security interest. In a concurring opinion, Justice Hugo Black emphasized the importance of the press holding government accountable, writing, "In the First Amendment the Founding Fathers gave the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in our democracy. The press was to serve the governed, not the governors."

WikiLeaks Protected by First Amendment in Stolen Documents Case

In July 2019, Southern District of New York Judge John G. Koeltl dismissed a lawsuit filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) against WikiLeaks and Assange, among others, finding that WikiLeaks' publication of stolen DNC emails and documents was protected by the First Amendment. *Democratic National Committee v. Russian Federation* (2019) arose during the 2016 U.S. presidential election when WikiLeaks published thousands of emails and documents that Russian hackers had stolen from DNC servers. Because WikiLeaks published the materials one day prior to the Democratic National Convention, some observers argued that WikiLeaks was deliberately trying to influence the U.S. presidential election. Observers also cited several emails that contained information embarrassing to Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton's campaign and the DNC.

In the ruling, Koeltl held that the First Amendment protected WikiLeaks and Assange "in the same way [the First Amendment] would preclude liability for press outlets that publish materials of public interest despite defects in the way the materials were obtained so long as the disseminator did not participate in any wrongdoing in obtaining

the materials in the first place." Koeltl further held that WikiLeaks and Assange had not participated in the theft of the DNC's materials and instead had only requested the documents, meaning the First Amendment protected the publication of the stolen document, citing *Bartnicki*. Koeltl concluded that holding WikiLeaks and Assange liable "as an after-the-fact coconspirator . . . would eviscerate *Bartnicki*" because it would "render any journalist who publishes an article based on stolen information a coconspirator in the theft."

Criticism of WikiLeaks

WikiLeaks has been the subject of repeated criticism, accused of misleading or exaggerating descriptions of the materials it has obtained, violations of personal privacy, and lack of transparency. The organization also is alleged to have facilitated Russian influence in American affairs. For example, in 2016, the CIA concluded that Russian intelligence operatives disclosed materials to WikiLeaks in relation to Trump's election campaign. Other observers have cited a lack of whistleblowing or criticism of Russia.

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See also Censorship; First Amendment; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; Investigative Journalism; Pentagon Papers; Prior Restraint; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

Women's magazines are publications aimed at female audiences that usually focus on entertainment, shopping, home improvement, and self-improvement. Early women's magazines were established as collections of reading materials presumed to address all of women's interests—unlike men's interests, which were represented across a variety of publications. Until the middle of the 20th century, the content of women's magazines encompassed traditionally feminine spheres, such as homemaking, cooking, child rearing, and romance—in other words, aspects of life representing women's presumably universal interest in finding a man and serving others. In the second half of the 20th century, however, more specialized women's magazines began to emerge, targeting women with spending power, while general-interest women's magazines began to incorporate additional topics of interest, such as career, health, fitness, politics, and personal fulfillment.

As a genre, women's magazines are entwined with consumerism and frequently feature content that encourages readers to assign oversized significance to conspicuous consumption and appearance. In promoting advertisers' economic interests, women's magazines have acted as cultural brokers between businesses and their female consumers. Often perceived as venues for soft journalism and focusing on trivial matters, women's magazines have nonetheless played a significant role as public spaces where gender and class are collectively constructed and continually renegotiated.

Furthermore, there are many exceptions to women's magazines' consumerism. In the past, many such periodicals have promoted art and literature, introducing new talent and encouraging aesthetic appreciation among their readers. For example, women's magazines were the first periodicals to start serializing novels in the United States, as early as the late 18th century. In times of war, women's magazines have sustained their readers' morale and favored patriotism and conservation over consumerism. Finally, activist women's magazines, such as *Ms.* (United States) and the now-defunct *Spare Rib* (United Kingdom), have eschewed the genre's obsession with conspicuous consumption by promoting meaningful political and social goals for women. This entry discusses the history and types of women's magazines, as well as their effects on their audience.

History

What is thought to be the first women's magazine was published in England in 1693 and called *The Ladies' Mercury*. It had branched out of a popular general-interest magazine at the time and lasted only a few months but was soon followed by a slew of other English women's publications. Their arrivals were linked to rising literacy rates and growing interest in reading among women. Some of the earliest women's magazines were annual almanacs containing calendars, recipes, and other useful bits of information, such as coachmen's rates. Others, like their contemporary counterparts, were published more frequently and offered content that was often salacious. They included articles, fiction, and numerous letters from readers, who often formed active epistolary communities around the periodicals. Until the second half of the 19th century, when advertising became an important revenue stream, most women's magazines in England had a high cover price (e.g., a shilling, or the equivalent of between \$13 and \$20 in today's buying power) and were almost exclusively intended for upper-class audiences.

In the United States, the first women's magazine was the *Ladies Magazine and Repository of Entertaining and Instructive Knowledge*, which appeared in 1792, almost a century after the emergence of the first women's magazine in England. This delay reflected lagging press culture and

literacy rates in the early United States—for example, only half of the women living in New England in 1790 could sign their name. Nevertheless, more women's magazines began to emerge at the turn of the 19th century and in its first decades.

More than 100 women's magazines had been launched in the United States by the time *Godey's Lady's Book*—which would become famous for its record circulation—appeared in 1830. *Godey's* acquired the *Ladies' Magazine* and, after competing with Philadelphia's *Graham's Magazine* for over a decade, climbed to a peak circulation of 150,000 copies—a staggering audience reach for a magazine at the time. Although the most popular U.S. women's magazines of the day were published in New England, similar periodicals were emerging across the country. Most were intended for well-to-do housewives and carried no advertising. They also did not adhere to many contemporary standards. For example, many reprinted materials from magazines in England without credit or published articles that were unsigned or used generic bylines, such as “The Lady Editor.” Magazines for factory girls as well as feminist and temperance magazines for a budding audience of women advocates also emerged before the Civil War.

The publishers and editors of most early women's magazines, both in the United Kingdom and the United States, were almost always men, but they frequently featured the work of female journalists and writers. Many of these women wrote anonymously or under male pseudonyms. Conversely, male writers sometimes attempted to adopt a woman's perspective. Regardless of the writers' gender, most of the magazines' content was intended to educate and, in a sense, empower the female readers but also to exert social control over them. A few British periodicals with upper-class audiences contended that their goal was to improve women's minds through enigmas, mathematical questions, and essays about current affairs. But the vast majority of women's magazines published before the 20th century were keen on instructing their readers how to be ladylike and abide by contemporary social norms—as evidenced by the use of the word *lady* in the titles of 27 such periodicals published from 1800 to 1850. These early periodicals advocated chastity for single women and obedience to husbands for married women. In polite society, unwieldy women's

bodies were to be contained in tightly laced corsets, which began to be advertised in the 19th century.

Even when early women's magazines did not explicitly target "ladies," they acted as judges and enforcers of modesty and propriety. For example, the *Female Spectator*, published in the United Kingdom in the 18th century, defined what constituted immorality for women—the standards were different for men—by offering real-life examples, which readers were told to abhor. In the United States, the first popular magazine for African American women, the late 19th-century *Ringwood's Journal*, taught its readers to perform middle-class womanhood and be "respectable" (a strategy for attaining equality, not just a duplicate of white women's respectability) by wearing fashionable clothes. In England and France, women's periodicals featured affluent women writers who were also perfect mothers working from home to show their readers the proper way to "have it all."

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, women's magazines on both sides of the Atlantic saw significant growth thanks to increased advertising. In the United Kingdom, magazines for middle- and lower-class women began to displace the society journals of previous decades. In the United States, advertisements—often disguised as editorial content—allowed women's periodicals to set low cover prices and reach a mass readership. For example, a quarter of the first issue of *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1883 was filled with advertisements—a proportion that for most women's magazines in the 20th century would more than double. About the same time emerged *McCall's* (1870), *Woman's Home Companion* (1873), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), and catalog-like periodicals for sewing patterns, such as *The Delineator* (published first under the title *Metro-politan Monthly* in 1869) and *Pictorial Review* (1899), which would soon grow into full-fledged magazines. The audience reach of these so-called Big Six women's magazines soon skyrocketed; after the turn of the century *Ladies' Home Journal* became the first American magazine with more than one million subscribers. Though English women's magazines had modeled the genre for their late-to-the-game U.S. counterparts, in the early 20th century, the tables turned. American

titles such as *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* established highly successful British editions in 1916 and 1922, respectively, and they were joined by another game-changer—*Cosmopolitan*—in 1972. (Before launching its international editions, *Cosmopolitan* had already had a long history in the United States. It was established as family literary publication in 1886 and bought by William Randolph Hearst in 1905. It became a women's magazine only when Helen Gurley Brown, author of the 1962 bestseller *Sex and the Single Girl*, took over the editorial management in 1965.) World War II represented a watershed period that transformed the women's magazine industry yet again. Advertising became more plentiful after the war as the economy expanded and consumers' spending power increased. British women's magazines became increasingly profitable and gradually transformed into big business controlled by a small number of publishing companies, while American women's magazines entered a period of recession in the 1950s—only to recover to a roaring expansion in the 1960s. The second half of the 20th century was marked by women's magazines' contentious relationship with the women's liberation movement—especially in the United States, where the two leading voices of second-wave feminism, Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, drew many of their arguments about women's secondary role in society from their exposure to the genre and experiences as women's magazines' writers. In 1970, more than 100 women occupied the office of the now-defunct *Ladies' Home Journal*, demanding changes in the magazine's depictions of women.

Since the 1970s, women's magazines have more frequently covered issues that were central to the second wave of feminism, including equality in the workplace, freedom from sexual and domestic violence, and women's political representation. In part, these changes in editorial content have also been driven by the interests of advertisers seeking to reach women who make purchasing decisions not only for their homes and children but also for their own pleasure and personal fulfillment. But even as the genre recognizes and encourages women's economic and political power, much of the content continues to perpetuate heteronormativity and domesticity. Like the earliest women's periodicals, which acted to both empower and

contain women, 21st-century women's magazines continue to send contradictory messages across the variety of publication platforms that are now available to them.

Production and Industry

The Association of Magazine Media divides women's magazines into three categories: lifestyle and service (e.g., *O, the Oprah Magazine*); fashion and beauty (e.g., *Vogue*); and home and garden (e.g., *Good Housekeeping*). It is important to note that, according to both contemporary data and historical research, men make up to a quarter of the audience of periodicals directly or obliquely aimed at women. In 2020, *Woman's Day's* male audience was 5%, *Good Housekeeping's* was 13%, *Cosmopolitan's* was 14%, and *Southern Living's* was 22%, as indicated by the magazines' media kits.

The business of women's magazines is shaped by various economic, cultural, legal, and technological forces. Some have influenced all printed media while others have been specific to women's magazines. For example, the introduction of the photogravure process in the 19th century and of color printing in the 20th century are examples of technological innovations that had positive effects on publishing across the board—but especially on the magazine industry, and especially on fashion magazines, which rely greatly on visual appeal. A change specific to women's magazines was the entry of large numbers of women into the workforce throughout the 20th century, due to both cultural changes and economic necessity.

Women's rising incomes and upward mobility led to increases in personal spending power, which in turn made female audiences more attractive to advertisers and created more business opportunities for publishers of women's magazines. These trends were especially evident in the late 20th century, when the growing numbers of upwardly mobile women in the United States and the United Kingdom led to the emergence of many new magazines, usually printed on light gloss paper, which became known as *glossies*.

Many women's magazines are still printed, distributed via subscription and sold in stores. However, with the advent of digital technology, many have also become branded content creation hubs, continuously producing text, video, and social

media updates. But although the digital revolution has helped women's magazines reduce their printing costs, it has not necessarily been a positive development for the genre. Content has become more standardized, optimized for search engines, and shared between magazine brands owned by the same publisher. Women's magazine stories are often assigned and vetoed by digital specialists, who tend to be men, rather than by the female editors who have traditionally been central to the genre. Editors' duties have become more complex as they are asked to repackage content to meet the needs of different platforms as well as oversee user-generated content—in addition to the work of trained writers. Importantly, serving readers is no longer central to women's magazines, which increasingly earn revenues by retailing various products through their websites and offering services akin to those traditionally provided by advertising agencies.

The largest women's magazine publisher currently is the conglomerate Hearst Magazines, which owns *Cosmopolitan*; *Elle*; *Good Housekeeping*; *Harper's Bazaar*; *Marie Claire*; *O, the Oprah Magazine*; *The Pioneer Woman*; *Redbook*; *Woman's Day*; and *Women's Health* among others. The Hearst magazine empire represents the legacy of the publishing tycoon William Randolph Hearst, who in the early 20th century acquired many U.S. magazine titles as well as the National Magazine Company in the United Kingdom. Another large publisher of women's magazines is Conde Nast, which owns *Vogue*, *Glamour*, and *Allure*, along with digital-only titles such as *Self* and *Brides*. Several of the Hearst and Conde Nast titles have wide-spanning networks of international editions. For example, *Cosmopolitan* has 64 international editions, *Elle* has 45, *Vogue* has 26, and *Glamour* has 12. Last but not least, the Meredith Corporation publishes mostly home-oriented titles such as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Real Simple*, *Southern Living*, and *Martha Stewart Living*.

In the digital era, women's magazines have faced increased competition from fashion, beauty, and food bloggers as well as social media influencers. Magazine-like online communities of women readers sometimes also emerge spontaneously on fan websites or around a Tumblr or Twitter hashtag. The diversity of such competition, combined with the pressures of catering to a variety of

amorphous audiences across platforms, has led many women's magazines to cease publishing or to transition to digital-only presence.

The women's magazines that remain on the market, however, are among the top performers in the magazine industry. In 2019, according to the Association of Magazine Media, five of the top 10 magazines in the United States by total print and digital audience were titles that have traditionally been considered women's magazines: *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Southern Living*, *Woman's Day*, and *Cosmopolitan*. The Association of Magazine Media reported that from 2014 to 2019 magazines in the category of women's fashion and beauty saw the largest across-platform audience growth—66%—among all magazine categories. During the same period, the total audiences of women's lifestyle and service magazines grew by 17%, and of home and garden magazines by 19%. Most of the audience growth for women's magazines since the mid-2010s has been driven by readers who access content via mobile devices or watch videos produced by magazine staff. This growth has offset the gradual decline of audiences who read women's magazines in print or on computer screens.

Women's Magazines' Functions and Effects on Audiences

Throughout their history, women's magazines have defined, whether explicitly or implicitly, what it means to be feminine and to be a woman—and how the reader can improve her mind, morals, skills, or body to fit the mold of a good woman. In that sense, women's magazines have always acted as teachers, but their curriculum has fluctuated over time. In the 1920s and 1930s, the audiences of U.S. women's magazines were encouraged to learn about politics and literature; by the 1950s, the readers could expect to learn only how to fix their marriage and how to prepare a dinner. Around that time, women's magazines increasingly began to rely on credentialed experts and scientific studies to establish their advice as credible. Audiences have continually recognized women's magazines as sources of guidance and fantasy as well as signifiers of the stages of womanhood—for example, as readers leave behind magazines

for young women and replace them with periodicals that focus on parenting or cooking.

In the late 20th century, women's magazines began to face intense criticism for promoting visual stereotypes that set an impossible standard of beauty. At the center of such criticism typically have been the so-called cover girls—the women pictured on the magazines' covers with the intent to encourage audiences to see them as ideal or future selves. The covers of the early mass-circulated women's magazines were illustrations that represented prototypes of femininity, such as the housewife or the femme fatale. However, in recent decades, the covers have typically featured images, often digitally enhanced, of young models or show-business stars whose perfect appearance induces feelings of inadequacy among the readers. These feelings of insecurity are further reinforced by the magazines' editorial content, advertisements, and advertorials, all of which present the audiences with even more images of possible selves, potentially achievable if the reader buys a specific clothing item or makeup product.

Images in women's magazines often highlight body fragments—encouraging self-objectification—and depict models in situations that allude to stalking or abuse, as though experiencing violence is the ultimate proof of one's desirability. At the same time, editorial content promotes ideas that emphasize women's limited power in society. Because reading women's magazines is pleasurable, audiences may not always recognize that they are suspending critical thinking and allowing the magazines to serve as cultural authorities in their lives.

More recently, some women's magazines have made efforts to promote body positivity by sometimes featuring women who are not young or who are not thin. For example, the cover of the June 2020 issue of *British Vogue* portrayed then-85-year-old actor Judi Dench; the November 2020 issue of *Cosmopolitan* featured Barbie Ferreira, a plus-sized model and an actor, in a tightly fitting dress; and the October 2018 cover of *Cosmopolitan UK* showed American plus-sized model Tess Holliday in a swimsuit. However, the market forces that shape the survival of women's magazines, on any platform, continue to demand aspirational images that elicit clicks or purchases.

Such attempts at redefining beauty and femininity are therefore likely to remain isolated.

Miglana Sternadori

See also Feminist News Media; Hard Versus Soft News; Health and Medical Journalism; Human Interest Journalism; Lifestyle Journalism; Literary Journalism; Longform Journalism; Men's Magazines

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XINHUA NEWS AGENCY

The Chinese national and international news agency, Xinhua, is one of the most influential news media organizations in the People's Republic of China (PRC)—and in the world. However, unlike its Western counterparts, Xinhua has rural and rather humble origins. Its state ownership remains controversial, though since the early 1980s (with some reversals in the early 2000s), it has decreased its dependence on state funding. This entry begins with an overview of the origins of Xinhua, then discusses its goal of financial independence, and finally examines the news agency's international expansion and addition of digital services.

Origins

Xinhua's predecessor, the Red China News Agency (Hongzhongshe), was established in rural Ruijin, Jiangxi province, in 1931, upon the foundation of the Chinese Soviet Republic under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Initially, Hongzhongshe shared staff, consisting of three to five full-time editors, with the CCP's central organ, the newspaper *Red China*, which was launched in the same year. Their news operations were suspended in 1934 when the CCP and its Red Army began the Long March, but revived a year later after the army reached Yan'an, Shaanxi province. As the situation in the Nationalist areas changed dramatically after the Japanese invasion, Chiang

Kai-shek, the head of the Nationalist Party, agreed to coordinate with the CCP to form a "National United Front" against Japan in 1936. As a response to these political changes, in 1937 the Red China News Agency and the newspaper *Red China* were renamed Xinhua (New China) News Agency and the *New China Newspaper*, respectively. They continued to share staff until 1939.

International news occupied only a small proportion of Xinhua's news output in the early 1930s. During World War II (1939–1945), the CCP's need for information about the war led to an increase in the proportion of international news in Xinhua's releases. In 1945, Xinhua established an international news desk consisting of four journalists. From 1947 to 1948, Xinhua launched its first overseas bureaus in Hong Kong, London, and Prague.

In early 1949, mere months before the foundation of the PRC, Xinhua's headquarters moved to Beijing (renamed Beijing in the same year). This was a turning point in Xinhua's history, marking the beginning of its transition from a rural-oriented Party organ into a city-based national news agency. In the early 1950s, Xinhua began to build a nationwide news collection network, covering the country's major cities and modelled on TASS, the former USSR's national agency.

In 1956, Xinhua signed its first news exchange contract with TASS. At about the same time, the Chinese agency reached agreements with the Agence France-Presse and Reuters (Thomson Reuters since 2008) in 1956 and 1957, respectively. By 1967, Xinhua had signed news exchange

agreements with 22 foreign news agencies on the principle of free news exchange.

In late 1956, Xinhua set itself the goal of becoming a competitive international player within 10–12 years and planned its international expansion in the next 5–7 years. With support from then political leaders Liu Shaoqi, Hu Qiaomu, and Deng Xiaoping, Xinhua also began to modify its international news portfolio toward more balanced and accurate reporting in the middle of the “Great Leap Forward” in the late 1950s.

By 1956, the number of Xinhua’s overseas bureaus reached 10, with 140 out of 2,416 Xinhua staff members working in these overseas offices. From 1956 to 1957, Xinhua sent almost 80 more journalists abroad. The agency also employed local residents for news collection in some developing countries. Many Xinhua journalists were sent to universities for foreign language training. In the late 1950s, the number of Xinhua’s overseas bureaus tripled. Two thirds of the newly established overseas branches were located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including countries with no diplomatic relations with the PRC. During this period, Xinhua became the main news source for Chung Yang Tongshin, the North Korean news agency. Xinhua’s influence also expanded to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa where TASS had played a dominant role in the 1940s and the early 1950s.

Yet, the progress made by Xinhua in reporting international news was cancelled out by the events of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Xinhua managers and Liu Shaoqi himself all became victims of the political struggles during the Cultural Revolution and lost their leadership positions. Many veteran journalists were sent to small villages for so-called reeducation. Some of them endured torture. All journalistic principles adopted earlier for reporting international news crumbled. Class struggles occurred in all divisions of Xinhua, including its overseas bureaus. However, under the direct leadership of Zhou Enlai, the first Premier of the PRC, Xinhua set up more overseas offices during this period, their number increasing from 51 in 1966 to more than 70 by 1976. From 1976 to 1980, Xinhua concentrated its efforts on recovering from the chaos caused by the Cultural Revolution.

Business Expansion in the Late 20th Century

Before 1980, Xinhua was fully funded by government subsidies. In the 1980s and 1990s, Xinhua endeavored to become a financially independent news institution, willingly receiving a reduced amount of state subsidies each year for nearly two decades. Throughout this period, striving for financial independence was part of Xinhua’s ambition to become a “world-class news agency,” on a par with the likes of Reuters and AP.

In January 1980, Xinhua began to charge domestic newspapers a subscription fee for using its news wires. In February 1980, Xinhua’s *Reference News* daily sold the agency’s first ever advertisement. In the early 1980s, Xinhua launched a series of new titles, including *Economic Information Daily* and the *Outlook Weekly* news magazine. In addition, Xinhua began marketing news services abroad. In September 1982, Xinhua launched a Spanish language news wire service aimed at Mexican media.

In March 1983, Xinhua started a 24-hour international news service operated by the headquarters and overseas bureaus. The number of its news wire subscribers reached nearly 5,300 in 1998, almost 9 times the number of subscribers in 1992. By the late 1990s, Xinhua had 30 domestic bureaus (at provincial levels) and 101 overseas bureaus in 92 foreign countries and regions around the world. Xinhua was able to provide news in seven languages, including English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and Portuguese. However, it was still reliant on leading western news agencies and the local media outlets of the host countries as sources for its international news stories.

Although Xinhua was able to cover more than 60% of its own operating costs by 1999, it had not achieved complete financial independence from state subsidies. After suffering a number of setbacks, including several corruption-related cases involving senior managers and journalists in the early 2000s, Xinhua turned back to the government, asking for more subsidies. In 2001, self-generated revenues and state subsidies contributed almost equally to Xinhua’s overall income.

Since the early 2000s, Xinhua has adopted “news landing” as a branding strategy, as well as an indicator for evaluating journalists’ performance.

“News landing” occurs when media outlets, including newspapers, TV and radio stations, news websites, and other news agencies, carry Xinhua’s wire news or identify Xinhua as the news source. In the early 2000s, Xinhua surveyed about 470 domestic and 700 foreign news organizations in order to calculate its “landing rate.” In order to make Xinhua’s news wires more “attractive” to metropolitan dailies, the agency tried to speed up its responses to breaking news, as well as pursuing investigative journalism. In April 2000, Xinhua set up a new editorial desk—Xinhuashidian, which was responsible for investigative journalism. The agency also launched a new column available to all users of Xinhua’s general news wires. Users could also access a bundle of selected reports on Xinhua’s website.

In June 2000, Xinhua’s domestic news became a 24-hour service. Technically, Xinhua has been able to break news around the clock since then. However, political constraints can still delay or prevent Xinhua from reporting breaking news. For instance, breaking news on politically sensitive topics such as strikes, demonstrations, religious conflicts, and natural disasters were, and to a large degree remain, subjects of censorship and self-censorship. After the SARS epidemic in 2003, Xinhua journalists were given more autonomy to break news about natural disasters for overseas audiences within a certain time frame. However, more restrictions were imposed in 2004, when “supervision by public opinion” (*yulunjiandu*) became a sensitive matter to Chinese officials.

Going Global and Digital in the 21st Century

In 2009, Xinhua began to accelerate its international expansion under the “Going abroad” project, partly in order to enhance China’s soft power. In December 2009, Xinhua launched its TV news network, China Xinhua News Network Corporation, in order to reach out directly to foreign audiences. By the end of January 2017, Xinhua had established more than 180 overseas bureaus in major cities of the world.

Starting in 2015, Xinhua began to expand its online and digital services, aiming to transform

itself into an online news agency. In 2016, more than 50% of Xinhua’s annual income was generated by the agency itself, and the rest came from state subsidies. Since then, the share of self-generated income has been steadily increasing. It was expected to reach 75% by the end of 2019.

Xinhuanet Co. Ltd., the business entity which runs Xinhua’s official news website, Xinhuanet.com, went public in October 2016 in Shanghai. Before this, Xinhuanet was the second most profitable enterprise owned by Xinhua. On March 6th, 2017, Xinhuanet’s market capitalization reached RMB17.151bn (about US\$2.49bn), nearly 3 times the value of Xinhua’s total annual income in 2015. As of the end of May 2020, Xinhua still held nearly 60% of the shares in Xinhuanet.

In November 2018, Xinhua unveiled the world’s first artificial intelligence (AI) news presenter, developed by the news agency in collaboration with a Chinese IT company. This is part of Xinhua’s ambitious plan to integrate AI into its news production. In December 2018, Xinhua officially launched a novel news platform, called the “Media Brain,” combining AI technology, cloud computing, Big Data, and the Internet of Things in news production.

Xin Xin

See also Agence France-Presse; Associated Press; Chinese Television; Comparative Models of Journalism; Reuters; TASS and Russian News Agencies

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YELLOW JOURNALISM

No epithet in American journalism is quite as familiar, flexible, or widely invoked as “yellow journalism.” The term was coined as a calculated sneer in the late 19th century and lives on as shorthand for journalistic failings of all kinds. “Yellow journalism” is often equated to sensational treatment of the news, and to dressing up fakes and falsehoods as fact. It is an emphatic term of disparagement that slides easily off the tongue. It is an American idiom that resonates widely abroad, having found use in countries as diverse as Mexico, Thailand, Sierra Leone, Egypt, India, and France. Whether it’s articulated overseas or in the United States, almost no one who invokes “yellow journalism” knows much about its origins or the practices it corresponded to when the term was coined.

The sneer emerged in early 1897 in New York City’s highly competitive newspaper market, placed in the public domain by Ervin Wardman, an austere yet combative Harvard-educated editor. Wardman came up with “yellow journalism” while looking for a pithy putdown for the brash, lively, and self-promoting journalism of William Randolph Hearst. Wardman was a contemporary of Hearst and despised his rival’s eagerness to flout norms of fin-de-siècle journalism by experimenting with vivid layouts, multicolumn headlines, and provocative illustrations in his *New York Journal*. Hearst, who was 32 years old when he burst onto the New York media scene in

1895, boasted that his techniques represented a “new journalism.” And the *Journal* promoted that view in its columns and editorial cartoons. “New journalism” was a not-so-subtle rebuke to the practices of newspapers that were staid and conservative in appearance, including venerable titles such as Charles A. Dana’s *New York Sun* and Edward L. Godkin’s *New York Evening Post*.

Wardman, who enrolled at Harvard several months after Hearst had left the university without a degree, was a unambiguous, pro-tariff Republican. Hearst was a moderate Democrat. Partisan differences no doubt contributed to Wardman’s enmity for Hearst and his journalism, and the editorial page of the *Press* reflected this antagonism. Wardman searched for an insult to apply to “new journalism” and landed on “nude journalism.” It was a near-homophone for “new journalism” that appeared in a brief editorial comment in the *Press* on January 21, 1897. “Nude journalism” suggested newsgathering practices underpinned by few ethical sensibilities. At the end of January 1897, Wardman came up with an even more provocative pejorative: “yellow-kid journalism” which soon was abbreviated to “the yellow journalism.” The sneer was born.

“Yellow journalism” owes its existence, indirectly, to a popular and innovative Sunday color comic that featured a bald, wise-cracking street urchin clad in a yellow nightshift. The character was known as the *yellow kid* and the comic first appeared in Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World*. The comic was immensely popular and Hearst lured the artist, Richard F. Outcault, to the *Journal*

in October 1896. The *World* responded by commissioning another cartoonist to draw a rival yellow kid comic. So both newspapers were publishing and touting their yellow kids, much to Wardman's disgust. But not until 3 months later did the phrase "yellow-kid journalism" appear in the *Press*. Meantime, Wardman took to the newspaper's editorial columns to condemn the *Journal* and the *World* as "fake mongers, chambers of horrors, cesspools, sloughs, purveyors of mendacity."

Once he settled on "yellow journalism," Wardman invoked the phrase relentlessly to assail both the *Journal* and the *World* (which themselves were vigorous rivals). They also were the largest-circulating and most lively newspapers in New York, which surely grated on the ascetic Wardman. He mocked them in editorial page quips and one-liners that suggested Twitter-length comments of today. Few of the quips, though, were particularly inspired. Here's an example, from the *Press* of February 2, 1897: "The Yellow Journalism is now so overripe that the little insects which light upon it quickly turn yellow, too." A few days later, Wardman suggested that the yellow press publish this disclaimer in a prominent location of the front page: "YELLOW JOURNALISM IS A LIAR AND WE ARE IT."

After naming it, Wardman tried to destroy yellow journalism by cheerleading a boycott movement that took shape in the late winter and spring of 1897. It was a decency campaign that sought to banish the *Journal* and the *World* from libraries, reading rooms, social clubs, and other organizations across metropolitan New York. First to take the step was the Newark Free Public Library in New Jersey, the trustees of which declared the *Journal* and the *World* "chronicles of crime, of lust, and of general nastiness." The *Press* praised the ban, declaring in an editorial that the Newark library had "begun a reform which doubtless will be continued by similar bodies in other cities. In decent public esteem yellow journalism occupies the same place as brothels."

The *Sun* joined the cheerleading, saying it expected the boycott to "be pursued by decent institutions . . . generally. It is a movement whose natural impulse is in the disgust and indignation which have been increasing in all quarters against the licentiousness, the vulgarity, and the criminal spirit exhibited by those shameless papers with an

effrontery almost without example in the history of journalism." The movement against the *Journal* and the *World* spread quickly. By May 1897, the *Press* figured that nearly 90 libraries, clubs, and reading rooms had banished the newspapers—among them the Century Club, the New York Yacht Club, and the Harlem branch of the YMCA. Other institutions, according to the *Sun*, kept the *Journal* and the *World* locked away, serving them only upon specific request by adult patrons. "The places where Yellow Journals are admitted," the *Press* declared, "are rapidly narrowing down to prisons, dives and brothels."

That was an exaggeration, of course, and after a few months the boycott movement faltered and quietly dissipated. It fell victim to its inherent self-limiting nature, in that institutions had no further way of censuring or punishing the newspapers after banning them. Besides, the grievances about the yellow journals were not very specific and tended to revolve around vague notions they were indecent and violated good taste. Even more fundamental to the boycott's collapse was that many New Yorkers *enjoyed* reading the *Journal* and the *World*. They were lively newspapers, not nearly as awful as Wardman and other critics asserted. There was more to "yellow journalism" than shrieking sensationalism or boorish excess. Close reading of the *Journal* and the *World* makes clear that in the late 19th century, "yellow journalism" embodied a distinct and robust genre of broadsheet newspapering that was defined by these features and characteristics:

- a variety of topics presented on the front page, including reports about politics, crime, war, international diplomacy, sports, and high society.
- a keen taste for self-promotion, for unabashedly calling attention to the newspaper's achievements. This tendency was especially pronounced in reporting about suspected corruption in public works contracts.
- the frequent use of multicolumn headlines, including those that stretched across the front page. Such headlines projected a typographic appearance decidedly more vivid than the cluttered, single-column look favored by most fin-de-siècle newspapers.
- the liberal use of illustrations including sketches and, as production techniques later allowed,

half-tone photographs. Locator maps and other graphic representations were commonplace.

- bold and sometimes experimental layouts, including those in which a single article and illustration dominated the front page. Such layouts, while not routine, anticipated the emergence of tabloid newspapers.
- a reliance on anonymous sources, especially in the dispatches of leading reporters, to whom bylines were often granted.
- a willingness to spend lavishly in gathering news. This was especially true for Hearst when he was establishing a high-profile presence in New York, where failed newspaper ventures were hardly unknown. In 1897, for example, Hearst hired Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, Richard Harding Davis, and other prominent writers for short-term assignments for the *Journal*.
- As those characteristics suggest, “yellow journalism” in its original, late 1890s incarnation was an complex genre, as inclined to experiment as it was eager to self-promote. As practiced at that time, “yellow journalism” was seldom dreary or predictable. Not surprisingly, the genre was popular in some cities beyond New York. By 1900 or so, newspapers in Boston, Chicago, Denver, St. Louis, and San Francisco—including but not restricted to titles owned by Hearst or Pulitzer—had adopted distinctive features of “yellow journalism.” Among them were the old *Boston Post* and the *Denver Post*.

Hearst’s *Journal* embraced the term “yellow journalism” in May 1898 and in doing so associated itself with heroic and risk-taking figures from the past. To be “yellow,” the *Journal* reasoned, was to be audacious and even unconventional. “Caesar was yellow to the plutocrats of the Roman Senate,” it declared in an editorial. “Napoleon was yellow to the traditional strategists whom he routed by scorning their rules. Washington was yellow to the Tories, and so were Jefferson and Franklin and Paine, and all the bold men who created this republic. The United States is doing an extremely yellow thing in waging this war [with Spain] to help another people instead of to fill its own pockets. And the sun in heaven is yellow—the sun which is to this earth what the *Journal* is

to American journalism” (Cited in Campbell, 2001, pp. 38–39).

While it didn’t mind “yellow journalism,” the *Journal* preferred to think of itself as a practitioner of the “journalism of action.” This was self-actuating, participatory kind of newsgathering which, according to the *Journal*, obliged the press to inject itself conspicuously in public life and “fitly render any public service within its power.” The newspaper “does not wait for things to turn up,” the *Journal* said of its activist model. “It turns them up.”

The “journalism of action” envisioned filling the voids left by government inaction or ineptitude and took expression in many ways. The *Journal* filed court injunctions to block or delay suspicious municipal contracts; it brought aid and charity to victims of blizzards and hurricanes; it unraveled the grim murder mystery of a headless torso that washed up in New York’s East River. The *Journal* organized the successful jailbreak in Havana of 19-year-old Evangelina Cisneros, a political prisoner held without trial for months by Cuba’s Spanish rulers.

The “journalism of action” is best understood as a subgenre of “yellow journalism,” a Hearstian derivative that incorporated high-profile stunts with regular doses of self-promotion. It was energetic and attention-grabbing, but it did not win universal acclaim. The “journalism of action,” as pursued by the *Journal*, often required the expenditure of substantial sums of money. Not all newspapers has access to such reserves.

The *Journal*, moreover, failed to distinguish itself during the crises and confusion of late winter and early spring 1898—a period bracketed by the mysterious destruction of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor and the U.S. declaration of war against Spain. The *Journal* vigorously reported on the developments of those weeks, but not always accurately. It was notably mistaken, for example, in reporting that Spanish authorities were responsible for the explosion that sunk the *Maine*, a claim that a U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry did not corroborate. The court said it could not determine who blew up the battleship. But it concluded the *Maine*’s destruction was a deliberate act, that a mine likely had detonated beneath the battleship, igniting its ammunition magazines, and bringing death and injury to its crew.

The aftermath of the *Maine's* destruction was prime time for foes of yellow journalism to condemn the excesses of its reporting. It was during this time when the mythical claim took hold that Hearst and his were responsible for bringing on America's war with Spain. Foes of yellow journalism were keen to indict Hearst for warmongering and no critic was more eager to do so than Godkin, the Irish-born editor of the gray and sober *Evening Post*. Godkin assailed Hearst in print as "a blackguard boy with several millions of dollars at his disposal" and declared he had "more influence on the use a great nation may make of its credit, of its army and navy, of its name and traditions, than all the statesmen and philosophers and professors in the country."

Godkin's critiques rested more on assertion than evidence. But it was a convenient way to denounce Hearst and the reproach took hold—and was later reinforced by biographers of Hearst who didn't much like their subject. A more temperate and nuanced interpretation was offered by another Hearst biographer, Kenneth Whyte, who wrote: "Hearst's coverage [in the runup to the Spanish-American War] was part of an uproarious national dialogue. His voice sounds freakish when plucked out and examined in isolation, but in the context of the journalistic conversation that erupted as the *Maine* sank, it sounds quite different" (Whyte, 2009, p. 383).

The war with Spain was brief; hostilities lasted 114 days. The conflict was fought in the Caribbean and in the Pacific, which made it extraordinarily expensive for newspapers to cover. The two-front war also gave rise to embarrassments that hardly burnished the standing of yellow journalism. Hearst's *Journal* had no correspondent with the U.S. naval squadron that destroyed a decrepit Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in the first major engagement of the war. Instead, the *Journal* arranged to publish the dispatches sent by the *Chicago Record's* correspondent, a political cartoonist named John T. McCutcheon, with the understanding that the *Record* would print them first. The *Journal* broke that agreement and published under McCutcheon's byline an extravagant account about the U.S. naval victory—an account that only vaguely resembled what McCutcheon had written. It was an indefensible breach and signaled that the *Journal* would turn

to fakery if competitive pressures were intense enough.

Other newspapers were guilty of fakery, too, as the *Journal's* evening counterpart demonstrated in laying a trap for Pulitzer's *World*. The *World* was suspected of lifting war-related news and presenting it as its own, without acknowledging the *Journal* as the original source. In June 1898, the *Evening Journal* printed a short, made-up item about the death in Cuba of an Austrian artillery expert whom the newspaper identified as "Colonel Refilpe W. Thenuz." Sure enough, in its editions the following day, the *World* reported the "death" of the Austrian colonel, saying he had "performed many acts of conspicuous gallantry." That afternoon, the *Evening Journal* revealed that "Refilpe W. Thenuz" was no military figure but an anagram for "We Pilfer the News." For days, the *Evening Journal* crowed about catching the *World* in a case of news piracy. The *World* suffered in silence until the controversy subsided. The episode was amusing and revealing. It demonstrated how plagiarism can be a temptation in newsgathering. It also illuminated the antics of the American press of the late 1890s and spoke to the intensity of newspaper rivalries of the time.

In November 1898, Pulitzer instructed his editors to tone down the *World*, to make it less flamboyant in appearance and in the treatment of news. The move was announced at a staff meeting and marked the beginning of a slow fading of yellow journalism. After the war, Hearst turned increasingly to national and New York politics while expanding his newspaper holdings by launching titles in Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles. His attentions were divided, and he was unable to devote time to developing the "journalism of action" into a sophisticated model that could be widely adopted. "If I had stuck to one newspaper, I might by personal direction in detail have made a newspaper to suit me exactly," Hearst acknowledged in an interview in 1906. "But I went off starting other newspapers in widely separated places, and, of course, I can supervise all of them only in a general way. I can't give myself to any one" (Steffens, 1906, p. 12).

The aftermath of the Spanish-American War brought the rise of the antithesis of yellow journalism—the *New York Times* of Adolph Ochs. The *Times* of the late 1890s did not display

multicolumn headlines. It eschewed dramatic layouts and seldom printed illustrations on its front page. It rarely awarded bylines. It lacked the resources for forays into activist journalism. Instead of exuberance, the *Times* offered a staid, serious-minded news report along with thoughtful coverage of the arts, sciences, and business. It sought to define itself as a moral counterweight to yellow journalism, an objective that took expression in its motto, “All the News That’s Fit to Print.”

The *Times* introduced the slogan in 1896, not long after Ochs acquired the newspaper, which had fallen into receivership. In February 1897, “All the News That’s Fit to Print” was moved to the top left corner of the *Times*’ front page—a place it has occupied ever since. The motto was an implied promise of restrained yet authoritative treatment of the news. It was intended as well as a rebuke to the extravagance of “yellow journalism.”

Nonetheless, the *Times*’ ascendancy seemed unlikely until Ochs abruptly lowered the newspaper’s single-issue price to one cent from three cents in October 1898. The move came to be seen as a historic turning point for the *Times*. It effectively made serious-minded journalism available at a yellow press price. And it prevented Hearst and Pulitzer from raising the price of their newspapers from a penny to two cents, as their representatives had privately discussed. A joint price hike would have helped the yellow press recover some of the expenses of their war coverage. But Hearst and Pulitzer shelved those plans to keep Ochs from cornering the one-cent market in New York. The decision locked the *Journal* and the *World* into a long-term revenue squeeze, further encouraging the decline of yellow journalism.

The genre faded for another reason, too: Its prominent features were gradually absorbed into the mainstream of American journalism. The use of bold headlines, multicolumn photographs, and dramatic page layouts all became commonplace in U.S. newspapers of the 20th century. So, too, did bylines for reporters. It’s as if newspapers unintentionally became milder, tamer derivatives of yellow journalism as practiced more than a century ago in New York and beyond.

W. Joseph Campbell

See also Hearst, William Randolph; Publishers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Sensationalism; War and Military Journalism

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YELLOW KID

The Yellow Kid was the popular narrator of the world’s first comic strip, *Hogan’s Alley*. The character’s exploits were published in the *New York World* newspaper from 1895–1898 and the *New York Journal* from 1896–1898. Drawn first by Richard Felton Outcault (1863–1928) and later by George Luks (1867–1933), the Yellow Kid is remembered for his mass appeal and timely witticisms. Popular belief holds that yellow journalism is named for the Yellow Kid, as the reporting style and the cartoon hero were in vogue during the same period in late 1890s. This entry discusses the history of the Yellow Kid, the style and content of the comics where the character appeared, the character’s popularity, and its effect on newspapers.

Publication History

The true date of the Yellow Kid’s first appearance is contested by scholars. As the different aspects of his now iconic look were added on a little at a

time, different historians point to different illustrations as the definitive start of the Yellow Kid. Outcault's first iteration of a dirty, jug-eared child dressed in an ill-fitting hand-me-down nightshirt was printed under the title, "Fourth Ward Brownies" in the magazine *Truth* on February 9, 1895. The black-and-white illustration was reprinted 8 days later in the *New York World* on February 17, 1895.

The "Brownie" child is similar in most respects to the Yellow Kid, but most scholars label this a prototype and not a true rendering of the character. Some point to April 1895 as the genesis of the Yellow Kid, when the character spoke for the first time through a message scrawled on his nightshirt, a tactic that would later become standard. Still others point to a quarter page *Hogan's Alley* comic titled "Circus in Hogan's Alley," published in the *New York World* on May 5, 1895, as the official start of the Yellow Kid.

The success of the character and his *Hogan's Alley* gang resulted in increased newspaper sales for *New York World* publisher, Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911). Not to be outdone, rival newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) reached out to Outcault in later 1896 with a lucrative offer. Should Outcault leave Pulitzer and the *New York World* and work instead for Hearst's *New York Journal*, he would receive a hefty raise in wages. In October 1896, Outcault accepted the offer. The popularity of the Yellow Kid made the illustrator a lucrative asset, and his poaching by Hearst became a key part of a larger rivalry that ultimately resulted in a circulation war and spawned yellow journalism.

Unwilling to lose the Yellow Kid and the money the character brought in, Pulitzer hired Luks to continue drawing the comic. For more than a year between 1896 and 1897, Outcault and Luks created competing versions of the Yellow Kid for the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*. The *New York Journal* continued to use the title *Hogan's Alley* for the strip Luks created, while Hearst capitalized on the popularity of the comic's likeable main character by calling Outcault's panels *The Yellow Kid in The World*.

Publication of the Yellow Kid cartoons continued as a New York newspaper fixture through the end of 1897, but by early 1898 the character's popularity waned. The Yellow Kid continued on

in the form of advertisements, humor periodicals, and curios for a little over a decade, but never again reached the same level of fame. By 1910, the Yellow Kid craze was over.

Style and Content

Hogan's Alley was the first weekly illustrated story told successively in five panels, making the Yellow Kid the hero of the first modern comic strip. The strip was printed weekly and often in color, an eye-catching feature in a time when most newspapers were primarily black and white. Early examples of the comic often place the Yellow Kid in the background in a subordinate role and without his signature yellow clothes. In these first comics, his nightshirt was printed in many different colors, including blue, orange, red, and green, and was sometimes published as a solid color or in a polka dotted or checkered pattern. It wasn't until September 22, 1895, that the Kid first appeared wearing his now iconic solid yellow nightshirt, which he wore consistently after January 1896. After this point, the Yellow Kid's look was fixed. He was thereafter always depicted as a barefooted, floppy-eared boy, and his nightshirt had a dirty hand-shaped smudge across the right hip.

Just how the Kid's look settled on this particular style is disputed, but Outcault stated in 1898 that the idea to color the Kid's nightshirt a bright sunshine yellow did not originate with him. Legend claims the Kid got his distinctive color after an engraving foreman for the *New York World* used the Kid's nightshirt as a handy place to test out a new process for printing yellow ink. There exists no verifiable evidence to lend credence to this story. The *New York World* had indeed struggled to perfect its yellow printing process but had resolved those issues months before the Kid's initial appearance.

Officially, the Kid was named Mickey Dugan, but the public dubbed the scamp the "Yellow Kid" in honor of his colorful nightshirt. Bald, filthy, and sporting a buck-toothed grin, the Yellow Kid found fame for his adventurous romps through New York and for the saucy banter written across his nightshirt spelled phonetically in street jargon. Each week, he tossed off pithy wisecracks and provided cultural commentary on everything from politics to conflict to the way children played in

the streets. The dialogue often poked fun at authority and provided a joyful, if sarcastic, take on the day's news.

Outcault, who sympathized with the plight of poverty-stricken immigrants, drew *Hogan's Alley* in a chaotic, busy way that contrasted the innocent fun of the children with their squalid living conditions. Stray dogs, cats, and goats ran rampant in the *Hogan's Alley* comics, and the streets were crowded and dirty. The Yellow Kid's own look mirrored the circumstances of the immigrant children he was drawn to represent: his stained, ill-fitting clothes, lack of shoes, and head shaved bald to prevent the spread of lice all reflected the real-life living conditions of New York's poorest.

Popularity

The Yellow Kid was wildly popular, despite critics who claimed the comic was a cash grab that would ultimately destroy journalistic integrity and erode American values. His cheeky antics appealed to a wide range of audiences, including the growing number of semiliterate immigrants. By 1890, nearly half of New York's population was foreign-born, and the colorful pictures and limited text of *Hogan's Alley* became a major selling point for newspaper readers who hadn't yet mastered English. The Yellow Kid was also popular among the middle and upper classes, despite the poor reputation of the *New York World* and *New York Journal* among public libraries, schools, and the wealthiest inhabitants of the city. During the cartoon's heyday, tens of thousands of copies of the *New York World* were sold every Sunday to patrons eager for more colorful Yellow Kid capers.

The Yellow Kid's popularity peaked in 1896–1897, when the character's acclaim made him a star on and off the newspaper pages. During this period, the Yellow Kid became one of the first marketing icons in the United States. His image was featured on buttons, statuettes, puzzles, books, advertisements, billboards, matchbooks, blotters, cigars, postcards, cracker tins, soap wrappers, chewing gum cards, toys, and even whiskey bottles. In a nod to his upper-class fans, the Yellow Kid also inspired a Broadway play.

The Yellow Kid's popularity did not last. Both the *New York Journal* and the *New York World* quit running their respective Yellow Kid cartoons

in spring 1898. The *World* published their last color panel featuring the Yellow Kid, "Casey Corner Kids' Dime Museum," on May 1, 1898. Four days later, the Yellow Kid appeared for the last time in the *Journal* printed as a single-column, untitled black and white box cut.

Legacy

Popular belief holds that the Yellow Kid inspired the term *yellow journalism*, a moniker used to describe the sensationalistic writing style that dominated the *New York Journal* and the *New York World* during the same period as the Yellow Kid's popularity, although some scholars have contested the point. Whether or not the one named the other, the two have become so intrinsically linked as to be nearly synonymous.

Perhaps the Yellow Kid's most lasting legacy can be found in the formatting of his cartoon world. The Kid was the first to incorporate and standardize the elements of the modern comic strip: color, minimal or absent text, recognizable characters, open-ended storylines told through sequential drawings, and balloon dialogue. In the full page, color panels of *Hogan's Alley* and the *Yellow Kid in The World*, the style of the modern comic strip was formed, tested, and proven a lucrative addition to newspapers.

Autumn Lorimer Linford

See also Comics; Hearst, William Randolph; Penny Press; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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YOUTUBE

YouTube is at the top of the video-hosting industry, with hundreds of millions of visitors and billions of hours of videos played per month. At the start of 2020, YouTube had two billion logged-in monthly users. The platform has become a part of many people's daily routines and habits. YouTube is often considered to be part of Web 2.0—a shift most notably marked by the rise of digital platforms and applications that support and rely upon user-generated content. This entry examines the history and early use of YouTube, the birth of the YouTuber, and the platform's influence on news and journalism.

History of YouTube

YouTube was founded in February 2005 by Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim. All three were previously employees at PayPal. In April, the site's first video was uploaded. At that point, YouTube was one of many services that aimed to make it easier for people to share video online. Yet YouTube's platform has reached many milestones of success that weren't achieved by others. The first was in October of 2006 when Google acquired YouTube, purchasing it for \$1.65 billion. But that was just the beginning.

In the early 2000s, YouTube offered a simple interface that allowed even the most novice users to share and view streaming videos. While there is some disagreement about why YouTube won the popularity contest among video sharing services, there are some key features that gave it an advantage over others. YouTube provided video recommendations, allowed easy video sharing, and made it possible for users to comment on content. The embedded video player made video content easily accessible. The platform's social networking capabilities also made the content easy to share.

Some of YouTube's success could have been in part due to increasing awareness of the platform. It was mentioned in a prominent tech blog in August 2005 which ultimately made many more people aware of the site, and thus lead to more content being uploaded to the site. Around the same time a viral *Saturday Night Live* skit "Lazy Sunday" became one of the initial YouTube hits.

The video was viewed 1.2 million times in 10 days before NBC demanded it be pulled off the site. This controversy brought more attention to YouTube. It was becoming clear that YouTube was a video sharing site first, and social networking site second.

A closer look at video sharing and what that can mean reveals a uniqueness of YouTube. The platform was a pioneer of the technology *to stream* video, not download video. This is an important differentiation because with streaming, viewers didn't "own" the content, they were given access to view it. That said, YouTube did offer the capability to upload content, so that viewers could become video creators. This user as creator focus was emphasized in the early days of YouTube. In 2005, their "About Us" page said the following:

Show off your favorite videos to the world.
Take videos of your dogs, cats, and other pets.
Blog the videos you take with your digital camera or cell phone.

Securely and privately show videos to your friends and family around the world . . . and much, much more.

This was very different than traditional broadcast of video content. Also in contrast to broadcast, YouTube didn't offer a constant flow of content to tune in to. Users could use filters or button searches for the "most popular" videos. Ranking and popularity guided content choices. The platform's search engines and ranking algorithms steered users' viewing. In 2020, 70% of what people watched was determined by a recommendation algorithm.

Original Creators and Audience

YouTube considers itself as a platform for video distribution and as an aggregator of content. This might seem to be obvious, but it is an important distinction. Because it is not a content producer, YouTube didn't consider itself to be a target for legal challenges that came its way. For example, companies like Disney battled YouTube to protect its intellectual property. They wanted the platform to enforce limitations on what users could use and/or share. But YouTube/Google's lawyers made the case that Disney can't hold a distributor

responsible for copyright infringement. The platform told users to respect copyright laws. Their terms of service articulated warnings about the illegal copying of protected content. Still, many companies simply didn't want their content distributed on a platform they didn't control.

YouTube didn't make a profit in the first years, but once they realized how to tailor and distribute commercial messages to mass audiences, that changed. This shift was also due to collaborations with other online platforms, like Facebook and Twitter.

It wasn't long before the television industry bought into YouTube's approach, especially providing streaming on-demand content. After 2008, the platform had competitors like Netflix, Amazon, Apple iTunes, and Hulu. These companies were offering ad-supported subscription services, often for longer form content than YouTube provided. YouTube started to look more like television, and in 2011 changed its interface.

YouTube's evolution meant that instead of broadcast *being replaced* by social media content, broadcast *was becoming a part* of social media. An interdependence between television and video sharing platforms developed. Television was no longer just large screen in your living room, it was also that screen in your pocket. YouTube was not alone in thinking about television in this flexible way. Most, if not all, major American cable-television networks have their own online services and content portals that provide offer a wide variety of content.

Birth of the YouTuber

YouTube reorganized how users navigated content into channels or collections of videos. Thus, users were becoming more likely to be solely consumers and not content creators. The majority of those who viewed YouTube videos never uploaded a video themselves. Many didn't even make comments on videos. While YouTube started out telling users to "show off your favorite videos to the world," by 2011, 4% of YouTube users provided almost three fourths of the platform's content.

That 4% is important to know more about. These are the people who did videoblogging, or "vlogging." This is what most user-created content is called and it is a key part of the YouTube

community. These are mostly videos where the subject talks directly to the camera, sometimes with clever editing. Vlogs tend to be easy to produce and don't require much more than a webcam and some simple editing skills. These videos tend to get responses, comments, and feedback from viewers.

Since 2006, there has been a growing number of guides proving details about how to make effective use of YouTube. The tutorials often teach readers how to create attention for their content so that it'll be widely circulated. The goal is for the video to go viral. This type of guidance is also provided to business who want to use the platform to market and advertise their products and services and get as many hits as possible. Sometimes it's difficult to figure out which vloggers are "real" and which are manufactured. The novice and professional uses of YouTube are clearly not separate, but they coexist and are evolving.

In 2019, 10% of the most popular YouTube videos draw 79% of views, according to a Pew Research study. The top content in late 2019 varied from compilations of trick shots and toy reviews to video game commentaries and conspiracy theories. Dude Perfect, Shane Dawson, and Mr. Beast are a few of the top YouTubers, all with over 23 million subscribers to their channels at the end of 2019. One of the creators at the very top of the list though is PewDiePie who was at over 100 million subscribers. He started his channel with videos of himself playing video games but has evolved into a personality who also gives commentary on internet memes and viral videos. As content creators become more attention, some of that attention ends up being negative. PewDiePie has been known to make anti-Semitic and other racist comments on his channel. In late 2019, he announced he was taking a break from the platform 3 days after YouTube posted new content moderation guidelines regarding hateful speech in videos.

In 2019, in an open letter to the YouTube community, YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki addressed the challenge of balancing the creation of an open platform with these larger issues. While Wojcicki emphasized the need for the platform to remain committed to openness, she acknowledged that this sometimes means tolerating controversial and even offensive content.

While YouTube has taken some action, the company has been criticized for doing too little and not providing enough transparency. At one point, YouTube said in 3 months' time it had removed more than 100,000 videos and over 17,000 channels for violating its hate speech rules. They also said they took down over 500 million comments over hate speech. The company's updated policies included a ban on supremacist content and the removal of videos that deny well-documented points in history, such as the Holocaust, and the 2012 Sandy Hook elementary school shooting.

Videos can be removed from YouTube for a variety of reasons beyond hate speech, including copyright infringement, violence, and nudity. These last two get more at the concerns about children's use of the platform. A survey in 2019 by Common Sense found that 56% of 8–12-year-olds and 69% of 13–18-year-olds watch online videos every day. Younger generations are shifting from traditional television to streaming services, often viewed on smartphones, tablets, and laptops.

YouTube is supposed to be for users over the age of 13, because their parent company, Google, collects and markets user data. The U.S. federal Children's Online Privacy Protection Act exempts kids from data collection. But, it appears that plenty of kids have YouTube channels, such as Ryan Kaji of Ryan's World. His channel is family run, but the focus of the show is on Ryan who is under 13 years of age. The show is mostly based on his reviews of toys and has generated more than \$22 million in revenue in one year. It's not illegal for kids under age 13 to create a YouTube account as long as a parent is aware of the account and knows user data is being collected.

Content for children can be marked "for kids" so that it doesn't go to the general YouTube viewers and comments are disabled on these videos. That said, parents still need to be aware of what their kids are watching. YouTube is trying to help by requiring content creators to designate any content as either made for kids or not made for kids. The change was part of a \$170 million settlement with the U.S. Federal Trade Commission over alleged violations of Children's Online Privacy Protection Act. This meant targeted ads are restricted from running on kids' videos and certain features including being able to send push

notifications are disabled. Also, anyone watching a video that's been designated as "made for children" will now be seen as a viewer under the age of 13 years old, regardless of how old the user actually is.

Redefining Journalism and News

In 2009, YouTube won a Peabody Award, a recognition that was usually given to more traditional journalistic outlets, such as cable television and radio. But that year the award committee said that YouTube is a Speakers' Corner, "where Internet users can upload, view and share clips, is an ever-expanding archive-cum-bulletin board that both embodies and promotes democracy."

Because YouTube is used by professional and amateur content producers to both entertain and inform, the public is increasingly faced with the challenge of figuring out what is and is not journalistic content. Journalistic publications and broadcast outlets will use YouTube to distribute their stories just like companies and community members who happen to capture a video. This means journalists need find a new place for themselves in the digital media landscape. The fact that most people can capture events and upload content just as easily as, and sometimes with more ease than, a journalist can means that citizens are often distributors of news. Still the platform was not intended for news, it was created to amuse.

In a 2006 *Washington Post* article, YouTube's marketing director explained that "we're really focused on democratizing the entertainment experience, so whether it's a user-generated content from aspiring filmmakers or from one of the networks, the reality is it's users who are in control. Our users decide what rises up" (Goo, 2006). That said, the site is not only a source of entertainment but provides many other services as well, both in the home and in the business world. YouTube is often idealized as a place where everyday content creators can reach mass audiences. Yet it is more than that, it is an interesting intersection of corporate and community participants, and the boundaries between and amongst these parties is not always clear. In the United States, YouTube's advertising revenue in 2020 exceeded \$5 billion.

Kate Roberts Edenborg

See also Google; Instagram; Internet Impact on Media; Social Media; Video Journalism

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ZENGER, JOHN PETER

John Peter Zenger was a printer in the American colonies in the 1730s who was involved in one of the most famous media trials in American history. Zenger's trial centered on whether newspapers could publish materials critical of the government without punishment. For Americans, this trial was one of the first events in the process of debating the issue of what constituted a free press, which would eventually lead to the adoption of the First Amendment. This entry discusses Zenger's background and the funding of his newspaper before looking at the trial and its impact.

Zenger's Background

Zenger had immigrated to the colonies from Europe at the age of 13 in 1710. His father had died on board the ship while crossing the Atlantic. At age 14, Zenger was apprenticed to William Bradford for 8 years. After completing his apprenticeship, Zenger settled in Kent County in Maryland as a printer. In 1720, he won a contract from the Maryland Assembly to print the laws passed by the colonial legislature. Zenger moved to New York in 1723 in the hopes of making more money. He went into a partnership with Bradford in 1725, but it did not last long. Zenger went into business for himself and printed primarily Dutch-language theological books and some political tracts, but he continued to seek other ways to make money by printing other materials.

Founding of *New York Weekly Journal*

In 1733, Zenger was recruited by the opponents of New York Governor William Cosby to publish a newspaper. The political faction that opposed Cosby was made up of wealthy New York merchants and landowners whose income and position were threatened by Cosby and his push for power. Cosby had been appointed as governor upon the death of the previous governor in 1731, but he did not arrive for 13 months. Rip Van Dam had served as acting governor during the interim. When Cosby arrived, he demanded that Van Dam give him half of the money he had earned as interim governor. Van Dam refused and Cosby took him to court to get the money. Chief Justice Lewis Morris sided with Van Dam and was fired by Cosby. This only led to more arguments and conflicts and the opponents of the governor sought the publication of a newspaper in order to share their views and opinions with the people.

With the financial support of Van Dam and Morris, Zenger began publishing the *New York Weekly Journal* on November 5, 1733. Zenger promised his readers "the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic." Lawyer James Alexander helped Zenger by writing many of the materials attacking Governor Cosby that were printed in the newspaper. Zenger also reprinted English essayists, including pieces by Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and "Cato" by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Advertisements in the paper also often included bogus materials that attacked Governor Cosby or his close advisors and hurt these men's reputations. In one advertisement,

Cosby was linked to a description of a monkey. Materials in the paper implied that Cosby was a crook and a French sympathizer, a damaging charge since England and France had been at war off and on for about 50 years.

Zenger's Arrest and Trial

After reading the paper for months, Governor Cosby was finally too mad to keep quiet. He sought a way to punish the printer. He ordered four issues of the *Weekly Journal* to be burned by the hangman in a public ceremony. He then leveled charges of seditious libel against Zenger. Seditious libel was a charge developed by the English monarchy in the early 1600s, and it could halt any publication that published criticisms or attacks on the government that could encourage people to resist or rebel against the government. Under this practice, printers could be imprisoned until they revealed the author of material considered seditious libel. To prove seditious libel, the government only had to demonstrate that the statements had been printed. Cosby sought an indictment, but the grand jury refused to indict Zenger. Cosby then asked the Assembly to indict him, but they also refused. Finally, a group of the governor's council agreed to start an action against Zenger, and he was arrested on November 17, 1734, on a charge of "raising sedition."

The *Weekly Journal* was not published the week following Zenger's arrest and his readers worried that the paper had ceased to exist. But it reappeared the following week, on November 25. Zenger explained that he had been arrested but promised his readers that he would continue to "entertain thro' the Hole of the Door of the Prison" with the aid of his wife and others who were ready to help keep the newspaper publishing. The paper continued to appear weekly while Zenger remained in jail for 9 months.

Zenger's trial finally took place in August 1735. Zenger's lead attorney was supposed to be James Alexander, the person who had written most of the newspaper copy that was being challenged, but Alexander and his partner were both disbarred shortly before the trial began. The court appointed a new lawyer for Zenger, but he was an ally of Governor Cosby so he would not have provided a good defense for his client. Alexander

still developed a defense plan for Zenger's case and contacted Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, a friend of Benjamin Franklin and one of the best trial lawyers in the colonies. He agreed to take the case.

The trial opened on August 4, 1735. Attorney General Richard Bradley levied the charges of seditious libel against Zenger. The charges were based on several articles in the *Weekly Journal* that accused the government of jeopardizing the liberties and the property of the people. They also accused that the governor had tampered with numerous civil liberties including trial by jury and the right to vote. Bradley told the jury that their job was to determine if Zenger had published the articles in question. Hamilton's first move in court surprised many people. He admitted that Zenger had printed the newspaper issues in question which seemed to indicate that Zenger was guilty and should be punished according to the law. Bradley then called on the jury to immediately convict Zenger. But Hamilton declared that the case went beyond just the act of publication. He stated that the prosecution had to prove the materials printed in the articles were libelous, false, scandalous, or seditious before a guilty verdict was justified against Zenger. He argued that the jury must find Zenger not guilty if the printed materials did not meet that standard. Chief Justice James DeLancey stated that such an argument was not acceptable and told Hamilton to move on.

Hamilton did move on, but not in the way that everyone expected. Hamilton turned to speak directly to the jury. He asked the members of the jury to function as their own judges about the truth of the statements printed in the *Weekly Journal*. He stated that the charges that Zenger had printed were "notoriously known to be true" and that "therefore in your justice lies our safety" (Alexander, p. 75). Hamilton denounced unbridled power as exercised by Cosby and appealed to the individual juror's love of freedom and liberty as the only defense against tyrannical rulers:

[T]he question before the Court and you gentlemen of the jury is not of small or private concern, it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! . . . It is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not entitle you

to the love and esteem of your fellow citizens; but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and, by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us as a right—the liberty both of exposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world, at least) by speaking and writing truth. (Alexander, p. 99)

The basis of Hamilton's defense of Zenger thus became the idea that citizens had the right to criticize government officials and that citizens as jurors had the right to determine whether words were false. Hamilton argued that free speech was essential in the colonies to prevent governors from abusing their powers. When the trial ended, the jury found Zenger not guilty, which produced cheers from the audience in the courtroom. Technically, the not guilty verdict meant that Zenger had not printed the documents, although in fact he had. The verdict reflected that the jury members agreed with Hamilton's argument that the materials printed had to be false or seditious in order to constitute libel. So, Zenger was released from jail the next day. Following the trial, Zenger continued to be a successful printer. Two years later, he became the public printer for New York, and he continued to print the *Weekly Journal* until his death in 1746.

Impact of the Trial

The verdict in the Zenger trial did not set any legal precedents in America because truth and the right of juries to decide whether publications were libel or not were not established until the late 1700s. But the jury verdict did make it easier for

publications to criticize government officials and would have a big impact over the years to come as Americans challenged the British government more and more. At the time of the trial, nothing was published about it outside of New York, but that changed in 1738. On May 11, 1738, Benjamin Franklin printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that what happened in the Zenger case had not yet become law but that it really was “better than Law” and that it “Ought to be Law, and will always be law wherever Justice prevails.” This statement reflects the slowly growing importance of the Zenger trial and the verdict which people increasingly saw as important to protect their liberty and freedom and the right to criticize the government and its actions.

Carol Sue Humphrey

See also Sedition Act of 1798; British Newspapers; Democracy and the Media; English Roots of the Free Press; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Free Press and Fair Trial

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Appendix

Journalism Organizations

The 50 organizations in the following list are of particular relevance to the field of journalism. While not exhaustive, this collection of names, websites, and annotations features a cross-section and representative sample of remarkable journalism and journalism-related groups with descriptions reflecting information gleaned from respective website content published in December 2020.

1. **Alliance of Area Business Publications (AABP):**
<https://bizpubs.org>

The Alliance of Area Business Publishers (AABP) represents 70 regional and local business publications in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Puerto Rico. AABP provides marketing and communications services, lobbying, educational programming, and new business development. AABP programs cover the sharing of information on electronic publishing, national polling of its members on business topics, providing sales and circulation targets, and conducting sales seminars. The organization was founded in 1979 as the Association of Area Business Publications.

2. **American Amateur Press Association (AAPA):**
<https://www.aapainfo.org>

The American Amateur Press Association (AAPA), a nationwide nonprofit organization of amateur journalists founded in 1936, promotes amateur journalism and the circulation of their work among members.

3. **American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA):** <https://ajha.wildapricot.org>

The American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA), founded in 1981, advances education and

research in mass communication history. Through regional conferences, committees, and publications, and an annual conference, members raise awareness of historical standards and ensure scholars and students recognize the importance of media history.

4. **American News Women's Club (ANWC):**
<http://www.anwc.org>

The American News Women's Club (ANWC) was founded in 1932 as the Newspaper Women's Club, with membership limited to women reporters and writers employed by newspapers. The ANWC includes a diverse group of journalists, independent authors, and professional communicators representing newspapers, radio and television stations, publishing companies, websites, public relations firms, corporations, academic institutions, and government.

5. **American Press Institute (API):** <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org>

The American Press Institute (API) is among the oldest centers devoted solely to training and professional development for the news industry. API is an educational nonadvocacy nonprofit organization that in 2012 became affiliated with the News Media Alliance (formerly the Newspaper Association of America). It was initially located at Columbia University's Journalism School before moving in 1974 to Reston, Virginia.

6. **American Society of Media Photographers (ASMP):**
<https://www.asmp.org>

The American Society of Media Photographers ([ASMP], originally the Society of Magazine Photographers and later the American Society of Magazine

Photographers) is the leading trade association for photographers who photograph primarily for publication. ASMP promotes photographers' rights, educates photographers in better business practices, produces business publications for photographers, and helps buyers find professional photographers. Founded in 1944, ASMP has nearly 5,000 members and 38 chapters.

7. **Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA):** <https://www.aja.org>

The Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) includes more than 1,500 members from the United States and Asia and promotes people of color for management positions in the industry. Reporters from the Los Angeles Times helped create the organization in 1981. Membership includes broadcast anchors, print reporters, editors, producers, videographers, columnists, photojournalists, freelancers, academics, professors, students, as well as those who work in film and online media. The membership also consists of associates in business and public relations sectors. Close to one third of AAJA's members are students.

8. **Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC):** <https://www.aejmc.org>

The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) is a nonprofit organization of more than 3,700 educators, students, and practitioners from around the globe. It is the oldest and largest alliance of journalism and mass communication educators and administrators at the college level. It is a major international membership organization for academics in the field, offering regional and national conferences and refereed publications. It holds an annual conference each summer, featuring sessions on teaching, research, and public service in the various components of journalism and mass communication.

9. **Association for Women in Communications (AWC):** <https://www.womcom.org>

The Association for Women in Communications (AWC) is a professional organization that champions the advancement of women across all communications disciplines by recognizing excellence, promoting leadership, and positioning its members at the forefront of the evolving communications era. With more than 1,100 members, AWC advocates on

behalf of women in communications by providing opportunities for learning and by making connections across a nationwide network of women leaders.

10. **Association for Women in Sports Media (AWSM):** <http://awsmonline.org>

Association for Women in Sports Media (AWSM) advocates for increased diversity in sports media. It is a volunteer-managed nonprofit organization founded in 1987 for women working in sports media. AWSM works to promote and increase diversity in sports media through career-enhancement networking and mentoring initiatives as well as the internship/scholarship program. It has placed more than 150 female college students in paid summer positions since 1990. It holds regional events and an annual convention.

11. **Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC):** <https://www.editorialcartoonists.com>

The Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC) focuses on the promotion of the interests of editorial cartoonists and political cartoonists in the United States. It works closely with the Cartoonists Rights Network, an international organization looking to publicize oppression and attacks on political cartoonists by foreign governments, and stand with other international groups that support the human, civil, and artistic rights of cartoonists around the world. For over 60 years, the AAEC has been the professional association concerned with promoting the interests of staff, freelance, and student editorial cartoonists.

12. **Association of Healthcare Journalists (AHCJ):** <https://healthjournalism.org>

The Association of Health Care Journalists (AHCJ) is an independent, nonprofit organization that aims to advance public understanding of health care issues. It seeks to improve the quality, accuracy, and visibility of health care reporting, writing, and editing. It does so through a number of training programs, online resources, and publications. There are more than 1,500 members of AHCJ.

13. **Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ):** <https://cpj.org>

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) is an independent, nonprofit organization that promotes

press freedom worldwide. Founded in 1981, CPJ has worked on behalf of scores of journalists who have been attacked or imprisoned each year. CPJ's networks are made up of journalists, researchers, and advocates, working together to support journalists and press freedom around the world.

14. Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB): <https://www.cpb.org>

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) is a private, nonprofit corporation created by Congress in the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. CPB seeks to ensure universal access to noncommercial, high-quality content and telecommunications services. It distributes more than 70% of its funding to more than 1,500 locally owned public radio and television stations. In 1969, the CPB started the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and in 1970, the CPB formed National Public Radio (NPR), a network of public radio stations. On May 31, 2002, CPB, through a first round of funding from a special appropriation, helped public television stations make the transition to digital broadcasting, which was complete by 2009.

15. Dow Jones News Fund (DJNF): <https://www.dowjonesnewsfund.org>

The Dow Jones News Fund (DJNF) is a national foundation supported by Dow Jones & Company, Dow Jones Foundation, and others within the news industry. It emphasizes education for students and educators as part of our mission to promote careers in journalism, operating several high school and college-level grant programs. Editors of The Wall Street Journal founded the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund in 1958, and it now provides internships and scholarships to college students, career literature, fellowships for high school journalism teachers and publications' advisers and training for college journalism instructors.

16. Editorial Freelancers Association (EFA): <https://www.the-efa.org>

The Editorial Freelancers Association (EFA) is a national, nonprofit, professional organization of self-employed workers in the publishing and communications industries. Members are editors, writers, indexers, proofreaders, researchers, desktop publishers, translators, and others with a broad range of skills and specialties.

17. European Journalism Centre (EJC): <https://ejc.net>

Since 1992, the European Journalism Centre (EJC) has worked to produce sustainable, ethical, and innovative programs through grants, events, training, and media development. Headquartered in the Netherlands, EJC connects journalists as an independent, nonprofit institute for further training, a forum for journalists, media executives, and journalism educators. Its aim is to give further training to mid-career journalists and media professionals. The institute also acts a partner and organizer at the European level for media companies, professional organizations, journalism schools, and government bodies seeking to establish activities and projects.

18. Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR): <https://fair.org>

Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) is a national media watch group that offers criticism of media bias and censorship. Founded in 1986, the group has worked to invigorate the First Amendment by advocating for greater diversity in the press. FAIR is opposed to corporate ownership of media entities and calls for the break-up of media conglomerates.

19. Freedom Forum, The: <https://www.freedomforum.org>

Established July 4, 1991, the Freedom Forum is a nonpartisan, international foundation dedicated to the protection of the free press and free speech. The organization works to raise awareness of First Amendment freedoms through education, advocacy, and action. It was founded when the Gannett Foundation, started by publisher Frank E. Gannett as a charitable foundation to aid communities where his company had newspapers, sold its name and assets back to Gannett Company for US\$670 million. Retired Gannett chair and USA Today newspaper founder Al Neuharth formed the Freedom Forum.

20. Fund for Investigative Journalism (FIJ): <http://fij.org>

The Fund for Investigative Journalism (FIJ) provides grants to freelance reporters, authors, and small publications for investigative work involving corruption, malfeasance, incompetence, societal problems, or media criticism. FIJ provides grants and other support to independent journalists and news organizations to produce high-quality, unbiased, nonpartisan investigative stories that have an impact. It provides

support to investigative journalists for news stories, books, documentaries, and podcasts that uncover wrongdoing by powerful people or institutions.

21. International Center for Journalists, The (ICFJ):

<https://www.icfj.org>

The International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) was established in 1984 to improve the quality of journalism worldwide. ICFJ works with journalists to promote news coverage of critical community and global issues and to build the storytelling skills of reporters. It is a nonprofit, professional organization located in Washington, DC, and it promotes journalism worldwide, working directly with more than 70,000 journalists from 180 countries.

22. International Federation of Journalists (IFJ):

<https://www.ifj.org>

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) is a global organization that was founded in 1926, and it is now the world's largest organization of journalists, representing 600,000 media professionals in 187 unions and associations in more than 140 countries. It is an associate member of UNESCO, and it has represented journalists at the United Nations since 1953. The IFJ supports journalists and their unions whenever they are fighting for their industrial and professional rights and has established an International Safety Fund to provide humanitarian aid for journalists in need.

23. Journalism & Women Symposium (JAWS):

<https://jaws.org>

The Journalism & Women Symposium (JAWS) brings together working journalists, journalism educators, and researchers for the sharing of resources, support, training, and information about issues that affect women in journalism. JAWS promotes the professional growth of women in journalism. The nonprofit grew out of discussions at a 1984 gathering at the Missouri School of Journalism about the representation of women in news media. It was incorporated as a nonprofit in 1995, and it has since grown into an organization of more than 900 journalists and educators.

24. Journalism Education Association (JEA):

<http://jea.org/wp>

The Journalism Education Association (JEA), founded in 1924, is among the largest scholastic

journalism organizations for teachers and advisers. Among its 2,300 members are journalism teachers and publications advisers, media professionals, press associations, adviser organizations, libraries, year-book companies, newspapers, radio stations, and departments of journalism. JEA is a volunteer organization. The headquarters office in Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kansas, is maintained as a clearinghouse for JEA members and programs, and provides essential office services.

25. National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ):

<https://nabjonline.org>

The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) is an organization of journalists, students, and media-related professionals that provides programs and services. Founded by 44 men and women in 1975 in Washington, DC, NABJ is the largest organization of journalists of color in the nation. Among its goals are strengthening ties among Black journalists, sensitizing all media to the importance of fairness in the workplace for Black journalists, expanding job opportunities and recruiting activities for veteran, young and aspiring Black journalists, while providing continued professional development and training, and increasing the number of Black journalists in management positions and encouraging Black journalists to become entrepreneurs.

26. National Association of Broadcasters (NAB):

<https://www.nab.org>

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) is composed of members who represent the nation's radio and television broadcast industries. NAB works as an association and lobby group for broadcasters in commercial and noncommercial over-the-air radio and television. The NAB represents more than 8,300 terrestrial radio and television stations as well as broadcast networks.

27. National Association of Hispanic Journalists

(NAHJ): <https://nahj.org>

The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) works toward the recognition and professional advancement of Hispanics in the news industry. Established in 1984, NAHJ consists of executive officers and regional directors who represent geographic areas of the United States and the Caribbean with approximately 3,100 members, including

working journalists, journalism students, other media-related professionals, and journalism educators.

28. **National Association of Science Writers (NASW):**
<https://www.nasw.org>

The National Association of Science Writers (NASW), formally incorporated in 1955, is a community of journalists, authors, editors, producers, public information officers, students, and people who write and produce material intended to inform the public about science, health, engineering, and technology. NASW promotes the interests of science writers nationally and globally and advocates for copyright protections for writers. A dozen science journalists and reporters in New York City created the NASW in 1934 with the aim of improving the craft of science journalism.

29. **National Center on Disability and Journalism (NCDJ):** <https://ncdj.org>

The National Center on Disability and Journalism (NCDJ) is an independent, impartial journalism education organization that works with journalists and educators, providing information about disability reporting issues in order to produce more accurate, fair, and diverse news reporting.

30. **National Federation of Press Women (NFPW):**
<https://www.nfpw.org>

The National Federation of Press Women (NFPW), a nationwide organization of professionals pursuing careers in communications, has promoted for more than 75 years ethical standards and offered professional development, networking, and protection of our First Amendment rights. NFPW offers community and connections to other professionals in 32 state affiliates and welcome at-large members from areas without affiliates.

31. **National Freedom of Information Coalition (NFOIC):** <https://www.nfoic.org>

The National Freedom of Information Coalition (NFOIC) assists members through joint fundraising, project planning, and the interchange of ideas and information. It promotes press freedom, legislative and administrative reforms, dispute resolutions, and litigation to ensure open, transparent, and accessible state and local governments and public institutions. It was founded in 1989 in Dallas, Texas, as the

National Freedom of Information Assembly, and its first board was appointed in Washington at the organization's founding congress in January 1992.

32. **National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA):** <https://www.nlgja.org>

Founded in 1990, National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA) is an organization of journalists, media professionals, educators, and students working from within the news industry to foster fair and accurate coverage of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues. NLGJA works with the Centers for Disease Control as part of the Partnering and Communicating Together to Act Against AIDS (PACT) program.

33. **National Newspaper Association (NNA):**
<https://www.nna.org>

The mission of the National Newspaper Association is to protect, promote, and enhance America's community newspapers. NNA protects community newspapers through active and effective government relation programs that address the issues affecting community newspapers. Established in 1885, NNA's 2,200 current members make it among the largest national newspaper associations. The National Editorial Association changed its name to the National Newspaper Association in 1964.

34. **National Press Club (NPC):** <https://www.press.org>

The National Press Club is a professional and social club for working journalists and communications professionals that has been a Washington institution for more than a century. Founded in 1908, the NPC has more than 3,500 members, and it offers over 2,000 events a year.

35. **National Press Photographers Association (NPPA):**
<https://nppa.org>

The National Press Photographers Association (NPPA) is an organization dedicated to the advancement of photographic journalism. The NPPA addresses issues connected to the First Amendment, including drone regulations, copyright, access, credentialing, cameras in court, unlawful assault on visual journalists, and cases that affect the ability to record events and issues of public interest. Founded in 1946, the organization is based in at the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia. Its members include still and television photographers, editors,

students, and representatives of businesses that serve the photojournalism industry.

36. **National Scholastic Press Association (NSPA):** <http://studentpress.org/nspa>

National Scholastic Press Association (NSPA) is a national community of student journalists and scholastic journalism advisers. NSPA advances journalism and media as a vital cultural force by connecting advisers, students, and professionals through national events. Formed in the 1920s, the organization has more than 1,500 member publications. The association is membership-based and annually hosts high school journalism conventions across the country.

37. **Native American Journalists Association (NAJA):** <https://najanewsroom.com>

The Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) recognizes Native Americans as distinct peoples based on tradition and culture. The primary goal of the NAJA is to improve communications among Native people and between Native Americans and the public. The association was founded as the Native American Press Association in 1984 with initial funding provided by the Gannett Foundation. The organization was headquartered at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion, South Dakota, as of 2002. In 2003, it moved into the Al Neuhardt Media Center, where it shared space with the Freedom Forum. In 2008, it moved to the Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma.

38. **NewsGuild, The:** <https://newsguild.org>

Originally founded by print journalists in 1933, the Newspaper Guild, known today as The NewsGuild, is a union of 21st-century media. Its 25,000 members in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico are employed as reporters, photographers, editors, designers, advertising sales representatives, circulation workers, and business staff. In 2015, the union changed its name from Newspaper Guild to its current name, The NewsGuild, to reflect that newspapers are not the only publishers of news.

39. **News Media Alliance (NMA):** <https://www.newsmediaalliance.org>

The News Media Alliance (known until 2016 as the Newspaper Association of America) is a trade

association founded in 1992 and headquartered in Washington, DC, representing approximately 2,000 newspapers in the United States and Canada. The organization has organized and hosted mediaX-change, the newspaper industry's annual conference.

40. **Online News Association (ONA):** <https://journalists.org>

Members of the Online News Association (ONA) include journalists, technologists, executives, students, educators, and other digital media professionals. ONA creates programs focused on training and networking, leadership development, and diversity in newsrooms. ONA hosts the annual Online News Association conference and administers the Online Journalism Awards.

41. **Overseas Press Club (OPC):** <https://opcofamerica.org>

The Overseas Press Club of America is the nation's oldest and largest association of journalists engaged in international news. It was founded in 1939 by nine foreign correspondents in New York City and has grown to nearly 500 members worldwide. The club advocates high standards in news reporting, the advancement of press freedom, and the promotion of fellowship among colleagues.

42. **Pew Research Center, The:** <https://www.pewresearch.org>

The Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan organization that informs the public about the press, politics, and public policy issues, conducting public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis, and other data-driven social science research. The Pew Research Center does not take policy positions and is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts. It conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, media content analysis, and other empirical social science research.

43. **Poynter Institute, The:** <https://www.poynter.org>

Founded in 1975, the Poynter Institute is a school for journalists, future journalists, and teachers of journalism. The school began when Nelson Poynter, the owner and chair of the St. Petersburg Times (now the Tampa Bay Times) and Times Publishing Company, announced that he planned to start a small journalism school called the Modern Media Institute. Craig Newmark, a board member of the Poynter Foundation, donated \$1 million to it in

2015. In 2017, the Poynter Institute received \$1.3 million from the Omidyar Network and the Open Society Foundations in order to support new projects in the areas of fact-checking technology, impact tracking, and financial awards through innovation grants and crowdfunding matches.

44. Public Relations Society of America (PRSA):

<https://www.prsa.org>

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) consists of more than 30,000 professional and student members. PRSA is represented across the United States by chapters and professional interest sections. It was founded in 1947 by combining the American Council on Public Relations and the National Association of Public Relations Councils. In the 1950s and 1960s, the society created its code of conduct, accreditation program, and a student society called the Public Relations Student Society of America.

45. Radio Television Digital News Association

(RTDNA): <https://www.rtdna.org>

The Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA) is a grassroots organization founded in 1946. Formerly the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA), the organization consists of radio, television, and online news directors, producers, executives, reporters, students, and educators. Among its functions are the maintenance of journalistic ethics and the preservation of the free speech rights of broadcast journalists. The RTDNA is known for the Edward R. Murrow Award, given annually since 1971 for excellence in electronic journalism, and the Paul White Award, presented annually since 1956 as its highest award, for lifetime achievement.

46. Reporters Without Borders (RSF):

<https://rsf.org/en>

Reporters Without Borders is an international non-profit and nongovernmental organization with the stated aim of safeguarding the right to freedom of information. It describes its advocacy as founded on the belief that everyone requires access to the news and information, in line with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes the right to receive and share information regardless of frontiers. The organization provides information about the media freedom situation

worldwide in French, English, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, and other languages.

47. Religion Newswriters Association (RNA): <https://www.rna.org>

Religion Newswriters Association (RNA) was formed in 1949 to advance the professional standards of religion reporting in the secular press through education, contests, and mentoring. Since the 1970s, RNA has published an annual list of the top 10 religion-related news stories of the previous year.

48. Scripps Howard Foundation: <https://scripps.com/foundation>

The Scripps Howard Foundation supports philanthropic causes important to The E.W. Scripps Company and the communities it serves. Established in 1962, the foundation is the corporate philanthropy of The E.W. Scripps Company, a 134-year-old media company with newspapers and TV stations in more than 30 markets and an array of digital products and services, including social games. It is located in Cincinnati, Ohio, home to the Scripps Company. The Scripps Howard Foundation, along with Roy Howard's children, established the Roy W. Howard Archive at the Indiana University School of Journalism in 1983.

49. Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ):

<http://www.sej.org>

The Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ) is the only North American membership association of professional journalists dedicated to more and better coverage of environment-related issues. SEJ was founded in 1990, and it now includes more than 1,500 journalists and academics working in news media in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and 43 other countries.

50. Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ):

<https://www.spj.org>

The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), a broad-based organization that encourages the free practice of journalism, was founded in 1909 as Sigma Delta Chi. SPJ promotes the free flow of information vital to a well-informed citizenry. SPJ consists of more than 13,500 journalists dedicated to stimulating ethical behavior and perpetuating a free press.

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